



July - Sept & Oct - Dec 2018

Vol. 28 Numbers 3&4

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July - Sept & Oct - Dec 2018

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STUDIES IN DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC POLICY



Institute for the Study of Developing Areas
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- Pillai, Josukutty, Joshy and Parija (2015) support

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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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FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY: THE CASE OF FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLDS IN INDIA AND KERALA

Megha Radhakrishnan* & Manju S. Nair**

Abstract

Discussions on development and deprivation, unequivocally places the category of female headed households in the forefront. The argument of feminization of poverty cites the proliferation of female headed households as a valid reason for the increasing burden of poverty amongst women in the world. This can be examined by analyzing the deprivation status of FHHs in comparison to the general population and marginalized population (Scheduled Tribes). Poor women within marginalized and socially excluded groups are prone to double discrimination. The possibility of double discrimination of FHHs can be investigated by comparing the FHHs within a marginalized group, as the STs with its general population counterpart. The deprivation analysis in this paper is based on the criteria adopted by the Socio Economic Caste Census as well as the data from Census of India. The paper attempts to comprehend the deprivation status of female headed households, by comparing data of scheduled tribe households and households belonging to general population separately.

Key words: Female headed households, deprivation, general population, scheduled tribes.

Introduction

Marginalization or social exclusion is the end result of deprivation experienced by particular segments of the society. This may also culminate in discrimination against these segments adding to their

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vulnerabilities. Studies across the world have documented the deprivation and vulnerabilities experienced by different sections of the society and have identified Persons with Disabilities, sexual minorities, Female Headed Households (FHHs) and racially discriminated groups as the most marginalized. The situation is same in India where FHHs, Persons with Disabilities, Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe (ST) etc. are being reported as experiencing deprivation and vulnerabilities. When an intersection between two or more groups of marginalized communities emerges, the deprivation experienced by them becomes manifold, or they are prone to multiple discrimination. A female head belonging to the ST faces double discrimination, not only on the basis of caste but also on the gender forefront. Hence, it becomes critical that FHH belonging to the ST category are studied, not only in isolation but also relative to the general population.

Accordingly, this paper tries to explore if FHHs are over represented amongst the most deprived sections of the society and if so, does exposure to deprivation make FHHs, specifically the ST FHHs, a befitting target prototype for policy interference. The paper also reprises on the various definitions of female headship, theoretical debates on the phenomenon of feminization of poverty and heterogeneity of female headed households. The paper is divided into five sections. Section I describes the methodology and data sources. Section II examines the various definitions of FHHs and the argument off eminization of poverty. Section III compares the deprivation status of ST, FHHs and general population. Section IV deals with deprivation of FHHs within ST and general population in India and Kerala. Section V concludes the arguments.

Section I

Methodology and data sources

The Indian decennial Census has been the most trusted archive of national data. It is also considered as the sole data source to provide an overview, rather than an in depth knowledge of the household or an individual. Of late, the Socio Economic Caste Census (SECC) was released partially with data on rural India. It is considered as an improvement over the National Sample Surveys, which did not encompass the entire population. The SECC is first of its kind, in that it provided social and caste based information which was otherwise unavailable from the decennial Census due to its confidential nature. The SECC is also diverse in that it provided information on households or individuals which was open for use and hence the SECC is also hailed as a resource which would aid in granting or curbing of benefits to households. This Census uses the parameters laid down by the S R Hashim Committee earlier appointed by the Planning Commission. It resorts to automatic exclusion on the basis of fourteen parameters and automatic inclusion on the basis of five parameters and deprivation is graded on a seven criteria basis. The SECC is also a departure from the Census of India that it employed an approach that defined poverty as deprivation. The SECC had demarcated seven criteria to classify deprivation types namely:

- i. households with kuccha house,
- ii. no adult member in working age ,
- iii. households headed by female and no working age male member,
- iv. households with disabled member and no able bodied adult,
- v. SC/ST households
- vi. households with no literate over 25 years,
- vii. landless households engaged in manual labour

Using SECC(2011) data, all the indicators of deprivation are compared for general population, FHHs and STs, both at the national level and particularly for the state of Kerala.

The Census of India (2011) is another data source used in the paper and the main variables considered for examining the deprivation of FHHs belonging to ST and general population are usage of banking services, availability of assets, bathing facility, material of floor, census house type and ownership of houses and number of dwelling rooms. The data from the Census is used to understand the deprivation status of FHHs within the ST group against their general counterparts, both for India and Kerala.

Section II

Definition of Female headed households and Feminization of poverty

For the purpose of research, dismantling the concept of female headship is useful. FHH refer to those households wherein a woman assumes primary responsibility of the upkeep of the family. FHHs are households where either no adult males are present, owing to divorce, separation, migration, non-marriage or widowhood, or where men, although present, do not contribute to the household income (ILO: 2005). In other words, a FHH can be defined as one in which, a female is the major provider and/or protector, carrier and bearer and decision maker in the household (Kumari, 1989)

Chant(1997a) defines female household headship as situations where an adult woman (usually with children) resides with a male partner or in some cases, another adult male such as a father or brother. FHHs are often equated with lone-mother households consisting solely of mothers and children. These households however may be extended in composition. Chant and Folbre (1991) points

out that FHH's comprise other sub-groups such as grandmother headed, women only and lone mother households. Chant(1997b) specify that the bulk of lone mothers are unmarried and the rest are separated, divorced or widowed. UN World Women 2010 –Trends and Statistics Report outlines that FHHs cover a broad range of situations from one person households, households of couples with or without children where the woman rather than the man is reported as the household head.

FHHs are traditionally classified into two: *-defacto* FHHs arises out of migration of the male partner for employment and *dejure* FHHs stems from a permanent absence of the male partner due to death, divorce, desertion by the male partner or out of choice of a female to remain single. In most situations, a female who does not receive any remittances from the male partner are often considered poorer than the male headed households. This points to the fact that FHHs are a highly heterogeneous group, the paramount deciding factor being the routes of entry into headship.

The term 'feminization of poverty' was conceptualized in the 1970s by a number of thinkers, however due recognition was attributed to the concept in the past two decades. The Fourth World Conference on Women(1995) held in Beijing was the major milestone in this regard as it was then that gender dimension to poverty was recognized by the governments. This helped in channelizing attempts to eradicate poverty through policy action, with particular focus on women's needs and rural women. Poverty was perceived then as a broader term incorporating the denial of rights, opportunities and choice. According to UN Women¹, women form the bulk of the 1.5 billion people who live on one dollar a day. The widening gap between 'women and men caught in the cycle of

poverty is known as the phenomenon of 'feminization of poverty'. This phenomenon is not only the result of income poverty but is also a consequence of gender biases and deprivation of capabilities present in both governments and societies. Feminization of poverty describes a phenomenon in which women present a disproportionate percentage of world poor². UNIFEM describes it as 'the burden of poverty borne by women, especially in developing countries'. It refers to the rising number of women in poverty and the conditions in social, economic, legal and political fronts that makes them the same. In such situations, women suffer from unequal access to resources. The term is inclusive of lack of choices, human rights and opportunities which are essential for longevity and health. Multiple dimensions were identified with regard to feminized poverty, which are mentioned below:

Spatial dimension-Unemployment is a strong push factor which causes women to migrate for earning gainful employment. Women with children may face difficulties in migrating for employment ,since it results in loss of kinship support networks, which is crucial in case of child rearing or caring.

Temporal dimension-Women are traditionally assigned the role and responsibility of child bearing and this acts as a 'reproduction tax' since it severely hinders educational prospects and career advancement opportunities of women. Gender bias and fixed gender-specific roles, enforced by the society at large, reinforces their role as child bearers, care givers, domestic workers and casual labour. Thus women are kept from securing decent jobs through biological and social structures prevalent in society. Less time inflicted by multiple responsibilities and burden of adding earnings to the household often pushes them into informal part time job markets which are often low paying and personally unrewarding.

Valuation dimension- Women's household chores go unrecognized and unrewarded. They are unequivocally confined to certain frontiers of work, which are considered economically less worthy.

The employment segmentation dimension- Certain types of labour are increasingly getting feminized. Work is low paid, informal in nature and devoid of parity in wage payments and risky. Such work assigned specifically to women lack stability and security.

In addition to the above, there are several contributing factors that lead to feminization of poverty.

Proliferation of FHHs – Modern times have witnessed an upsurge in divorce/desertion of marriage. Many women have chosen not to marry. Wars and civil conflicts was another factor correlated to increasing poverty among females.

Discrimination- Unequal access to rights, wages, benefits and employment is another impediment to development of women. Sexism is rampant in both developed and developing nations, which cuts short avenues of opportunity.

Lack of education- Girls encounter various societal barriers to education in certain parts of the world. Women are assigned the gender specific primary responsibility of managing domestic work. This restricts upward economic mobility as they lack education suitable for well-paid employment.

Globalization-Markets and price changes affect women considerably as it cuts into their monthly budget. Women are always the first to be fired and last to be hired in case of structural economic changes.

The growth in the number of FHHs is of rising concern in the welfare states. The identification of FHHs and female maintained

families is however difficult due to the misogynistic and patriarchal values prevalent in most developing societies. A woman might be the sole income earner in the household, but the eldest male in the family might still be reported as the head of the household.

Section III

Deprivation among Female Headed Households in India and Kerala: A comparison between General population and Scheduled tribes

This section provides a comparison of deprivation indices of general population, FHHs and ST households at the national and state levels. A careful scrutiny of the deprivation indices and its comparison across the three categories points to the greater deprivation of the FHHs.

Table 1
Deprivation indices of General population,
Female Headed households and Scheduled Tribes-
A comparison of India and Kerala

Deprivation indices	INDIA			KERALA		
	General population	Female headed households	ST	General population	Female headed households	ST
D1	22.22	24.03	29.77	4.70	4.51	13.23
D2	6.08	17.87	5.03	6.93	12.82	5.00
D3	6.46	47.66	6.30	12.04	40.45	10.15
D4	0.67	2.00	0.61	0.62	1.25	0.53
D5	36.07	35.14	100	23.43	22.46	100
D6	39.35	54.75	52.82	5.96	10.73	28.79
D7	30.03	52.20	40.13	18.85	58.54	59.16

Source: SECC,2011

Note:

D1 Households with one or less room, kuccha walls and kuccha roof

D2. No adult member in household between age 18 and 59

D3. Female headed household with no adult male member between 16 and 59 **D4.** Households with differently able member with no other able

bodied adult member **D5.** SC/ST Households **D6.** Households with no

literate adult above age 25 years. **D7.** Landless households deriving a major part of their income from manual labour

D1 criteria signifies households with one room of kuccha roofs/walls. The Indian figures, both that of FHHs and general population indicate higher deprivation than state levels. While the figure of D1 deprivation in India stood at 22.22 per cent for general population, it was 24.03 per cent for FHHs and 29.77 per cent for STs. In the case of Kerala, the deprivation was particularly high among ST households (13.23 per cent), when compared to the general population (4.70 per cent) and FHHs (4.51 per cent). D2 criteria represents no adult member in household between the age 16 and 59. A comparison of general population, FHHs and STs figure shows that deprivation was higher for FHHs in both India and Kerala-with FHHs in India showing 17.87 per cent of D2 deprivation (6.08 per cent for general population and 5.03 per cent for STs) and 12.82 per cent amongst FHHs (6.93 per cent only for general population and 5 per cent for STs) in Kerala. D3 signifies deprivation as in FHHs with no adult male member between age 16 and 59. At the national level, only 6.46 per cent of general population were deprived, whilst as expected 47.66 per cent of FHHs had no adult male member between 16 and 59 years of age, the figure for ST was 6.33 per cent. In Kerala, FHHs were similarly deprived of an adult member, the deprivation was high at 40.45 per cent. The figure for general population in Kerala

was 12.04 per cent and 10.15 per cent among STs. D4 denotes presence of a disabled member and absence of any other able bodied adult member. At the national level, this deprivation stood at 0.67 per cent for general population, while the FHHs had more than twice the deprivation of the general population (at 2 per cent). The same situation exists in Kerala, with the deprivation being higher among FHHs (1.25 per cent) while it was lower amongst general population (0.62 per cent) and STs (0.53 per cent). D5 criteria denotes Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribe households. It was found that at the national level, 35.14 per cent of FHHs belonged to SC/ST communities while 36.07 per cent of general population were either SC or ST. In Kerala, the trends were similar with FHHs' figures lower at 22.46 per cent and general population containing 23.43 per cent of SC or ST households. D6 criteria signifies households with no literate adult above 25 years of age. This deprivation was rather high at both national and state levels, with FHHs in India with D6 deprivation as high as 54.75 per cent. The general population figures of deprivation for India were only 39.35 per cent. In case of Kerala, the trends were similar, with FHHs having twice the deprivation of general population. D6 was as high as 10.73 per cent amongst FHHs (general population figure is 5.96 per cent). This index is indicative of the literacy levels and shows much deprivation prevalent among the women headed households, both in India and Kerala. Literacy levels among ST households was deplorable, in India and Kerala. The deprivation figure stood at 52.82 percent for STs in India as against 39.35 per cent for general population. In Kerala, the disparity in literacy levels was apparent in the figures of general population and STs, with STs showing 28.79 per cent of

illiteracy and general population, figures a much lesser illiteracy rate of 5.96 per cent. D7 criteria represents landless households deriving major part of their income from manual labour. The criteria shows the distressing situation of FHHs, both in India and Kerala with a substantial proportion of FHHs being landless and deriving income primarily from manual labour. Landlessness is one of the root causes of poverty in rural India and hence is one discerning issue at hand. The figure indicating deprivation was substantially high for FHHs at 52.20 per cent at the national level and even higher at 58.54 per cent at the state level. At the state level, landless and manual labour income households amongst general population was lower at 18.85 per cent and in India, the figure was very high at 30.03 per cent. As much as 59.16 per cent of ST households in Kerala were landless and had manual labour as major part of their income.

The deprivation figures clearly indicate that the women headed households in comparison with the general population and ST households are grossly deprived in case of absence of adult members in working age, absence of an adult member, literacy and landlessness, both in India and Kerala. It is clear from the deprivation data provided in Table 1 that both the categories of FHH and ST households are severely deprived when compared with households belonging to general population. Both the FHH and ST are highly vulnerable and an intersection of these two groups raises the chances for double discrimination and this can be analyzed only if FHHs within ST category is compared with FHHs within general population category. Hence, the next section tries to analyze the status of FHHs within the general population and STs in this regard.

Section IV

Female Headed Households in India and Kerala: A comparison within the general population and Scheduled Tribes

The Census of 2011 reported that around 27 million households in the country are headed by women forming 11 per cent of the total households. The data on female heads in the country points to the fact that Kerala as a state holds the primary position in housing the most number of female head, thus establishing the count of FHHs at 23 per cent. This high number is indicative of the presence of both the defacto and de jure FHHs. The data also revealed that the proportion of FHHs in the country has increased by about 0.5 per cent while that of the male headed households had declined by 0.6 per cent over the decennial census period. It is often noted that certain types of FHHs are almost always susceptible to poverty and hardship, owing to their low average earnings, less access to capital and income earning resources (Buvinic and Gupta, 1997). Moreover, societal customs and norms entrenched in patriarchy contributes to lesser access to education, labour market etc., and makes life much more challenging. This makes the FHHs a vulnerable category of households. FHHs are also highly heterogeneous in that they are not only different from male headed households, but differentiation occurs within the category itself. The STs, on the other hand, are the indigenous population native to India and are one of the most discriminated and marginalized categories. This study tries to understand the features of FHHs when categorized in terms of general population and ST population. The indicators used are usage of banking services, availability of assets, bathing facility, material of floor, census house type, ownership of houses and dwelling rooms.

Female Headed Households availing banking services in India and Kerala

Banking sector plays a monumental role in bringing financially excluded sections into the financial sector. Banks encourage saving and promotes thrift. It also indicates the access to credit and it also acts as the most reliable way in which the poor can access the services which they rightfully deserve. Table 2 shows the per cent of FHHs belonging to the general population availing banking services in India and Kerala. In the case of India, the general FHHs availing banking services is 62 per cent in urban areas and 48.68 per cent in the rural areas. The combined figure is 53.35 percent.

In Kerala, the urban areas show a higher per cent of FHHs in general population availing banking services at 70.60 per cent whereas the rural area shows a lower figure of 68.59 per cent. A comparison between India and Kerala figures show that, the general FHHs in Kerala are better off than their Indian counterparts in availing banking services, both in rural and urban areas.

Table 2
Per cent of Female Headed Households availing banking services in India and Kerala-
(General and ST FHHs)

Area	FHHs in India		FHHs in Kerala	
	General	Scheduled Tribe	General	Scheduled Tribe
Urban	62.00	53.69	70.59	59.94
Rural	48.68	38.03	68.59	46.95
Total	53.35	40.80	69.56	48.68

Source: Census of India, 2011

Table 2 shows a marked difference in the urban figures of general FHH population and ST FHH population availing banking services in India. In the urban areas, the FHHs availing banking services was 62 per cent in case of general population and 53.69 per cent in case of ST FHHs. In the urban areas in Kerala, the general population of FHHs availing banking services was 70.59 per cent and 59.94 per cent amongst ST population in Kerala. In the rural areas of India, there was a 10 per cent difference in case of general population and ST population of FHHs availing banking services. In the rural areas of Kerala, the difference was very high between FHHs belonging to general and ST population showing a 21.64 per cent disparity in availing banking services. It is clear that Kerala is much worse off than India in case of female headed ST population in respect to availing of banking services.

Asset availability of female headed households in India and Kerala

The availability of assets is one of the indicators of the quality of life that people lead. The difference in general FHHs and ST FHHs figures with respect to assets show that ST FHHs had lesser availability of radio/transistor, 11.25 per cent for ST FHHs in India as against 16.10 per cent in case of general FHHs. While 21.76 per cent alone of ST FHHs had television, 45.28 per cent of general FHHs had television. The presence of mobiles was as low as 27.21 percent among ST FHHs, while it was 44.29 per cent for general FHH population. While general FHHs had 13.71 per cent of scooter/moped, only 5.86 per cent of ST FHHs had it.

Table 3
Availability of assets of Female headed households in general
and ST categories in India

		FHHs in India General Population			FHHs in India Scheduled Tribe		
Availability of assets		Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Radio/Transistor		22.05	12.88	16.10	18.80	9.63	11.25
Television		70.67	31.55	45.28	57.02	14.17	21.76
Computer/Laptop		25.21	7.30	14.45	0.66	5.81	2.47
Telephone/ Mobile Phone	Landline only	3.28	6.18	4.30	4.09	1.31	1.81
	Mobile only	37.81	56.29	44.29	53.32	21.60	27.21
	Both	3.58	10.43	5.98	4.72	1.16	1.79
Bicycle		30.34	28.16	28.93	26.75	23.36	23.96
Scooter/Motorcycle/ Moped		22.84	8.78	13.71	15.45	3.79	5.86
Car/ Jeep/Van		6.11	1.58	3.17	3.97	0.70	1.28

Source: Census of India, 2011

By comparing the Indian figures for the FHH ST and general FHH categories, it is clear that the STs have far lesser asset availability.

Asset Availability of Female Headed Households in general and ST categories in Kerala

In Kerala, the ST FHHs who owned TV was only 33.13 per cent as against general FHH population holding only 70.12 per cent. Households with landline in case of STs were as low as 5.11 per cent while for general population, it was 13.05 per cent. Households with both mobile and landline was low for ST FHHs (8.65 per cent) as against 26.64 per cent for general female headed

population. Similarly, only 4.99 per cent of ST FHHs had bicycle (general population 14.84 per cent).

Table 4
Assets availability of Female Headed Households in general and ST categories in Kerala

	FHHs in Kerala			FHHs in Kerala		
	General Population			Scheduled Tribe		
Availability of assets	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Radio/Transistor	29.45	24.27	26.77	27.99	25.53	25.91
Television	76.12	64.50	70.12	64.82	27.28	33.13
Telephone/Mobile Phone	13.41	12.71	13.05	10.05	4.20	5.11
	44.67	43.68	44.16	48.63	40.77	41.99
	28.56	24.84	26.64	19.61	6.63	8.65
Bicycle	18.09	11.80	14.84	16.00	2.96	4.99
Scooter/Motorcycle/Moped	18.39	12.82	15.52	13.75	3.14	4.80
Car/ Jeep/Van	6.83	4.50	5.63	5.11	1.13	1.75
Households with TV, Computer/Laptop, Telephone/mobile phone and Scooter/ Car	6.86	3.49	5.12	5.10	0.69	1.37
None of the assets specified	11.41	6.67	9.11	12.47	34.23	30.84

Source: Census of India, 2011

Only 4.80 per cent of ST FHHs had scooter /motor cycle/ moped, while 15.52 per cent of general FHH population had the same. Only 1.75 per cent of ST FHHs had car/jeep/van while 5.62 per cent of general FHH population has any of the three. The difference in asset availability of ST FHHs and FHHs belonging to general population is blatantly clear from Table 4. While only 9.11 per cent of general population FHHs were devoid of the assets considered, 30.84 per cent of ST FHHs had no such assets.

Female Headed Households with bathing facility within the premises in India (General and ST)

In India, while 44.18 per cent of general FHH population had bathrooms, only 20.63 per cent of ST FHHs had one. While, 65.51 per cent of ST FHHs had no bathrooms, 40.61 per cent of general FHHs had no bathrooms. The figure for general FHHs that had no drainage was 48.81 per cent while 73.82 per cent of ST FHHs had no drainage.

Table 5

Households having bathing facility within the premises in India (General and ST)

Area name			FHHs in India General Population			FHHs in India Scheduled Tribe		
Urban/Rural/Total			Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Per cent of households having bathing facility within the premises	Yes	Bathroom	74.22	27.94	44.18	59.70	12.22	20.63
		Enclosure without roof	10.32	17.86	15.22	14.28	13.77	13.86
	No		15.46	54.20	40.61	26.02	74.01	65.51
Waste water outlet connected to	Closed drainage		40.91	5.97	18.23	28.61	1.88	6.61
	Open drainage		37.85	30.31	32.96	38.36	15.52	19.56
	No drainage		21.23	63.72	48.81	33.03	82.60	73.82

Source: Census of India, 2011

In the rural areas, the case of ST FHHs were distressing, with just 12.22 per cent female households owning a bath facility, 13.77 per cent holding an enclosure without roof and 74 per cent owning no bath facility in premises of household. Only 1.88 per cent had closed drainage in the rural areas, 15.52 per cent had an open drainage and 82.60 per cent had no drainage system in household.

The figures show the much disadvantaged position of ST FHHs in comparison with the general FHHs

Households having bathing facility within the premises in Kerala (General and ST)

In the case of Kerala, 16.05 per cent of FHHs(general) had no bathing facility within premises, 79.06 per cent had a proper bathroom, and 4.89 per cent had an enclosure without roof in their premises.

Table 6
Female Headed Households with bathing facility within
the premises in Kerala
(General and ST)

Area Name			FHHs in Kerala General Population			FHHs in Kerala Scheduled Tribe		
Total/Rural/Urban			Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Per cent of households having bathing facility within the premises	Yes	Bathroom	87.14	71.47	79.06	75.13	32.28	38.96
		Enclosure without roof	4.34	5.41	4.89	6.86	6.74	6.76
	No		8.51	23.13	16.05	18.01	60.98	54.28
Waste water outlet connected to	Closed drainage		29.54	15.95	22.53	24.36	4.69	7.75
	Open drainage		22.20	20.63	21.39	23.25	11.97	13.73
	No drainage		48.26	63.42	56.08	52.40	83.34	78.52

Source: Census of India, 2011

A large number reported the absence of a drainage in the house premises (56.08per cent), while 22.53per cent reported a closed drainage and 21.39per cent reported an open drainage. In the case of ST FHHs,38.96 per cent had bath facility in premises, but the comparative figure with the general female heads is upsetting,

showing a 40 per cent point difference. The total figure for ST FHH population also shows that the ST FHH population is three times worse off than the general FHHs in case of presence of bath facility. The total figure for ST FHHs show that 78.52 per cent had no drainage in household and 54.28 per cent had no bathing facility in household.

Female Headed Households according to material of floor in India and Kerala

The Table 7 shows the floor material of homes of tribal and general FHHs in India. Mud which was the cheapest material was used profusely by ST FHHs(68.84 per cent).

Table 7

Material of floor-India- General Population and Scheduled Tribes

		FHHs in India General population			FHHs in India Scheduled tribe		
Area Name		Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Material of Floor	Mud	14.31	59.42	43.59	28.34	77.56	68.84
	Wood/ Bamboo	0.50	0.93	0.78	5.68	4.49	4.70
	Burnt Brick	2.34	1.92	2.06	1.65	0.61	0.79
	Stone	11.83	6.83	8.58	8.56	3.19	4.14
	Cement	48.68	27.03	34.63	40.96	13.02	17.97
	Mosaic/ Floor tiles	21.44	3.60	9.86	14.25	1.02	3.37
	Any other material	0.89	0.28	0.50	0.56	0.12	0.20

Source: Census of India, 2011

Majority of the general FHH population, resided in households with mud floors(43.59 per cent) followed by cemented floor households (34.63 per cent). The corresponding figures for ST FHHs were 68.84 per cent and 17.97 per cent respectively. Mud was the

commonly used material of floor of homes by ST FHHs (68.84 per cent as against 43.59 per cent amongst general FHHs) while cement was used by a higher per cent of general FHHs when compared to ST FHHs (34.63 per cent and 17.97 per cent respectively).

Female Headed Households according to material of floor in Kerala-General population and ST

In Kerala, cement (62.29 per cent) was used by the general FHHs as primary material of floor, followed by tiles/mosaic (20.03 per cent). In comparison with ST FHHs, the per cent that used the same material was much lower with 46.18 per cent and 4.84 per cent respectively.

Table 8

Material of floor of Female Headed Households in Kerala-General population and Scheduled Tribe

Area Name		FHHs in Kerala General population			FHHs in Kerala Scheduled Tribe		
Total/Rural/Urban		Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Material of floor	Mud	6.61	15.90	11.40	15.10	51.89	46.16
	Wood/ Bamboo	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.14	0.13
	Burnt Brick	0.37	0.35	0.36	0.51	0.32	0.35
	Stone	4.96	2.95	3.92	3.42	1.03	1.41
	Cement	60.84	63.65	62.29	61.25	43.40	46.18
	Mosaic/ Floor tiles	24.73	15.61	20.03	17.77	2.45	4.84
	Any other material	2.43	1.48	1.94	1.88	0.77	0.94

Source: Census of India, 2011

In Kerala, amongst the ST FHH population, mud and cement were used as the main materials for flooring of homes. In comparison to general and STFHHs households in Kerala, general households used primarily cement and mosaic/floor tiles.

Census house types of Female Headed Households in India: General Population and ST

Comparing the Indian figures across the two categories, while 60.46 per cent of the total general FHH population owned permanent houses, only 33.36 percent of ST FHH households reside in permanent houses. In the urban areas, while 79.92 per cent of general FHH population reside in permanent houses, only 63.51 per cent of ST FH households had permanent houses, the rural figures were 49.94 per cent and 26.87 per cent respectively for the two categories. The total figures for temporary housing amongst general FHH population was 12.38 per cent while for ST FHHs, it was 17.70 per cent.

Table 9

Type of census houses of Female Headed Households in India (General and ST)

	Total/ Rural/ Urban	Type of census houses			
		Permanent	Semi-permanent	Temporary	Unclassifiable
FHHs in India General population	Urban	79.92	14.88	4.23	0.96
	Rural	49.94	32.36	16.78	0.93
	Total	60.46	26.23	12.38	0.94
FHHs in India Scheduled Tribe	Urban	63.51	27.73	7.48	1.28
	Rural	26.87	52.61	19.90	0.61
	Total	33.36	48.21	17.70	0.73

Source: Census of India, 2011

Census house types of Female Headed Households in Kerala: General Population and ST

In Kerala, the general FHH population in urban areas, had 86.38 per cent permanent census houses, 10.86 per cent had semi-permanent houses, 2.08 per cent had temporary houses. The same for ST FH households in urban areas showed, 81.48 per cent had

permanent houses, 12.75 per cent had semi-permanent houses, and 4.64 per cent had temporary houses.

Table 10
Type of census houses of Female Headed Households in
Kerala-General and ST

Area Name	Total/ Rural/ Urban	Type of Census houses			
		Permanent	Semi-permanent	Temporary	Unclassifiable
FHHs in Kerala General Population	Urban	86.38	10.86	2.08	0.68
	Rural	77.08	18.31	3.41	1.28
	Total	81.54	14.70	2.77	0.99
FHHs in Kerala Scheduled Tribe	Urban	81.48	12.75	4.64	1.13
	Rural	65.60	20.65	10.83	2.92
	Total	68.08	19.41	9.87	2.64

Source: Census of India, 2011

In comparison, the general FHHs with permanent houses were 81.54 per cent, whereas the figure for ST FHHs was 68.06 per cent. The general FHHs who lived in temporary houses, were only 2.77 per cent, the ST FHHs were 9.87 per cent, showing the worse off condition of the latter. In the rural areas, temporary ST FH households were 10.83 per cent which was much higher than the general population figure (3.41%).

Ownership status and Dwelling rooms of Female Headed Households in India- General Population and Scheduled Tribe

Out of the female heads belonging to general category in India, 86.62 per cent lived in owned houses, 10.41 per cent in rented ones and 2.97 per cent in other type of housing facilities. Among the female heads living in owned dwelling spaces, the majority had only one room (37.64 per cent).

In India, in the case of the ST FHHs, 89.23 per cent live in

Table 11
**Ownership status and Dwelling Rooms of Female Headed households in India-
General population and Scheduled Tribe**

FHHs in India-General Population							
Urban /Rural /Total	Urban			Rural			Total
Ownership Status/ Number of dwelling room	Owned	Rented	Any Other	Owned	Rented	Any Other	Any other
Percentage of FHHs	74.40	22.31	3.29	93.22	3.98	2.80	2.97
No exclusive Rooms	3.12	5.52	7.06	5.56	8.57	13.08	10.74
One Room	28.28	48.30	49.11	41.68	51.97	54.72	52.54
Two Rooms	30.07	29.90	26.36	29.74	27.51	19.66	22.26
Three Rooms	19.33	11.57	11.27	12.06	8.06	7.71	9.09
Four Rooms	10.85	3.33	3.79	6.38	2.56	3.12	3.38

FHHs in India-Scheduled Tribe									
Ownership Status/ Number of dwelling room	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Owned	Rented	Any Other	Owned	Rented	Any Other	Owned	Rented	Any other
Five Rooms	4.06	0.77	1.14	2.23	0.70	0.83	2.78	0.75	0.95
Six Rooms and Above	4.30	0.60	1.27	2.35	0.64	0.88	2.94	0.61	1.03
Per cent of FHHs	59.27	25.39	5.34	93.52	3.16	3.32	89.23	7.10	3.68
No exclusive Rooms	3.92	4.87	6.59	5.06	7.49	11.66	4.91	5.83	10.36
One Room	36.01	43.53	49.35	48.36	46.97	56.55	46.66	44.79	54.70
Two Rooms	30.04	33.97	27.43	30.20	32.38	21.67	30.18	33.39	23.15
Three Rooms	14.71	12.44	11.49	9.83	9.14	7.02	10.50	11.23	8.17
Four Rooms	8.10	3.55	9.25	4.01	2.63	2.03	4.57	3.21	2.34
Five Rooms	3.36	0.88	1.03	1.28	0.66	0.49	1.57	0.80	0.63
Six Rooms and Above	3.85	0.77	0.86	1.26	0.73	0.58	1.62	0.75	0.65

Source: Census of India, 2011

owned dwelling spaces, 7.10 per cent in rented spaces and 3.68 per cent in any other dwelling spaces of which the majority lived in one dwelling room(46.66 per cent). The number of dwelling rooms of general and ST households paint a different picture. The one room households was 46.64 per cent in case of ST FH households while that of general households was 37.64 per cent. While 7.72 per cent of general households had four room-households, only 4.57 per cent of ST households had four rooms in their houses. Whereas 86.62 per cent of general FHHs lived in owned houses,89.23 per cent of ST female headed families lived in owned households. Whilst,10.41 per cent of general households lived in rented households, only 7.10 per cent lived in ST households.

The ownership of households shows figures favoring STs and the reason points to the various schemes of the Union and state governments. The national housing policies such as the IRDP, Indira Awaas Yojana were launched keeping in mind the special needs of SC/ST and free bonded laborers. Other housing schemes like the Rajiv Awaas Yojana, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, and Pradhan Mantri Gramodaya Yojana have aided in development of quality housing to the STs.

Ownership status and Dwelling rooms of Female Headed Households in Kerala:

General population and Scheduled Tribe

In Kerala, amongst the general FHH population,93.67 per cent of the female heads live in owned dwelling spaces, only 4.55 per cent live in rented spaces, and 1.78 per cent live in other type of facilities.

Out of the total, most owned houses had three rooms, majority of rented spaces had two rooms and houses other than owned/rented had mostly two rooms (28.89 per cent). Not much disparity was

Ownership status and Dwelling Rooms of Female Headed Households in Kerala- General population and ST
Table 12

FHHs in Kerala-General Population								
Urban /Rural /Total	Urban			Rural			Total	
Ownership Status/Number of dwelling room	Owned	Rented	Any Other	Owned	Rented	Any Other	Owned	Any other
Percentage of FHHs	92.08	6.25	1.66	95.16	2.96	1.88	93.67	1.78
No exclusive Rooms	0.91	1.39	3.92	1.31	2.11	4.92	1.12	4.47
One Room	5.73	13.63	22.57	7.90	19.57	29.92	6.87	26.59
Two Rooms	23.97	33.61	26.57	29.44	36.51	30.81	26.84	28.89
Three Rooms	31.71	30.67	23.82	31.67	25.04	18.66	31.69	21.00
Four Rooms	21.37	13.83	13.06	18.65	11.12	9.34	19.94	11.02
Five Rooms	8.77	4.38	4.87	6.60	3.62	3.54	7.63	4.14
Six Rooms and Above	7.54	2.50	5.19	4.42	2.03	2.83	5.91	3.90

FHHs in Kerala-Scheduled Tribe									
Urban /Rural /Total	Urban			Rural			Total		
	Owned	Rented	Any Other	Owned	Rented	Any Other	Owned	Rented	Any other
Ownership Status/Number of dwelling room									
Percentage of FHHs	88.17	7.72	4.11	95.44	1.63	2.92	94.31	2.58	3.11
No exclusive Rooms	2.33	3.60	2.60	3.11	7.73	9.46	2.99	5.81	8.05
One Room	11.69	19.11	59.38	18.74	26.57	43.38	17.71	23.10	46.67
Two Rooms	32.96	32.69	20.83	39.64	44.93	30.54	38.67	39.23	28.54
Three Rooms	28.09	29.64	8.33	26.25	13.29	11.49	26.52	20.90	10.84
Four Rooms	14.89	9.70	6.25	9.05	5.07	3.51	9.90	7.23	4.08
Five Rooms	6.09	2.77	1.56	2.27	1.93	1.22	2.82	2.32	1.29
Six Rooms and Above	3.95	2.49	1.04	0.95	0.48	0.41	1.39	1.42	0.54

Source: Census of India, 2011

found in case of ownership of houses and dwelling rooms among ST and general FHHs. In case of ownership of houses and number of dwelling rooms, the ST FHHs was found better off than general FHHs, both at national and state levels. This is due to the beneficial impact of various Central/state implemented housing schemes aimed at uplifting the backward sections of the society.

Section V

Conclusion

The argument of feminization of poverty reflects on the much disadvantaged position of women in the world. This disadvantage extrapolates directly to the women headed households, who are often described as the 'poorest of the poor' and their proliferation is termed as contributing to the 'New Poverty Paradigm'. The feminization of poverty argument safely presumes that women are poor, however poor women within socially marginalized or excluded groups are prone to multiple deprivations. Using Census data of India and data from the SECC, the article has examined the case of deprivation of FHHs within the ST category to get an understanding of the extent of their exposure to deprivation and hence it becomes imperative to compare their status relative to FHHs within the general population. The state of Kerala flaunts its high quality of life and gender development indices and the argument of feminization of poverty needs to be analyzed, particularly for the FHHs in Kerala. To probe into the matter the study has compared the status of FHHs in general population and ST categories, both at national and state levels. Within the seven deprivation criteria of SECC examined, four deprivations of FHHs and STs were at deplorable levels, such as absence of adult members in working age, female headed households with no adult working male member, literacy, landlessness and income from manual casual

labour. Data from Census of India regarding variables like usage of banking services, asset availability, bathing facility in households, material of floor in household, type of census houses, ownership status and number of dwelling rooms were examined for FHHs belonging to both ST and general population. The data accentuated the deprivation of ST FHHs and the urgent need for policy action in their direction. The data on usage of banking services reflected on the lack of awareness and financial literacy of ST FHH, when compared with the much better off FHHs belonging to the general population. Asset availability data mirrored the gross disadvantage of ST FHHs, in terms of assets like television, computer laptop, car/jeep/van, mobile/landlines, bicycle and scooter/motorcycle/moped. Similar results were found which showcased the deprivation of ST FHHs in the case of bathing facility within the household premises, use of cheaper/non-durable floor material, census house type, ownership of houses and number of dwelling rooms or houses with no exclusive rooms. The data showed deprivation of ST FHHs both in India and Kerala. Hence, it is reasonable to say that the ST FHHs in India and Kerala, in particular are acutely deprived when compared with FHHs belonging to the general population. The deprivation indices considered separately points to the comparative disadvantage of FHHs, against the figures for general population and STs, both at national and state levels and any policy directed to target the feminization of poverty phenomenon must be specifically tailored to address the most deprived within the group.

Note:

¹The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, is also known as UN Women. It upholds the cause of women empowerment.

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BEHIND THE GRAVEYARD OF FARMERS: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FARMERS' SUICIDES IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MAHARASTRA STATE

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Abstract

Agrarian suicides have become a common feature of the Indian economy, and institutional vacuum acts as a major contributor to this scenario. Conjunction of the changing nature of agriculture and democratic politics convert this sector into an unrewarding occupation. There are growing disparities between the rich and the poor farmers where the rich farmers have the ability to influence governments and make pressure on them to accept policies regarding their income expansion. This paper attempts to highlight the issues faced by farmers from a political economy perspective. When we consider the state of Maharashtra from a political economy perspective, there is more to know about how farmers' suicides are becoming a common issue. The study found out that there exist significant policy gaps and there is more to go in order to make farmers free from suicides.

Keywords: The institutional vacuum, the political economy of farmers' suicides, the Policy failure problem, neo- money lenders

Introduction

State of Maharashtra is facing the prevalence of farmers' suicides and agrarian distress at a wide level. The recent peasant long march towards the government has proved the inadequacies and insufficiency to initiate farmer policies. The coverage of them

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by current 'BJP-Shivsena led government' towards the farmers who are belonging to SC and ST population as well as other strata of farmers are limited. Even though the government is initiating many developmental programmes as part of public goods provision such as bullet train construction and other infrastructural activities, sometimes it occurs by denying the conditions of farmers. The changing political scenario in the state as well as the centre level has affected agriculture sector. Eventhough rich peasants as well as poor peasants are committing suicides, the incidence is higher among the small and landless farmers. The policy failure problem(huge gap between goal and outcome)is there from the government side. Thus farmer suicides happening in India give such a paradoxical situation that why suicides are concentrated in relatively agriculturally developed states and where the states have seen strong peasant movements and the leaders are from the peasant community (Siddhartha Mitra and Sangeeta Shroff 2007).

A Glance at Maharashtra Political Economy

After the formation of the state of Maharashtra in 1960, the state was led by the congress party. Elite capture was present there and even the chief minister was from an elite community, the old urban dominated class. The community accounts for 31 per cent of the population of the state. They dominate the co-operative institutions, and with the resultant economic power, they control politics from the village level up to the state Assembly and Lok-Sabha. The state under elite capture experienced a setback in the growth of agriculture where the government was favouring corporate in sugar industries which was focused in rich peasantry strata .These elites were the dominant supporters of the congress. Even though

the establishment of 'zila parishads' and panchayaths accelerated the rural development, higher level of inequalities has been taken rooted in Maharashtra. In the rural areas also, the landowning economic elites had much hold on the lower level as in the state level. (Prasad, 2013).

So the establishment of sugar factories has favoured economic elites in the society and the people from down strata especially farmers from SCs and ST population suffered. The elite class dominance has continued for decades and Maharashtra started to experience crisis in the state in terms of agriculture. Even now the majority of farmers are in mercy of rich landowners and these rich landowners have much influence in the political realm of the society. Maharashtra has also seen the three elite dominances, social elites who are from the upper caste section, economic elites who are the landowners and the political elites, the congress party. All these elites were interlinked and congress has reaped the votes from these elites.

But as a counter - elite movement in the state has witnessed the upcoming power of peasants in the form of Peasant and Workers party (PWP); but it was confined to village level. The public good provision under them was very weak due to lack of resources. State has witnessed the rise of Shiv Sena and the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) who gave rural support but failed in terms of adopting pro-peasant policies. Sharad Pawar -led government has seen the highest number of suicides due to his strategy of favouring the corporates where the corruption was also predominant. The opposition parties, including the BJP accused Sharad Pawar of engineering a steep rise in the price of sugar to the advantage of hoarders who were the middlemen in the state.

During some years, the state has witnessed pro- peasant policies. But the presence of the middlemen and the moneylenders belonging to elite class, who control the village level power to state level power, has become the major constraints in Maharashtra agrarian development .In the BJP and shivsena - led government as we can see the absence of mobilization and competitive populism is not much visible and it witnessed a large number of farmers' suicides. The government was concentrated on public goods provision through bullet train construction and minimum support price policies in the state which were not initiated by the government .There was also lack of protection of farms of ST/SC population. This challenges government and a counter - elite mobilization was witnessed by the state through All India Kisan Sabha march by farmers belonging to Communist Party of India. More than 90 per cent of the farmers are from the tribal community and they are struggling for land rights and effective implementation of loan waiver scheme.

These counter elites will be contesting in elections in coming years, but will be difficult to capture support from urban dominated class and rich strata of peasantry. This counter - elite mobilisation is a symbolic representation against the less concentration upon farmer's problems and to address suicidal problems. Maharashtra experiences lack of counter - elite mobilisation at a wide level in order to address the problems of poor peasants (who are the most vulnerable category in the state).The poor peasant community is vulnerable due to the lack of good price mechanism and debt where the rich peasants are in trouble due to low returns from trade and market linkage system. Even though there are climatic reasons as well as other personal reasons are behind high rates of suicides, the political economy of farmers' suicides are the following.

Credit squeeze, Farmer - moneylender nexus and Pervasive Debt

Farmers always lack institutional credit support and since agriculture is becoming highly commercialised their dependence on external source of demand for credit is there as an issue. But these organised institutional arrangements only cover one third of the total farmers. So the farmers always have the tie up relations with the traditional money lenders. Sahukars, the dominant community of money lending in Maharashtra charges 36per cent interest rate per annum .If the state ensures that the farmers have access to a robust credit system, they will not have to approach Sahukars [private moneylenders] and it will automatically check farm suicides.

They are ‘respected businessmen’ and ‘farm leaders’ for years. Sahukars community represents rural elite class, where both local bureaucracy and police are supporting for them. The government also favours the moneylenders because their votes mainly depend on this support. But recently the government has passed Money lending Regulation Bill for protecting farmers from the debt trap and moneylenders; but the Debt Waiver Scheme is far from reality till now and the farmers are still in the hands of private money lenders. Maharashtra also experiences lack of good public policy in rural credit provision to farmers. In Maharashtra the moneylenders also have political positions from the village level to state level. In the villages of Maharashtra there emerged a new class; “Neo-money lenders” from the community of middle class elites, the educated and the government service employees .The government has failed in addressing the credit problem through efficient polices and what we can observe in this state is there is a huge gap between credit needed and credit available from institutional sources. So this is

filled by private sources or illegal moneylenders. The rural areas are excluded from the financial scene.

The major beneficiaries in the revival of farm credit in this decade are agri-businesses and corporates involved in agriculture. This is because the definition of agricultural credit has been expanded to include these businesses. The debt problem lies in the failure of the governments to initiate efficient policies regarding the financial sector.

Media versus Farmers' suicides

Media is becoming a big business nowadays and they are mainly in the corporate hands or the economic elites of the society. Maharashtra is not an exceptional case. Rural media impact is very less in these areas. Even though the rural media is less developed here and owned by the people who own urban media as well favours the interest of rural elites and politicians. The farm crisis is a negligible part within that; suicides are just an outcome, fallout. The Hindu paper reports farmer suicides daily but it does not have any Marathi edition. The Hindu newspaper covers more than any Marathi newspapers, the issue of farmer suicides. Politics among the media is also very important. There are channels controlled by Shivsena and BJP where they do not address the issues of farmers. Political as well as economic elites control media.

It was found that India's highest circulating Hindi and English newspapers devote just 2% of their coverage to "rural issues, where 36 per cent of this 2 per cent was on "non-agrarian issues," crime, violence and the like, with only 28per cent focusing on agrarian themes. We can refer this as 'structural shut out of the poor', and often media fail in representing agrarian issues properly. Busy with crafting a palatable picture of "shining" India, the mainstream media

has neglected its duty to report the lives and livelihoods of the largest group of farmers in India. Media ignorance is largely prevailing in this state, which favours mostly the elite class and politicians.

Eligible Suicides¹ – Problem of State Addressing the Issues

In Maharashtra as well as in many states what the recent phenomenon has observed is that hundreds of people were dropped from the 'eligible list' of farmer suicides that were entitled to get compensation. If the land was not in their name they are not able to get compensation. The politics behind preparing the 'eligible list' performing by the government under BJP always see as manipulating the number of farmers 'suicides happening in their state and compensation are not given to them'. This fund can be used for other public good as well as private good provision at the expense of farmer's income. This shows the exclusion of marginal farmers (most of the farmers are not there in the list are marginal farmers) from the state provision of funds.

Lack of Counter - Elite Mobilization at Wide Level

Even though the state has seen many counter elite mobilizations (in the form of peasant movements) in the state of Maharashtra it was not effective at a wide level in addressing the issues of farmers especially those who are belonging to weaker sections (ST/SC farmers). The recent mobilization initiated by the Communist party of India signifies the impact of counter - elite mobilization against the government for implementation of policies favouring them. Unless and until these kinds of movements are not initiated, it won't make any impact on the government to implement policies faster. Moreover they can also pressurise the government to provide the

resources. Sometimes lack of this kind of counter elite mobilization can lead to agrarian. distress in the economy.

Rising Input Prices and Loss of Income

Rising input cost is the other major problem of both rich and poor peasants. The production cost is higher and state provision of inputs are less. Thus state failed in addressing the rising input cost and assurance of Minimum Support Price(MSP). That's why the BJP government is labelled as not supporting farmers. But, even though the government is providing inputs at subsidies, the beneficiaries are the dominant class, i.e. agriculture corporates. The government favours these corporates because of the legacy of electoral support receiving from 1960s. The private moneylenders act as mediators here and farmers have to depend on shops which are known as 'Krishi Kendras' for getting private goods. But they are subjected to exploitation of money lenders. There is no government agency to finance the farmers and bank loans are negligible in this state. This has forced farmers to approach the private moneylenders. The government should focus more on these areas for addressing the issues of farmers than favouring a particular class.

Conclusion

The study focuses government's failure to address the problem of farmer especially the small farmers generally. Even though pro-farmer policies are initiated, it is not being implemented efficiently. It can be done through by phasing out the elite class dominance of Sahukars and Krishi Kendra controlled rural elites and implementing the laws which are now only in papers. The emergence of Neo-money lenders is a hindrance to agrarian development here. Media ignorance

towards farmers 'suicides are also occurring in Maharashtra. The recent protest against the state government by the All India Kisan Sabha for addressing the issues of farmers and the suicidal prevalence has created an impulse in the government through the counter- elite mobilization. Policy failure can be solved by favouring the peasant class and not favouring the landlords and moneylenders.

Even though the governments have changed through elections, the problem of farmer suicides are still continuing .There are many other reasons related to climate conditions and personal issues, but at policy level non- coverage should be solved through implementing efficient policies. Policy level failure and the dominance of rural elites can be the factors responsible for this phenomenon to an extent. The issue of addressing the farmer suicides should not exclude farmers, mainly the poor ones. The government should adopt effective and far reaching policies for the farmers. Even if they are being initiated it should reach the ground level .It should not be allowed to strike in between favours of moneylenders or economic elites, for political support. The political economy reasons should be addressed properly through implementation of policies.

Notes

1. *The term eligible suicides mean the farmers who committed suicides are excluded from the list which contains farmers who are eligible for compensation. This is occurring to those farmers who do not have farms in their names.*

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MODERNISM AND POSTMODERNISM: KANT'S NOTION OF THE SUBLIME AND LYOTARD'S INTERPRETATION

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Abstract

Immanuel Kant, the modern philosopher, and Jean Francois Lyotard, the postmodern thinker, have expounded the concept of the sublime, uniquely, in their own ways. The Sublime is an aesthetic experience that engenders pain and pleasure simultaneously. In his analysis Kant explains that there is an unrepresentable in the experience of the sublime. Lyotard recognizes the significance of this idea and accordingly tries to expose the modern and the postmodern aesthetic forms on the basis of the two parts of the sublime feeling of pain and pleasure. Postmodernism tries to present the unrepresentable by seeking new ways or language games instead of old ones. For Lyotard justice is more important than truth which cannot be represented in its entirety. So he demands for a plurality of little narratives. Here comes the significance of the postmodern art which tries to find new language games for presenting the unrepresentable.

Key Word: Kant, Lyotard, the Beautiful, the Sublime, Pain, Pleasure, Mathematically Sublime, Dynamically Sublime, the Modern, the Postmodern, the differend Modernism, Postmodernism, Realism, Language games.

Introduction

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) is usually considered as a philosopher, representing mainly the enlightenment era of modernity; however, his philosophical uniqueness makes him indispensable for both the modern and the postmodern discussions. Jean Francois Lyotard

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(1925-1998) is one of the prominent figures of postmodern philosophy who addressed the problems of metanarratives, truth, justice, language games, etc. and advocated a plurality of little narratives instead of totalitarian metanarratives. In his philosophical analysis the influence of Kant is significantly obvious.

Kant is the meeting point of many of the cross currents of modern philosophy; it is interesting to note that from Kant emerges many of the tendencies of contemporary philosophical movements as well (Masih, 2006 p.330,). Kant revolutionized philosophy by assuming the objects must approach the mind, instead of the mind approaching the objects in order to be known as described by many of the thinkers before him. He argues, the mind lays down the conditions for the objects to become the objects of knowledge. These pre-conditions for objects are explained by Kant as two forms of sensibility and twelve categories of understanding. Resorting knowledge in the pre-conditions leads to agnosticism according to which human knowledge is limited to the phenomenal world only. As a critique of Kant's agnosticism Hegel developed his totalitarian philosophy of absolute idealism, which claims that knowledge is not limited to the phenomenal world only. The noumenal world is also apprehensible to human beings; in other words, metaphysics or totality of knowledge is possible. The reactions against this thesis of Hegel gave birth to various philosophical movements such as Marxism, Analytic Philosophy, Logical Positivism, Language Philosophy, Phenomenology, Existentialism, Postmodernism, etc. Even though they criticize the metaphysics of Hegel, most of these philosophies retain the totalitarian nature of Hegel's philosophy. Marxism is a typical example of this, which is considered as an exact antithesis of Hegelian metaphysics, which puts forward a

materialistic interpretation of reality, however, retains the totalitarian tendency of Hegelian absolutism. All the theses and antitheses are generally considered as modernist and postmodernism is actually a reaction to the totalitarianism of modernism.

Lyotard's postmodern stand points are very germane in contemporary discussions of philosophy that one cannot ignore him because without his perspectives, the postmodern discussions will not be complete. He occupies the centre field of postmodern discussion of knowledge, power, justice and plurality. Lyotard is strictly against the totalitarianism throughout his postmodern analysis, in both his early and later period as well. In the early period of his postmodernism, in his book *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* he defines the postmodern as 'incredulity towards metanarrative.' Here he defines the postmodern as a later development of modernism or the postmodern comes after the modern or at the end of the modern. In Lyotard's opinion the Hegelian thesis of the totality of knowledge and French revolution's principle of emancipation of humanity are the two grand narratives upon which modernity has been built and these grand narratives are itself problematic and after the Second World War due to technological advancement and liberal capitalism the situation become severe and the expectation that they would fulfill their task completely lost. The realization of failure of grand narratives, especially that of Hegelian notion of totality of knowledge, led Lyotard to advocate a plurality of knowledge since knowledge has lost its status and become a commodity itself. In his formulation of modernism and postmodernism Lyotard has extensively derived ideas, particularly the sublime, from the agnostic philosophy of Immanuel Kant.

Lyotard is of the opinion that Kant's Philosophy "marks at once

the prologue and the epilogue of modernity. And as epilogue to modernity, it is also a prologue to post modernity.” (Benjamin, 1992, p.394). Kant’s writings can be seen as the prologue of modernity since they stand at the beginning of modernity and at the same time they introduce many of the themes and ideas that will lead to the disruption of modernity; accordingly, they can be considered as both modernity’s epilogue and a prologue to postmodernity within that modernity. (Malpas, 2003, pp.43-44)

Lyotard perceives great significance in Kant’s notion of the sublime, an aesthetic experience, which can produce pain and pleasure simultaneously. He interprets the pain and pleasure feelings of the sublime in such a way that modernism as the feeling of loss of unrepresentable and postmodernism as the feeling of jubilation in search for new ways of presenting the unrepresentable.

Kant’s Critiques and Aim of Art

The first critique of Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, analyzes the problem of knowledge. Here he expresses the view that all knowledge is based on experience and it arises from the relation between mental concepts or ideas and physical perceptions or concepts. In other words, knowledge only occurs within the ‘limit of experience’ or is limited to the phenomenal world only. In his *Critique of Practical Reason*, which is an assessment of ethics, Kant introduces the theory of categorical imperative. It is the idea that one should act only according to a maxim that one would want to be applied universally. It is a formal law, an idea that is applied to experience. Through the two critiques what Kant tried to explain can be summed up as: epistemology and ethics are different realms that cannot be crossed; the gap between these two realms cannot be bridged. Knowledge is based on the experience; however, experience cannot generate ethics. Ethics is an idea, a universal idea.

However, in the *Critique of Judgement*, Kant tries to bridge the gap between epistemology and ethics and considers aesthetics as a possible means of achieving this. It is a controversial matter that whether aesthetics can be a possible means of reconciling epistemology and ethics or not. Lyotard and Habermas have seriously debated and dissented on this matter, for the latter art can reconcile epistemology and ethics in order to achieve the political consensus of rational communicative action and for the former Habermas' idea of consensual communication is nothing but a 'transcendental illusion' and it is not the aim of art to effect a reconciliation between different language games of epistemology and ethics.

Regarding Kant's views about the aim of art, Lyotard is of the opinion that Kant considered epistemology and ethics as entirely different language games separated by a gap which cannot be bridged. A transcendental illusion alone can hope to bridge them into a real unity. The result of this illusion of philosophical totality will be terror (Lyotard,, 1986, pp. 81-82). The philosophical totality means the idea of being able to explain everything in a single grand narrative. The totalitarian theories present or explain the world in its totality. Anything or anyone that does not fit into the totalitarian system is forcefully suppressed or excluded. Lyotard calls this terror. "By terror I mean the efficiency gained by eliminating, or threatening to eliminate, a player from the language game one shares with him. He is silenced or consents, not because he has been refuted, but because his ability to participate has been threatened" (Lyotard,, 1986, pp. 63-64) Terror is nothing but silencing or suppressing a language game from take part in a play. Consequently, the aim of art, Lyotard argues, is nothing but resisting the terror of the totalitarian theories and systems through the use of the sublime and not to bridge the gap between epistemology and ethics as Habermas thinks.

Lyotard : Realism, Modernism and Postmodernism as Aesthetic Forms

'An Answer to the Question: What is the Postmodern?' is one of Lyotard's later essays in which he defines postmodernism differently. He opines that the aim of art is to demonstrate that the world in which human beings live is discontinuous and not capable of being explained in its entirety by any rational system. The significance of art is its potential ability to highlight the defects in such totalitarian systems. In this context Lyotard mentions about three types of artistic and cultural presentations, namely realism, modernism and postmodernism.

In this article, instead of giving a chronological course of artistic development i.e., starting from realism of the nineteenth century, then through modernism as a criticism of realism and finally to postmodernism which challenges modernism, Lyotard exposes it in a different and more complex way. For him realism, modernism and postmodernism are various aesthetic forms which co-exist concurrently in all periods of artistic production. It is a deviation from his early view of the postmodern that describes the postmodern as a continuation of the modern, that is, a late twentieth-century phenomenon. Here he describes the postmodern as a matter of aesthetic style rather than historical periodisation. (Malpas, 2003, p. 43)

He views postmodernism not as modernism at its end, but as, rather, recurring throughout modernity as a nascent state of modernist transformation. The postmodern is an avant-guard force within the upheavals of the modernity. It opens new ways of thinking and acting by challenging the key modern themes of progress and innovation. The postmodern exists within the modern itself. Thus, a work "can become modern only if it is first postmodern." (Lyotard, 1992, p.13)

The acquaintance between art and culture has great significance. Art reflects culture. One can easily and immediately recognize the beliefs and ideals of a particular culture in its art forms. Lyotard identifies realism as the mainstream art of any culture. In his '*A Postmodern Fable*', Lyotard expounds realism as the art of making reality, of knowing reality and knowing how to make reality. (Lyotard, 1997, p.91) As Malpas writes, "This inverts the standard academic view of realism. Instead of simply reflecting reality through its verisimilitude or, in other words, creating a life like image of the way the world really is, Lyotard claims that realism 'makes' the world appear to be real. What he is getting at here is that reality is not something that we know naturally, but rather that a sense of reality is generated through the beliefs and ideals of a particular culture, and that realist art or literature is one of the things that helps a culture create a sense of its reality." (Malpas, 2003, p.44) In this sense, for Lyotard, many of the texts that are generally considered as postmodern are not postmodern. Even the so-called postmodern art based on eclecticism, irony, and the idea that 'anything goes', are not postmodern as well; rather, they are realism of contemporary capitalism. He suggests modernism and postmodernism as two alternatives to the realism of contemporary capitalism. For him, they can question the rules that govern images and narratives of this realism and thereby disrupt it. (Lyotard, 1992, pp.8-12)

Lyotard, actually, does not consider modernism and postmodernism as two entirely different aesthetic or historical forms. For him, postmodernism is a modification of modernism which further radicalizes the challenges of modernism to the representation of the realism of contemporary capitalism. The significance of his elucidation is that both modernist and postmodernist art conceived that there is an unrepresentable. Lyotard derived the idea of presenting the fact that there is something unrepresentable from Kant's concept of

the Sublime and brilliantly interpreted it to define both modernism and postmodernism.

Kant's concept of the Sublime

The sublime is, like the beautiful, an aesthetic experience. Immanuel Kant is indeed the first of moderns who attempted to give a precise definition of it. In the *Critique of Judgment*, he describes the sublime in a luminous way. The sublime is an object of feeling of pleasure and is said to have universal validity and necessity. In a sublime experience one judges aesthetically in a reflective and disinterested manner. An important feature of the sublime is that the pleasure experienced with it is indirect and negative. In other words, it presupposes a displeasure as well.

Kant talks about the two forms of aesthetic experience, namely, the beautiful and the sublime. They are aesthetic feelings that occur when one comes in contact with an object. Even though they are sources of pleasure, the experience in both is not a mere matter of sensation, rather, it is associated with the ability of the beautiful or sublime object to appeal to the affinity between one's imagination and one's intellect. With the beauty, one experiences in his/her perception a feeling of perfection about the shape of the object and this makes a sense of well being. However, in the case of the sublime, the experience is more complex where one simultaneously feels attraction and repulsion by the object. With the sublime one is fascinated and horrified by it simultaneously. In Kant's view, both the beautiful and the sublime together constitute the whole domain of aesthetic judgment, including aesthetic aspects of nature and the essential qualities of fine art.

Kant observes that there are four major differences between the beautiful and the sublime. Firstly, the beautiful is linked with the notion of form of an object as bounded or limited. At the same

time, the sublime can be found in a formless object as boundless and, to that extent, as formless. Thus the beautiful can be regarded as the exposition of an indeterminate concept of understanding, and the sublime as that of an indeterminate concept of reason. As a result, the beautiful is associated with the appearance of *quality*, and the sublime with that of *quantity*. Secondly, the beautiful is linked with a feeling of the enhancement of life and hence it is joyful and compatible with charms, while the sublime is an indirect pleasure that arises from alternating repulsion and attraction and thereby devoid of charms. The feeling of the sublime is an emotion, so it is serious and cannot be playful. It can be seen that the pleasure in the beautiful is life-enhancing and joyous and therefore a 'positive' pleasure while pleasure in the sublime is a 'negative' pleasure, containing, to a certain extent, admiration and respect. Thirdly, the fundamental difference between the sublime and the beautiful is about the purposiveness aspect. The beautiful objects in nature carry with them a purposiveness in their form, in contrast, the sublime objects in nature seem to have no corresponding purposive aspect. They are counter-purposive. Lastly, natural beauty is associated with notions of teleological law, whereas, the sublime has no connection to any such law. One feels the sublimity by the wilder and more chaotic aspects of nature. (Kant, 1987, p.98-100)

In its proper sense, Kant argues, natural objects cannot be called sublime as they are called beautiful. Sublimity resides in the mind, that is, in the powers of the human mind. Actually, the natural object provides itself to the appearance of a sublimity discoverable in the mind. It is this very inadequacy of the mind to exhibit the ideas of reason that constitutes the feeling of the sublime. However, this inadequacy of the mind can be revealed in sensibility; in other words, sensible objects can cause the mind to confront this inadequacy through their force or magnitude. "Thus the vast ocean

heaved up by storms cannot be called sublime. The sight of it is horrible; and one must already have filled one's mind with all sorts of ideas if such an intuition is to attune it to a feeling that is itself sublime, inasmuch as the mind is induced to abandon sensibility and occupy itself with ideas containing a higher purposiveness.” (Kant, 1987, p. 99)

Kant describes two kinds of the sublime: mathematically sublime and the dynamically sublime. When one encounters and reflects upon natural objects of great magnitude, he/she may experience the mathematically sublime. For example, huge mountains or vast deserts that can make a feeling of the sublime in human beings. In nature, certain objects possess absolute greatness that in relation to which everything else is small. Such phenomenon of nature produces intuition which conveys an impression of its infinite size. In front of a sublime experience, one's imagination become inadequate to comprehend it and this makes a feeling of the sublime an infinite. Therefore, one's judgment about the mathematically sublime reveals that it is also the judgment about the inadequacy of his/her mental powers to comprehend it as well. Therefore, the sublime can be seen as a feeling of displeasure due to the imagination's inadequacy for an estimation by reason. At the same time, it also generates a pleasure caused by the realization of the fact that even the greatest power of sensibility is inadequate itself in harmony with rational ideas. This simultaneous happening of pleasure and displeasure makes the feeling of an 'attraction' and a 'repulsion' to the same object all together.

In mathematically sublime, the judgment of absolute magnitude becomes possible only by an aesthetic estimation and the mind can take it in a single intuition. So it can be said that the estimation of the magnitude of objects in nature is aesthetic and not logical and that the mathematically sublime exists not in the things of nature.

“The sublime is to be found only in our ideas. The sublime is that in comparison to which everything is small and nothing in nature can be such that could not be considered in a different relation as infinitely small. Whatever is given in nature is judged large or small in *comparison* to some measure, and if the measure is changed the judgment of the magnitude changes with it. For example, the immense mountain shrinks into insignificance when compared to the magnitude of the universe revealed through the telescope, and a drop of water is revealed to be a universe through the microscope. Hence no object of the senses is to be called sublime. The sublime is a mental state that occurs when reason sets a task for the imagination that it cannot meet.” (Roy, 2005, pp.91-92)

Imagination is the power of estimating the magnitudes of things in the world of sense. Whereas reason demands absolute totality as the real idea, imagination can only make an effort to step forward towards infinity. Since the imagination is inadequate to the ideas of reason, the mind is agitated as a result. The ideas of reason are inadequate, either too large or too small, for any concept of understanding. However, this inadequacy gives human a feeling that he/she has within himself/herself a super-sensible power. One can, of course, through the exercise of his/her cognitive faculties, come to have knowledge of things which one is unable to imagine. The reflection on mathematical sublimity can thus lead one to be aware of the superiority of his rational cognitive faculties over sensibility and imagination.

The dynamically sublime, Kant explains, concerns the power of natural objects and phenomena that are capable of generating fear rather than their size. To regard a natural phenomenon as dynamically sublime is to regard it as fearful without actually being afraid of it. In other words, when in an aesthetic judgment one considers nature as a might that has no dominance over him,

then it is dynamically sublime. For instance, it may be, as Kant writes "...bold, overhanging and, as it were, threatening rocks, thunderclouds piling up in the sky and moving about accompanied by lightning and thunderclaps, volcanoes with all their destructive power, hurricanes with all the devastation they leave behind, the boundless ocean heaved up, the high waterfall of a mighty river, and so on." (Kant, 1987, p.120) The eruption of a volcano or the force of a hurricane may be the source of an aesthetic pleasure in the sublime when one views them from a place of safety. On the other hand, when one feels himself/herself actually in danger from them he/she cannot feel pleasure. If one is to judge nature as sublime dynamically, he/she must present it as arousing fear.

Nevertheless, one can consider an object fearful without being afraid of it. If one finds that his/her ability to resist the strength of an object is insufficient, then the object is an object of fear. But if one judges the object in such a way that he/she merely thinks of the possibility of resisting its might and at the same time realizing that such resistance would be utterly futile, then, he/she considers the object fearful without being afraid of it. One cannot pass judgment on the sublime in nature if he/she is afraid. These sublime objects give human a power of resistance which makes him/her courageous to measure himself/herself against the seeming omnipotence of nature. In this sense, even though, in a purely physical aspect of being, man is dependent on nature, he/she can regard himself/herself as being above nature. The might of nature makes one to recognize his/her own physical impotence as being of nature. At the same time, nature unveils his/her unique power of a different kind of resistance. Therefore, one can come to realize that nature has no supremacy over his/her reason. In dynamically sublime, Kant views, the awareness of this power of reason over sensibility produces the pleasure. Simultaneously, a kind of displeasure is caused by the

realization of the inadequacy of human physical powers of resistance to nature's might. Like the mathematically sublime, the dynamically sublime also exists not in the things or phenomena in nature, but in the human mind. Therefore, it leads one to become conscious of his/her superiority to nature within himself/herself, and to nature outside as well.

Regarding the two kinds of the sublime it can be summed up as, "When we judge the sublime *mathematically*, the tension arises as a result of the mind's inability to comprehend reason's idea of an absolute whole in a single intuition. This problem is one of magnitude in terms of measure and falls into mathematical antinomies. When we judge the sublime *dynamically*, the problem is one of magnitude in terms of *force* and falls into dynamical antinomies. The tension is between fear and the realization that we are not really in any danger. When in an aesthetic judgment we consider nature as a mighty that has no power over us we say it is dynamically sublime." (Roy, 2005,p.100)

In short, in Kant's view, sublimity is more precisely a property of the human mind which is a form of human self-awareness of a transcendental power of the human mind itself than a characteristic of nature. Sublimity transcends the limits of sense and understanding. In the mathematically and dynamically sublime experiences, both ideas of theoretical and practical reason arise in one and save him/her from being stunned by nature's greatness and might. So both sublimities are two modes of human supersensible freedom disclosing itself. They consequently play a great role in the understanding of human nature and destiny. They provide pleasure in the realization of human identity.

Lyotard's Interpretation of the Sublime

In Kant's opinion, the sublime is a distinctive experience which

gives a unique feeling of pain and pleasure simultaneously. It occurs when one comes face to face with something too large or powerful to represent adequately to oneself. Here the imagination is stretched to the limit trying to represent what is perceived, and this makes one feels pain and pleasure at the same time. The pain is due to not being able to adequately picture what is perceived. The pleasure is due to the realization that even though it is impossible to represent adequately what is perceived, it is possible to conceive that there is an unrepresentable beyond the 'limits of experience.' "*What* causes the sublime feeling is unrepresentable, but within that feeling it is possible to conceive *that* there is something." (Malpas, 2003, p.47) Lyotard perceived the significance of this and put forwarded his notion of the sublime which mainly concentrated on the point of 'presenting the existence of something unrepresentable.'

Lyotard tries to explain the modern and the postmodern on the basis of the sublime feeling. Following the two parts of sublime feeling, namely, pain and pleasure, he indicates the existence of the unrepresentable in two distinct ways: the modern and the postmodern. Lyotard describes the distinction between the modern and the postmodern forms in terms of modernist nostalgia and postmodern jubilation. For Lyotard, the modernist sublime is related to the feeling of loss or pain. The pain is due to the realization that the old language games no longer present the world adequately. This evokes a feeling of a wish to return to the stability of that earlier state.

However, the postmodern sublime is related to the pleasure of excitement; it works through a sense of excitement at the failure of language games; in place of the old rules which have failed it tries to discover new ones. Therefore, postmodern art disrupts established artistic structures and language games by giving evidence to the existence of the unrepresentable as a force that breaks traditional ways of narrating the unrepresentable. In other words, postmodern

works are disorientating. Postmodern art has a potential to dissent, disorient, disrupt and challenge established language games and totalities which gives it a key role in thought, ethics and politics. It is a notion against that of Habermas that art as a way of generating reconciliation between language games. For Lyotard postmodern art is of dissenting.

The significance of Lyotard's notion of sublime is that he views it as the means by which art is capable of presenting the fact that something always remains unrepresentable and thereby disrupting established language games and their ways of representing the world. Any language game fails to represent the importance of some events, excludes certain possibilities of speaking, and silences particular voices. Therefore, Lyotard argues that the task of postmodern art is to expose and indicate the fact of the unrepresentable's existence or the silencing exclusion. The significance of modern art is that it has the capacity to present the fact that the unrepresentable exists. However, the unrepresentables cannot be presented in available language games of the modern because the unrepresentables are ideas that cannot be formulated in rational communication; they are voices that are silenced in culture. The postmodern art, which recognizes that art can be disorientating; dissenting is its very nature, questions the already existing ideas about reality and their language games.

Lyotard observes, moreover, 'the differend' generates sublime feelings and it is the task of art to testify it. In that sense, art is both a model for thinking the differend, and an essential site for challenging the consensus generated by an already existing language game as well. Art also help emerge new forms and voices and thereby increase the range of possible ways to narrate experience. Therefore, the postmodern art develops not according to the rules of a pre-established language game, but in attempting to present that there is an unrepresentable. The differend is 'the unstable state of language

wherein something which must be able to be put into phrases cannot yet be.' "The differend is a moment of silence, a shutter in the flow of language, where the right words will not come. It marks a point of suffering where an injustice cannot find a space to make itself heard, where an injury is silenced and becomes a wrong.a differend occurs when one language game imposes its rule and values on another and prevents it from retaining its own, autonomous way of speaking. All that remains is a feeling of injustice and wrong." (Malpas, 2003, p.61) For Lyotard, it is not possible to revolve a differend according some of the pre-established rules, what can be possible is to bring the existence of the conflict to light and thereby to search for new means of bearing witness. His center of attention is on art's ability and freedom to experimentally rewrite the rules of discourse as a crucial tool for looking for these means. So the endeavor of art is not to simply mirror reality, but to intervene in the language games that construct a given reality and opens up possibilities for dissent and disrupt and thereby make change. Therefore, the postmodern art can defy the already existing rules of artistic presentation of modernism and thereby has the potential to produce new language games and consequently cause new openings for knowledge and politics.

Lyotard's demand for postmodern dissent is more associated with his search for justice rather than truth. For him, justice is not an outdated entity, but truth has lost its status and become a commodity only. Truth cannot be represented in its totality as Hegel claims. For Lyotard, an event is an occurrence, as such. The essential feature of the event is the radical singularity of happening. It is the fact or case that something happens, after which nothing will ever be the same again. An event cannot be represented adequately which disrupts any pre-existing referential frame within which it might be represented or understood. Therefore, the 'it happens' is

significantly different and from the sense of 'what happening. Thus, totalizing knowledge or narratives of knowledge become impossible which opens up the possibility of having little narratives or plurality of narration of knowledge. An event challenges established language games and demand all narratives which try to comprehend it to be rethought. The problem of systematic thought is that it seeks to comprehend these events according to what is already understood about the world. The possibility of art is that it presents their occurrence without necessarily providing exhaustive explanations of them, which opens up the world to investigation and thought by allowing it to be surprising. The sublime gives this surprise.

The impossibility of totalizing narratives necessarily demands the existence of little narratives. That means each narration is valid and significant. The important thing is that each narrative can narrate in its own way, but cannot comprehend the reality in its totality. If it is excluded or silenced from to play its role that leads to the differend and terror. So, having the right to play their role or allowing them to be what they are, is imperative. In short, justice is more important than truth. Therefore, postmodern art tries to dissent from and disrupt the already existing language games. It tries to generate different ways to present the unrepresentable of an event.

So it can be concluded that, in Kant, the concept of the sublime is exposed as a unique aesthetic feeling which produces pain and pleasure simultaneously and conceives the presence of the unrepresentable. In Lyotard the concept attains further advancement extensively, where it is used to explain the different aesthetic forms of modernism and postmodernism which differ in cultural, social, and political perspectives of truth and justice.

Conclusion

The position of Kant in the history of philosophy is unique and

unquestionable. His thoughts contain great potential to actualize various possibilities, even in opposite directions, of philosophical interpretation which led to the emergence of various streams of thoughts. He brilliantly discusses the notion of the sublime by explaining its peculiar nature of having both pain and pleasure. Lyotard in his later period of postmodern analysis, by adopting Kant's notion of the sublime, tries to explain the nature of modernism and postmodernism. Here unlike his early explanation in *The Postmodern Condition*, he shows that modernism and postmodernism are not the separate historical periods of human history, but they exist simultaneously. Both are reactions against realism which represents contemporary capitalism. What modernism and postmodernism try to present is the fact that there is something unrepresentable. Modernism only conceives that there is something unrepresentable. So it tries to return to the old stability of language games by a consensus of different language games by rational communicative action as suggested by Habermas. However, postmodernism tries to find new ways and methods to present the unrepresentable. It destabilizes the existing language games and finds an enjoyment in that. Modernism has a feeling of loss. On the other hand, Postmodernism enjoys a feel of pleasure, a pleasure in searching for new language games to present the unrepresentable. Lyotard's interpretation actually aims at the attainment of the goal of justice for all language games and narratives. So he proposes a plurality of language games. Here justice is not related to a totality of truth or the notion that truth can be grasped or represented as it is.

Language games, truth, and justice have a specific relation. In Lyotard's understanding truth does not have a totalitarian nature, but it is plural. A language game itself generates a truth as an interpretation of truth or event which is the only possibility according to its rules; no totality of an event can be represented.

Each language game thus generates its own truth and when tries to analyze knowledge with a single criterion of knowledge that will lead to silencing of certain language games and narratives. This is differend. That is also terror. What is practical is to find out new ways of presenting the unrepresentable. That is justice. For Lyotard justice and totality of knowledge cannot go together. In this sense, metaphysics based on transcendental illusion denied justice. So the aim of postmodern art is to expose the failure of existing totalitarian systems and to find new ways. Lyotard's concepts of truth and justice which he explains through the interpretation of the modern and postmodern art forms are the postmodern understanding and the elaboration of Kant's philosophical analysis, especially of the Sublime. So it can be seen that Kant traverses modernity and enters into territory of the postmodern as well. Lyotard, on the other hand, in his later period, tries to discover the postmodern in the modern itself as an aesthetic style.

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ACCESS TO BASIC AMENITIES AND POVERTY OF TRIBES IN KERALA: ANALYSIS OF THE ERA OF DECENTRALIZED PLANNING

Sukumaran M*

Abstract

This paper attempts to present some of the empirical and theoretical discourses on the paradox of decentralized planning in the social development of tribes in Kerala with special focus on basic amenities and poverty diminution. The paper is rationalizing the inefficacy of new strategy in the enhancement of basic amenities and reduction of poverty among the scheduled tribes in Kerala. The study used secondary data from census 2011, data prepared by Panagariya, A and More. V. (2013) by using NSS 68th round data, Economic Review, Kerala Planning Board and published articles in various journals. The paper concludes that, the strategies and programmes of decentralized planning in Kerala is ineffective in the case of tribes primarily with respect to the amelioration of basic amenities and poverty alleviation.

Key words: Basic amenities, Poverty, Tribes, Decentralized Planning in Kerala

1. Introduction

As per the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, the state Kerala initiated the historical and revolutionary steps towards decentralised planning in 1996 (Economic Review, 2010). It was an experiment in decentralization of powers to local government with focus on local planning. Kerala took a bold decision to devolve 35 percent of the state development budget down from a centralized bureaucracy to local governments where local people could

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determine and implement their own development priorities under the people plan campaign (Wikipedia). The historic footstep of the state towards the implementation of decentralized planning was widely appreciated due to the anticipated development outcomes in every spheres of development of state as well as individuals in the state. Poverty reduction was one of the most significant implied objectives of decentralized planning in Kerala (Economic Review, 2010). Naturally, even the lay man approached it with high expectation. In some extent the new system of governance succeed in achieving the targeted objectives including poverty reduction in periphery. But in social justice perspectives, the functioning of the system was desperate in achieving the planned objectives of equity. The achievement in many of the development aspects of society, the system did not functioned efficiently for ensuring the effective utilisation of available resources among the different sections of the society, particularly for tribal community.

The tribes in Kerala are the most vulnerable and marginalised segments in the society. Their socio-economic conditions are markedly different from any other social strata in the society. They are illiterate, educationally very backward, socially less mobile, culturally different and exposing high degree of social exclusions attributed by many other factors. It is in this diversified and socio-cultural and political background the Kerala government implemented the decentralized planning in Kerala. The effectiveness of this new system of governance in many of the aspects of development objectives raises paradoxical questions. In this backdrop this paper is an attempt to highlight some of the empirical and theoretical discourse on the paradox of decentralized planning in the social development of tribes in Kerala with special focus on basic amenities and poverty reduction. The paper gives explanation on the inefficacy of new strategy in the emancipation of basic amenities and poverty reduction among the

scheduled tribes in Kerala. It suggests some planning initiatives to attain the equity in aforesaid social development for tribal population in Kerala.

2. Need and Significance of the study

It is observed that, a huge lacuna exists between the tribal population and the non tribal population with respect to many of the social development indicators. A system is said to be effective in implementation and equitable in resource allocation only if it ensures the objectives of equity in achieving development goals. In Kerala the lacuna between tribal and non tribal population in poverty reduction is clearly pointing towards the inefficiency and failure of the objective of equity in the planning. This is very significant as far as a policy and a system is concerned. It is to be corrected, remediated and ensures the inclusive and sustainable development of the state. This paper highlights some of the constraints and deficiencies encountered in the planning and implementation of decentralized governances in legitimate of basic amenities and poverty reduction in the multi cultural and heterogeneous society in Kerala. Hope the results of the paper will have a thought provoking impetus on the policy making and allocation of resources in tune with the demand of the society to materialize the inclusive and sustainable social development in the future planning and implementation of decentralized planning in Kerala.

3. Methodological Epistemology

The paper is purely based on secondary data. The data were collected from published sources of census of India 2011, the data prepared by Panagariya, A and More. V. (2013) by using NSS 68th round data, economic review Kerala Planning Board and published articles in various journals. The collected data were tabulated and explained with the support of available review of literature,

available body of knowledge in social sciences and some of the lived experiences of the researcher.

4. Results and Discussions

4.1. Condition of tribal houses in Kerala

Allocation of funds to the beneficiaries for constructing houses is one of the significant infrastructural development programmes undergoing through LSGs in decentralised planning. But even in 2011 the percentage of tribal households having good housing condition is limited at 38.4. At the same time 45.3 percent of the tribal households lives in just liveable houses and about 16.3 percent of the tribal population in Kerala still lives in dilapidated houses. The details of the housing condition are presented in Table.1. From the data it is evident that the housing condition of the tribes in Kerala is not up to the mark of anticipated outcome of decentralised planning in guaranteeing housing facilities to the marginalised section of the society particularly tribal population in Kerala.

Table.1: Percentage of Tribal households in Kerala with condition of Census House

Status of house	Percentage of households
Good	38.4
Livable	45.3
Dilapidated	16.3

Source: Census 2011

4.2. Access to Drinking Water

Access to clean and safe drinking water within the premises plays a significant role in the decent standard of living of the families. Table.2. presents the accessibility of drinking water to the tribal households in Kerala. From the data, it is apparent that, only 44.3 percent of the tribal households in Kerala have the access of drinking

water. On the other hand, 30.8 percent of the tribal household having drinking water from near premises and 25.4 percent of the tribal households fetching drinking water away from the premises. It shows the magnitude of vulnerability of tribal households in Kerala in the access of clean and safe drinking water.

Table 2
Access to drinking water to the tribal households in Kerala

S.No	Location of drinking water sources	Percentage of House holds
1	Within Premises	44.3
2	Near Premises	30.8
3	Away	25.4

Source: Census 2011

4.3. Access to sanitation

Table 3
Access to sanitation to the tribal households in Kerala
(in percent)

1	Number of households not having latrine facilities	
	Number of households not having latrine facility within the premises	28.6
	Public latrine	2.9
	Open	25.7
2	Access of bathing facilities within the premises	
	Number of households having bathroom	41.5
	Enclosure without roof	6.6
	No bathroom	52
3	Access to drainage	
	Closed drainage	9.2
	Open drainage	14.1
	No drainage	76.8

Source: Census 2011

Access to sanitation facilities such as latrine facilities, bathing facilities and drainage facilities are the requirement of enhancing quality of life of the people through the enhancement of quality of health. Table.3: presents the access of sanitation facilities to the tribal households in Kerala. From the data it is evident that, 25.7 percent of the tribal households in Kerala not having the access of latrine facilities. About 52 percent of the tribal households lack the access of bath rooms and 76 percent of the households have no drainage facilities. This empirical data provide evidence to the poor sanitation facilities of tribal households in Kerala.

4.4. Access of Electricity as main source of lighting

Electricity plays a crucial role in the household activities including lighting. The lack of access to modern energy services the hurdles the ability of the population to benefit from opportunities of economic development towards improved standard of living.

Table 4. Tribal families have the access of Electricity as main source of lighting

S.No	Main Source of Lighting	Percent of tribal households
1	Electricity	62.8
2	Kerosene	34.5
3	Solar energy	2.2
4	Other oil	0.2
5	Any other	0.2
6	No lighting	0.1

Source: Census 2011

The access of electricity as main source of lighting is shown in Table.4. From the data it is obvious that, only 62.8 percent of the tribal families in Kerala having the access to electricity as main source of lighting. More than 35 percent of the tribal household lacks the access of electricity as main source of lighting.

4.5. Poverty in Kerala

4.5.1. Poverty of Social Groups in Kerala (Rural)

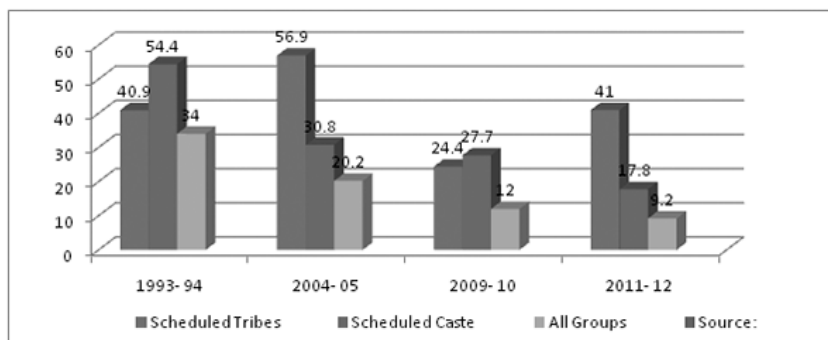
Poverty is one of the most serious challenges that human civilization facing and tend to the violation of many of the inherent entitlements. The functional area of decentralized planning in Kerala also take care the poverty eradication. The historical legacy of decentralised planning in Kerala witnessed the reduction of poverty of social groups except tribal groups. But it is found that the, poverty among the rural tribes in Kerala has been increased even after the historical legacy of decentralized planning. Table.5 presents the rate of poverty of social groups in Kerala from 1993-94 to 2011-12. From the data it is pertinent that, the rate of poverty among the tribes in Kerala has been increasing from 40.9 to 41.0 from 1993-94 to 2011-12. It is very disappointing to note that, the rate of poverty among other social groups has been falling whereas is tribal poverty has been increasing. The decrease in poverty among other social groups is 54.4 to 17.8 and 34.0 to 9.2 respectively for scheduled caste and all groups respectively in rural area.

Table
5: Poverty by Social Groups in Rural Kerala (in Percent)

Social Groups	1993- 94	2004- 05	2009- 10	2011- 12
Scheduled Tribes	40.9	56.9	24.4	41.0
Scheduled Caste	54.4	30.8	27.7	17.8
All Groups	34.0	20.2	12.0	9.2

Source: Arvind Panagariya and Vishal More.(2013). Poverty by Social, Religious and Economic Groups in India and Its Largest States 1993-94 to 2011-12

Figure 1. Poverty by social groups in Kerala (Rural area)



4.2.2. Poverty by social groups in rural and urban Kerala (combined)

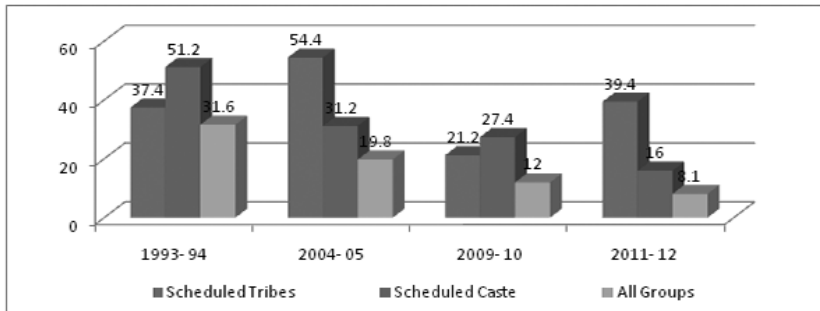
The rate of poverty among the social groups in Kerala (Combined rural and urban area) has been presented in Table.6. From the data it is evident that, the rate of poverty is higher among the tribal population even in the combined estimation of poverty. It has been increased from 37.4 percent in 1993-94 to 39.4 in 2011-12. It is very pathetic to note that, the rate of tribal poverty in India has been increased whereas, the rate of poverty has been decreased from 51.2 to 16 and 31.6 to 8.1 respectively for scheduled caste and all social groups in the same periods. This shows the ineffectiveness of poverty alleviation measures implemented thorough the decentralized planning in Kerala.

Table.6: Poverty by social groups in rural and urban Kerala combined (in percent)

Social Groups	1993- 94	2004- 05	2009- 10	2011- 12
Scheduled Tribes	37.4	54.4	21.2	39.4
Scheduled Caste	51.2	31.2	27.4	16.0
All Groups	31.6	19.8	12.0	8.1

Source: Arvind Panagariya and Vishal More. (n.d). *Poverty by Social, Religious and Economic Groups in India and Its Largest States 1993-94 to 2011-12*.

**Figure 2. Poverty by social groups in Kerala
(Combined rural and urban areas)**



5. Conclusions

From results of the analysis it is realised that, the access of basic amenities to tribal households in Kerala is poor and the rate of poverty has been further increased even after the initiation of great historical decentralized planning. It is very much disappointing that, the rate of poverty among other social groups decreased satisfactorily. But the rate of poverty among tribes alone increased. The access to basic amenities is very much important for the decent standard of living. The United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has underlined that the right to adequate housing should not be interpreted narrowly. Rather, it should be seen as the right to live somewhere in security, peace and dignity (UN Fact sheet, 21, 2009). Unfortunately the tribes in Kerala are lagging behind the lack of adequate housing facilities. Similarly, the provision of clean drinking water has been given priority in the Constitution of India, with Article 47 conferring the duty of providing clean drinking water and improving public health standards to the State (Khurana and Sen, n.d). The enquiry found out that, the access to drinking water is limited only to 44.3 percent of tribal households in their premises. Inadequate sanitation has direct effect on health of individual, family, communities and nation as a whole (Karn, Bhandari and Jha,

2012). The sanitation facility of the tribes in Kerala is not in a good position. The poor sanitation facilities increase the vulnerability of tribal households by worsening their health status. Lack of priority to safe confinement and disposal of human excreta poses significant health risks manifest in the sanitation challenge facing the nation today (SACOSAN – IV, 2011). Above all the rate of poverty among the tribes in Kerala is very higher than any other social groups even after the initiation of decentralized planning. All these are evidences supporting to the ineffectiveness of decentralized planning in the socio-economic amelioration of scheduled tribes in Kerala.

From the lived experiences and reviews, it is realised that, the methodological epistemology followed in the planning and implementation of decentralized planning in Kerala is primarily based on the socio-cultural, psychological, political and educational status of mainstream population in Kerala. Defacto the application of methodology formulated in tune with the socio-cultural, psychological, political status of mainstream population may not be effective in the case of tribal population even though the tribal population have a separate plan allocation and sub system through urukootam for need identification, situation analysis, strategy setting, projectization, plan finalization and plan vetting and plan approval. Since the tribal population lacks the capability to functioning the allocation and disbursement of huge fund exclusively meant for them will not met in to its real objectives. The allocation of funds in such a manner is nothing but under utilization of resource. In such an environment the central question what to produce, how to produce and for whom to produce are not posed in right sense. It is a fact that when the funds and resources trickle down from centre to local institutions for allocation, the resources have been subjected to filtrate before reach in to the real beneficiaries. Most of the often it leads to appropriation of major chunk of resources by the intermediaries of projects. The lack of functioning due to

the lack of literacy and education accelerates the pitiable plights of tribal population in Kerala even after the historical footsteps of decentralized planning. As a society enmeshed with lack of illiteracy and asymmetric information on current development programmes and lack of functioning, tribal development programmes through decentralized planning demands more innovative and multi culturally enriched planning and strategies to assimilate the tribal population in the process of inclusive development in decentralized regime. The problems of the marginalized communities are well known and quite often assume rhetorical overtones. But the reality still remains routine. It is more a question of efficient planning than allocation. In those places where the vicious cycle of poverty has been broken, the impact of spending has been more pronounced and visible than elsewhere (RCEDPD, 2009). It necessitates a passionate bureaucratic army with social welfare cognition and efficacy to serve the society for sustainable social development. It demands adequate monitoring and supervision in every stages of implementation of various developmental projects. Development of tribal education can be considered as one of the pivotal factor which can accelerate the capability to functioning. Some of the freedoms people have reason to value include economic freedom, access to education, health care and access to political and civil right (Amartya Sen, 2004). In Sen's view, these are the best indicators of development. The Capability Approach focuses directly on the quality of life that individuals are actually able to achieve. This quality of life is analyzed in terms of the core concepts of 'functioning's' and 'capability' (Wells Thomas, 2016). The gradual improvement in quality of life enables them to reduce the rate of poverty and deprivation in basic amenities. Based on the empirical evidence and theoretical underpinnings the study concludes that, the tribal development even in the decentralized regime remains as a sluggish unrealistic concept to a near half of the tribal population. It demands innovative and constructive remedies

to chalk out accelerated programmes and policies to materialize the agenda of decentralization. Thus the efficiency in the planning and implementation of development programmes which are in tune with the demand for tribal population will enable to bring them in par with the mainstream population in many of the development indicators which are very outreach to tribal population and reduce the magnitude of poverty among them. The materialization of these thoughts will definitely satisfy the essence of decentralization.

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THE COGENT MENTAL HEALTH THERAPY: A HOLISTIC VISION OF PHILOSOPHICAL CONSULTANCY

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Abstract

The most optimistic view of philosophy is to consult humanity. The philosophical consultancy is a new emerging field of human endeavour that the consultant may set for effective treatment. Therapy is a process of providing solution to alleviate human suffering, tensions, anxiety and other ailments that afflict the human body or mind. The application of philosophical methods and principles help humans to understand themselves, the world and life itself. The philosophers from east and west have been trained in enlightened ways to see the mental health issues of people, clearly and distinctly to find out the solutions. The holistic cure of human suffering sometimes needs a synergistic approach towards the circumstantial factors and other related objects. This study aims for the contemporary movement in practical philosophy which is essential to acquire eternal wisdom to solve the day- to-day problems.

Key words: Philosophical consultancy, Therapeutic philosophy, Ultimate reality, Holistic cure, Eternal wisdom.

Introduction

The present crisis of people in society can be traced to mental as well as material factors. The pattern of modern living creates and presents many problems related to biological and psychological issues. The different types of mental disorders in the world cannot be estimated due to lack of reliable statistics. In the present century human life consists of stress and tension. One thing has become obvious that the psychosomatic nature of nervous tension and stress

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is the major cause for health hazards. The application of philosophical techniques is necessary for the cogent mental health therapy.

According to philosophical studies the mental health problem lies in itself that the way the human mind perceives things. The individual mind is only an aspect of the human being or a person. Thus the mind alone does not constitute a person or a human being. The various conflicting desires within us clamour for fulfilment simultaneously, often there is a tug of war between the desires of the material objects and the aspirations of the human spirit. The problems related to mental experiences, perceived reality, intentions, expectations and so forth can become toxic to the human mind. In view of such situations many philosophical areas of specializations spring up to take care of such problems.

Objectives / Hypotheses

The principal objectives or hypotheses of the article are to focus the need of philosophical consultancy in the modern society to understand the real factors which we have to face in our life. It is a contemporary trend in practical philosophy to realise the social and individual problems. The movement has rooted in the Socratic tradition and it has conjunction with traditional psychotherapy, viewed for the worth living of the people. Most of the Indian thinkers emphasise that human beings are in a high strung frame of mind all the time. Perceiving this truth may well be the key which unlocks the door to a meaningful life. People who realise this and lead a purposeful life are, of course, exceptions; they live happily.

This paper is specially intended to show that how to achieve maximum efficiency coupled with maximum peace and happiness while understanding the depth of practical implications of philosophical studies. Both Indian and western philosophy have

their distinctive psychological and cultural values and their synthesis might inaugurate a new and more hopeful era for mankind. It is sufficient to highlight the point that we have to resolve to lead a healthy, creative, motivated life in the century of stress; we can adopt certain means by which we rise above the circumstances that cause stress and strain. Men and women everywhere have to face profound issues of life, minister to their mental needs and manage the interpersonal relations between parent-child, husband-wife, teacher-taught.

Methodology

The paper prepared on the basis of both primary and secondary sources is written according to the methods of philosophical research. The methodology adopted in this study is mainly descriptive and argumentative in nature. The article is based on some observations and experiences related to a person's case studies along with findings and results. Modern psychology owes much to Sigmund Freud's initiative for our understanding the psychodynamics of human behaviour. Indian psychology emphasised on the treatment of the neurotic and the abnormal, the study of which has by now assumed the respectable status of psychodynamics. This kind of approach has given a useful insight into many modern problems and personality difficulties.

Philosophical Consultancy

Philosophical consultancy or therapeutic philosophy is a new field that is offered from the philosophical perspective as an alternative solution to some of the problems besieging human life. It uses the traditional methods of critical thinking and philosophical reasoning in addressing issues of fundamental concern about the human condition. All the inquiries related to philosophy is concerned with human problems. The proper tool of philosophical

inquiry is systematisation in which that answers our questions in a comprehensive and coherent manner. Many of the problems of life are about worth living that can bring peace of mind and equanimity.

Critical Thinking is an innovative approach to discover our skill to identify our own mental exercise which is relevant for the counselling. The client can introspect or experience how he actually thinks, whether the thought lead him to good reasoning or not. Human thinking is a purposeful mental activity. We can experience what occurs when we think and such a process can teach us more about thinking. The skills and vocabulary developed to provide a comprehensive study of arguments and will lay foundation for the practice of critical thinking (Herrick, 1991, p. xii). This type of critical thinking helps us to promote our insight, foresight and farsighted vision.

The world needs people who can think skilfully both individually and collectively. More than ever, we need to be able to approach our problems and settle our conflicts through a common reference to the arbiter of critical thinking standards. In the times of chaos, we need the guidance of clear minds (Mayfield Marlys, 2014, p.xvi). The process of critical thinking includes observations, analysis, reasoning, evaluation, reading and communicating. It also brings human consciousness to the total awareness, skilful thoughts and standard of judgements. We can analyse our own thoughts by critical observations on the basis of particular standards.

Philosophical reasoning is a probing and commanding study of the methodology of philosophical inquiry. The nature of philosophical reasoning aims to have a tolerably right understanding of the reasoning as exemplified in the different system of thought. All theories based on philosophical reasoning are directed ultimately to

solve the reasons for restlessness and suffering. The human condition in general, begins to be questioned by the individual that 'Does life have value and how does one value life?' 'What our lives amount to? Such mental disturbances deprive our individual real spiritual freedom.

In the philosophical methods, rationality used as an instrument for the appropriate evaluation to our mental distractions and resolve it in the best possible way. To behave rationally means to make use of our own intelligence to figure out the best thing to do in the problematic circumstances. "Philosophy in its very nature is a venture of systematization and rationalization, of rendering matters intelligible and accessible to rational thought. Its concern is for the rational order and systematic coherence of our commitments. The maintenance of rational coherence and consistency is the key task of philosophy". (Rescher, 2001, p. 11)

The traditional teaching from Indian and Western philosophy has approaches towards the application in dealing with the troubles of the human mind and soul. According to the Greek thinker Socrates, the aim of philosophy is to improve the human soul by getting rid of false ideas which sicken it. These later become the primary challenge or 'soul-saving' task of philosophy. The philosopher, according to Socrates, seeks self-knowledge rather than knowledge of the external world or of the mathematical structures that underlie it (Roochnik, 2016, p.2). The philosophical meaning of wisdom is that which we strive to concern the nature and meaning of human life.

In Indian philosophy, Buddhism deals with the concept of human suffering and Buddha recommends some measures to remove it. The philosophical thoughts and practical methods of Buddha pervaded in the theories like dependent origination and

wheel of cyclic existence as the responses to the problems of human conditions. In *Advaita* philosophy, Sankaracharya mentioned about the removal of *maya* and ignorance to reach the true knowledge (Sharma C D, 1991). All the contemporary thinkers agreed that spiritual matters are the cause of the mental problems. This approach towards consultancy which helps in giving one insight about one's life and life in general with regard to its meanings. It helps in the clarification of spiritual values and worth in life. Thus for Indian thinkers' philosophy is an art of healing mental disorders.

Philosophy as Therapy

In the ancient period, Socrates was seen as a forerunner of the therapeutic philosophy. He strongly believed that the way we, humans, conduct our lives can constitute misery for us. He maintained that philosophy will help us rid our lives of such miseries. Philosophers should bring order into the intellectual and moral chaos of the age, to sift the truth from the false, the essential from the accidental, to set men right and to help them to see things in their right relations. He should be a moderator who might hold an even-mindedness between the ultra-conservatives and ultra-liberals (Thilly, 1982). Socrates reached the conviction that 'an unexamined life is not worth-living' and thus he exhorted humans to 'know-thyself' very well.

The two schools, Epicureanism and stoicism, made serious attempts to diagnose the problems of the human condition and proffer some remedies to them. It is popularly believed that school of Epicureans laid the foundation of therapeutic philosophy. He came to the summation that 'Empty are the words of that philosopher who offers therapy for no human suffering' (Thilly, 1982). This is the first step of philosophy as therapy. Epicurus strongly believed that

philosophy can bring tranquillity to the troubled minds of humans.

In Indian thought, all gurus expressed their views to solve our daily problems by understanding the structure of the human soul. According to Swami Vivekananda, the best method to achieve tranquillity is by practising samanvayayoga, the combination of three yogas. Through jnana yoga or acquisition of knowledge, man try to create the ability to discriminate between what is right and what is wrong. Bhakti yoga or devotion stands for the total faith in divine aspects of God's design for our lives. Karma yoga or action is the ability to work in a disinterested manner without any overt anxiety about the result of our actions. Practising samanvayayoga by understanding these three yogas in our daily life, it is sure that we don't have any variety of mental disturbances.

According to classical Indian philosophy it is important to conserve your physical energy with stable mindedness for living a peaceful life. Often it is seen that modern youths squander away or ignore about their original precious mental and physical vitality by indulging in harmful activities and habits such as smoking or drinking. Such people generally end up as utter failure in life and even if they achieve some amount of material success, they are found to be lacking in peace and serenity without which life is a constant burden. One who wants to control his passions must utilize his brain properly and think in a better manner.

The different kinds of problems faced by human beings would be normal sanity-wise because it is not a mental or severe psychopathological condition. Some problems are caused by people themselves even without being able to identify the origin or even deny the existence of such condition. Analytically the person can discover clearly why he depends on others or any other material

objects. The symptoms are like the person himself thinks that he is empty, insufficient and does not have sufficient energy, drive, capacity, clarity etc. He depends on others to satisfy his insufficiency, lack of perception and the sense of not being able to stand by him. He depends because he wants to be secure morally, intellectually, emotionally and physically.

Mental Health Therapy

Mental health therapy consists of consultancy which heals mental tension, stress, depression, loneliness, lack of confidence, disinterestedness, nervousness, lack of concentration etc. All this happens or we allow it to happen because we are ourselves drifting in a sort of neutral mental gear. It means we are not conscious of the great power that is lying hidden within us. We should realise the supreme truth of the divine spark within us. It is true that we have infinite power to feel free and that power is within us.

The mind has different powers such as emotion, volition and reason. Emotion is the capacity for feeling. There are emotions that attract us, such as kindness, charity, sincerity and so on and there are emotions that repel us such as hatred, anger, jealousy, fear and the like. Volition is associated with decision-making. It is the ability that every human has, to choose one path from many options. Whenever we exercise our will, we come to a decision and act. Finally, reason is the power to think cogently. Reason enables us to distinguish between right and wrong, between the real and unreal, between temporal and eternal, good and bad.

Volition and emotion must be under the guidance of reason, but emotion should be controlled by volition. One may be able to reason and find the right path, and having decided on it, he/she must further have the ability to go forward on that path. However,

due to some wrong emotion, we may give in to temptation and not act appropriately. Here, emotion stands in the way and will power is not strong enough to control emotion. Man has to conquer his lower selfish nature and progress by utilizing the power of the higher nature of the soul that is within him.

Human thoughts can be analysed from three different aspects like quantity, quality and direction. By quantity, human thoughts meant for the frequency of thoughts, or in other words, the number of thought-eruptions per second. In most people, this is very high and is a prime source of misery. Quality of thoughts means the nature of thoughts that arise in our mind, such as good or bad thoughts, pure or dirty thoughts, selfish or selfless thoughts and so on. Finally, by direction of thoughts, we mean the path of flow of thoughts. Thoughts tend to flow in one direction, if we are angry, then everything around us will appear faulty; if we are happy, then everything around us will seem joyous.

A high quantity of thoughts, especially if they are unwanted ones, is an unnatural state and so it causes unhappiness. When we cultivated good thoughts happiness increased, then it does not cause strain. Now in order to control the quantity of thoughts, discipline and meaningful engagement is absolutely essential. The only way to improve the quality of thoughts is to make calmness in our mind which helps us gradually purify our thoughts. Our thoughts tend to flow in one direction and we often find it hard to change this. Carelessness in choosing companions leads to suffering. So we should try to expose noble thoughts and ideas.

The observations of many doctors are that a person who is in a fit of anger can have a stroke as his heart-beat goes up from 180 to 200 per minute. Usually we are not aware of such direct

consequences. The person who is suffering from hypertension might become a slave to anger (Page, 1970). His face will acquire a red hue, his eyes will become bloodshot, and his eyebrows will be constantly drawn together in a frown. These internal chemical changes leave a pronounced impact on the face and expression of such a person. In this situation we try to connect ourselves to the divine current which is the source of infinite strength, we will be able to lead a natural way of life.

Psychosomatic Therapy

Physical ailments consist of consultancy towards symptoms like loss of appetite, sleeplessness, headache, tiredness, giddiness, indigestion, inactive, high blood pressure, sweating, shivering etc. There is general agreement that a greater number of our diseases are psychosomatic, both physical and mental. These types of disturbances influence our thoughts, our prejudices, our beliefs, our environment and also how we react to different situations. These symptoms results in some kinds of internal psychological changes which evolve into some kind of diseases of the body.

The psychosomatic symptoms or pattern of all these diseases is different. Suppose a person is a victim of anxiety, he suppresses his feelings instead of expressing his anxiety. This may develop into mental depression or migraine or headache. Even though the development of a specific psychosomatic disease is unique in each individual, the underlying principle is the same. We have to carefully see what this underlying principle is. We allow ourselves to be swayed by different kinds of emotions and as a result of the emotional stress we subject ourselves to psychological stress. In this way emotional stress leads to an eventual breakdown of our organic system.

It is difficult to predict accurately why some organs are more affected by stress than others. The modern medical science has made effectively clear that nervous tension or stress is the root cause of all psychosomatic diseases, regardless of the organic system involved. Thus it is necessary to pay careful attention to a patient's personal history from which we can invariably trace the origin of psychosomatic diseases back to patterns of emotional pressures.

One of the major causes of mental tension is the presence of different desires and urges in us. We have many desires in our life such as biological urges, primitive urges and such others. According to Sigmund Freud, it is the biological urges that create conflict in the mind. From the beginning, Freud called this primitive biological urge as the sex urge, later he modified the language and termed it as the pleasure principle. Freud's view on the element of Super ego provides effective censorship to the urge for pleasure and the mind prevents the body from finding an outlet for this.

This kind of awareness about the element of superego acts as a censor on the urges of the mind and prevents the expression of the pleasure principle. When this principle does not find proper expression whether it is repressed or suppressed and it remains dormant in the unconscious regions of our mind, creating further tension. The person who is haunted by an intangible sense of guilt cannot fulfil his desire for attaining pleasure. His conscience troubles him and causes a conflict. Then there is the fear of criticism from people around which also causes mental stress.

Western psychology gives primacy to the physical urges which should be fulfilled and not to be suppressed. But in eastern thoughts, we can say that there are some divine urges in us which we have to identify. Psychologists too never ask us to suppress our desires. If we

attempt to suppress our desires the result is unbearable tension and we are likely to be victims of neurotic behaviour and develop various complexes. But the divine urges which are hidden in our thoughts declare that it is possible to sublimate the physical urges and there is scope for their fulfilment.

We must not forget that we have a divine-spiritual dimension in us to deal our physical urges. If we make life revolve around the physical urges, we become no better than the animals. But if we identify or realise the divine spark dwells in our body, then there is the possibility to overcome our brutal nature and move towards the divine plane of existence. In order to understand this divine urge, we can avoid bodily diseases such as stomach ulcers, palpitation of the heart and such others.

Mind-energy-body complex

Swami Vivekananda spoke about 'Man the real and man the apparent' in one of his famous lectures in the West on JnanaYoga. In the human soul, there is the presence of both the real and apparent self. Actually, we can experience the particular mind-body complex, all of which comes under our apparent self. This apparent self is subject to different changes in the body. It is born, grows, develops, decays and dies. This apparent self has many distinctions and it differentiates each from the other in various respects like sex, language and religion. But in spite of all these distinctions, there is the real, permanent self which reminds us about the mind-body complex. Therefore, the apparent self implies the non-self and the real self is the atman (Lal B K, 2005).

In Vedantha philosophy, we find a brilliant analysis of the non-self with reference to five different sheaths or panchakosas in our body. We have our real self or atman, the pure consciousness, but our

first or grossest covering is the physical frame or the annamayakosa, the physical energy. Within this kosa or sheath, there is something subtler called the pranamayakosa, the vital energy. We can see and touch the physical body but we cannot do the same with the pranic body. Of course, we can feel its action such as the moving of a hand, making a speech etc. The energy level of the pranamayakosa makes these actions possible. If the prana goes out of the body it dies.

The subtle energy is essential for maintaining the gross physical body. The subtle level of the pranamayakosa is maintained by the level of the mind, the manomayakosa, the mental energy. In case, a decision has to be made we have to go beyond these three levels and enter in to the next kosa known as the vijnanamayakosa, the wisdom level. The buddhi or intelligence has the deciding faculty. It enables us to make the correct decision. In the wisdom sheath or the vijnanamayakosa, there is the experience of a higher mind with intuition. Sometimes intuition is also insufficient, therefore we refer to the final blissful sheath or anandamayakosa which deals with transcendental consciousness (S Radhakrishnan, 1940).

The science of yoga talks about two sheaths, the vijnanamayakosa and the anandamayakosa that support the mind-energy-body complex. It follows that when there are certain disruptions like the times when we cease to find meaning in life or suffer from feelings of hopelessness or helplessness we need these levels. In such cases we can take it for granted that there is imbalance in the mind-body-energy complex that is the pranamaya-manomaya-annamayakosas.

To explain the function of sukshmasarira or subtle energy we should refer to Vedanta so that it can be easily understood. To recapitulate, annamayakosa is the gross physical body which consists of bones, flesh and so on. It exists and it dies. Pranamayakosa is that

which activates all organs of action; it refers to the five organs of action. When the mind is united with the five organs and the mind, it is called manomayakosa; and when buddhi is connected with the five organs of knowledge it is called vijnanamayakosa; and the final sheath of consciousness is the anandamayakosa.

Atman is the subtle element which covered by all these five sheaths. They are called sheaths because they conceal the nature of the Atman, as a sheath covers a knife or sword. But the activity of atman is beyond these panchakosas and it is completely detached from all these sheaths. A person who identifies the relation of subtle element with the gross physical body will have illumination. The self when identified with the mind creates doubt. A thinker is a doubter also. The vijnanamayakosa or the sheath of buddhi is called the discriminating faculty and is finer than the mind. It is close to the anandamayakosa and is the sheath of intellect which helps to arrive at a decision or to achieve certainty. To achieve certainty therefore the atman uses the sheath of intellect.

The sheath of intellect or buddhi is extremely effulgent because of its proximity to the Supreme higher self. Through the fifth and final sheath of bliss anandamayakosa one experiences varying degrees of happiness. The chief feature of this sheath is calmness, complete realization such as we experience when we come into contact with an agreeable object. A fuller manifestation of the sheath of bliss is experienced in higher peaceful understanding. After getting this healthy and peaceful mind he is able to create good health and live happily.

Spiritual discipline and holistic cure

Life is a continuous stream of experiences and an individual's quality of life depends upon the predominant nature of his spirit.

Every human experience, be it positive or negative, involves four components like body, mind, intellect and consciousness. Of these, the intellect or the deciding faculty is very important. The mind is the seat of all emotions like love, hatred, anger, compassion and feelings. The intellect is the power to discriminate, the power that allows us to determinate how our mind reacts to a given situation.

To refine the intellect, one needs to control the senses and the mind. Emotions should be directed to a higher channel of creativity, a higher purpose. Man has a creative urge and that can be satisfied by engaging oneself in music, reading, gardening, there by refining the emotions and expressing them at a higher level. The purpose of refining the emotions is to realize our true nature by getting rid of the idea that we are limited to the body. We need to train ourselves to use the intellect as a tool to channel our emotions. Emotions can misguide us. But the regular practice of spiritual discipline helps us to control our emotions and intellect.

To balance our mind and intellect, we consciously need to stop the misuse of our sense organs especially the eyes and ears, which are particularly responsible for distracting the mind. It is important to remember that we must try to see and hear only that which benefits our inner selves. Our perceptions through senses, sometimes weakens the mind and saps the body of its vigour. Thoughts arising in the mind through sense inputs are like the flow of water in a river. The intellect is like the rivers' bank which is solid and firm, the water force remains directed and controlled and it flows smoothly and powerfully. Similarly, our discriminating power is strong and our thoughts remain focused and controlled. Therefore the spiritual discipline is essential for the holistic cure of our health.

The super-sensuous experiences of our gurus have been embodied

in the Vedanta philosophy. There are two-fold philosophies of actions for the holistic cure. One is the philosophy of pravrtti or action and the other is the philosophy of nivrtti or withdrawal from action. The pravrtti is mentioned for outward-going energy and nivrtti for inward-going energy. These two energies are to be harmonized by the individual and the society, to ensure true material prosperity as well as holistic cure and fulfilment for all beings. Vedanta philosophy inspires human beings and it expressed by brains which were busiest in the everyday affairs of life.

Eternal Wisdom

In Gita philosophy, Krishna teaches about the intense activity, but in the midst of it there is eternal calmness. Real activity is combined with eternal calmness; the balance of mind, which is the best attitude for work. Truth is eternal and it exists only when the mind is made absolutely pure and subtle that we achieve the concentration required to realize the subtlest of truths. The mind acts upon and further strengthens the inherent tendencies and inclinations during our interactions with the outer world. When an individual becomes fully convinced of the utility of a particular path or action, he or she puts the best possible effort to succeed.

The action to be performed must have our consent, which originates from a series of thoughts that follows the rise of the impulse in the mind. It is only after passing through these two stages that we can perform any action. At the initial stage when the tendency to act arises, the emotion emerges in the form of a bubble on the surface of our mind. At this stage it is easy to control and overpower that particular emotion. If the waves of emotion overpower us or we allow the impulse to grow, we cannot reach the eternal truth.

We are aware that both good and bad tendencies exist within us. These tendencies are based on the impressions of our past actions and also on the stimuli emanating from our external environment. Firmly placing the principle of truth before us, fight off the evil tendency and make all efforts to be honest and pure in our approach. We must repeatedly refuse to give consent to evil tendencies, no matter how frequently or how forcefully they appear in our mind. Through this process, we can strengthen our will-power and the power of discrimination. This leads us to eternal wisdom.

Human mind is nothing but a flow of thoughts, just as a river is nothing but a mass of flowing water. In order to purify the mind river, we must purify the thoughts flowing in it. If our thoughts are good, we feel happy and radiate confidence and charm around us. If our thoughts are wicked, we will be constantly afraid of being discovered and therefore feel miserable. Evil thoughts and unhealthy emotions such as anger or jealousy make us radiate a repulsive aura. When we are in good thoughts or feelings, no matter how miserable or crowded the environment around us, we are most likely to be peaceful and calm. Then our mind is ready to have an eternal wisdom.

Conclusion

We have to remember that it is not possible for all of us to retire to an isolated place of retreat. We have our own day-to-day activities. Living in a crowded society within which we have to function fulfilling all our obligations and still strive to maintain mental balance by training our mind rigorously. Everywhere we are now faced with the hustle and bustle of life, racing against time and ending up with tension and fatigue. Whatever may be our attitude towards life we cannot just get away from the fact that nervous

tension has become a regular phenomenon as it were. It is no surprise that we can rarely find a person leading a normal, calm and balanced life who can rise above any adverse circumstances.

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FLOOD, SOCIAL MEDIA AND IRRATIONALITY IN KERALA

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Abstract

It is ironic that when India is emerging as scientifically and technologically advanced country, there is also a growing menace of beliefs in obscurantism leading to irrationality. The emerging irrational tendencies undercut the inherent values of democracy such as tolerance, pluralism and dissent which further strengthen the instrumental values where security become the essential ingredient. The irrational values are further strengthened when the regimes become more authoritarian clinching on the strength of numerical majority in the legislature (parliamentary majority). Democracy was legitimized to promote dogma and superstitions in the society.

Introduction

The unprecedented flood in Kerala in the month of August which killed more than 300 people and displaced lakhs ignited the collective consciousness of the Malayalees across the world. The current flood which was the second one since the first massive flood in 1924 was due to the torrential rain in the months of July-August forcing the government to open the gates of 35 of its 39 dams in the state. However, penchant environmentalists see severe magnitude of flood is the manifestation of Kerala's recently engulfed imbalance in the development and environment, as Madhav Gadgil in his report warned Kerala of the impending ecological disasters in the Western Ghats.

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The social media though played immense role in coordinating rescue and relief work and appealing for assistance, it also appeared as a site of hate mongers and bigots who manufactured bigotry and irrationality. The occasion of suffering was used for spewing venom in the collective consciousness for achieving a political goal. Such realization of the hate mongers lies that crisis situation is conducive for propagating divisive agendas among various groups. While the state was battling for rescue operations during the havoc raged flood, the social media was flooded with fake messages, morphed photos and some are with irrational content. Such acts proclaim that human stupidity and ignorance sails through political mileage rather than rational political action.

Flood as Divine Wrath

Perhaps, the most disquieting social media spell was that the devastating flood is the result of God's anger to the people of Kerala. The fury of Mother Nature was the result of the wrath of Lord Ayyappa of Sabrimala against the favourable observation of the Supreme Court for the entry of women in the hill shrine. Ayyappa is the son of Lord Vishnu in the incarnation of Mohini of Lord Shiva. According to tradition, Lord Ayyappa is considered to be a *Naishtika Brahmachari* (eternal celibate) and entry of women would pollute the temple. The eight hundred years old temple tradition bans the entry of women between 10 and 50 years of age (menstruating age), though there is no restriction on other Ayyappa temples. When women of this age groups enter the sanctum Sanctorum the tantric would perform a 'purification ceremony'. Women entry is banned since women cannot observe 41 days penance continuously in view of the menstrual cycle. A Twitter post reads "the fury of Nature in the form of Floods at Kerala is an immediate anger of Mother Nature. This is due to breaking thousands of years tradition of not

permitting women into the Nada of Ayyappa Temple at Sabarimala”¹. However, the most perturbing tweet was made by S. Gurmurthy, former associate of Swadeshi Jagaran Manch and recently appointed part-time Director of the Reserve Bank of India. According to him, “Supreme court judges may like to see if there is any connection between the case and what is happening in Sabarimala. Even if there is one in a million chance of a link people would not like the case decided against Ayyappan”.² It has to be recalled that hearing a Public Litigation, the Five Judge Constitution Bench led by Chief Justice Dipak Misra (the other members include Rohinton Fali Nariman, A.M. Khanilkar, D.Y. Chandrachud and Indu Malhotra) sought the government stand on the issue. The Supreme Court observed that denial of entry to women is against the constitutional mandate. According to it, a Hindu is a Hindu, tradition cannot justify ban on women’s entry in Sabarimala. The court observed that “temple is not a private property, it is a public property”. Such observation not only uprooted centuries old tradition but also revolutionized the idea of gender justice upholding constitutional values.

The second interpretation for the cause of flood as retribution of God was constructed in relation to the cuisine of Malayalee people. Accordingly, flood is the result of God’s wrath for killing cows and eating beef. However, relating calamity with food habits is not a new phenomenon. In May 2018, for instance, when Nipah virus gripped in the northern part of Kerala which claimed half a dozen people and created panic among many, attempt was made to interpret as the result of God’s anger for eating beef by the Malayalees. It has to be reminded that in Kerala 80% of people, including the Hindus eat beef and delicious and staple food for the everyday life of the people. However, the eating habit became the part of the condescending political campaign in the recent years associated with the Hindu nationalist politics.

Kerala's Rational Values

Kerala is often describes as a “non-conformist’ state though often capture in the tourist lexicon as “God’s own Country”. For Kerala’s advances in internationally acclaimed social development, public reason and scientific temperament played important role. The social reforms movements both in the upper and lower castes, the communist engagements in the society, the people’s literary movements and the people’s science movements contributed immensely to the development of rational values in state. The development and spread of reason not only socially uplifted various communities but also enlightened the political discourses and thereby democracy itself. It may be remembered that the progressive social and political movements through its consistent political action reversed the centuries old irrationality crippled in the state. Perhaps, the initial construction of irrationality premised on the myth regarding the formation of Kerala itself that Parasurama, the warrior sage and an Avatar of Mahavishnu, threw his battle axe northward across the ocean from Gokarnam in the Arabian see and the place where the axe landed was Kerala. Later, Parasurama donated the entire land to Brahmins. Such mythical state formation associated with Brahmin appropriation of land gave legitimacy to the regressive caste system in Kerala where caste not only practiced untouchability but the most inhuman practice of unseability forcing Vivekananda to describe Kerala as “lunatic asylum”. The social and political movements however not only reversed such society based on the construction of irrationality but also laid the foundation for the modern Kerala based on progressive lines. For centuries, various communities and religious groups coexist peaceably and having a solid social capital which prevented frequent religious and communal conflicts like elsewhere in India.

In the past too, when various parts of India became the victim of irrationality propagated by the reactionary and obscurantist forces, Kerala was more or less immune from such sinister design. However, natural calamity was found to be an occasion for constructing irrationality and hatred to achieve their political goal. The hate-mongering tweets flooded in the social media intended to divide the people on religious lines. The tweets requesting the Hindus not give donations to Kerala Chief Minister's Distress Relief Fund (CMDRF) as it also goes to Christians and Muslims. It was requested that instead of donating to CMDRF, the Hindus should contribute to Hindu organizations which can be used for Hindus only and the Church and Islamic Organisations help Christians and Muslims in the state. It was against the composite culture of Kerala but also the peaceful co-existence of different communities. The CPI (M), the major party in the ruling dispensation hit out the hate campaign based on religious belief in social media as an attack on humanity.³

Construction of Irrationality

Natural calamities often provide the opportunities for the construction of irrationality as people forced to live in abject suffering and desperation. Such construction give leverage for the obscurantist forces to spitting venom and thereby serve their political goals in the most indecent modus. The construction of natural disasters as the wrath of deity not only dilutes public reason but also democracy itself. Liberal democracy, often seen as an ideology, regime and a value based on the faith in the rational capacity of humankind, is essentially an outgrowth of the rational ideas of Enlightenment which enshrines certain universal principles. Liberal democracy as a universal value imbibing the ideas of Enlightenment modernity has a potential to safeguard individual liberty. In this way, democracy correlates to Enlightenment and no other regimes is as correlated as

that of democracy. Such a correlation reaffirms democracy's commitment to human being as rational and thus political. Max Weber sees democracy establishes a legal rational authority which gives legitimacy to the democratic system. As a rational idea, it challenged the papal jurisdiction and authority in Europe and individual was considered as the mastery of his/her destiny. Moreover, based on its rational underpinnings, democracy establishes a political community based on civility.

The inbuilt rationality of the liberal democracy made its applicability and adaptability in the whole world. According to Amartya Sen, democracy is a universal value, in that it has the ability to exist within all cultures and people everywhere may see it as valuable. Democracy has an intrinsic importance in human life to choose, speak freely etc. The foundational values of liberal democracy thus include: reason, rights, and protection of property. Democracy believes that individual equality derives from the unique human capacity for reason; the ability to deduce, the ability to ask for reasons. Secondly, individuals have rights and the state should only exist to promote those values and uphold these rights (Sen, 1999).

The constitution as a rational document set the tone for the institutional form of Indian democracy. The preamble of the Constitution talks about the universal values of democracy. It reaffirms India's faith in pluralism, diversity and democracy. In the most obvious manifestation of developing a rational outlook, the Constitution also emphasises on developing scientific temper. The Article 51 (A) of the Constitution says that "it shall be the duty of every citizen of India to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform". As a living document, the commitment of the constitution is essential for the protection of minority rights and to free human beings from social bondages

and primordial oligarchy. The philosophy and ideology of the constitution was to take forward the social revolution along with ensuring political rights to various social groups and communities. The institutional mechanism was alerted to take forward the social modernization along with political and economic modernization.

Democracy was seen as an instrument to develop scientific temper and rationalization in a traditional society like India. At the same time expect certain values of the traditional Indian society due to the complexities of the Indian traditional structures, caste, ethnicity, family, religion, marriage and kinship influence. Nehru wanted to promote scientific temper through the instrumentality of the state. Parekh, for instance, see scientific temper as one of the goals of the national philosophy of India envisioned by Nehru (Parekh, 2015: 143). Nehru believed that for uplifting a traditional society to modern, changes in economy and polity will not be enough but instilling scientific temper and rationalism as important. Parekh further views that cultivating scientific temper “involved checking and relying on facts, accepting nothing on blind trust of faith, revising beliefs in the light of new evidence, being precise in thought and expression, following the method of trial and error, and in general developing the ‘hard discipline of the mind characteristic of the modern age’”(Parekh, 2015: 143). According him, scientific temper applied to personal beliefs as well as to social and political institutions and practices. (Parekh, 2015: 143).

To sum up, one of the most important challenges to India in the recent past is the growing tendencies of irrationalism, the erosion of reason in society which has implications for democratic politics. It is ironic that when India is emerging as scientifically and technologically advanced country, there is also a growing menace of beliefs in obscurantism leading to irrationality. The emerging

irrational tendencies undercut the inherent values of democracy such as tolerance, pluralism and dissent which further strengthen the instrumental values where security become the essential ingredient. The irrational values are further strengthened when the regimes become more authoritarian clinching on the strength of numerical majority in the legislature (parliamentary majority). Democracy was legitimized to promote dogma and superstitions in the society. The construction of irrationality during devastated flood not only undermining the progressive values of Kerala society but also denigrating Indian democracy as a whole. This necessitates the possibility of an alternative rational politics invoking scientific temper and making them enlightened citizen who consider rights and freedoms are the interlinking values to democracy.

Endnotes

¹See Rajankss(@kss_rajana), August 18, 2018.

²seeS Gurumurthy@sgurumurthy, August 17, 2018.

³ see “CPI (M) slams hate campaign on social media”, *The Hindu*, 20th August, 2018.

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INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND HER RELATIONS: REVISITING HERITAGE AND THE PAST

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Abstract

The fast-changing world order internationally, and a shift in the national politics call for certain pragmatic shift in the frame of reference of India's foreign policy. It must be approached more from a historical point of view without limiting itself to the post-colonial period. A "civilizational" dimension is a must. Hinduism is the key word; with its subtle distinction from Hindutva. It might sound jingoist, but a re-definition is safer than not, internationally as well as domestically.

Introduction

It is pragmatic to consider the post-colonial period as the point of reference of India's foreign policy; nevertheless, her historical legacy calls for a deeper exploration than her counterparts elsewhere. The sources of India's foreign policy and her relations rather be traced far into her history. This will make an enquiry into the present more cogent and would help us to approach the future in a more truthful and meaningful perspective; especially since the time has come for the country for the dynamic redefinition in a fast-changing economic order. It is a neo globalised world in which she may not endure the hangover of an over drained economy and an under apperceive civilization wreaked by a colonial rule. Put it precisely, a discussion on her relations cannot be confined to a certain period, like 'post World War' or 'post-colonial' to save itself from the bane of being less holistic, for it would be whammy to confine a perspective particularly for a country like India which

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could command itself to be the product of a civilization unparalleled. It may sound engaging that it cannot even be put into the frame of post 1947 period. ¹Parmila (2011) describes, "...its genealogy goes back to the immediate and buried past – which in this case links the DNA of imperial British India with the tenants of the Arthashastra that goes back to circa 302 BC". Dutt (2007) quotes from Nehru, "...It is a policy inherent in the circumstances of India, inherent in the past thinking of India, inherent in the whole mental outlook of India...".

However, are we confined ourselves within a prison of our own making? In the Indian context, as a matter of fact, when we think about foreign relations or foreign policy, we tend to confine our perspective and take it as a political phenomenon which happens after separation from the British colonial state. It is a classic example of missing the woods for the trees. What remains partially attended is the fact that whatever we see or experience as our foreign policy nuances or foreign policy experiences are all mirror images of a great civilization. This argument has the danger of sounding jingoist; but the truth is stranger than fiction. The culture and heritage ought to be reflected in her policy and relations. It indeed is a civilization which has found itself in a less fortunate situation, socially, economically and politically considering, only in a small percent of time in the recorded history of mankind. Tharoor (2016) presents a detailed argument of this sort, which is rather an exposition of his bone of contention in his Oxford Union speech of May 2015.

Philosophic Nuances

How foreign is the foreign? Perhaps the most poignant question would be, how 'foreign' did we consider the other world from time to time. Could a cosmopolitan civilization like the one in the continent have considered 'other' peoples or 'nations' or civilizations,

really ‘other’; which is essentially different from them? Because nothing could have possibly be different from us as we contained almost all possibilities of growth of the essential physical nature and thereby human nature. What is the reason for such a phenomenon? The answer lies our climate and topography. There were political philosophers like Charles Montesquieu who pondered upon the relation between climate and topography on national character. The Indian subcontinent contains all possible sorts of climatic and topographical diversities. Could that lead to diversity in culture and civilization? If Jean Bodin would have us to believe it, the answer is yes. Culture is the result of interaction between man and nature. If nature is different, culture also would turn out to be different. If nature is diversified, culture also turns out to be diversified; and that India is.

It would be meaningful to raise two poignant questions here. Firstly, could such a diversified culture like India have automatically turned into a civilization? The answer to the question would be innervating, for diversity is our character. As Kosambi (2009) reinforces, diversity defines us. “Unity in Diversity” is not just a post-colonial magic phrase invented by the Indian national leaders for the heck of it; but it is absolute recognition of a historic reality.

Secondly, could such a diversified culture like India have automatically turned into a single nation? The answer would possibly enervate us if we attribute the credit to British Raj. It is good to remember that it is the civilization which caused the Raj to happen and it is not the Raj which caused the civilization to happen. Raj was only a short spell in her period which extended slightly more than two hundred years. It is good to remember that even the way India ‘fought’ the ‘foreign’ was so Indian. When you fight, you use all your force. For India, force could not have been fully physical in

nature. It should mean inner strength also. This struggle created the Mahatma. Gandhi was the personification of Indian-ness. So, everyone accepted him. He was an absolute moderate while remaining highly extreme in his methods. He could bring the moderate and extremist elements in Congress into a single fold. He taught the world how the unorganized and unprofessional strong could possibly fight the organized and professional big like the Raj. India could never have chosen the path of fighting the 'other' out. She was fighting what was not essentially India and could not possibly survive in India. However, colonialism in India was a case of a rich country being looted by a new world and a smart set of people who came in the form a company which turned into a government later. When we said, "Quit India", we meant the essential Capitalist of the post-Industrial Revolution psyche to quit India and not British rule per se. Thus, we had no problem accepting a tested western model of democracy as well. It was so natural for India to do that. Gandhiji was so natural to us. The Nehruvian policy of Socialism also was so natural us. Therefore, non-violence and socialism in and abroad are natural to our foreign policy.

Our problem

The essence of Indian Foreign Policy can be summed up into two principles. 1. Peaceful coexistence. 2. Manoeuvring the growth trajectory of India in neo capitalist world order or disorder. While the first aspect is easily discernible, the second aspect stands at the risk of being criticized as a shift from that of an idealist third world Messiah to the one with his/her eyes firm on economic growth. Raja Mohan (2003) comments on this as the withering Indian 'exceptionalism'. We cannot go into the detail of whether the first point is as much an issue for others as much as it is for India. Nevertheless, peaceful co-existence was no choice for her. It was her destiny. So also, is her repositioning.

Before discussing the basics of Indian tradition, it is interesting to pose a question. Why does the civilization not command the respect that it deserves? Is it because India happened to be on the wrong side of the Industrial Revolution and the resulting Capitalism; the exploited side? As a corollary to this, why the revolution could not take place in here too? The answer lies in the very fusion fuel of the Industrial Revolution, which is nothing but the desire to become better than the biggest. Tharoor (2016) presents an interesting story that in the beginning of Colonialization, the Indian continent produced almost 1/4th of World GDP. It is also interesting to note that by the end of the drama, it was 2%. Sen (2005) describes how the colonial powers wanted to understand and describe India. It is not false to say that India was (relatively) rich. Was India a self-content multitude of populations? May be. She had every right to do so. It is far from jingoism to consider that two hundred years of colonialism was only a passing period. It is not even right to call it a 'foreign rule' because as Gandhi once said, nobody can rule anybody without their consent. This was the fundamental basis of freedom movement culminating in Nehru's speech in the Constituent Assembly, with the catchy phrase "tryst with destiny. We did not spit everything we were made to chew. We did imbibe many things from the foreign paan, the Raj. As a population which chews a lot of paan, we chew a lot under the 'other' rule and the spit was of course red with our blood. We adopted many things from the course of the 'other' rule; Democracy for one.

The Indian Tradition: Hinduism and secularism

It would be meaningful to present the case of how secular Hinduism is. Perhaps, Swami Vivekananda gave the best explanation of Hinduism as a system in his famous Chicago speech. He delivered the epoch-making speech in the afternoon session of the opening day of World Parliament of Religions on 11th September 1893. He

started the speech, addressing the audience as "sisters and brothers of America". It was a sort of Indian 9/11. But it was not an attack; it was not a reaction; but it was an appearance and a self-disclosure., in the most positive way, quite characteristic of the Swami. He said, "I am proud to belong to a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance. We believe not only in universal toleration, but we accept all religions as true. I am proud to belong to a nation which has sheltered the persecuted and the refugees of all religions and all nations of the earth."

Christianity, in its ancient form took root in India as early as 52 CE even before it happened in Europe and got persecuted. However, it did not get persecuted here. It would be interesting to enquire why Christianity did not take root in India as it did in Europe and most of the present Muslim World. Perhaps the decline of the Roman Empire and the adoption of its methods by the newborn sect and the replacement of the Empire with the Holy Roman Empire would have helped in there, but in an already religious fertile land it did not happen. Perhaps it is because India was already religious, and most of the Christian teachings like universal love and brotherhood and the concept of a father God were not new to her.

Spirituality and nationalism:

Can State and spirituality in the form of religion go hand in hand? We shall try to discern it from the history of Europe in the middle ages, or during the course of the Holy Roman Empire, which was neither holy nor Roman and not even an empire. In Europe, during the Middle Ages, human rationality and essential freedom were thwarted and justice had no meaning than the interpretation of those who held the Holy Scriptures with a firm grip so that nobody would dare open it, not even them. However, when the European

Christianity came to India along with colonialism, the rationality behind making the native Christians accept suzerainty of Roman Church was that Jesus said he would build his church on Peter, the disciple. That was one of the characteristics of the Church that called itself “Catholic,” which can be roughly translated as ‘universal’. One of the major traits that the Church bequeathed from the old Roman administration was its ability to hold diverse cultures together. Today, the greatest strength of the greatest Christian Church in the world, namely the Roman Catholic Church, is its intrinsic ability to hold together the diverse Christian cultures from around the world. Here what we see is firstly, the acceptance of diversity as a reality, and secondly, the Church’s assimilation to a larger whole without negating the part. The result is peace and strength. If the largest Christian Church did it over a couple of millenniums successfully, it is because spirituality and good governance could go well together outside the State. However, during the medieval ages, the system got mixed with the State and that produced a fatal result ending up in an almost stagnation of society in almost every walk of life. Without art, literature and culture, the life of man, as Thomas Hobbes described, was “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short”. Another interesting fact is that when religion and spirituality separated or forced to be separated from the state, it helped both the State and the Church. The State slowly enrolled itself into the concepts of Popular Sovereignty and Democracy, while the Church or the religion slowly began to resuscitate its mission, though not always in the most desirable fashion. The point is the whether the effect of the Church was good or bad during the Dark Ages, its administrative hierarchy and system remained rather intact to enable it to adapt to the challenges of a post Renaissance and post Reformation period. As a matter of fact, the Catholic Church with its center at Rome remains to be the oldest and largest administrative system in the

world today. The lesson is that good governance and spirituality or religion can go together unless it entangles itself with the affairs of the State.

Therefore, what is the significance of the above discussion on spirituality, religion, administration and the state in a discussion of India's Foreign Policy? The answer is a question: Can we accept the concept of religious nationalism or accept the concept of religion as a foundation for a nation? This is a poignant question, especially when we are a nation which had been divided into two on religious grounds and our closest neighbour calls itself the "Islamic" Republic. It may or may not be a case of 'religious nationalism'; but the point is, as Engineer (2000) said,

"The secular elite was using religion (rather than believing in) for political bargain and when it failed to get the desired share, it separated. Thus, really speaking religion was not the basis of partition, it was political vested interest of the elite."

The speech delivered by Mohammed Ali Jinnah in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on 11th August 1947 proves the argument:

"You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State...."

M. A. Jinnah may have been secular. He may or may not have used religion for creating a nation for himself. It was the power which mattered and not religion per se. So, there is no need for the hue and cry over a bomb which is "Islamic". It isn't. It is a bomb by the descendants of those who could not accept the leadership of Gandhi

and Nehru. Those were the people who could never believe that the interests of the Muslims would be best served in independent India than anywhere else. When we talk about “Muslim Interest”, it essentially means the culture and way of life. India shall have the foreign policy perspective as having protected the minority interest in the country more so because we have a sizeable Muslim population in the country and does not matter whether we are going to be the country with the largest Muslim population in the world or not. Protecting minority interest is not just an intra-national appanage for India. It has an inborn national dimension calling for an international projection.² Wearing the veil is a problem for French Secularism and not for Indian Secularism. Let the West learn from the Indian model of positive secularism. This is another aspect India need to highlight in the times when terrorism is no more an exclusive third world reality.

Going back to the earlier discussion on religion and state, how did Hinduism help the State in India? The answer would give us the greatest lesson we can learn from and give to civilization. Hinduism had no political epitaph like the middle age Christianity of Europe. It had no centralized hierarchy. It was a system as decentralised as the nation itself. It was/is a way of life. It is a culture. It is a way of thinking. It engulfs everything. It is not against anything. Hinduism should not be confused with ‘Hindutva’. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar coined the term ‘Hindutva’. Originally, the term meant Hindu Nationalism. Unfortunately, now the term stands for Hindu Fundamentalism. When Nationalism takes pride in oneself, fundamentalism despises the ‘other’ whether it is Hindu, Christian or Muslim. Again, a classical example of religious fundamentalism is Christianity in Europe during the Dark Ages which curtailed everything including freedom of speech and expression. That was

precisely the reason why Copernicus had to keep his mouth shut and Galileo was happy with his old age blindness because he need not see any more truths and talk about it at the expense of his life. The final lesson that we can discern from Hinduism as a religion is that the strength of the nation lies in accepting the other as they are. And, if religion is approached as a base of unifying or disunifying a population, with intent or not, our neighbour is a lesson.

Buddhism and Indian Tradition

Like Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism are also inheritors of Indian Traditions of Vedas and Upanishads (Sen, 2005 p 354). During the time of Asoka, (304 BC–232 BC) the proselytism spread as far as Persia, Greece and China. The Maurya Empire reached its peak during his time. By the final decline of the Pala dynasty, in the 12th century CE the religion also declined; naturally. Under similar circumstances, why did Buddhism decline when Hinduism did not? Buddhism had all the patronage of dynasties while Hinduism did not. The birth of Buddhism itself was Royal. When the dynasties declined, coupled with “foreign” invasion and works of Sankara, Buddhism also declined. Nevertheless, the Buddhist influence on Indian culture and civilization is second to none. It is as much an Indian tradition as Hinduism is.

The way ahead

What can we project and what shall we project as a part of the Indian image building? Shall we all wait for the turn of time so that the epicenter of the world economy would shift fully in India's favour or at least to this side of the globe, and accordingly formulate our foreign policy and relations on a contingent basis? Will we be happy with a very passive form of policy formulation, covert operations and reactionary relationships or will we be ready to shift to an active paradigm? Will we be ready to understand ourselves

in a more historically realistic model? The answers to this question should determine the course of our foreign policy and relations in the future, near and far.

1. We should officially shed our Colonial hangover. The period of colonization was only a passing stage in our great civilization. Colonialism or colonialists were/are not our greatest enemy. Our enemy was/is the state of mind which nurtures colonialism. Nevertheless, perhaps the most pragmatic decision in the early period was our membership in the British Commonwealth. It was one of the best and earliest foreign policy decisions we took (Iyer, 1983). However, still we teach our children that we are great victims of Colonialism. Victims, we were, no doubt about that; but the greater truth is that it is only a passing stage. We did imbibe many values during foreign rule. We received the fruits of industrialisation in second hand fashion. However, the credit of unification of the land can never go to the colonialists, for a larger India for that matter existed millenniums back. It is our society rather than the polity which keeps us together as one nation. It is the lesson that we give to the world at large. If we can do that officially, that would be the best turn our foreign policy postulates can take.
2. If we are a lesson for the world, it is more so because what we were and are. While concluding his treatise on Vedanta, Singh (2013) states,

“We can survive and flourish as a global civilisation only if we have an ideology alternative to the one that has led humankind to its present dilemma, and if we boldly act in harmony with this new ideology. Even at this late hour we can imbibe some of Vedanta's universal truths, contributing thus to reversing the mad rush

towards destruction. The time has come to begin the long, slow climb back”.

He extricates many Upanishadic concepts including the dictum of ‘Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam’ meaning universal family while presenting his argument. If principles expounded by Gandhiji in his life and work could present to the world a new world order of struggle, the time has come for us to expound our ideals on tested philosophies, which we have no dearth of. That would in turn save the religion and the philosophy from being a trinket in the hands of fundamentalist elements in the polity and society. While the world economic growth projections would have us to believe, this juxtaposition is imminent to march ahead with similar principles available elsewhere. As Chung (Winter 2009 Spring 2010) points out, “...India and China are becoming the 'geo-civilizational twins' from now on in their united effort to reshape the world order and marching towards the Indian ideal of vasudhaiva kutumbakam (the world be one family) and the Chinese ideal of 'shijie datong' (a world in grand harmony). However, ever since Panchsheel, named by President Sukarno of Indonesia from the great Indonesian classic *Sutasoma* and enunciated by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Chou Enlai and U Nu of Burma, we rarely see philosophic foundations to pragmatic policies. Actions without philosophy is as hollow as a hole.

3. If we despise Imperialism in its new forms, do it unequivocally. We are the best to do that. Being the greatest victim of classical Imperialism, we have every right to champion the cause. Is any other nation in the world more qualified than us to talk against Imperialism than us? At the same time, it is imminent for us to resist the temptation to be imperialist in our own way.
4. Shed the “you hate me, stance with Pakistan. The neighbour

need not always be the enemy, even though there are enough reasons for the business of hatred. It is not the essential Indian-ness to continue to do so. For the settlement of issues, we need the fire brigades; the kind of V. K. Krishnan Menon. His agility of the historic marathon speech at the UN podium on the Kashmir Issue and the conviction of his vision of the problem shall be the guiding light. As Khan (2007) quips, “the political problems between India and Pakistan are rooted in differing perceptions of common past of the sub-continent”. Indeed, it is as Ganguly (2011) concluded while considering India-Pakistan relations, “... we may expect at worst a persistent but restrained hostility between the two countries and at best incremental and cumulative improvements rather than a dramatic breakthrough in the relationship.”

5. Nuclear option: Let us consider it as ‘Nuclear Theology’. Let us be pragmatic. Let us learn lessons from the Gita. Nobody is our enemy. We perform our Dharma. On 15th March 1999, Prime Minister Vajpayee said in the Lok Sabha, “It is the kind of weapon that helps in preserving peace” (Ram, 1999). There is an anecdote about a little child asking his not so grown up sister, “why do we wage war?”, and the answer was as simple but thought provoking as the question: “to bring peace”. A peaceful and thereby prosperous Pakistan would not only benefit India, but the entire subcontinent.
6. Cultural Diplomacy is important. Explore exportable India. Cinema is one. Where else on earth we can find such characteristic drama? It is one of the most Indian products available. We need not have waited the entire long for IT people to tell the world that we are not just a land of snake charmers and fortune tellers. (No doubt, we did these also while finding the meaning of zero). If Indian classical dance cannot charm some people, the Bollywood

item number could. We need to do some homework to figure out what attracts the audience in Pakistan, Afghanistan, China, Egypt and Nigeria to Bollywood movies. We need not wait till a foreign academy award to recognize the strength of our technicians and actors. As Ramakrishnan (2010) pointed out, "Technologically India has forged ahead in the realm of communication, but in the related cultural sphere, questions remain".

7. If the world economy would have us believe that this part of the globe is going to be the center stage of the world economy, and for that matter, as Khilani (1984) quipped, let us develop an 'Asian personality'. SAARC and ASEAN are the great platforms for this to happen. As Gupta (2009) points out, "...no south Asian nation can succeed on its own. We must create a stake for every nation in the economic success of the other".
8. Foreign Policy should have its essential linkages to national policy. Since a young Indian cannot flaunt the national flag, he wears the American flag or some colourful stuff on his body; since he cannot show off the tri-colour over the fuel tank of his sporty bike, he uses the Union Jack. We need a practical policy on national symbols.
9. Is foreign policy an issue for our political parties, unless it is a matter of money in a certain gun deal? If not, it must be, in a positive way.
10. Finally, we shall think about research. While we have some of the best young talents to manage our foreign and other services, we need a great deal of research back up to the front-end managers. We need more foreign policy research institutions. We need the best talents of able young men and women to indulge in problem oriented inter-disciplinary research in the field of foreign policy and relations including on public opinion. For, lack of research findings at any level of maneuvering foreign policy decision

making would automatically culminate in the “intuitive factor” (Benner, 1984) which only a statesman like Nehru could be proud of.

The concluding remark

Exposition of Indian tradition and heritage stands at the risk of being stamped jingoistic, especially while discussing national policies; nevertheless, the risk of not doing so is larger.

Notes

¹ Compare this with Dixit (2001), “Whatever interpretative difference may be about the politico-territorial identity of India in Pre-British times, there can be no fundamental difference on the point that it is the first time in recorded history that the people of the sub-continent India have welded themselves into a nation state in 1946-47.”

² While releasing the book by Noble laureate Amartya Sen, “The Argumentative Indian”, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh reminded his visit to the US in the recent past and how the US President Bush introduced him to his wife Laura Bush, “Laura do you know of any other country of one billion people trying to seek its salvation in the framework of a democratic polity? The country had 150 million Muslims, but not one of them joined the ranks of the Al-Qaeda” (www.thehindu.com, 2005).

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GLOBALIZATION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND AGRICULTURAL DEPRIVATION: AN ASSESSMENT OF POLICY STRATEGIES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KERALA

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Abstract

Recent trend shows that trade liberalization followed by globalization has adversely affected the agriculture sector in the country. The economic reforms led to a gradual withdrawal of state from agriculture that happened in various forms such as declining public expenditure and increasing marketization of agrarian sector. The process of liberalization in fact proved more disastrous for agriculture and peasantry in India because it was adopted without resolving the fundamental agrarian problems like inequalitarian land structure, depeasantisation, and abysmal condition of agricultural labour, tenants and small peasants. The decline has resulted in worsening state of welfare of people dependent on agriculture, directly or indirectly. This paper, therefore, makes an attempt to trace the growth and problems of agriculture during the reforms period and to find ways and means of resolving the present crisis with special reference to Kerala.

Keywords: Agriculture, Kerala, Globalization, Farmer's suicide, Agricultural production, deprivation

Introduction

A country without sound agricultural system may not be capable of producing adequate food materials and other crops. Unlike the developed countries where agriculture is a business, in the developing

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countries agriculture is, to a great extent, a means of the livelihood and part of a way of life. India continues to be predominantly an agrarian and rural economy in terms of her population and work force even after more than five decades of independence. About seventy per cent of the Indian populations still live in rural areas and nearly sixty five per cent of the total work forces are even now engaged in agricultural and allied activities. In the New Economic Policy under the WTO-regime Indian agriculture is getting integrated to global agricultural business. While globalization and liberalization have increased the commercial proposition of this sector, it is facing a number of challenges with regards to technology, infrastructure, price and competition. Modernization without moderation has led to a crisis situation in Indian agriculture. Unemployment in the agricultural sector has been a bane during the reform period as agriculture was not profitable due to the fall in the price of farm products. When the number of people employed in the primary sector and the area under cultivation decreased it caused a decline in rural employment. This would have far reaching implications for Indian agriculture and thereby for the rural population, their food security, employment and poverty etc. Since Kerala's agricultural sector is highly trade intensive and the state is emerging as a consumerist state, WTA is likely to have tremendous implications for the state. The paper argues that declining profitability of crops, increasing cost of labour, shortage of farm labourers, abnormal increases in land prices and high rate of conversion of agricultural land for other uses are the major contemporary problems in the state's agricultural sector. This crisis manifests itself in different forms in contemporary India such as increasing rural violence in the name of Naxalite or Maoist and other such social movements, ongoing massive distress-led migration from villages, and innumerable cases of farmer/peasant's suicides.

Globalization and Agriculture

The concept of globalization has become inextricably linked with the process of transformation touching upon every aspect of social, political and economic development in the globe. It can be seen as a process by which the population of the world is increasingly bonded into a single society. Globalization and internationalization are not new to agriculture – since the 1970s farmers' incomes have been heavily dependent on their success in selling products in international markets. More recently the development of agreements such as GATT and NAFTA have been the focal point of much of the globalization discussion, with the emphasis on broader access to world markets, expanding exports of agricultural commodities, and, particularly, further processed agricultural and food products. With more than 40 percent of agricultural lending even today coming from the non-institutional sources charging anywhere between 30-40 percent interest per annum, the farmers are in an immiserating situation. They are committing one of the worst human tragedies – suicides. Rural India without them definitely is not shining (Hans, 2006). While globalization and liberalization have increased the commercial proposition of this sector, it is facing a number of challenges with regards to technology, infrastructure, price and competition. There is declaration of output and acceleration of vulnerability of farmers to poverty. Modernization without moderation has led to a crisis situation in Indian agriculture. Unemployment in the agricultural sector has been a bane during the reform period as agriculture was not profitable due to the fall in the price of farm products. When the number of people employed in the primary sector and the area under cultivation decreased it caused a decline in rural employment. Dalits and tribal are the worst hit here. This is a source of social exclusion, which may feel cannot be solved but through reservations, subsidies and grants only (Hans, 2008).

According to Gunnar Myrdal (1968) "It is in the agriculture sector that the battle for long-term economic development will be won or lost" The above statement made by Gunnar Myrdal more than three decades ago is very pertinent for India even today. Despite its declining share in GDP, agriculture still remains the backbone of the Indian economy (Tripathi, 2014). It provides livelihood to over 60% of the population and a cushion for the ratio between the urban and rural income. While its output share fell from 28.3% in 1993-94 to 14.4% in 2011-12, employment share declined from 64.8% to 48.9% over the same period. Therefore, almost half of the workforce in India still remains dependent on agriculture (GoI, 2015). Globalization combined with liberalization has led to the decline of public investment in agriculture. In the pre-globalization period, the country's foodgrain production was 3.5% whereas in the post-globalization period it fell to 1.7%. One factor for this fall is reduction in subsidies given to farmers, which resulted in higher prices of the foodgrains in the market. Farmers are frequently affected by natural disasters such as droughts, floods, cyclones, storms, landslides, hails and earthquakes. Because most farmers lead subsistence existence, such disasters can lead to extreme distress and hardship. Though some crop insurance schemes have been tried in the past, they have not worked effectively (Chand 2015, Raju and Chand 2007). The National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) Report released in 2005 states that 1 in 2 farm households are in debt and only 10 per cent of the debt was incurred for nonproduction purposes. The National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) data 2016 reveals that of the 70 people who commit suicide everyday in India, over 33 are engaged in agriculture. NCRB (2017) data reveals that a total of 12,602 persons involved in farming sector (consisting of 8,007 /cultivators and 4,595 agricultural labourers) have committed suicides during 2015, accounting for 9.4% of total suicides

victims (1,33,623) in the country. State/UT -wise analysis reveals that majority of suicides by persons engaged in farming sector were reported in Maharashtra (4,291 suicides) followed by Karnataka (1,569 suicides), Telangana (1,400 suicides), Madhya Pradesh (1,290 suicides), Chhattisgarh (954 suicides), Andhra Pradesh (916 suicides) and Tamil Nadu (606 suicides) during 2015, they together accounted for 87.5% of total such suicides in the country (11,026 out of 12,602 suicides). 'Bankruptcy or Indebtedness' and 'Farming Related Issues' are reported as major causes of suicides among farmers/cultivators, accounting for 38.7% (3,097 out of 8,007 suicides) and 19.5% (1,562 out of 8,007 suicides) of total such suicides respectively (NCRB, 2017). Trade liberalization resulted in lower prices accompanying relatively lower output and led to increased levels of export and import of agricultural commodities and there were very sharp fluctuations in the unit value of exports because of very volatile international prices (Pushap, 2007, Kumaraswamy, 2008).

The changes introduced in the agriculture policy during 1990s represent a fundamental departure from the past regime and indicates a greater reliance on market forces where price signals have assumed a more significant role, than before. With the dilution of the government's supportive mechanisms during the post-reform period farmers were exposed to the working of the market. For example, the rationale for the provision of input subsidies has historically been to provide the farmers with remunerative as well as stable prices to enable them to adopt the new technologies and raise yields and also to compensate for the imperfections in the capital market and the risks associated with the adoption of the new and the high-cost technologies. During the post-reform phase the sectoral distribution of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in India has seen a consistent declining share of agriculture. However, the shifting of

associated labour force from agriculture has been much less than proportionate. In the post reform period there has been an increase in the inequality of distribution of land owned (Ramachandran and Ramakumar 2000). Sen (1992) argues that the agricultural growth of the 1980s was primarily due to a more intensive use of fertilisers and pesticides; there was a perfect negative correlation between the yield of the food grains and the prices of the fertilisers relative to the food grains.

In India the Kerala's agriculture sector is unique in several ways. Some of the special features of the state agriculture are, a highly fragmented and small size of holdings except in the plantation sector, homestead farming with mixed crops yielding high income, large area under commercial crops, mostly the crops are export oriented, hired labour intensive cultivation and higher indebtedness of farmers. In spite of significant advances in industrial and service sectors, agriculture continues to be the largest provider of employment and livelihood both at the national and state levels. The decline in the agriculture yield and the demand for workforce in the oil economies attracted large scale migration of people from Kerala (Ghosh and Padmaja, 2009). The 'blue collar migration' and the consequent availability of surplus income again jeopardized the state's rice fields by ushering people towards 'white collar' jobs. Production of most of the crops was satisfactory till the mid 1990s and after that there was a setback to the agriculture sector. The reasons for decline in production and productivity are; ecological degradation, decline in soil fertility, following excessive use of fertilizers and pesticides, aged plantation sector and pest attack (Nithya, 2013). There was also a considerable decline in public investment in the agriculture sector.

Performance of Agriculture in Kerala

Kerala is one of the smallest states in the Indian union. Its area 38,863 square kilometers is just 1 percent of the total area of

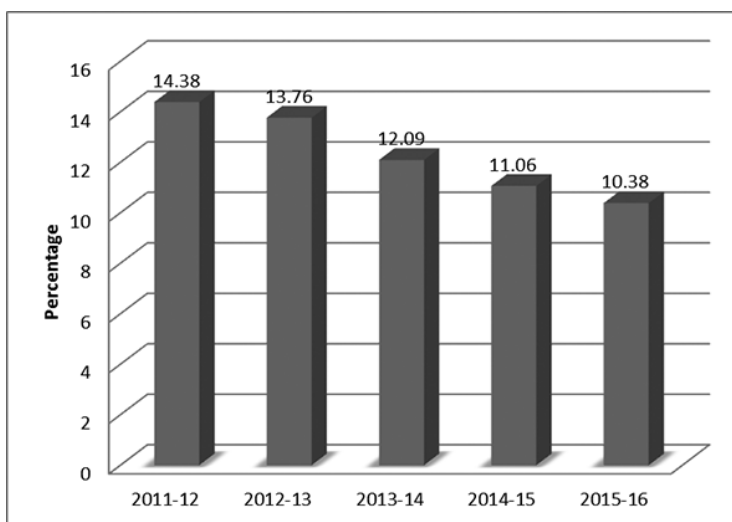
India. Kerala has attracted worldwide attention for its high human development indicators (HDIs) in a low economic growth context, and a fair amount of development literature has grown around the 'Kerala model'. Since the late 1970's a number of international scholars have held up the South Indian State of Kerala as a "Model of Development" (Frank and Chasin, 1994). The Census of 2011 counted Kerala's population at 3,34,06,061. Out of this population 1,60,27,412 (48 per cent) are males and 1,73,78,649 (52 per cent) are females. Kerala has the highest effective literacy rate of 94 per cent among Indian states as per 2011 census. It was 90 per cent during 2001 census. The sex ratio (number of females per thousand males) of Kerala according to census 2011 is 1084 and has improved by 26 points from 2001. Sex ratio of India is 943 as per census 2011. The trend of urbanisation in Kerala shows some peculiarities. Generally, increase in the rate of urban population is the result of over concentration of population in the existing cities especially in metropolitan cities. But in Kerala, the main reason for the growth of urban population is the increase in the number of urban areas and also urbanisation of the peripheral areas of the existing major urban centres. Barring a few Panchayaths in the hilly tracks and a few isolated areas here and there, the entire State depicts the picture of an urban – rural continuum (GoK, 2017).

Kerala, the State with network of azure backwaters, rivers and streams, boasts of an agrarian economy. The abundance of water due to the 34 lakes and other small streamlets, innumerable backwaters and water bodies and 44 rain-fed rivers flowing over the terrain of the state and also the adequate annual rainfall of 3000 mm received by this state probably facilitates agriculture to a great extent and hence the economy of the state is dominated by agriculture. The most essential or the staple crop is the *rice or paddy*. About 600 varieties of rice are grown in the sprawling paddy fields of Kerala. In fact the Kuttanad region of the district of Kerala is known as the 'rice

bowl of the state' and enjoys a significant status in the production of rice (Raman, 2010).

The effect of globalization and liberalization was different for different regions, different crops and different classes of society and in different time periods. Kerala, growth performance of the agriculture and allied sectors has been fluctuating across the Plan period. It witnessed a positive growth of 1.8 percent in Xth Plan period but a negative growth rate of -1.3 percent in XIth Five Year Plan. In 2014-15, the sector has recorded a negative growth rate of -4.67 per cent. Consequently, the share of agriculture and allied sectors in total GSDP of the State has also declined from 14.38 per cent in 2011-12 to 10.38 per cent in 2016-17 (GoK, 2018).

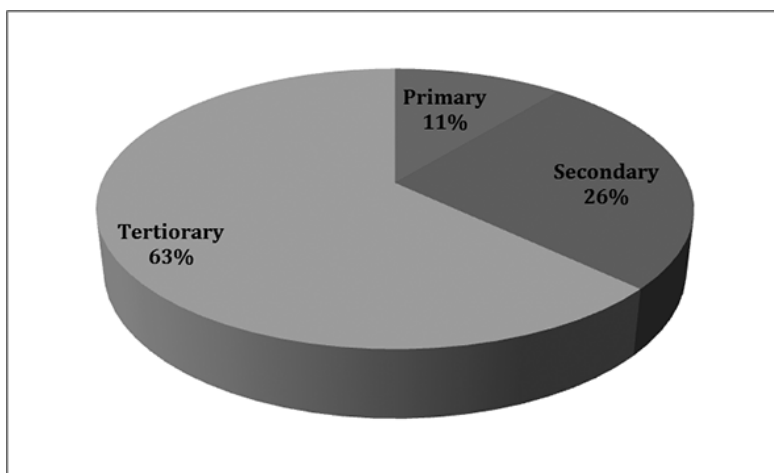
Figure 1
Share of Agriculture and allied sectors in GSDP in Kerala



Source: Economic Review (2018) Kerala State Planning Board, Government of Kerala

During 2014-15 the contribution from primary, secondary and tertiary sectors to the GSVA at constant prices was 13.36 per cent, 23.47 per cent and 63.18 per cent respectively. We can also see from the Figure 2 that the contribution of primary sector was reduced from 56 per cent in 1960-61 to 13.36 per cent in 2016-17.

Figure 2
Sectoral Distribution of GSVA 2016-17



Source: Economic Review (2018) Kerala State Planning Board, Government of Kerala

In order to revive the agriculture in the country as a whole, NITI Ayog had asked all the states to constitute Task Force for Agriculture Development. Consequently the Government of Kerala had constituted a Task Force with Vice Chairman, State Planning Board as Chairman and Government Secretaries as Members. The Task Force had accordingly suggested approach and strategies for revitalization of agriculture and allied sectors as well as requested for various support measures from the Government of India. The best

practices in agriculture followed in the State were also mentioned in the report (GoI, 2015).

Rice is the staple food of Kerala and forms an inevitable part of an average Keralites' diet. Unfortunately, the area under rice has been declining consistently since the last three decades. Today rice occupies only third position in area under cultivation way behind rubber and coconut. And though last year the trend was reversed with a marginal increase in area and production, in 2014-15, it again showed a declining trend. Moreover, the productivity of the crop is very low in the State (2550/ha), though it is higher than the national average (2424 kg/ha). There has only been a marginal increase in the productivity of rice in the past four decades. The decline in area indicates that area under paddy has been increasingly converted into other crops as well as for non agricultural purposes (GoK, 2016). This is mainly due to low profitability as a result of increasing costs (caused by rising cost of human labour as well as seasonal shortage of labour) as well as relative price change in favour of competing crops.

Although one of its principal crops, Kerala's share in area as well as production of coconut in the country is declining over time. While it accounted for 69.58 per cent of the area and 69.52 per cent of the production in the country in 1960-61, the corresponding shares declined to 40.2 per cent and 42.12 per cent respectively in 2011-12. However the area and production of coconut in the State has been increasing. From 29.88 per cent of the Net Sown Area in 1980-81 the share of coconut has increased to 41.96 per cent in 2000-01. In 2016-17 there was a marginal decline in the production from 5873 million nuts in 2015-16 to 5379 million nuts. This could be because part of the paddy fields were reclaimed and planted with coconut during the period. The main cause for falling productivity is the prevalence of root wilt disease, poor management and existence of senile and unproductive palms. Hence massive replanting of root

wilt palms by elite palms and elimination of senile palms, setting up of nurseries for production of quality seedlings and their subsequent distribution is required for increasing productivity. Restructuring of the cluster development programme is also essential for more effectiveness. (GoK, 2018).

Next to rice is Tapioca and is cultivated mainly in the drier regions. Tapioca is a major food of the Keralites. Besides production of the main crop, Kerala is also a major producer of spices that form the cash crops of the state. Kerala produces 96% of the country's national output of pepper. The important spices are cardamom, cinnamon, clove, turmeric, nutmeg and vanilla. Other cash crops that constitute the agricultural sector include tea, coffee, cashew, pulses, areca nut, ginger and coconut. In fact coconut provides the principal source of income in Kerala- from coir industry to coconut shell artifacts. India is the third largest country in terms of global area and production after Philippines and Indonesia. Kerala was traditionally a coconut growing area along with the coastal States of Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh and 1985-86 the total increase in area was 11.8 thousand hectares (1.7 per cent growth), between 1985-86 and 1995-96 total increase in area was 209.6 thousand hectares (29.7 per cent growth) and between 1995-96 and 2004-05 the decline in area was noted to be -16.3 thousand hectares (1.8 per cent decline). The maximum growth in area happened between 1985-86 and 1995-96. The substantial increase of coconut area in Kerala occurred due to substitution of paddy area by coconut (GoK, 2016). Cashew is also an essential cash crop. Kerala also accounts for 91% of natural rubber production of the country.

The provisional estimate of agricultural income of the state recorded a negative growth of 1.79% percent during 2009-10. Pepper is one of the most ancient and traditional crops of Kerala whose origin is traced to be the natural evergreen forests of the

Western Ghats. Black pepper, which is considered as the king of spices, has played an important role in Kerala economy for a number of centuries. Kerala has near monopoly of area and production of pepper in India with about 95 per cent coverage of all India area. Like coconut area under pepper showed an increasing trend. The domestic price of pepper shows an upward trend from the mid of twenties and reached to 418.58 per kg in October 2012 and further declined in 378.04 per kg. in February 2013. In 1974-75 areas under cashew nut was about 104.9 thousand hectares, which increased slowly and reached 137.7 thousand hectares in 1985-86. After that it showed a declining trend and reached 86.1 thousand hectares in 2004-05. Banana and plantains, which together occupied 50 thousand hectares in 1974-75, reached 71 thousand hectares in 1980-81 and in 2004-05 it reached 110 thousand hectares. In the analysis, which began in the year 1974-75 the share of banana and plantains, was only 1.7 per cent (ninth position in area) raised to 3.7 per cent in 2004-05 stood in fifth position area wise. Against the total area of 5.11 lakh hectares under tea in the country Kerala accounts for only 0.37 lakh hectares (GoK, 2016).

Area under coffee registered substantial increase during the last two decades with an annual growth of over 2 per cent. Coffee provides opportunities for livelihood to nearly one-lakh families including agricultural labourers. In Kerala coffee is also one of the smallholder plantation crops with nearly 76,000 holdings coming under the category with an average size of 1.1 hectares. In Kerala the cultivation of coffee is concentrated in Idukki, Palakkad and Wayanad districts. In the case of ginger although production increased the relative contribution declined from 65.68 to 16.11 per cent. This is because of the significant expansion in area in other states due to high prices. In seventies the share was 0.38 per cent rose to 0.48 per cent in eighties slightly declined to 0.43 per cent in nineties and in

2004-05 it is only 0.30 per cent of the total cropped area. A notable feature of Kerala's agriculture is the predominance of cash crops like coconut, pepper, cardamom, ginger, cashew, arecanut, coffee and tea (GoK, 2018). Details regarding the area of principal crops in Kerala is given in Table 1.

Table 1
Area of Principal Crops

SL No.	Crops	Area (Ha)					2015-16	2016-17
		2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15		
1	Rice	234013	213187	208160	199611	198159	196870	171398
2	Pulses	4449	3824	3668	2989	3601	3764	1738
3	Pepper	171489	172182	85335	84065	85431	85948	85207
4	Ginger	5408	6088	6908	4538	4800	4986	5147
5	Turmeric	2438	2391	2970	2430	2470	2603	2631
6	Cardamom	41593	41242	41600	39730	39730	39730	39080
7	Arecanut	99219	99834	104548	100008	96686	99126	97696
8	Banana	51275	58671	59069	62261	61936	59835	57157
9	Other Plantains	47800	49129	48747	54512	56761	57683	57138
10	Cashewnut	48972	43848	54052	49105	45436	43090	41660
11	Tapioca	74856	72284	74498	67589	75496	69405	68664
12	Coconut	778619	770473	820867	808647	793856	790223	781495
13	Coffee	84796	84931	84413	85359	85359	84987	84976
14	Tea	36840	36965	37028	30205	30205	30205	30205
15	Rubber	525408	534230	539565	548225	549955	551050	551050

Source: Government of Kerala, Economic Review, Various Years, Kerala State Planning Board, Trivandrum.

The role played by technological progress in agriculture could be examined in terms of the contribution of irrigation, fertilizers, pesticides, high yielding varieties, improved cultural practices, and the use of modern agricultural implements like tractors. It is the technological progress that leads to the higher productivity. Of course, institutional factors such as effective land reforms also are believed to contribute to higher productivity.

Impact of Globalization on Agriculture in Kerala

Unlike other states in the country, agricultural trade liberalization adversely affected the agricultural sector in the State as more than 80 per cent of the agricultural commodities/products produced in the State are dependent on the situation of domestic and/or international markets (Jeromi, 2007). Production of most of the crops was satisfactory till the mid 1990s and after that there was a setback to the agriculture sector. The price of coconut, for instance, fell sharply with the reduction of import tariffs on the edible oils. The market for rubber, another major cash crop, crashed following large scale import of natural rubber. Since Kerala's agricultural sector is highly trade intensive and the state is emerging as a consumerist state, WTA is likely to have tremendous implications for the state. On the one hand it will promote higher export if there is price competitiveness for Kerala's products (Nithya, 2013). On the other hand, this would lead of rise in imports due to high degree of consumerism partly influenced by external remittances and substantial remittances from rest of India. Certain adverse impacts on Kerala agricultural sector are higher price volatility. The period 1995-2005 has shown greater price volatility for Kerala's products as domestic prices were more sensitive to variations in international prices. Another consequence of the WTA was the decline in the degree of competitiveness of major products of Kerala's interest. Liberalization of foreign trade resulted in the sharp decline of

commodity prices. As a result agricultural income of many farmers has declined. The fall in agricultural income coupled with the rise in cost of cultivation and cost of living have made a large number of farmers heavily indebted. In order to overcome this crisis, farmers in Kerala are now committing suicide. There were governmental and non-governmental initiatives in redressing the agrarian distress of the state. The people's campaign for the Ninth Five Year Plan accorded top most priority to agriculture and rural development. Some achievements could be attained in the promotion of vegetable cultivation, installation of agrarian infrastructure etc (Nithya, 2013). Though the so called Kerala development plan maintained the local institution for planning, it failed to sustain the former spirit of people in the planning process and agrarian development.

1. Decline in Agricultural Production

Agriculture in Kerala is passing through a crisis, which the state has never experienced since the formation of the state in 1956. Progressive land reform policies of erstwhile communist provided Kerala a unique model for social transformation and agriculture development. But none of these steps enabled to uplift Kerala agriculture from the deplorable stage. Declining profitability of crops, shortage of farm labourers, abnormal increases in land prices and high rate of conversion of agricultural land for other uses are the major problems in the state's agricultural sector (Sunil, 2012). The agriculture in Kerala has undergone significant structural changes in the form of decline in share of GSDP from 11.59 Percent in 2009 to 8 percent in 2015-16, indicating a shift from the agrarian economy towards a service sector dominated economy (GOK, 2017).

2. Shortage of Farm Labourers

In spite of the substantial increase in wage rates, the gap between demand and supply in the agricultural labour market

has been widening in recent years. Growing deficiency in the supply of farm labourers can be attributed to many factors. First the widespread implementation of various poverty alleviation programmes like IRDP, JRY, TRYSEM and DWCRA in the state has rendered substantial employment opportunities to the rural people outside the farm sector (Sunil, 2012). Secondly many small scale and auxiliary industrial units are sprouting in rural and semi-urban areas throughout the state and the rural people largely meet their labour requirements. Thirdly the hectic construction work going on in and around rural areas and the fast growing tertiary sector absorb a major portion of the new generation of rural labourers. Fourthly, the large scale migration of rural youth to foreign countries and to other states has also reduced the supply of farm labourers within the state. Finally the slow pace of mechanization in the farm sector and the growing dislike of rural youth to take up farm labour as their full-time occupation have worsened the labour shortage problem in the agricultural sector (Rajan, 2010).

3. Conversion of Agricultural Land for other uses

In the neo liberal era, with the increasing demand for land for construction activities and for urbanization, paddy land became the first target of demand for non agricultural uses on account of its relatively cheapness. With the growing pressure of population and development of the secondary and tertiary sectors, agricultural land throughout the state is being converted for the construction of residential buildings, commercial establishments, roads, health and educational institutions etc. and that in turn reduces the total area under cultivation (Prakash, 2004). The poor achievements in agricultural research, drawbacks in the formulation and implementation of agricultural development programmes, environmental degradation, poor social management, inadequate

plant protection measures etc have played their own roles in bringing down the pace of agricultural development in the state. Again in Kerala prices of land under food crops like paddy and tapioca are found to be relatively lower than the prices of land under cash crops (Nithya, 2013). Thus the mere conversion of land from the cultivation of food crops to cash crops in itself enhances the property value. The comparatively lower prices of land under food crops leads to its widespread conversion for non-agricultural uses. Changes in land use pattern can also be attributed to the growing number of absentee landowners in the state (Ghosh and Padmaja, 2009). Since the food crops need more care and personal supervision than cash crops, these absentee landowners are more inclined to cultivate the latter which tends to the decline of area under food crops.

4. Low Profitability

Rapid increase in the daily wages of farm labourers and fertiliser prices, along with relatively lower growth rates in the farm prices of agricultural products in the absence of any major improvement in farm technology have adversely affected the profitability of crops. Within the last 15 years from 1986, indices of the cost of cultivation of crops and prices paid by farmers in the state have increased (Ghosh and Padmaja, 2009). The index of prices received by farmers demonstrate a relatively lower growth rate.

5. Abnormal Increase in Land Prices

Agricultural land prices are so high in Kerala that if interest on land value is added to the paid out costs of cultivation, none of the major crops cultivated in the state is economically viable. Thus land is not always treated as a means of production in the state but is often regarded as an asset that can be used for speculative exchange. Therefore many speculative investors without any genuine interest in farming have already entered the land market as buyers. Again

as land is a safe asset with fair liquidity, a considerable portion of foreign remittances coming in to the state every year is used for the purchase of land, which leads to a sustained increase in its prices. Thus it can be seen that agricultural lands have been converted into real estate investments because of the following reasons (Oommen, 1995). Agricultural land is the most popular of tax planning devices used for laundering black money since agricultural income is exempted from income tax (The Hindu, 2005). However, under the Kerala Agricultural Income Tax Act, agricultural income is taxable. Value of agricultural land has been continuously rising in most parts of Kerala as has been the case in other states of India also. Because of the various tax advantages and also due to the prospects of capital appreciation, agricultural land has become an important investment area. Over the years cost of agricultural inputs like seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, labour, tractors etc. have gone up considerably. Unremunerative market prices coupled with the high cost of inputs make farming an uneconomic proposition in many cases.

Farmer's Suicide in Kerala

The phenomenon of suicide by farmers has in recent years tended to dominate the discourse on rural India. Between 1995 and 2014, more than 300,000 farmers have committed suicide in the country (Basu, Das, & Misra, 2016). Farmers' suicides have become a burning issue in Kerala. Middlemen strongly control and dictate the market of agricultural produces. A producer farmer does not get his share of the selling cost of the produce. Very often he is forced to make distress sale. These produces are invariably sold at very high cost and the middlemen are pocketing a large share. The farmers are denied opportunity to intervene in the market and do not have the bargaining power. The production of various produces food

grains, vegetables, cash crops in Kerala are dwindling alarmingly. The purchasing capacity of the farmer is fast declining which is indeed a threat to the livelihood security of large section of farmers. Many of the government sponsored schemes and programmes implemented so far have not redressed the farmers grievances effectively. Many farmers abandoned agriculture due to high labour costs and poor economic returns. The farmers who committed suicide in the last five years are from Wayanad, Kannur and Palakkad in north Kerala. The construction spree that followed the gulf boom drastically changed the agrarian scenario of Kerala. Already, during the last three decades, the agrarian landscape gave way for cash crops (Gopa, 2012). All these factors sidelined paddy cultivation. Traditionally Palakkad and Alappuzha were considered as the *rice bowls* of Kerala state. In recent years the farmers in the two rice bowls of the state are in constant distress due to the low or no returns from rice cultivation. Paddy cultivation in Palakkad had shown an alarming decline. In 1970-71, paddy was cultivated in 1,82,621 hectares in the district but in 2011 it is reduced to 12,837 hectares. The agriculture packages announced by both the Centre and the state are not a solution for the crisis being faced by the farmers in the state. The centre and state governments should find a permanent solution that will ensure protection for farmers (The Hindu, July 22, 2012). The Centre has destroyed the public distribution system and the government does not have a proper mechanism for procuring crops. This situation is forcing farmers to commit suicide. As per the survey conducted by Department of Economics & Statistics, the total number of suicides occurred in these families from 2003-2007 is 979 and its district wise break-up is given. More than 200 suicides (approximately 73.03%) have been reported in the years 2004, 2005 and 2006.

Table 2
District wise details of number of suicides

SI No I	District II	Number of Families III	% to Total No. of IV	Number of Suicides V	% to Total Number of Suicides VI
1	Kasaragod	103	10.91	106	10.83
2	Kannur	111	11.75	113	11.54
3	Wayanad	306	32.41	317	32.38
4	Kozhikode	41	4.34	46	4.69
5	Malappuram	11	1.16	12	1.23
6	Palakkad	86	9.11	90	9.19
7	Thrissur	75	7.94	78	7.97
8	Ernakulam	4	0.42	4	0.41
9	Idukki	102	10.80	10.6	10.83
10	Kottayam	9	0.95	9	0.92
11	Alappuzha	20	2.12	20	2.04
12	Pathanamthitta	14	1.48	15	1.53
13	Kollam	15	1.58	16	1.63
14	Thiruvananthapuram	47	4.97	47	4.81
	Total	944	100.00	979	100.00

Source: *Report of Survey on Farmers Suicides in Kerala, (2009) Department of Economics & Statistics, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram*

Under the new situation not only the physical landscape changed but also the policies and priorities. However, during LDF regime of 2006- 2011, an attempt was made to revive paddy cultivation but it ended up with a marginal success only. Given this background, the younger and educated sections of Kerala are not interested to take up agriculture as an occupation. According to Gopa Kumar (2013), Crop less, Low price, shortage of labour, mobile radiation, climate change, high dosage of fertility shortage of water etc are the major agricultural problems today.

Conclusion and Suggestion

The effect of globalization and liberalization was different for different regions, different crops and different classes of society and in different time periods. The agrarian crisis and farmers' distress in Kerala over the past one decade are closely linked to the neo-liberal policy regime implemented in the country in the recent past. The worst affected are the small farmers, as they are more vulnerable to crop losses and a price fall. Kerala's agriculture sector was unique in several ways. There was a sharp decline in export of agricultural commodities during the post reforms period due to price volatility at international market. Recent trends suggest that the agricultural sector in the state has entered a state of alarming decline. There was also a considerable decline in public investment in the agriculture sector. No serious discussions had been held so far for finding an alternative to the crisis set to loom large over the agriculture sector. The crisis in agriculture is a crisis of the country as a whole and so needs urgent attention. If drastic reforms are not implemented in agriculture sector it would not be possible to revive output growth on sustainable basis and mitigate rural distress and backwardness. Gunnar Myrdal long ago said that if a country's agriculture is backward, the economy is also likely to remain backward. Good governance in agriculture is needed to meet the risks, uncertainties and challenges and avoid further crises. It will ensure empowerment, efficiency and equity in the agricultural sector.

The following suggestion can be considered for solving current agricultural crisis in the state.

- The poor farmers should be protected with subsidies and loans, at least to the subsistence level and Supply of food grains at subsidized prices through PDS.
- To ensure that the cultivators get enough compensation in case of crop loss due to disasters like flood, draught, diseases etc.

- The dignity of agriculture as a profession should be upheld
- Cooperative farming with coordination, particularly by small and marginal farmers needs to be revitalized.
- Empowerment of farmers is required to avoid suicidal cases. Security Schemes ensuring livelihood security, hospitalization healthcare maternity, life insurance and old age pension etc should be introduced.
- Deliberate attempt is needed for large-scale investment in agriculture sector, which prevents cultivators to avail loans from private moneylenders.

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THE NUANCES OF MODERN DEMOCRACY: THEORETICAL DEBATES AROUND DEMOCRACY AND LIBERALISM

Linesh V.V.* & Anu Unny**

Abstract

The very strength of modern democracy lies with the principles of liberty and equality; but these principles have been hardly implemented by the existing forms of liberal democratic regimes in the world. In order to get a proper understanding of the potentiality inherent in Liberal Democracy, one may need to understand the concepts of liberalism and democracy separately. Democracy is constituted by the doctrine of equality, participation of the people and the establishment of an identity between the rulers and the ruled. At the same time, liberalism contributes to democracy through its values of individual liberty, rule of law and universal human rights. For a proper recasting of modern democracy within the liberal democratic framework, the liberal tradition is to be examined to identify areas where it needs reframing and democracy needs to be freed from the individualistic and rationalistic premises that become fetters to democracy in its present form.

Key Words: Liberalism, Democracy, Chantal Mouffe, John Rawls, Habermas

Introduction

The word democracy had its origin from Greek cognates- *demos*, meaning "people" and *kratia*, meaning "to rule". The term therefore means "rule by the people". In a democracy, the ultimate power to alter the existing laws and structures of power are bestowed on the citizenry. The definition of the word democracy has been

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subjected to changes from time to time. From ancient Greece up to now, the meaning of democracy has not been the same. It acquired different meanings in different time periods and spaces; from direct democracy to modern liberal democracy. Classical democracy, aggregate democracy, democratic republicanism, liberal democracy, participatory democracy, deliberative democracy etc are various forms of democracy. The classical notion of democracy is being challenged today by the hegemony of neo-liberalism posing serious threat for democratic institutions. The neo-liberal maxim which upholds property rights and the virtues of market constitute the reality of contemporary liberal societies. This paper examines the tensions in modern democratic forms and tries to analyse the inherent tensions between democracy and liberalism by referring to the views of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, who are the main advocates of radical plural democracy.

The Paradox of Liberal Democracy

By 'modern democracy', Laclau and Mouffe deal with a new political society which is constituted through the engagement between two distinct traditions: liberalism on one side and democracy on the other side. Liberalism strongly emphasizes the values of individualism, universal human rights and the rule of law principle. The separation between church and state and, between the realms of the public and private are central to the politics of liberalism. On the other side, democracy stresses on the importance of values of equality, the separation of the identities of ruling and ruled, and popular sovereignty. Conceiving the idea that power rests with people and it should be exercised by the people is its central theme. According to Mouffe (2000:2) "the distinction between two aspects of democracy is this: on the one side democracy as a form of rule, that is, the principle of the political sovereignty of the people and on the other side the liberal discourse, that is, the symbolic

framework, within which the democratic value is exercised.” Mouffe (2000:3) points out that “there is no necessary relation between those two distinct traditions of liberalism and democracy, but only a contingent historical articulation.” In C. B Macpherson’s words, ‘liberalism was democratized and Democracy was liberalized’ (Macpherson, 1977:72).

Theoreticians from both sides are well aware of the contradictory nature inherent in liberal democracy and hence, each of them contradicts the other’s logic. Both liberals and democrats try to protect their own values by setting themselves free from the impact of the other’s logic. The neo- liberals hold the view that if individuals have to decide in a rational manner, they cannot go against the principles of rights and liberties. And if they happen to do so, their verdict may not be accepted as legitimate. On the other hand, democrats have been keen to dismiss the liberal institutions as ‘bourgeoisie formal liberties’ and to fight for their replacement by the direct form of democracy in which they believe the will of the people can be expressed without hindrances. In Liberal-democracy, both liberals and democrats attempt to prioritize their logic over the other.

The theoretical discourse between liberalism and democracy has been constantly questioned by various sections including the neo-liberals, neo-conservatives and the new right wing. It is argued that the democratization of liberalism is appearing as a great threat to the notion of individual rights, liberty and economic freedom. One of the prominent neo- liberalists Hayek (1994:52) argues that “democracy can be considered as a utilitarian device to protect internal peace and individual freedom. As such it is by no means infallible or certain.” Hayek (1950:11) asserts that “a liberal political order can exist only in the framework of a capitalist free market economy.”

In '*Capitalism and Freedom*' Milton Friedman also argues in favour of the notion of a capitalist free market economy as it is the only type of social organization which respects the principle of individual liberty (Friedman, 1970:50-63). From a libertarian perspective, Robert Nozick equally questions the idea that there exists such a thing as distributive justice which the state should provide. In his view, "the sole function of the state compatible with liberty is that of protecting what legitimately belongs to the people" (Nozick, 1947:149-183). Nozick justifies only the existence of a minimal state. The duty of such a state is restricted primarily to the maintenance of law and order.

Another way of attacking liberal democracy, according to Laclau and Mouffe (1985:172) is "in the manner of the neo-conservatives as they redefine the notion of democracy itself in such a way as to restrict its field of application and limit political participation to an ever narrower area." A severe attack on democracy has come from the side of the New Right as well. Alain De Benoist who is a French rightist comments: 'the French revolution marked one of the fundamental stages of degeneration of western civilization—a degeneration which began with Christianity, the 'bolshivism of antiquity' (Alain De Benoist as cited in Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:172). Skillfully capturing a series of libertarian themes from the movement of 1968, Alain considers that 'by attributing a fundamental role to universal suffrage, democracy places all individuals on the same level but fails to recognize the important differences among them' (Alain De Benoist as cited in Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:174). Here, he tries to highlight the necessarily totalitarian character of undermining differences inherent in a democracy. That is, "in the phase of the chain of equivalences equality = identity =totalitarianism, the New-Right proclaims the right to difference and affirms the sequence difference=inequality = liberty" (Alain De Benoist as cited in Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:174).

The discussion around the notion of liberty, equality, justice acquires a different dimension when it comes to the perspective of the Democrats. Carl Schmitt's thesis *The Crisis on Parliamentary Democracy* can be considered as a model in this regard. He is one of the prominent critiques of Liberal-democracy, and denies any possibility of articulating these two logics. In this thesis, Carl Schmitt (1988) stresses the importance of 'homogeneity' in the functioning of democracy. Therefore, he further emphasizes that, if it is necessary, heterogeneity should be eliminated from the 'demos'. According to Schmitt (as cited in Mouffe, 2000:38) "actual democracy rests on the principle that not only are equals equal but unequals will not be treated equally." Schmitt (1988) tacitly rejects the notion of equality of mankind because as per Schmitt "equality can exist with its specific meaning only in particular spheres such as political equality, economic equality and so on and so forth." Chantal Mouffe (1993:123) notes "politics always implies the drawing of a frontier between 'us' and 'them' or between inclusion and exclusion." Mouffe (2000:39) says "the democratic conception requires the possibility of distinguishing who belong to the 'demos' and who is outside of it; and for that reason, it cannot exist without the necessary correlate of inequality. This is totally incompatible with the liberal conception of equality."

According to Schmitt (as cited in Mouffe, 2000:43) "democracy consists fundamentally in the identity between rulers and ruled. It is linked to the fundamental principle of unity of the *demos* and the sovereignty of its will." Schmitt discards the possibility of pluralism in a democratic society. For Schmitt "democracy requires the existence of homogeneous *demos*, and this precludes any possibility of pluralism. This is why, in his view, there is an insurmountable contradiction between Liberal-Pluralism and Democracy" (Schmitt as cited in Mouffe, 1999:48). In his view, there is only one form of

pluralism existing in the world that is the pluralism of the nation state. According to him “the world is not a universe but a pluriverse” (Mouffe, 1993:51). Schmitt’s (2007) well known thesis that is the *concept of the political* is defined within the friend-enemy distinction. For Schmitt (2007), “*political* can be understood only in the context of the ever present possibility of the friend/enemy grouping.” Therefore democracy always entails the process of inclusion and exclusion. Indeed, this is a fundamental problem which liberalism confronts with democracy. Their incapacity to draw such a frontier endangers democracy itself. Mouffe (2000:43) says “the central question of the political constitution of ‘the people’ is something that liberal theory is unable to tackle adequately, because the necessity of drawing such a ‘frontier’ contradicts its universalistic rhetoric. Against the liberal emphasis on ‘humanity’, it is important to stress that the key concepts of democracy are the ‘demos’ and the ‘people’.”

Both liberal and democratic traditions are successful in highlighting the potential threat inherent in their opposite logic: totalitarianism in the case of democracy and the neo-liberal hegemony in the case of liberalism. This incredible tension posited by the articulation of the incompatible logic of liberalism and democracy has opened up an enormous debate in the centre of political philosophy. This is the very problem which the theoreticians of the deliberative democracy attempt to resolve. In more specific terms, they address the question of how to find a reconciliation of the tension between liberty and equality or legitimacy and rationality.

Deliberative Democracy: Discussion on Rawls and Habermas

The deliberative form of democracy offers a potential alternative for the ‘aggregate democracy’ which once dominated in many western countries. It was with the publication of Joseph Schumpeter’s noted work *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* in 1947 the concept of aggregate democracy gained prominence. In the book, Schumpeter

(1947) had argued that “with the development of mass democracy, popular sovereignty as understood by the classical model of democracy has become inadequate.” As Mouffe (2000:2) notes “a central argument of this tradition is that the concepts like ‘common good’ and ‘general will’ are to be relinquished and that the pluralism of interests and values has to be acknowledged as coextensive with the very idea of the people.” The ‘deliberative model’ questions the interest group pluralism and the instrumental rationality associated with the aggregative dominant model of democracy. The deliberative democratic model tries to engage with the contradiction within the liberal democracy and attempts to find an amicable settlement within their theoretical framework. Even though there are many forms of deliberative democracy, two prominent models-Rawlsian and Habermasian models could be taken for discussion for the tension around liberalism and democracy.

Deliberative democracy attempts to revive the kind of old democratic deliberations that had existed earlier in Athens in 500 BC by affirming that political decisions must be reached through deliberations that are taking place between free and equal citizens in the society. Though the ways of these deliberations and the constituency of those who are entitled to deliberate may be varied, what is key to a democratic form of society is having deliberation in itself. The two traditions of Rawls and Habermas had made a clear demarcation between ‘mere agreement’ and ‘rational consensus’ in their respective models. Here, the participants are required to act in accordance with certain rules and regulations. They presuppose that before entering a deliberation, the participants possess certain moral virtue and act on the basis of their reason. Mouffe (2000:85-86) says that “one important point of convergence between the two versions of deliberative democracy is their common insistence on the possibility of grounding authority and legitimacy in some forms

of public reasoning and their shared belief in a form of rationality which is not merely instrumental but has normative dimensions: the ‘reasonable’ for Rawls and ‘communicative rationality’ for Habermas.” Both Rawls and Habermas believed that in the institution of liberal democracy, what we can find is the content of practical rationality. In order to get a proper understanding of their engagements with liberalism and democracy, it would be better to examine each case separately.

The publication of the book titled ‘*Theory of Justice*’ by John Rawls in 1971 has indeed inaugurated a new chapter for the discourse on normative political theory. Rawls believed that the western democracy in its aggregative model has lost its moral dimensions and affected by a rampant crisis of legitimacy. So the major task before the Rawlsian model of democracy was to recover its moral dimensions. It does not mean that the model implies an anti-liberal element in its theoretical framework. But in contrast, Rawls postulates liberal pluralist values within the purview of democracy. Though Rawls acknowledges the existence of pluralism here, he doesn’t acknowledge it at the ontological level. Mouffe has problematised this and according to Mouffe (2000:86) “Rawls in his model of democracy, emphasize on the role of the principle of justice reached through the device of an ‘original position’ which forces the participants to leave aside all their particularities and interests.” Unlike Rawls, Mouffe believes that “pluralism is the defining feature of modern democracy” (Jones, 2014). One of the eminent followers of Rawls’, Joshua Cohen also acknowledges the value of pluralism. Cohen argues that democratic legitimacy emerges out of the collective decision taken among equal members. Cohen (as cited in Mouffe 2008:87) says “according to the deliberative model, a decision is collective just in case it emerges from arrangements of binding collective choices that establish conditions of free public reasoning among equals who are governed by the decisions.”

On the other hand, when it comes to Habermasian model of democracy, many scholars agree that “Habermas developed the notion of the ‘public sphere’ as a discursive space, distinct and separate from the economy and state, in which citizens participate and act through dialogue and debate” (Kapoor, 2002). For Habermas, the problems and issues in a modern capitalist society can be solved through deliberations and discussions taking place in a ‘public sphere’. All the deliberations and discussions should be strictly guided by moral contacts and discourse ethics. In Habermasian procedural approach to democracy, he exerts no limits on the scope and content of deliberations. According to Mouffe (2000:89) “deliberative democracy in both versions (Habermasian and Rawlsian) does concede to the aggregate model that under modern conditions a plurality of values and interests must be acknowledged and that consensus on what Rawls calls a comprehensive view of religious, moral or philosophical nature has to be relinquished.” Reflecting on Rawls, Habermas (as cited in Mouffe, 2000:90-91) makes a point that “Rawls cannot succeed in his strategy of avoiding philosophically disputed issues, because it is impossible to develop his theory in the free standing way that he announces.” Vice versa, Rawls (as cited in Mouffe, 2000:91) criticizes Habermasian model saying that “this approach cannot be strictly procedural as he pretends. It must have a substantial dimension as well, given that issues concerning the result of the procedures cannot be excluded from their design.”

In Mouffe’s view, both of them have a point in their criticisms. Mouffe (2000:91) point out that “indeed Rawls’s conception is not as independent of comprehensive views as he believes, and Habermas cannot be as purely proceduralist as he believes.” Mouffe (2000b: 92) argues that “Habermas considers that only his approach manages to establish the co-originality of individual rights and democratic participation. He affirms that ‘Rawls subordinates

democratic sovereignty to liberal rights because he envisages public autonomy as a means to authorize private autonomy.” Another spokesperson of deliberative democracy, Charles Larmore (as cited in Mouffe:2000-93), points out that “Habermas, for his part, privileges the democratic aspects since he asserts that the importance of individual rights lies in their making democratic self-government possible.”

In brief, the attempt is not a critical evaluation of both the traditions of deliberative democracy, but to look into the failure of their attempt to deny the paradoxical nature of democracy which is fundamentally constituted through the tension between the logic of democracy and the logic of liberalism. According to Mouffe (2000:93), “they are unable to acknowledge that, while it is indeed the case that individual rights and democratic self-governments are constitutive of Liberal democracy-there exist between their respective grammars, a tension that can never be eliminated.” In short one can say that Rawls and Habermas haven’t succeeded in resolving the inherent tension in liberal democracy. Both of them stick to their respective positions without reaching at consensus. While Rawls upholds liberalism, Habermas privileges democracy over liberalism

Conclusion

Liberty and equality are two essential constituents in the framing of any democratic society. However, these two political principles are ranked differently in different societies. As it is, there could be multiple forms of liberal democracies in the world. While liberals focus on the merits of liberty, democrats stand for equality and freedom of participation. On the question of priority of principles, we can see a struggle within liberal democracy. It is almost sure that the tension between liberalism and democracy shall continue to exist and probably never be settled. According to Mouffe (2000:133), “far from bemoaning this tension, we should be thankful for it and see it

as something to be defended and not eliminated.” She further argues that ‘this is a tension existing between our identity and citizenship between the principles of freedom and equality and any attempt to resolve this pluralism would eventually eliminate the *political* and destroy democracy’ (Mouffe, 2000:133). Instead of seeing liberal democracy as a terrain of contradictions it can be considered as the locus of the paradox. The paradox of liberal democracy can never be eliminated, but can be negotiated in a pragmatic manner.

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ORAL ACCOUNT OF THE REPATRIATES: MEMORIES AND EXPERIENCES OF THE ESTATE TAMILS OF SRI LANKA IN INDIA C.1940-1980.

Shyni Danial*

Abstract

This paper deals with the experiences and memories of the repatriates of Sri Lanka in India in the period between 1940 and 1980. The study focuses on life histories and narratives of repatriates to reveal their notions, views and decisions behind their repatriation and the way culture, family ties and old memories connected them with India and played an important role to shape their repatriation. Further, it examines the socio economic life of the estate Tamils who had undergone the condition of statelessness in Sri Lanka from 1954 to 1966. The paper concludes that the unfulfilled promises and desires of repatriation made repatriates to compare their present life in India with that of Sri Lanka and to say that they had a glorious past in the old Sri Lankan plantations. It also speaks about how repatriation opened a safe future to another group of repatriates and their families in India.

Key Words: Repatriation, Rehabilitation, Life Histories, Memories, oral Tradition, ethnic violence and Homeland.

Introduction

The introduction of the plantation economy in Sri Lanka generated large scale labour migration from South India to Sri Lanka during the nineteenth century. A settled labour force was essential

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for the expansion of the plantation industry and the colonial administration in Sri Lanka took various measures to ensure a steady inflow of labour. The growth of plantation economy led to development in urban and created a demand for south Indian labour in urban areas as well. Of the settled Indian community in the island, numbering 7 lakhs in the 1930s, the majority was plantation labours and only a minority was engaged in semi-skilled works at ports or municipal council, and domestic works and business. The estate Tamils were spread over all the 9 provinces of the island and were mainly located in the districts of Nuvara Eliya, Kandy, Matale, Badulla, Ratnapura, Kegalle, Gulle and Mattale (Chattapadhyaya)

The expansion of voting rights in Sri Lanka in the 1930s enabled the plantation Tamils to ensure their political participation, but it created apprehensions among Sinhalese politicians because they feared that this would affect the political interests of Sinhalese. The permanent interests of plantation Tamils in the country were questioned, they were said to see India as their real home, and visiting Tamil Nadu regularly¹. The new citizenship acts of independent Sri Lanka in 1948 turned the Indian community -whose number had now risen to 8 lakhs -into non-nationals.² Subsequent political changes in Sri Lanka worked to turn them into a category as 'stateless', and Sri Lankan Government pressed for their repatriation to India.³

The Indo-Sri Lankan accord of 1964 signed by Sirimavo Bandaranayake and Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Prime Ministers of Sri Lanka and India respectively, defined the political status of 10 lakhs stateless estate Tamils as Indian nationals and Sri Lankan nationals and also cleared the way for the repatriation of 6,00,000 estate Tamils to India.⁴ The Indian state repatriated 3,42,976 Indian origin persons to India in the period between 1964 and 1987, and these people were rehabilitated into South Indian states due to their geographical affinity with the region.⁵

present paper discusses the memories and experiences of the repatriates on their repatriation. The study focuses on the repatriated families which were resettled in the rehabilitation site in Kerala. 700 estate Tamil's families were resettled at the rehabilitation plantation limited in Punalur, which was a joint venture of Government of India and Government of Kerala.⁶ The Kerala state ensured its participation in this nation building project as the Indian state viewed that the rehabilitation of Tamils was not a regional issue of Tamil Nadu but a national one.⁷

Rehabilitation Plantation Limited was situated in Pathanapuram Taluk in Kollam District. It had two estates, Kulathupuzha and Airanalloor. Kulathupuzha estate had 458 families which were resettled on 11 'settlements' or 'colonies'. Aairanalloor estate absorbed 242 families on six colonies or units. The Kulathupuzha estate belonged to Kulathupuzha Panchayat and Aairanalloor estate came under the Aroor Panchyat. The families were dispersed on labour lines and each labour line had four families.⁸ The Kerala state ensured two permanent labour opportunities for each repatriated family in this rubber plantation. The 'Family Card', an important repatriation document connected repatriates with their rehabilitation packages in India and had shaped their everyday life in Kerala.

The life histories and memories of the repatriates in Kerala expresses different notions, ideas and issues of repatriation and reveal how repatriates look at their past life in Sri Lanka. It tells how repatriates represent two distinct regions they inhabited: one in which they were born, grew up, lived and worked in the past; another in which they arrived as repatriates, and live and work in the present.

The study mainly used oral historical sources to understand the experiences of repatriates and adopted the methodology of 'interviewing individual life story'. Here, an individual life story is

used in both ways like what Slim, Thompson, Benett and Cross (1998) state 'to allow individuals to narrate the story of his/her life in all its dimensions: personal, spiritual, social and economic' and also of 'the single-issue interview which seeks to gain testimony about a particular aspect or period of a person's life'.

Repatriates in Kerala mainly came from two regions of Sri Lanka; the highland tea plantation areas which were situated at quite a distance from the Sinhalese villages and the mid-land tea and rubber plantations which were spread among the Sinhalese villages. The first group belonged to Badulla, Hutton and Newaralia districts and the second group lived in Ratnapura, Kalathurai, Kegalle, Oppanayake and Kandy districts in Sri Lanka. The former group led a plantation life where they had maintained a distance from the Sinhalese society but the latter had a continuous interaction with local Sinhalese, especially at the worksite, market and villages. From the perceptions of repatriates, their returning can be categorised into two kinds: their long term desire to live in their ancestral motherland of Tamil Nadu, and forced repatriation due to ethnic violence and fear. The first group mainly applied for repatriation before the occurrences of Sinhalese-Tamil ethnic violence and the second group agreed to be repatriated during the ethnic violence from 1977 to 1982.⁹

Decisions behind Repatriation

In general, people seemed to agree that the repatriation agreement of 1964 between India and Sri Lanka was the decisive factor for their arrival in India. The accord enabled them to come to India with all kinds of protection, privileges and the recognition of the Government of India. Apart from this, repatriates had other reasons also for their arrival in India. This varied across the first generation and the second generation.

From what the second generation has to say, their parents took decisions and they, the children obeyed their parents. The children had no role in making decisions for the family during the time of repatriation. This is one entry point towards charting different opinions among the repatriates. One of my informants, Sadasivam (57years) says about his repatriation.¹⁰

We came to India through Sirimavo-Shastri Pact. My father told us that “we can go to our country, that is our country, and why should we live here”. So my father took the decision. I cannot say that it was my decision. Not my brothers also. My father was the head of the family. All his brothers and their families planned to come to India. He was taking decisions in the family. He would say one thing. We would obey that.’

Similarly, community feeling, joint family system and a fear of separation influenced people towards choosing repatriation. At a certain level, common decisions of a majority of families influenced other families also towards repatriation, following the interests of the majority. Ratnam (57yrs) who left Sri Lanka at the age of 34 speaks of such an experience.¹¹

My father took the decision to come to India. His four brothers and their families applied to returning. What will I get if my family lives alone in Sri Lanka? Our people will live in Tamil Nadu. We will face problems later. Our children have to marry girls from another religion.

Words of Ratnam suggest that the younger members of repatriate families did not always agree with the decision to return. This was possibly because they did not have the connection with India that their parents had. They ultimately agreed to return, reluctant, hesitant and confused, in search of community security. They just followed the elders.

The rehabilitation facilities also attracted people to come to India. From the perceptions of the people we know that they felt the estate Tamils were unable to come to India after independence. They also feared to return to India because they did not have land, houses, jobs, other financial sources in India. This condition also restricted them to prefer repatriation while Kanganies, Merchants and Chettiyars took repatriation under Nehru-Kotelawala agreement in 1954.¹² But, the 1964 accord solved this livelihood issue.

There were some other factors behind choosing repatriation apart from the above reasons. It was a feeling which was reflected in their everyday life before the framework of the repatriation agreement became available. In the field, many of the first generation repatriates responded with a single answer on their repatriation like 'We decided to come to India' or 'We applied for repatriation'. Beyond that, many of them did not give further explanations about their repatriation. At certain times I asked them questions like 'Why did you not prefer Sri Lanka while the other family members and friends decided to live in Sri Lanka?' 'Why did you prefer India than Sri Lanka where you had lots of provisions?' The old repatriates had simple answers for these questions like 'They wanted to live in Sri Lanka so they preferred Sri Lanka but we came to India'. These kinds of general statements made me to ask them some other questions. Whether the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement had been the sole factor behind their choice or had some other factors also motivated them to choose repatriation? Did they have any kind of contact with their 'old' villages in India? How did they conceive and look at their country of origin? How did they look at their past when they were in Sri Lanka?

Some of the life stories give a variety of instances which reveal different aspects behind repatriation. These life histories throw light

into the social and cultural life of the estate Tamils in Sri Lanka which they practiced and shared for generations. Their lives in Sri Lanka revealed how estate Tamils imagined a homeland in Tamil Nadu and the way they were longing to come back to Tamil Nadu. For them, repatriation was a chance to return to their homeland which they dreamed of in Sri Lanka. Here, homeland means the region they imagined, considered, dreamed of as their father's or grandfather's villages in Tamil Nadu and from where their customs, languages, habits and culture originated.

Thirumalai, 70 years old male repatriate's life history tells us of the notion of homeland among repatriates before repatriation.¹³ His statement also reveals various aspects of his plantation life in Sri Lanka and the way language, memories, news papers, photographs shaped his ideas about his villages in India. He came to India in 1977 at the age of 34. He was a rubber plantation labourer in the Kalathura district. His statement was this:

I visited Tamil Nadu in 1952. I was a small boy, eight years old then. I came with my mother. At that time we were able to visit India when we think. There was no Tamil school in the estate when I was a boy. There were only Sinhalese schools. We did not get anything from Sinhala language and Sinhala schools. There was a Tamil tuition class in our estate and it was at night. I attended it and learnt Tamil. And we knew about India through cinemas, newspaper, the radio and TV. We got Dinathanthi, the Tamil news paper and it was 10 -11 paisa at that time. We were waiting for the arrival of post man in the estate. But now I never read newspapers and never watch postman when he is on the road. I had seen photographs and pictures of India in the newspapers. Students who learnt in Government schools passed their eight class exam and I passed my fifth class exam by reading a Tamil newspaper.

My mother told us that 'our country was a good country. Sri Lanka was not our country'. There were people on the estate who visited India. They told us stories about their villages in Tamil Nadu. We decided to come to India.

Here, the recollections of Thirumalai reveals how his life was represented in Sri Lanka and how newspapers, television, cinema, stories, evening classes worked as tools for the reproduction of Tamil culture in the plantation. The working of the Tamil tuition class in the plantation tells us that the estate Tamils refused to give up the collective identity which was created by Tamil language. It was the fact that the youth who attended estate schools had increased and it was visible since 1930. These literate youth had the habit of reading news papers and also read for the illiterate people in the estates too. Thus they created a general awareness about the common issues of the time. Some estates conducted night classes for English which led to an active participation of youth in the trade union movements in the plantations (De Silva, 1997).

In a certain respect, those who wished to visit Tamil Nadu, and who dreamt of one day being able to return to their 'homeland' thought of it in terms of being returned to their origins before their death. At this level, repatriation was a way for them to fulfil their dreams. An interview I conducted reveals the particular family history of a couple. The narration of Adeemoolam, 60 years old male repatriate in 2010, tells such a family history.¹⁴ His narration went like this:

I did not come to Tamil Nadu but my father visited Tamil Nadu in 1948. My father was a labourer in Sri Lanka. My father tried again to come to India. But his travel ticket was cancelled. At last Sirimavo- Shastri pact took place and we arrived here. My father told us stories of temples in Tamil Nadu. Once, I bought a tape recorder from town. It was a Sunday. I brought it into my house

and inserted a cassette into it which had songs of the lord Aiyannar. My father was an old man at that time. After hearing the songs, he said, "I had made the temple. And I had come to this place. I have not visited it yet again. I want to go there and see it". And my father told me that "do not keep the tape recorder on the floor; keep it in a safe place, because it was giving god's songs. And my mother always said, "Someone could take me back to India and I want to die in India". She also was saying that "it was a good land and it had good people" She said this to our other relatives and neighbours who had come to the estate from the same village from Tamil Nadu (from Trichi district). And she told me also too. I told my brothers and father that we want to go back to India. She was happy when she arrived in India, because she was unable to come to Tamil Nadu for a long time. Her worries were over once she touched her foot on the land. She said that "I am happy. I can die in my land" And she died at Mandapam on the thirteenth day after our arrival in India.

Here, the parents of Adeemoolam were an example of older people who had desired to return their ancestral villages in Tamil Nadu. It means that their memories and their then conditions created a social space for discussing their old villages in Tamil Nadu and created an imagined homeland in their everyday life. Their inability to travel to Tamil Nadu intensified their desires to visit their homeland. It was the fact that the estate labourers used to make holiday trips to India and was able to return to their villages after retirement during the colonial period. This movement of regulation also reduced surplus labour in the plantations. Pre-independent Ceylon witnessed labour unrest, restrictions on family re-unions and surplus labour in the plantations only at the time when the Government of India introduced its ban on labour migration to Sri Lanka in 1939, but it was cancelled in 1942 (De Silva, 1997). But later, in June 1954, independent India introduced visa system

to travel between India and Sri Lanka. This action closed all doors to visit Indian villages with the travel identity documents that the estate Tamils did previously.¹⁵ This continued till the framing of 1964 accord.

Like the above life history, another repatriated woman, Manormony shared with me how she visited her family god (*kulaidavam*) in Selam at Tamil Nadu after 26 years of her arrival in India.¹⁶ Manormony was a 57 year old woman when I met her in 2010. This woman sees herself differently about repatriation and the things she valued in her past life. Here, oral history helps repatriated women to reveal their memories of repatriation. Feminist historian Sangster (1998) observes that oral history can integrate women into historical scholarship, but conventional history neglects to bring forth the lives of women in historical writing. What she states on oral history is that it creates a situation 'to putting women's voices at the centre of history' and 'highlighting gender as a category of analysis'. Here, the statement of Manormony reveals how customs and practices transfer orally across generations and shape everyday life of the individual. The statement went like this:

My younger sister's daughter is living at Selam. There is a temple, the temple of Karuppu Swamy, He is our family god. I knew about it, my father knew it, my grandmother (father's mother) knew it, she told us about it. We were small children at that time, we knew about the temple but we were unable to visit it because we were in Sri Lanka. I had heard the stories of Rama, Sita, Pandavas, forest goddesses and the temples in Tamil Nadu from my grandmother. She told us that our family god was Karuppu Swamy. They had visited every year from Sri Lanka to attend its temple festival. I arrived thirty eight years ago. I could not see it till all these times. I got a time when my sister's daughter's marriage was set. And our family god is Karuppu Swamy. His colour is black. It is our god's

colour. I never wore any black *sarees* at any time. I told my children and grandchildren too. They also never wear any black dresses. If we use black dress, it will bring evil things into our family. It is not a sin, if we wear it unknowingly. And my father never allowed us to wear any kind of black dresses in Sri Lanka. Even though one washed black shirt(was) in the almirah, he used to say that he did not want it.

The above narration reveals the importance of cultural memories or shared pasts which are based on common beliefs, norms and practices of a Tamil family and how this knowledge is transmitted through telling and retelling. The visit of Manormony to the temple of Karuppu Swamy reveals that it was a deeply personal experience but also imbued with the self-awareness of her cultural world of which her family was a part. The oral tradition of the estate Tamils defined their everyday life, dress code, moral values and notions of good and bad. Thus it gave a different meaning to their social life and created their own culture in the plantation, although they were immigrants in Sri Lanka.

Repatriation has a hidden emotional and psychological history of a group of estate Tamils who had been prohibited from visiting their homeland for a long period. So the history of repatriation also included the history of the homeland to which estate Tamils directly and indirectly attached their culturally collective memories.

Nostalgia for the Past: The Remembered Villages

The moment repatriates talk about their present life in Kerala, they look at their past and begin to compare their present life with their past life in Sri Lanka. Here memory distinguishes the past from the present; it is a tool in the evaluation of that past: whether it was glorious or dangerous. It also brings light into the mindset of immigrant community which relocated to a different region and

reflects how the group was experiencing a form of statelessness in the present. In their everyday life, these people compare each aspect of their life in India with their Sri Lankan experience in terms of money, land, soil, plantation life, people, moral values, and their relationship with others. At a certain level they compare the two nations through their life; the region they experienced but did not belong to and the region where they live in at present. The people who selected repatriation intentionally thought that their past was a glorious one and the present was unpleasant. The re-telling of the people reveals the particular mentality that was created by repatriation.

People from midland regions and upper-land regions had different notions of their present life. The perceptions of the people reveal that those who had lived in midland plantations in Sri Lanka had good communication with the local Sinhalese. This relationship was not only reflected in their everyday life, but it was also manifested in their personal views and moral ethics. One of the life histories reveals details of plantation life of the estate Tamils in the midland region and of their regular contact with local Sinhalese people.¹⁷ Parvathy, a woman repatriate's statement gives the picture of plantation life in the midland region.

We had a good life in Sri Lanka; there did not have troubles like we face now. Sinhalese gave us everything. They gave coconut, fruits, rice and all. Here we have to give money for everything. Sinhalese were helping people. They were very good to us. There was a fight only between the Sinhalese and Colombo Tamils. Now our salary is not enough to buy what we like to purchase from the market.

This statement reflects the relationship between the estate Tamils and the local Sinhalese people, and how local village people provided gifts and food items to estate Tamils.

While Parvathy was talking to me, her husband also came from the next room. He was sleeping in the room which is why I had not seen him. He had been educated up to the 6th class at his plantation school. His story sheds light on the way the estate Tamils adopted the practices of Sinhalese in their everyday life, and tells us also about the way they perceive their past life in Sri Lanka, a life they often celebrated, and contrasted with their present existence.¹⁸ Ratnam said:

The Sinhalese are good people. If they are friendly with us, they will die for us. I sent shirts to my Sinhalese friends in our estate through my brother who visited Sri Lanka recently. My friends also sent gifts for me. If I go now to my estate, Sinhalese will give everything to me. They have love and trust in me. They told my younger brother that “to tell your elder brother and his wife to visit us once.” I was born and brought up there and lived there for twenty seven years. And it was a golden country. It was a burnt land. The Lord Hanuman burnt it in its beginning. How is this land? This soil does not give that productivity. I had two acres of land there and cultivated everything. Sinhalese were rich people but they had a mind to share everything with others. Here, people dislike giving others even though they are rich and never helps poor people. It was the Buddhist traditions which made Sinhalese to help others and to become generous themselves. I came to India with that kind of mentality. And I want to go and see my friends there. I applied for a passport. I am prepared to do everything for my visit.

The story of Ratnam explains how he looks at his past and how his life in the Sri Lankan plantation is reflected in his memories. This perception on the past reveals the way he negotiates the present. To him, his past was good and glorious. He clearly conceives of himself as a part of that great tradition in Sri Lanka, even as he was trying to establish his links with his ‘own’ cultural tradition in Tamil Nadu.

His present life makes him romanticise his past, where he celebrated a life with his Sinhalese friends beyond cultural differences. It was the fact that the Indian labourers in the mid country rubber plantations could interact and work together with the local Sinhalese population (Mayer, 1990). The nationalisation of employment in independent Sri Lanka increased the rate of Sinhalese workers in the plantation sector (Kodikkara, 1965).

Repatriates do not only romanticise the land that they had inhabited in the past. They hear of changes in the land they worked in, and evaluate those images through a reference to their own experience. It is a fact that life in Sri Lanka has not remained unchanged. The repatriation itself changed the plantations; it changed the regions where the repatriates lived. The recollections of Muniappan (60 years) tell us about the desires of the people who want to visit their old villages again.¹⁹

I have a desire to visit Sri Lanka like others. We need money to go to Lanka. But I heard that now estates become forests. Lots of estates became bushes and jungles. Plantations had shortages of workers. When we were in Sri Lanka, anyone could live as he liked. There was lots of work. Even children would have work. Thus I made lots of money. People were able to work outside plantations also. They gave work as a task. So we were able to go for other jobs when we finish our previous one. Thus I worked for three to four tasks per day and lots of money came to my hands. That was not like the rehabilitation plantation. The labourers were always in the field. It was the white man's system.

From what the repatriates have to say, the estate Tamils were able to work both inside and outside plantations in Sri Lanka. But repatriation reduced labour opportunities of all members of a family to two persons. Here, the recollections of Muniappan

give us the picture of the plantations before and after repatriation. Repatriation not only changed the life of the estate Tamils, but it also changed the plantations. The strict repatriation programme created labour shortages in the Sri Lankan plantations since 1973.²⁰ The Sri Lankan state expected to replace Tamil labour with the local Sinhalese. But it was felt by many planters that the local labour was not industrious like plantation Tamils. Economic uncertainties and the problem of labour led to a systematic migration of planters and trained executives from the estates to other countries like East Africa, Nigeria, New Guinea and Indonesia. Besides, the Government of Sri Lanka introduced land reform acts in 1972, and it decided to distribute land to landless classes.

The people who came from upland regions had their own perceptions and ideas about their past. To them, their past constituted a busy life. The recollection of Dhanabhagam (61 years) explains these features.²¹ I had met her in her labour house. She had studied up to Class II in the plantation school. The description provides glimpses of the patriarchal plantation life in Sri Lanka.

We got promises in Sri Lanka about our repatriation. We hoped that we would get good jobs, better salaries, and better houses in India. We came to India because of that promise. Otherwise we would have lived in Sri Lanka, because everyone had job in Sri Lanka. If a family has ten members, all of them should have job in Sri Lanka. The company provided labour quarters for the families which had more members and it gave us rice, sugar and other things and took its prices from our salaries. Still we had lots of money in our hands. Therefore there was no poverty in Sri Lanka. In the estate we cultivated different kinds of vegetables and fruits and sold these items in the Sunday market. And the company did not say anything even though people cultivated in acres. And our family had one acre

land in our estate and cultivated different types of vegetables. Thus we had a busy life in Sri Lanka. But here, we have no land, no labour, and not enough places to stay.

The explanation of Dhanabhagam reflects the reasons behind her repatriation, how estate Tamils expected a prosperous future in India before their repatriation and their unfulfilled desires after repatriation. Repatriation fixed eligibility for labour rather than the physical availability of labour. Thus the present life was contradictory to the past life in Sri Lanka where people had everything like lots of money, savings, fruit, cattle, vegetables, plenty of land and comfortable places to stay. The estate Tamils in Sri Lanka enjoyed different kinds of welfare facilities including housing facilities, education for children, maternity benefits in the case of female workers and minimum wages during the Colonial Period. The colonial Government of Ceylon enacted a number of welfare measures for the immigrant estate population throughout nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Kodikara, 1965).

The past is remembered fondly in the context of friends left behind, their Sinhalese friends. Besides, the past was good as it made busy life and also a life which was unknown to poverty. Thus, Sri Lanka was represented as a land of labour and land of great tradition. The present created the condition to romanticise their past.

Repatriation as Fear of Violence

Life histories and repatriation memories reveal the many sides of repatriation. The repatriates who left Sri Lanka during ethnic violence had different stories and their memories and constructions of their past illuminate different aspects of the repatriation experience. They left Sri Lanka in fear, danger and humiliation. Repatriation was a solution, a way to rescue their lives and it was acted on as an only option for repatriates and for their next generation. To them, a safe

future in India became more important than the economic benefits in Sri Lanka. Here, memories do not explain the actual events in the past but it explains its meanings. It also does not reflect actual time but it reflects the depths of violence, its sequences and the mental trauma that the family members had undergone. It again narrates how the estate villages witnessed ethnic nationalism in Sri Lanka.

These estate Tamils became victims of ethnic violence in Sri Lanka which began in 1977.²² These estate Tamils and their estates labour houses had to confront the local Sinhalese agitators. This happened in the plantations which were located in the midst of Sinhalese local villages in Ratnapuri, Kandey, Kegalle and Kalathurai districts. The estate Tamils faced insecurities, riots, problems from Sinhalese people. The anti Tamil riots which mainly occurred in the Colombo district spread into these neighbouring districts in these years. The main reason was that the estate Tamil and Colombo Tamil were belonging to same ethnic race and also they had similar language.

These repatriates whom I met in the rehabilitation plantation mainly arrived in India in between 1978 and 1984. From their life testimonies, the violence appeared to be of different forms, and it created different kinds of fears. At certain times, these estate people got help from their close Sinhalese friends. Some of the estate Tamils were hidden in their Sinhalese friends' houses during the assault where they got food and security. On some other occasions, Sinhalese friends secretly warned them about Sinhalese plans for assault and attack. In certain cases, the Sinhalese friends advised them to take repatriation for a safer future and also helped them in the process of their repatriation. At the major level, the Sinhalese attacked the estate Tamils and a minority of Sinhalese secretly offered help, support and sympathy to the estate Tamils.

One of my male informants, Ratnam, recollected his experience in Sri Lanka and described to me how he witnessed fearful moments in Colombo and also in Ratnapura.²³ I interviewed him in his shop. He had arrived in India in 1984. He was 60 years old when I met him 2010. I heard his narration for 45 minutes. His statement was like this.

My father had two acres of paddy land in our estate in Ratnapuri. He was a labourer but he did business also. I worked one year in the estate. Then I went to Colombo and did business in the Sinhalese vegetable market for ten years. They became my friends and never identified that I was a Tamil person but thought that I was a Sinhalese person. I talked Sinhala language very fluently. Once I was standing in front of a Sinhala business man's shop. There was a Tamil business family in front of his shop. He told me, "Why are you looking them at? Go and kill them". They were Tamils. I told them "Do not live here. Go somewhere and save your life." In that evening, the Sinhalese went to their house and brought them outside. The Sinhalese had stabbed their legs and hands and had thrown their things on the road and burnt everything. I had pain and grief in my heart when I saw it. I was helpless. It was in 1981 and I left my business and went to my estate. There was rioting in Ratnapuri. Our estate officers went to their houses. There was no one to hear our problems in the estate. The police and army had never heard our problems but helped local people because both groups were Sinhalese and we were Tamils. We stayed in the forest out of the fear of Sinhalese. It was good to quit Sri Lanka and come to India. If someone beats me now in India, I will beat him. It was not possible in Sri Lanka. If my shop is in Sri Lanka now, the Sinhalese will come and destroy it. I cannot say anything. Here, if someone does not pay my money, I will go to his house and tell him to give it back.

Here, Ratnam was a witness to ethnic violence, both outside and inside the estate. His narration gives an idea about the helplessness of estate Tamils and fear, insecurity and humiliation which were created due the violence and how repatriation opened a safe future. It closed the door of violence for his family. To Ratnam, civil, political and individual rights are more important than the economic opportunities in Sri Lanka. Ethnic violence, which started in Colombo on 5th June of 1981 continued till August 1981. It was started with the declaration of curfew on June 5th at 17 districts but ethnic riot occurred at Jaffna and Colombo cities. It spread to the plantation areas mainly at Ratnapuri district in July. There happened seven murders, 196 burnings, mainly the shops and houses of Tamils and 35 lootings during the period.²⁴ The Tamil's properties were largely plundered by the Sinhalese agitators.²⁵

The repatriates also seem to pin point economic factors as the main reason behind ethnic problems and Sinhalese violence. In their perception, the Sinhalese forced them to choose repatriation to acquire the rights of estate Tamils in Sri Lanka. The statement of Chinnathampi reveals similar explanations of ethnic violence in Sri Lanka.²⁶

Sinhalese came to our estate on a night in August 1981. We ran away from our houses. Then the company called an army. With the help of the army, we went to the estate factory and stayed there for one week. The army patrolled the estate for one week. After that they sent us to the plantation. And people never discuss the problems of estate Tamils. The Sinhalese were unable to fight with the Colombo Tamils. So they attacked the estate Tamils also. They thought if they were able to send us from there, they could take everything from us. Our parents lived in the land for many years and we were born and brought up there. And one day the government

ordered us to leave the country. How would we go from the country where we lived for many years? So they caused riots and violence. Thus they made us take repatriation out of fear.

The above narration of Chinnathampi reveals that how he looks at the ethnic issues of Sri Lanka which he witnessed. The above statement expresses his unwillingness to leave Sri Lanka where he lived with his parents and other members. It also shows the nature of the ethnic violence which started between Sinhalese and the Colombo Tamils in the late 1970s in Sri Lanka and how this group witnessed the early stages of ethnic violence in Sri Lanka, for the demands for a separate Tamil state for the Colombo Tamils in Sri Lanka.

During the ethnic violence, the estate Tamils faced problems and issues whenever they were going to outside plantations, markets, and the towns. The Sinhalese attacked them in public places. So estate Tamils pretended themselves like the Sinhalese in the markets and the towns. They were also familiar with the Sinhala language as they worked together with the local people in the plantations. But the estate people who did not know Sinhala faced problems. The Sinhalese used many methods to find out the estate Tamils who were speaking the Sinhala language in the common places. They asked confused questions, words and sentences in their language which were similar to Tamil and identified real Sinhalese and estate Tamils. Sometimes they would take a bucket and ask a man that what it was. The word *bathiya* means bucket in Sinhala. If the person said *vathiya*, the Sinhalese would hit him. They were able to identify that it was a Tamil person because the accent was wrong. Likewise, they used to ask similar words in Tamil and Sinhala language like the word *mathi* in Sinhala means it is not enough but in Tamil it means it is enough.

Otherwise, they would ask the Tamil person to sing the national anthem of Sri Lanka. It began like this ‘*namonamomatha*’. *Matha* is a Sinhala word which means mother. But sometimes the Tamil person would sing the national anthem like ‘*namonamothaye*’. *Thaye* is a Tamil word and it means mother. Here, the meaning was same but the words were different. The Tamil person was closer to the word *thaye* than the word *matha*. The word *thaye* related to mother, motherland (*thayenadu*) and mother tongue (*thayemozhi*). In the same way the Sinhalese used to ask them to sing the whole national anthem. When the Tamil person was reciting the song, the Sinhalese could understand from his accent whether he was a Sinhala man or a Tamil man. Here, language played as a (an important)role to distinguish the Sinhalese and Tamil identities in public places. While language can forge common identities, differences in accents and different uses of words often become markers of difference, differentiating Tamils from the Sinhalese. Tamil ethnicity was distinguished via different methods regarding language, dress code and customs and estate people became victims due their ethnic identity.

The experiences and the perceptions of the repatriates on ethnic violence were different. It tells us the depth of pain, agony, fear, humiliation and helplessness of estate Tamils and the racial and ethnic issues which estate Tamils faced in the past. For them, repatriation closed the door of violence and opened a safe future for them and their families in India. It has replaced the uncertainties of the past and created a space for economic freedom.

Conclusion

There were different factors behind the arrival of repatriates to India. The repatriation agreement was not the only reason behind their arrival. For many estate Tamils, repatriation was a way of

returning to their homeland. The aspirations, feelings and interests of the old estate people with regard to their homeland made them choose repatriation. So the history of repatriation also included the history of that homeland to which estate Tamils directly and indirectly attached with culturally collective memories. The conditions of the present that these repatriates experience upon their return lead to a certain glorification of his/her past life. Repatriates think that they had a glorious past in Sri Lanka where they celebrated life with lots of money, plenty of land, a lot of labour, friends and comfortable places as homes. Thus, Sri Lanka was represented as a land of labour, land of money and a land of proper system. In contrast, the repatriated man who forcefully took his repatriation considered his past as a dangerous one. For him, past was a series of unforgettable events and ironically, he wanted to, needed to forget about his past. So Sri Lanka was represented as a land of fear, slavery, violence, uncertainty and terror where the repatriate became a stranger and outsider in his past. In this respect, the present has significance. It constitutes a life where the repatriate has peace, security and individual freedom.

End Notes:

- ¹ File No.83, September 1930, Department of Education, Health and Lands, Overseas Branch, National Archives of India(hereafter NAI), New Delhi.
- ² File No.69-1, 1967, Ministry of External Affairs and Common Wealth Relations, Overseas Branch, NAI, New Delhi.
- ³ Lok Sabha Debates, Government of India, Sixth Session, Part.1, Vol.5, 15.5.1954, Cols.7508, Central Secretariat Library, New Delhi.
- ⁴ Government Order(here after GO), 3486, 12.10.1966, Home Department, Government of Madras, Tamil Nadu State Archives (hereafter TNSA).
- ⁵ Tamil Nadu State Administrative Report, 1985-86, Madras, Government Press, 1987, p.308.

- ⁶ GO126, 26.4.1976, Department of Agriculture, Government of Kerala, Kerala State Archives.
- ⁷ GO1227, 13.4.1967, Madras, Home, TNSA.
- ⁸ Annual Report of the Rehabilitation Plantation Limited(hereafter ARRPL), Punalur, Kerala, 1979,p.5
- ⁹ An extensive fieldwork was done at the Rehabilitation Plantation Limited (hereafter RPL) in Kerala in 2009 and 2010 to understand the experiences of the repatriates on their repatriation. Some interviews were continued for one hour but some other interviews were for one to two hours.
- ¹⁰ Interview with Sadasivam Kulathupuzha Estate(hereafter KE), RPL, Punalur, Kerala, 7.8.2010.
- ¹¹ Interview with Ratnam, KE,RPL,Punalur, Kerala, 1.8.2010.
- ¹² GO953, 31.10.1964, Home Department, Government of Madras, TNSA.
- ¹³ Interview with Thirumalai, Aairanalloor Estate(here after AE), RPL,Punalur, Kerala, 6.8.2010.
- ¹⁴ Interview with Adeemoolam, AE, RPL, Punalur, Kerala, 6.8.2010.
- ¹⁵ The Hindu, 6.5.2954.
- ¹⁶ Interview with Manormony, KE,RPL, Punalur, Kerala, 22.7.2010
- ¹⁷ Interview with Parvathi, KE,RPL,Punalur, Kerala, 1.8.2010.
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- ²⁰ The Madras Mail, 9.5.1973.
- ²¹ Interview with Dhanabhagam, KE, RPL, Punalur, Kerala,22.7.2010.
- ²² The Sri Lanka Freedom Party Government in Sri Lanka introduced Sinhala as the national language according to the Sinhala only act of 1956. In 1978, the United National Party in Sri Lanka implemented new constitution for the unification of Sri Lanka according to the Buddhist religion and Sinhala language. These anti Tamil steps of the government created to the situation of the introduction of new Tamil movements and Tamil parties in the country. The United Tamil Liberation Front started to demand separate country for Tamils since 1976. The anti Tamil riots started in Sri Lanka in 1978 after the

election of 1978. I was begun at first at Colombo and then to spread to other districts.

²³ Interview with Ratnam, KE, RPL, Punalur, Kerala, 30. 7.2010.

²⁴ Deshabhimani, 18. 7.1981, Dheshabhimani is one of the regional news papers in Kerala.

²⁵ Deshabhimani, 22. 7.1981.

²⁶ Interview with Chinnathampi, KE, RPL, Puna lur, Kerala, 29.7.2010.

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CONCEPTUALIZING BIO-POWER AND ITS SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPACTS WITH REFERENCE TO MICHEL FOUCAULT

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Abstract

The study of the concept of power is very important in the academic circle and current socio-political fields. The life of human beings from the stage of social animal to the political animal is a historical exercise of power relations. Foucault's conceptualizing of power is an enquiry into what power is and how it works in our society. He also examined how power work as a tool of social control and puts forward the need to understand the micro and macro perspective of power. Evolving knowledge in modern sciences have been utilising as a tool of conquering ideas and it is injecting into the human brains at schools, hospitals, and religious institutions. The study undertakes an experimental and conceptual observation on the modern forms of power games in our society.

Key Words: Power, Bio-power, Disciplinary Power, Sovereign Power, Power Relations

Introduction

In the current world scenario, the study of socio-political power is very complicated and at the same time it is most important. Ever since humans began to evolve as a social animal, power started to influence all spheres of society and has become a social issue. However, as a part of enduring culture, human beings are becoming a political animal instead of a social animal. It is precisely at this point, the exercise of power and power relations became more complicated.

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Aristotle has clearly elucidated the evolution of man into a political animal and the complications around it. Karl Marx described in detail about the oppressiveness and the conquest nature of power. It is an enquiry into how the have-s and have-nots are different in the domain of power. Marx has beautifully elucidated the power-game of ideological state of apparatus and physical state of apparatus.

Michel Foucault's philosophical theories mainly addressed the concept of power. He is mainly known as a theorist of modern power relations. He enquired to what power is and how it works in our society. He also examined that how power use as a form of social control. He is also famous for the crucial critical studies on the Social Systems or Institutions, Psychology and Psychiatry, Medicine and Hospital, Social Sciences, Prison and the History of Human Sexuality in order to examine the power structure. His writings on power, knowledge and discourse have been widely influential in academic circle and the current philosophical thought. It is an important task to understand Foucault's view of the power. His analysis of power are at two levels. They are 'Empirical Forms of Power' and 'Theoretical Forms of Power'. The empirical analysis of power is the detailed examination of historically specific modes of power and how these modes emerged out of earlier forms. The empirical analysis of power can further divide into 'Modern Forms of Power' and 'Pre-Modern Forms of Power'. In which the former is related to the 'Disciplinary Power' and 'Bio-Power' whereas the latter mode of power is the 'Sovereign Power'. In the reading of Foucault, the most of his works on power is devoted to the task of articulating the emergence of latter modes of power from earlier ones. Moreover, his analysis of disciplinary power is especially useful for subsequent scholars. The following are examples of these three modes of power.

In the essay, 'Foucault's theory of Power' Richard A. Lynch portrays the functions of power through few examples,

"First, imagine a pyramid, with a king at the top, his ministers in the middle and the king's subjects (the people) at the bottom. If the king issues an edict, then his ministers will execute the order, imposing it upon the king's subjects. Traditionally, power has been understood as "being at the top of the pyramid" and that was all that it was understood to be. But Foucault expands (indeed, totally reconceives) what constitutes power, and shows how this traditional view can be situated within a fuller understanding. He observed that in actual fact, power arises in all kinds of relationships, and can be built up from the bottom of a pyramid (or any structure). Thus, an academic transcript, the record of a student's courses and performance, become an instrument of power (how many times have you been told that "this will go on your permanent record?"), but begins from observation at the bottom of the pyramid, not from an edict from the top. Each and every student has a transcript, and this record of their performance, the fact that each one is observed (and not that the school has a principal), is what influences student's behavior. The academic transcript is an instrument of disciplinary power: it serves to make a student regulate or discipline her/his own performance and behavior. Similarly, observing which groups in the population are most likely to contract a disease (such as lung cancer) can lead to a discovery of its causes (cigarette smoking, or asbestos exposure). Like academic transcripts, this third kind of power- in this case to save lives, by eliminating asbestos or smoke inhalation- does not require a "top of the pyramid" to function. But unlike an academic transcript, this kind of power does not directly address particular individuals, but rather groups of people and populations

as a whole. This third example is an illustration of what Foucault calls 'Bio-power'." (Dianna, 2011, p.13-14)

The Theory of power

The second level is a theoretical level which analyses historical particularities of power. Foucault described it as a common diverse mode of power. In this level, he examined the general and fundamental features of power. And we can also discern the operation of power from Foucault's theoretical perspective. But Foucault emphasized on the investigation or analysis over theory because he was not ready to make any claim to a permanent understanding of our world. According to him, power is omnipresent and can be found in all social relations and interactions. "Power is omnipresent that power is co-extensive with the field of social relations. Power is interwoven with and revealed in other kinds of social relations. It does not mean that power functions as a trap or cage, only that it is present in all our social relations, even our most intimate and egalitarian. Nor is Foucault saying that all relations reduce to, or consist of nothing other than, power relations. Power does not "Consolidate Everything" or "Embrace Everything" or "Answer Everything"; power alone may not be adequate to explain all, or every aspect of, social relations. So Foucault theoretical task is to work toward an analytics of power: that is, toward a definition of the specific domain formed by relations of power, and toward a determination of the instruments that will make possible its analysis" (ibid., 15)

Foucault distinguishes his own theory from three misunderstandings. The word 'power' is influenced by a number of misunderstanding concerning its nature, form and unity. They are as follows,

Firstly, in its literal level, Foucault did not view power as a collection of institutions and apparatus that confirm the subservience of the people of a state.

Secondly, with a psychological approach, power is not a method of subjugation and a form of the rule of a state or system.

Finally, He did not mean that power is a common system of domination exercised by one or more groups over another (class oppression).

In the understanding of power, the important misconception is related to the term that 'Juridico-Discursive'. This term is a representation of socio-political evaluation of power and this misconception is really deep-rooted in the western social history. Juridico-Discursive is a term which includes the ideas of freedom of individuals and the political sovereignty at the same time. It is focussed on the concepts of sovereign power of the state and the autonomy of individuals. According to 'juridico-discursive' theory, power has five characteristics. They are,

1. Power always work as negatively, it means prohibitions.
2. Power always consider as a forms of rule or law. It functions as a binary form of legal and illegal or permitted or forbidden.
3. Power functions through a cycle of prohibition. It is a law of prohibition.
4. Power manifests in three forms of prohibition on the logic of censorship. They are the method of denying, preventing and not permitting.
5. The apparatus or tools of power are world wide and uniform in its method of operation.

Foucault addressed three important features of juridical principle of power and suggests a theoretical viewpoint to reverse the method of analysis.

First, according to Foucault, power is not an element but it has to analyse in genealogical or relational terms. Therefore, he generally give importance to power relations rather than power. In this perspective, power is neither a region or space to occupy or hand over, nor a goods for owns or interchange. He prefers a tactical and nominal notion of power instead of juridical term. So power is not an exclusive possession of individuals, groups and classes. It is a relations of power that exists in a plurality of overlapping, conflicting strategies and system of differentiation.

Secondly, Foucault questions the traditional identification of power with political power and focus to analyse power on the state institutions. He replaces the viewpoint 'Macro-Political' to 'Micro-Political'. Thus exercise of power is not merely spread from the top to the bottom in the society. We can see that power do not originate from any centralized point to pervade the social space. Power exists everywhere as power relations in our society. It can be seen anywhere or it is omnipresent in the society.

Thirdly, Foucault opposes the idea that power relations are primarily characterized by means of repression. He also states that power is reduced in to certain means of exercise like violence, force and constraint. It is a process of the stabilization, continuation and legitimation of social relations like patriarchy or social domination. The problems is that this type of reduction of power ignores the facts like how these relations generate and change material forms of existence, social identities and bodily experience. According to Foucault, power relations are not the expression of a deeper reality which ideologically reflect and nor can they reduce to functional or negative criteria. Moreover, power relations include a productive dimension, individuals and group experiences. This process also promotes new forms of knowledge and practices.

Foucault's view on Power

Foucault's positive understanding of power and his empirical analysis was to discover a new theory of power. It is a task which tries to develop a new framework for the historical analysis of power. He begins,

“It seems to me that power must be understood in the first instance as (1) the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as (2) the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; as (3) the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as (4) the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies.” (*ibid.*, 19)

The above mentioned four points are the principal aspects of Foucault's initial definition of power. Power relations are the main factors and systems or disjunctions established by the interplay of these power relations. Foucault begins at the micro level rather than macro level of power. He looks at local relations of power which can be fully understood as functions of local relations. In other words, he begins with behaviours and interactions of individuals to see how power work in larger patterns, national norms and socio-political regulations on the power game.

Foucault's View on Bio-Power

Bio-power is a term coined by Michel Foucault. He first used the term in his lecture at the College de France, but it firstly printed

in his 1st volume of 'The History of Sexuality'. Foucault analyzed different types of power which is Sovereign Power, Disciplinary Power and Bio-power. According to Wikipedia, Foucault views bio-power as "a technology of power for managing humans in large groups; the distinctive quality of this political technology is that it allows for the control of entire populations. It refers to the control of human bodies through an anatomy-politics of the human body and bio-politics of the population through societal disciplinary institutions. Initially imposed from outside whose source remains elusive to further investigation both by the social sciences and the humanities, and in fact, you could argue will remain elusive as long as both disciplines use their current research methods. Modern power, according to Foucault's analysis, becomes encoded into social practices as well as human behaviour as the human subject gradually acquiesces to subtle regulations and expectations of the social order. It is an integral feature and essential to the workings of (and makes possible) the emergence of the modern nation, state, capitalism, etc. Bio-power is literally having power over bodies; it is an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and control of populations."

Powers of Life and Death: From Sovereign Power to Bio-power

In Foucault's works including, 'The History of Sexuality: An Introduction' (1990), 'Society Must Be Defended' (2003) and his courses at College de France (1975-76), Foucault describes nicely and seriously that bio-power takes hold very deeply into human life. Through these works, Foucault traces the shift from classical and sovereign power to two typically modern forms of power, called discipline power and bio-power. It is a shift from the right of death

to power over life, “in the classical theory of sovereignty, the right of life and death was one of sovereignty’s basic attributes... The right of sovereignty was the right to take life or let live. And then this new right is established: the right to make live and to let die”(Dianna, 2011, p.41). Sovereign power is a power of right to take away not only life but also wealth, service, labor and product. Its only power over life is to seize that life, to end, impoverish or enslave. The right over life of Sovereign power is merely the right of deletion or allow, but not of regulation or regular control. As Foucault writes, “The sovereign exercised his right of life only by exercising his right to kill, or by refraining from killing; he evidenced his power over life only through the death he was capable of requiring. The right which was formulated as the ‘power of life and death’ was in reality the right to take life or let live. Its symbol, after all, was the sword.” (ibid.,42). In the era of bio-power, there is no more relevance to take life or let live, but regulating or controlling human’s life at every time and every places in the world.

Two Levels of Bio-power: Discipline and Regulation

Foucault describes two distinct forms of power that is discipline and bio-power. On the way of describing power, he includes discipline within bio-power or describe discipline as one of the two levels at which bio-power works. Bio-power is a power over life in which life can be controlled on the basis of both individuals and groups. While at one level, school, workshop, prison and hospital (disciplinary institutions) targets individual bodies as they depart from norms, at the same time, another level the state administrates the norms of the public as a whole and planning to understand and regulate the problems of birthrate, life expectancy, standard of health, housing, literacy rate and migration. Disciplinary power works primarily

through schools, hospitals, prisons etc...(Institutions).But the exercise of bio-powermainly through the state which also includes various institutions like prison. In ‘The History of Sexuality: An Introduction’, Foucault writes of bio-power,

“This power over life evolved in two basic forms; these two forms were not antithetical, however; they constituted rather two poles of development linked together by a whole intermediary cluster of relations. One of these poles – the first to be formed, it seems – centered on the body as a machine: its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls, all this was ensured by the procedures of power that characterized the disciplines: an anatomo-politics of the human body. The second, formed somewhat later, focused on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, withal the conditions that can cause these to vary. Their supervision was effected through an entire series of interventions and regulatory controls: a bio-politics of the population.”(Foucault, 1978, p. 139)

Two Stages of Bio-power

Two forms of Power	Target	Purpose	Institution / System	Strategies
1.Regulatory form of power or Bio-politics	Population Species and Raceetc.,	For controlling population	The nation states	Research studies, creation of new knowledge and practices in social sciences like psychology, sociology, economics etc., Policies and interferences in the longevity, migration, health, birthrate, housing etc.,
2.Disciplinary form of power or Anatomic-politics	Individuals and their bodies	For oppressing bodies	Schools and Colleges, Army, Prison, Hospital, Workshop, Training programs etc.,	Research and practice in psychology, education, criminology, medicine etc.,

Administering Life: From the Census to Sexuality

Bio-power manages life in modern ways rather than take it away. In order to control lives, it is significant for the state to attain forecasts and statistical data concerning such demographic factors as reproduction, longevity,migration, housing and mortality etc. For this reason, a significant moment in the history of bio-power is the implementation and progress of the modern census. Modern states identified the need of understanding the features, structures, level of knowledge and tendencies of public in order to control them. “One subject of bio-political concern is the age of a population, together with a whole series of related economic and political problems. Another area of bio-political study and intervention is the health and

survival of neo-nates, managed, for instance, through government sponsored breast feeding advocacy campaigns”. (Dianna, 2011, p.47)

“While non-reproductive sexual acts had long been considered sinful, since the eighteenth century they have come to be seen as a threat to society. At the disciplinary level, individuals engaging in non-reproductive sexual acts and women uninterested in productive sex have been medically treated for perversion, frigidity and sexual dysfunction. At the bio-political level, non-reproductive sexual acts and the rejection of reproductive sexuality are issues which need to be managed. It is necessary to know what proportion of the population is engaging in specific sexual acts, or is using contraceptives, in order to intervene in this behavior or to compensate for it. While in some segments of society the state is concerned with promoting procreation and thus with providing incentives to parenthood, in other segments of the population the state is concerned with containing and preventing procreation. In particular, certain groups, such as unwed women, the poor, criminals and the mentally or physically ill or disabled have been deemed (and some instances continue to be deemed) unfit to procreate or to raise children”. (ibid.,47-48)

As these cases show, sex is very significant at two levels of bio-power, at the level of the use of body of individuals and the growth, trends and health of the populace. As Foucault notes, “Sexuality exists at the point where body and population meet. And so it is a matter for discipline, but also a matter for regularization”. (ibid.,48)

Foucault also writes in his book ‘The History of Sexuality’, “Sex was a means of access both to the life of the body and life of the species. It was employed as a standard for the disciplines and as a basis for regulations. This is why in the nineteenth century sexuality was sought out in the smallest details of individual existence.... But

one also sees it becoming the theme of political operations, economic interventions (through incitements to or curbs on procreation), and ideological campaigns for raising standards of morality and responsibility: it was put forward as an index of a society's strength, revealing of both its political energy and its biological vigor. Spread out from one pole to the other of this technology of sex was a whole series of different tactics that combined in varying proportions the object of disciplining the body and that of regulating populations.

Death in the Age of Bio-politics

In contrast to sex, Foucault argues that death has now receded from view, becoming private and hidden. When sovereign power entitled the right to force death, the objective of bio-power is to control life. Under sovereign power death was ritualized as the movement of passing from one sovereign authority to the next. Death was the ultimate expression of sovereign power and was made into public spectacle whenever this power needed to be affirmed. In contrast, under bio-power, death is the movement in which we escape power. Foucault writes of the "disqualification of death" in the bio-political age, and observes that the "great public ritualization of death gradually began to disappear". (Dianna, 2011, p.49) Therefore under era of sovereign power, suicide or the attempt of suicide was illegal. It was the right and power of the king to take life. But now death is a private, medical and hidden issue.

Socio-Political Impacts in the era of bio-power

Foucault describes that two forms of power in detail. Foucault puts forward the need to understand the power forms in both micro and macro perspective. The existence and exercise of power is always possible within the power relations of society and the social life is

a sum total of power relations which is an important observation by Foucault. Till the early part of the 20th century, states usually exercised the power to defeat, control and kill the people by using the police, court, law, jail and army in the macro level. But today, in the micro level, the enhancement and defeating exercise of power into the cells of the body and brain as a form of self-controlling is an invisible format. If the first one is sovereign power, the second is bio power.

Towards the later part of the 20th century, power surrender the people in different ways. Today, the existence and exercise of power do not depend on the application of physical force or not by creating followers. The new knowledge forms in social science, biology and psychology etc., are being used to control or defeat human beings by themselves. Evolving knowledge in modern sciences have been utilising as a tool of conquering ideas and it is injecting into the human brains through schools, hospitals, and religious institutions to impose the forms of bio-power of obedience. The forms of discipline imposed on students in schools, awareness programmes and treatments prescribed in hospitals for body, brainwash and consultations by psychologists, advises by priests and confessions in front of them etc., enables humans to self-submission. Here the police, court and army are not required to surrender the human beings. In the age of modernity, bio-power is the process of self-control and self-submission of human beings without their own knowledge.

One of the main feature of modernity is the building of civilisation. Ending the natural living and bring humans into political life is essential for the building of civilization. At the time of king's reign, land was not brought entirely under the control of

political power. At that point of time, humans had hills, forests and land to roam around freely. In modern democracy, such land and surroundings are under the control of states. In the view of modern states, living like social animal (natural or emotional life) or non-political is not a profitable one. To ensure absolute sovereign power, modern states are required to reduce all human beings under its purview. Therefore, it is needed to reject the possibilities of life outside the sovereign power or political sphere of the modern states. Hence, in the label of modern democratic, civilised and political life, all human beings surrender themselves.

The bio-metric identity cards (Aadhar cards) are one of the tool or device of such surrendering. In short, in order to bring under the rule of power everyone is reduced to numbers for a categorised understanding of the bodies. By the 1970s, there was a shift of the source of power. An international empire has been created by joining domestic capital with international capital as a means of production and distribution. As a result of this, power of the nation-states became weak. Instead, a new form in which the finance capital assumes power and enjoying the sovereign power is gradually developing. Moreover, governments' power over its citizen has become inconsequential. On a global scale, the entire humanity is replanted under a sovereign power of the empire of money/capital. This power has spread over the world transcending borders and blurring certainty over its ownerships. Along with spreading all over the world, the international finance capital is conquering the world with the aim of maximum production and profit.

When everything is for buy and sale, even media has become an industry and also lost its rebel voice. At the same time, the situation of civil society is self-controlled and self-surrendered.

Therefore, imperialism becomes an unquestionable great power. Moreover, corporate reduces all human skills as the tools of reaping profits. All fields like arts, sports, logic, language, science and technology reduce to the part of profiteering. As a result of this shift, all humans are chasing wealth when everything - air, water, love, mercy etc. - can be bought with money. In this current world situation, we can see the surrendering or leaving of innate nature of love, lust and entertainment of the humans and corporate capital is reducing everything to a global political life. In such a global political life, use of law, jails, police, army and courts are not needed to surrender people. Just like that the power of religion, caste and social institutions are no more required to surrender people. Bio-power designs people as needful by the powerful with the beauty of one surrendering oneself for someone else. Just like, how the “Yakshi” of yesteryear mythical stories, a beautiful lady of knee length hair and red lips with a lovely smile in white saree comes the moonlight for a blood sucking submission.

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CHALLENGES TO MUSLIM COSMOPOLITANISM IN KERALA

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Abstract

Cosmopolitanism is an important characteristic feature of Muslim community in Kerala. It has been manifested in all walks of Muslim life of Kerala. The assimilation of local culture, adoption of technology as a result of Gulf migration are some of the aspects of emerging cosmopolitanism. However, the paper argues that this cosmopolitanism among the community is under threat to a greater extent due to the flourishing religious fundamentalism and growing factionalism from within and outside.

Keywords- Cosmopolitanism, factionalism, public space, migration.

Introduction

There has always been a tradition of cosmopolitanism among the Muslim community in Kerala. The tradition can be attributed to the interaction of the community with several other communities within and outside the state. This has also been possible as a result of the involvement of the Muslim community with socio, political, cultural and public life of the state.

The Gulf migration which has begun in the 1970's, has contributed much towards the prevalent cosmopolitanism among the community in terms of food habits, technological penetration, growing tendency for urbanized and community living. The large number of secular intellectuals and publications emanating from the community are a manifestation of cosmopolitanism at work among

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the Muslim community. However, of late, the cosmopolitanism shown by the community is under severe pressure on account of the growing factional and hegemonic tendencies within and outside the community. The increasing intolerance towards the Muslim values and cultures from certain factional elements are also creating barriers to true cosmopolitanism among the community. The global notion of Islam monolithically has tremendous implications on meaningful interaction of the community within the state. The paper seeks to examine the question of Muslim identity in the above framework.

Methodology

The problem is approached theoretically taking into consideration the concept of cosmopolitanism and its influences on society. Significant theoretical approaches on cosmopolitanism are evaluated for the purpose. On the basis of theoretical foundations, Muslim identity is analysed in the context of Kerala. Major issues in Kerala of Muslim identity are studied in order to arrive at conclusions.

Theoretical Framework of Cosmopolitanism

According to Appiah the crisis that lies in cosmopolitanism today is to live as if we were “living in a world of strangers” i.e. as we were permanently living with the unfamiliar (Cited in Riedel, 2013:37). A cosmopolitan person knows that his perception of life is not the only real one in this world. Hence, the capacity and eagerness to cross borders and barriers of all kinds through dialogues is a significant aspect of cosmopolitanism. Appiah, believes that ‘cosmopolitan contamination’ and contamination is caused by various kinds of complex relationships (ibid). His treatment of the issue is combination of philosophical and pragmatic dimensions.

Beck(2007) has introduced the distinction between “philosophical cosmopolitanism” and “Cosmopolitan realism” (ibid). He contends

that ‘philosophical cosmopolitanism’ with a European centered notion is no longer viable, particularly the Kant’s conceptualization. Beck, argues the Kant’s notion of cosmopolitanism is highly idealistic and philosophical. Beck, put forward the alternative to philosophical notion of cosmopolitanism-‘cosmopolitan realism’ (Riedel, 2013, p37). His perspective on cosmopolitanism focus on both on structures and theories of cosmopolitanism and social theory application (ibid).According to Beck, cosmopolitanism is to be perceived as the unplanned impact of globalization. It creates a new debate between cosmopolitans and anti-cosmopolitans and also the ‘revived’ which means that a renewed seeking for roots, identities and essentials in an indispensable part of the process of cosmopolitanism (ibid). In the process of cosmopolitanisation, new manifestations of attitudes will have to discern in addressing diversities, of national, territorial or social realm. Cosmopolitanisation indicates the giving up of traditional concepts, premises and demarcations. Social and cultural theories should be part of this process. Both Appiah and Beck argues that a cosmopolitan person is no longer just a citizen of the whole world, but simultaneously a locally rooted person (Riedel, 2013, p38). For Tsing(2000) the term ‘ circulation’ is a most significant one. Most commonly the global thinkers imagine that the local as a stepping point of global circulations. It is the place where global flows are consumed, incorporated and resisted. It is also where the global notions get scattered and changed into a more locally tied issues. The notion of cosmopolitanism as perceived by Randeria evokes questions of entangled histories and entangled modernities(Riedal, 2013, p38).In the opinion of Randeria “a perspective of entangled histories of modernities within and outside the West in order to overcome both methodological nationalism as well as Euro-centrism by seeing colonialism as constitutive of, and

not external to, European modernity...The notion of entanglement that I propose replaces a comparison of societies in the rest of the world with those of the West by using instead a relational perspective, which foregrounds processes of historical and contemporary unequal exchanges that shaped modernities in both the parts of the world. Such perspective does not privilege Western historical experiences and trajectories. Moreover, it is sensitive to the specificities of various configurations of modernity in the West and outside it" (Randeria, 2006, Pp. 102-103).

History of Islamic Cosmopolitanism in Kerala

The geographical position of Arabian Peninsula exerted tremendous impact up on the Arabs. The Malabar Peninsula with its geographical peculiarity surrounded by seas on three sides made it possible for them to involve in trade activities in a big way. Among the Indian states, Malabar was the most significant region with which the Arabs had constant trade ties from the ancient times (Samad, 2012, p. 408). There were evidences which discern the fact that the Arab traders settled in huge numbers at the various ports on the Western coast. It was also revealed that Kollam was an important port which had frequent sailings to China (ibid). The Arabs often bought Indian goods such as pepper, ginger, cardamom, coconut etc; which were the products of Malabar coast(ibid). The spread of Islam in Kerala can attributed to three significant dimensions. One prominent reason is the kind of support and assistance given by native princes and rulers. The socio-economic bottlenecks in the society particularly the tribal conditions paved the way for Islam to hold much of its sway in the region. The spiritual enhancement brought out by early Muslim saints and missionaries had also contributed to the spread of Islam in a great manner. Apart from the

three attributes, the Islamic concept of equality and brotherhood had also evoked certain ripples in Kerala's society (Sharafudeen, 2012, p394).

Kerala has a Muslim population of 26.56 % of the total population of Kerala (Census, 2011). The Mappilas of Malabar comprise the oldest Muslim communities in the Indian sub-continent. Islam reached Kerala in the eight century from the ancient maritime trade route connecting the Malabar Coast with Arabia and Gulf. The Mappila Muslims had assimilated the local language, culture and values to a greater extent (Koya, 1983, Pp.62-63). Besides, the language, the Mappila Muslims have absorbed aspects of surrounding Hindu culture in several areas of social life such as dress, food habits and marriage practices like tying of tali and paying dowry to the bridegroom.

A remarkable example for the assimilation of the Mappila Muslims of local culture is the architectural style of the ancient mosques which are similar to typical Malabar Hindu temples (Narayanan 2006, Pp. 115-123). A significant portion of the Muslim community has also adopted the matrilineal system typical of some Hindu communities (Gough, 1961, Pp. 415-442). Miller observes that Mappila mosques observe the indigenous Jain style of architecture (Miller, 1976, p. 250). However, it is also significant that the Muslim community had distinguished themselves as a specific community with specific cultural features of their own such as the Arabic and Urudu influence in their language, their food, parts of their code, their songs, epics, dances and their music (Koya, 1983, Pp. 62-75). The Muslims were able to absorb different foreign and Kerala visual art forms and had tailor-made them to suit their needs. Some of these art forms are "Daff Mutt", "Kolkalai", Oppana

so on and so forth. Several of them are purely Arabic in origin, while others are either indigenous or partly indigenous and partly foreign (Sharafudeen, 2012, p.400). The “Theyyam” a popular art form in North Malabar had sway over Muslim arts as well. “Madayai Theyyam’s” story is entangled in the story of the origin of Islam in Kerala (Nair, 1968, Pp.50-51).

In Malabar especially in Kozhikode, before the arrival of Portuguese, the Muslims were a well-accepted and affluent minority who supported the politics of Zamorins and who made their living mainly by trade across the Indian ocean, contributing significantly to the cosmopolitan culture of the city(Reidel, 2013, p.41).

However, with the arrival of Portuguese and subsequent periods their significance and status in society deteriorated significantly. The relationship between Muslims and Portuguese were not based on mutual trust and respect. And in the second half of the 18th century invasion of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan and subsequent defeat of Tipu by the British paved the way for Muslim exploitation and hatred against the British, the Hindus and Christians in Kerala. The British Administration and non-Muslim majority of society considered them as a poor, uneducated, closed and radical community till 20th century (Ansari, 2005, Pp.36-77). Until the 1960s a significant percentage of Muslim community particularly in Malabar region of the state was extremely poor, illiterate, deprived of land and remained isolated from the mainstream Kerala society (Reidel, 2013, p.42). “The attribute of cosmopolitanism could no longer be applied to them or in fact among a small minority of Muslims” (ibid, p.37).

This was manifested in the education sector. For a long period there had been enhanced aversion against English education which had been introduced by the British and carried over to the post-

colonial India. Mappila Muslims preferred to send their children to Madrasas attached to mosques. The literacy rate of the Mappila Muslims in 1931 was 5% when compared to about 20% in all Kerala and 9.5% in the rest of the country (Ramachandran, 1997, Pp. 256-257).

After gaining independence in 1947, and particularly since the Gulf boom in the 1970's, there has been significant change in the socio-economic profile of the community. By the 1990's Kerala migration had become the significant factor in Kerala particularly in Malabar region where the emergence of affluent class has resulted in huge networks in urban and semi-urban centres of Malabar and major cities of Gulf (Osella and Osella, 2009, Pp. 202-221). It is also significant that Gulf migration broadened the political and religious visions of the Muslims of Kerala. The Muslim community has gradually come out of the negative image and has to a greater extent politically supported by various governments. The Gulf boom provided Mappilas a sense of confidence and, via the new intensity of contact with co-religionists outside Kerala, a consciousness of the breadth and horizons of their faith (Chirayankandath, 1996, p.3). Studies show that emigration to Gulf countries is mainly from the Malappuram district of Kerala which is a Muslim majority district. Emigration to Gulf countries is dominated by Muslims whose share of emigrants from the state (44.3%) continues to remain much higher than their share in the total population (26.5%) (Zacharia, 2012, pp.5-6). Among the Muslim community, 53.3% of the households had at least one emigrant or return emigrant (ibid). In terms of remittances as well, the Muslim community is in the lead. According to Zacharia, Muslim households received Rs. 23,089 crores as remittances in the year 2011 (ibid). This comprises of 46.5% of the total remittances.

One can find Muslims in Kerala have their own shops, schools, mosques, movie theatres set up in Persian Gulf. Family, labour and commercial connections to and fro are diverse. There is an indication of 'transnational Social Spaces' (Pries, 2011, Pp.16-17).

Muslims and Public space in Kerala

It is in this context it is pertinent to evaluate the involvement of Muslims in the public space of Kerala. There are various channels through which Muslims could occupy the public space in Kerala. The library movement, social organizations of various kinds within and outside the organisations, political parties so on and so forth. However, segregating the community in the label of minority is problematic even though it is true that they are minority in majority of the districts of Kerala. This has resulted in a situation in which the Muslim community has increasingly been felt alienated from the rest of the society. There emerged a feeling of 'othernesses' to Muslim community and the community is viewed as child breeders, dirty, violent, fundamentalist, sinister-looking, poor, illiterate and so on (Hasan, 2007, Pp.7-15). Even before the Sachar committee report being published, the Narendran committee report had revealed the fact that Muslims are insufficiently represented in public institutions. This has led to the way for serious debates and discussions by the several Muslim organizations regarding the poor state of conditions (Punathil, 2013, p.14). The Muslim political participation has helped them to a greater extent in challenging and questioning the issues affecting the community. The political space of the community could be seen in the arena of mainstream political parties belonging to both LDF and UDF coalitions. Muslims shared power with both the coalition partners and succeed in gaining many demands such as exclusive reservation for Muslims, creating the

Muslim dominated district of Malappuram, appointment of Arabic teachers in schools and Mappila schools (ibid; p. 15).

Apart from the penetration of political space, other kinds of occupying the social space have also been visible. This has been manifested in the emergence of various organizations among the Muslim community. Reform process among the community has gained momentum after the creation of Kerala Naduvatul Mujahideen (KNM). This had evoked tensions between Mujahid reformists and orthodox Sunni groups (ibid). These divisions have been penetrated into Muslim social and religious lives in Kerala. In addition to the above polarisations, Jamaat-e-Islami more leaned towards the notion of 'political Islam' has come into the mainstream. The reformist organisations have contributed significantly to various aspects of Muslim life in the form of cultural and educational modifications. One noticeable thing about Kerala Muslims is that they are segregated to a greater extent. All these factions have varied responses and reactions to numerous issues pertaining to Muslim identity. Some of these organizations are Ahamadiya movement, Thablig Jamaat etc (Anees). Although the Muslim community is lagging behind in various spheres of life in comparison to other communities in Kerala, the interactions with in the community in the form various groups and factions have contributed in a big way to their development. A clear cosmopolitanism has gradually been unrevealing among the Muslim community in Kerala.

On the other hand, developments in national and international realms have drastic impact up on the community particularly after 1990's. Increasing communal divisions and tensions all over the country influenced the Kerala Muslims as well owing to various issues such the demolition of Babri Masjid, the Gujrat violence,

Iraqi invasion and post 9/11 notion of monolithic conception of Islam which had created heated responses and reactions among the community (Punathil, 2013, p.15). International issues of growing intolerance towards the community especially in Liberal Democratic countries have opened up more public sphere activities. This has led to a situation in which several political parties apart from Muslim League, have raised their heads like PDP(People's Democratic Party), NDF (National Democratic Front popularly known as Popular Front), Solidarity Youth Movement so on. The Popular Front came into existence in Kozhikode in 2006 by merging three groups such as Kerala's National Development Front, Karnataka's Forum for Dignity, and Tamil Nadu's Manitha Neethi Pasarai. In 2009, the Popular Front absorbed five more organizations such as Citizen's Forum in Goa, Community Social and Educational Society in Rajasthan, Nagarik Adhikar Suraksha Samiti in West Bengal, Lilong Social Forum in Manipur, and Association of Social Justice in Andhra Pradesh.

Currently the organization believes to have more than five lakh members, and solid presence in Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Rajasthan.

The Popular Front has a political wing, the Social Democratic Party of India, and a trade union as well, called the Social Democratic Trade Union. The National Women's Front is the organisation's women's wing; Campus Front of India is the students' wing, while All India Imam's Council is the religious scholars' unit. In Kerala, it runs the Markazul Hidayat Satya Sarani Educational and Charitable Trust, popularly known as Satya Sarani, in Manjeri, Malappuram. It is significant that these parties and organizations have been emerged in the aftermath of Babri Masjid's demolition in 1992. They also

felt that the Muslim League had failed to address the problems of Muslims in Kerala in the context of communal polarisation. All these parties and organisations have made efforts to include dalit's and other minority issues to put a secular manifestation (Anees). Despite the fact that these organisations have not been able to make much penetration in Kerala society, they have made serious and deep presence in Kerala politics disturbing the communal fabric at several junctures(ibid).

Challenges to Cosmopolitanism

Though Kerala had not affected by aggressive Hindu nationalism as is the case with North India, the 1980's witnessed a significant growth in such activity. The primary reason being the status of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya. The Babri Masjid controversy stimulated the sense of apprehension among the beleaguered minority. In 1987, the then National President of Indian Union Muslim League(IUML), Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait, participated in the All India Babri Masjid Committee had called for boycott of the celebration of the Republic Day. In this context, that the sudden emergence of Abdul Nazar Madani and his Islamic Sevak Sangh(ISS) must be perceived. Madani opined that it was the ineffectiveness of the existing Muslim organisations in protecting Muslims against the 'atrocities' committed against that moved him to launch an organization to arouse and unify Muslims(Chirayan Kandath, 1996, p.4). This revealed the fact majority fundamentalism pose a challenge to Muslim community in big way. It is one of the causes of Muslim fundamentalism in Kerala. As a result of these fundamental activities, the entire Muslim community has been branded as fundamentalists and part of various extremist organizations. Hence it results in the alienation of Muslims from the mainstream society which acts as a

challenge to Muslim cosmopolitanism. This anti- Muslim prejudice at regional and national level has several manifestations in the form of a perception of Islam a monolithic entity, static and unresponsive to change so on and so forth.

It is in this context that it is significant to assess the responses and reactions of various Muslim organizations and groups to Islamic State {IS} a global terrorist organisation. Even though, Muslim organizations have vowed to campaign against extremist activities put forward by Islamic State (IS), a common response to the dangers of radicalisation has failed to emerge as result of the factional tendencies within the community (hindu.com). These factional tendencies often emerge in public platforms of Kerala. In 2015, a public meeting organised by Jamaat-e-Islami in Kozhikode to stage the opposition against extremism, the factions of Sunnis and Mujahid were kept away from the meeting. According to Hameed Chennamangaloor, a critique of fundamentalism in Islam “IS being a modern version of Salafism and political Islam, the Jamaat-e-Islami founded by Abdul Ala Maududi carries their legacy”(ibid)). He continues that “Jamaat-e-Islami here is forced to take a stand against the Jihadi political Islam that its founder espoused. What is doing now, including the destruction of historical monuments, was what Salafists had done in Saudi Arabia(ibid) Another leader who has leaning towards the Sunni faction opined that Maududi was an ideologue of Islamic religious state and IS had got inspiration from Maududi and Egyptian Islamic thinker Syed Qutb. He attributed the absence of Sunni faction to the function as it was being organized by Jamaat-e-Islami. This poses certain questions as to the deep factionalism within the community which resulted in reaching a common reaction to increasing extremism all over the world.

The debate received momentum when the Sunni Muslim organization (Sunni Student Federation) SSF, had put forward a counter argument against the Jamaat-e-Islami's campaign that deliberately called for creating a common platform to fight against the IS intolerance. The Jamaat-e-Islami claim that the Islamic state does not represent 'true' Islam, it was countered by SSF campaign, which believed that IS is an outcome of the same ideology promoted by Jamaat (Asharaf:cafedissensusblog.com). The counter campaigns against Jamaat-e-Islami's anti-IS campaign is an effort to thwart Jamaat from earning points in the Kerala public sphere.. In continuation of these arguments and counter arguments, Jamaat published a plethora of articles in its weekly, *The Madhyamam* attributing the growth of Islamic state to the imperialist agendas of US and other Western countries (ibid). This was again criticised by the Sunni faction that in the first speech of the founding father of the Islamic State, there was reference to Allama Maududi, founding father of Jamaat -e-Islami movement in India. This issue has raised the question of cosmopolitanism and challenge posed by factionalism within the Muslim community on accepting of fundamentalist forces.

Conclusion

Cosmopolitanism has always been the attitude among the Muslim community in Kerala. This cosmopolitanism has been evoked by centuries of old interaction with traders and communities from different regions – national and international. This cosmopolitanism had been interrupted for a sufficient period as a result of Portuguese and British interventions. Later, in the 1970's, cosmopolitan tendencies had started emerging among the Muslim community on account of several factors –one among them is the Gulf migration.

The political community and the public space have also created an ambience for cosmopolitanism in modern Kerala. However, this cosmopolitanism has been challenged by spurt in Hindu fundamentalism and factions within the community. The Hindu fundamentalism has raised questions of intolerance, perception of nationalism within the framework of Hinduism, treatment of Islam as a monolithic religion etc. have far reaching repercussions on Islamic cosmopolitanism in Kerala. At the same time the threat posed by various factions within the community is also a serious issue to be deliberated upon. The factionalism has been quite evident in responding to the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism across the world.

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PERFORMANCE AND PROBLEMS OF PROPERTY TAX IN KERALA: A CASE STUDY OF MALAYINKEEZHU GRAMA PANCHAYAT

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Abstract

Property tax is the most potential source of revenue for the local government and it needs to be addressed with due importance. It is the source which possesses the superiority of unhidden tax base and the oldest sources of revenue to the government. After detecting slow growth and realising the damage that faced by the immensely potential source, every Finance Commission, state as well as central, suggested rapid actions and changes on the source. Obscuring the entire factual realization, the recommendations became ineffective one by one. So many causes can be sorted out for the ineffectiveness. But the actual harm due to its futility is for our state and for the nation. As a step to realise the depth of negligence, this paper tries to examine the existing condition of the revenue source with the help of an empirical data. And found that the source is untapped and the Grama Panchayats are over depending on Grants from the Central and State Governments to execute their responsibilities.

Introduction

The local governments in both developing and developed nations are extensively using property tax, which is one of the most traditional sources of revenue. Property tax is an annual tax on buildings, which is probably based on the notion of market value. Buildings may be residential and commercial or industrial: commonly called as non-residential. Practically, the majority of local governments are high level dependence of the property tax for the smooth running of their

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responsible activities. The government which has adequate power over property tax can take more independent expenditure decisions than the one which have not. In many cases; the property tax, its blueprint and its organization becomes the crucial factors of the decentralisation policy in several countries. Like most of the other taxes, property tax should be viewed from a common policy point, rather than a mere local tax.

Owing to the simple nature of the source local government considers it as a useful local tax, but for the union governments, it is less attractive as the income from it is much less than the from other general tax sources. When relating to the impact on the fiscal pronouncements, property tax is considered to be relatively unwavering, and anticipated. Somik.V. Lall (2006) viewed the property tax as an important source of revenue for local government, and he expressed his concern that “it has been relatively underutilised in Indian cities, and there is considerable need to develop its performance, particularly in the context of the directions laid down by the 74th Amendment Act on decentralised governance”.

The reliance on the property tax by local governments is assorted depending on the financial responsibilities of local governments, and the availability of revenue from other sources, including grants and non-tax revenue. It also depends on the size of the tax base. Augmenting the tax base by adding more and more rural properties in taxation through the policy of tax base extension to the possible end, will provide stable revenue to the rural local governments to dispose responsible activities. These being the necessities of a successful property tax system, this paper try to locate the extent of achievement of the system of property tax in Kerala by evaluating the performance and status of the source of revenue.

General issues in Property tax: An overview

The main general issues related to the source of revenue are

the unpopularity, imperfect implementation and, the tax source is open to direct dispute by the people due to the visibility of tax base. Direct approachability for the people to the controlling point of the property tax system also makes hurdles for the implementation of the system. Even its minor irregularities are viewed in an exaggerated version by the community. In fact, these should be considered as the minor drawback of the transparency.

If the source is directly linked to politics, the meaning may change to a different one. All the voters are not property tax payers. Imagine if a situation emerges with more numbers of non-payers than the tax payers and also, if they are excluded from the right to vote in local elections, local governments will be injured. The intensity of the problem will be mounted if the property tax forms the only source of revenue to the local authorities. One of the highly damaging issues is the high interference of political parties in the case of the property tax as it is a local source of revenue; in order to please the voters, Political parties will impede the increase in the rate of tax. Even though the revenue source said to be helping to establish equality and justice in the society, in a deeper sense, it had nothing to do than raising revenue for authority.

In the words of Mathur, (2009) property tax has so many advantages, like

- (i) Property tax is difficult to avoid,
- (ii) Property tax is present less competition with other tax sources
- (iii) Property tax will not demand equal service or benefit from the government
- (iv) It is a stable revenue source, compared to the other source of revenue, and
- (v) With good policy and administration it could help for Economic growth.

This being the reality, the authority is not yet mobilised optimally

the source for the revenue needs. Due to lack of attention from the side of policy makers, property tax remains as an insignificant source of revenue. The tax reforms were conceded without touching the source; and the minor changes happened were the result of prolonged waiting. The resilience of the property tax is related to its periodic revaluation, proper execution and management of rate and base, and timely collection methods.

Property Tax: Kerala Experience

Like the other states in India, Kerala also had the experiences of property taxation of more than a decade. In accordance with the 73rd and 74th Amendment Acts, Kerala passed the Panchayt raj Act in the year 1994. With the new Act, the local governments were more empowered with new duties and rights. For the enactment of additional responsibilities, the authorities needed more financial powers and revenue support. In this regard property tax had given an ample support for them.

The Constitution of India had empowered the states in our country through the entry 49 in the state list of the Seventh schedule for levying the taxes on lands and buildings. The property tax policies are the determination of state governments, and the resulted multiplicity in the different field of property taxation makes the standardization of the policy measures impossible in India. The base for property tax calculation is varied in different states. The Annual Rental Value method (ARV), Capital Value Method (CV), Unit Area Assessment system (UAA) and Area Based System (ABS) are the different methods adopted in India. Kerala followed a method based on the ARV till 2013, even though the discussions were emerged for a change since the second SFC, 12 long years had been taken for the practical implementation. Now in Kerala the plinth area of the building is the base for tax calculation for properties. More specifically, it is a composite method of Area based System; which includes the criteria like, plinth area, Location, Distance from

the road, Quality of the building material, age of the building and Provision of Air conditioning. All the factors are considered and valued according to its status.

Property tax, the prominent source of revenue of the decentralised governments cannot be said as in a position of optimal utilisation of the base; and therefore the revenue from the source is not up to its level. As mentioned in the earlier section, the efficient implementation is the most influencing factor of property tax revenue. In the case of Kerala the over dependence on central and state grants is one of the major causes of its inefficient management. At present the importance of own source revenue is decreasing in the state; which mainly affects the basic services provided by the Local Government.

State Finance Commissions on Property Tax

Finance Commission is the constitutional body with given duty to study the financial positions of the local bodies and to make needed recommendations and suggestions for their improvements. It is the child of the 73rd and 74th Amendment Act. The duty and power were entrusted by the Article 243(I) of the Indian Constitution, and by Section 186 of the Kerala Panchayatraj Act of 1994. Five Finance Commissions were appointed in Kerala so far during the period of 1994-2014.

Different State Finance Commissions commented on the source of revenue and suggested few ways for enhancement. Some major reference made by the SFCs of time to time and some suggestions put forward by them are mentioning here in the view that it will throw the light into the trend and status of the property tax in the post decentralization period. According to the First SFC report, "Tax on buildings is a tax under Section 200 read along with Section 203 of the Kerala Panchayt Raj Act, 1994 which empowers the panchayats to levy tax on the net annual rental value of buildings

subject to a maximum of 10 % and minimum of 6%” Then existed 970 panchayats was practicing property taxation within the rate of a building tax between 6% and 10 % of net Annual Rental Value (ARV). For the period 1990-1994, the property tax shown 14.8% of average growth. This can be taken as the picture of the pre-decentralisation period. The commission demanded to realise the entire potential of the source. It pointed out that the source is affected with under valuation, a large number of exemptions, and lack of uniformity of the system throughout the state. The commission also viewed that the local governments are not exploiting the immense potential of the property tax.

The Second finance commission pointed that the property tax has a per capita collection of 12.39%, and which constitute 15 % of total own revenue of village panchayat. The Property tax had grown by 40.34% over the period from 1994-1999 .The commission attributed the reason for the low growth of the revenue from the source to the low and steady rate of property tax.

The Third commission overviewed all the sources of revenue of local bodies and made comments in general. The commission pointed out only one fact regarding the property tax that revenue from property or building tax of the Grama panchayt is only 6% of the total revenue, which is a significantly low rate.

The Fourth commission commented and recommended a change to a major point on the property tax that while the total expenditure of Gram Panchayats grew at the rate of 15.4% per annum, during the period 2004-2009, property tax, increased only at the rate of 4.5% showing only a marginal increase. It shows a far below the growth rate than the profession tax. The growth rate of Own Tax Revenue (OTR) and Own Source of Revenue (OSR) are also low, the commission links the reduced growth to the low growth of the property tax as it is the largest revenue source of the local body. The commission recommended for a central valuation agency

for the property tax for the proper execution of the system in order to augment the revenue from the source. It also highlighted the need for rationalisation of the property tax structure, and introducing plinth area as the base of calculation for non-commercial properties. The commission commented that it is the profession tax and non-tax revenue which maintains the OSR of Grama panchayats. The commission stressed the points of significant decline in the property tax of Grama panchayats over the years and the poor collection of property tax and reminded the emergency of taking immediate steps to step up the rate.

The Fifth commission commented that the property tax and profession tax collectively makes 95% of the revenue source. There was no change in the rate of the tax for the last two decades. A change was made in the year 2013, after 20 years which made a commendable change (almost 71%) in the revenue position of the Grama panchayats. But in 2015, the new rates and changes were modified, and later in the year it was almost withdrawn; by wasting 2 years of efforts of the local administration wing of the government.

The commission highlighted the problem of the huge amount of arrears in property tax collection. In the words of the Commission *“the potential of property tax has not been harnessed in terms of both revision of rates and plinth area based assessment.”*

All these comments and recommendations are pointing towards the fact, that the largest revenue source of the Grama panchayat is not been approached satisfactorily. None of the recommendations are considered in a desirable manner. Some of them are accepted and had taken minor actions but later on without any progress gradually fails to work. In this context a discussion on the property tax performance in Kerala is significant. The causes for the constant gap in the property tax revenue can be sorted under concerns like, tapered base, due to the extensive rate of exemptions under different categories, frequent under valuation, the elevated tax rate, and

incompetent enforcement. These issues will be discussed in a few details in the next section of the paper.

Empirical Evaluation

The study is intended to concentrate on the property tax performance of Grama panchayats. In order to achieve social justice and development in the rural area, the Article 243 G of the Constitution had empowered the panchayats to act as a self-governing body. Grama panchayats are rural local body institutions. It has a big role to play in the socio-economic developments of people in the rural area. It is the lowest point of governance in the hierarchy of the Panchayatraj system; where the block panchayat and district panchayat are the other two sections. Other two are the mediator between government and the Grama panchayats. Policy implications and monitoring fund devolution are their powers. But the Grama panchayats (GPs) are in direct contact with public, the financial powers are vested with the Grama panchayats. Levying the tax, collection of tax and non-tax revenue are the main duties as well as the powers of institutions. Panchayats works as a channel through which policies are reaching down to the people and revenue is reaching back to the various funds. Keeping all the relevance in mind the study opted Grama panchayats to evaluate the property tax status in Kerala. Being the lowest point of the local government institution, it should be evaluated first as changes should be started from the root level.

In this section an empirical evaluation is made with the help of data collected from the sample panchayat. The selected sample Malayinkeezhu Grama panchayat is one of the major and active panchayats and was selected randomly for the study. The panchayat is situated in the district of Thiruvananthapuram; only 13 kilometers away from the city. The boundaries of the panchayat are Vilappil and Kattakkada (North), Vilavoorkal, Pallichal and Balaramapuram Panchayats (South) Maaranalloor Panchayat (East) And Vilavoorkkal

Panchayat (in the West). It is basically an agricultural economy. Even though a majority of the population depends on agriculture for their livelihood, military persons, people working in Government, semi government offices are also makes a good portion, construction workers, people with dairy farming and livestock raising are also a very prominent section.

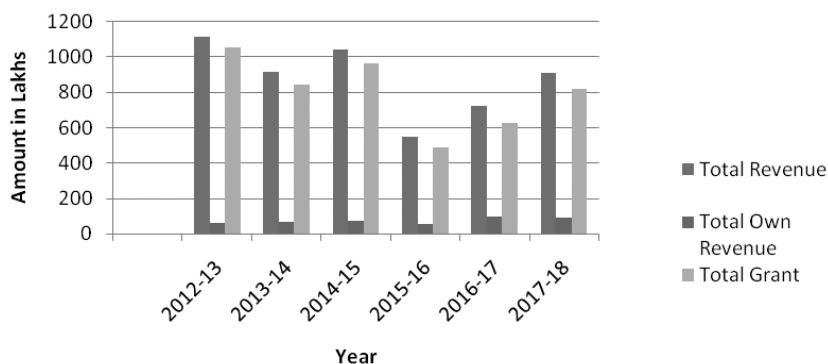
The fiscal details of the panchayats are as follows.

The Revenue composition

Revenue composition of the panchayat includes Total revenue, Total Own revenue and Grants. The details of revenue composition for the Six year are shown in the Figure1.1, which include the details of the period 2012-2018. The analysis of the revenue composition of the five years elucidated the observation of over reliance on grants for the functional activities by the Grama panchayats.

Grants are the driving force behind the total revenue, which shifts to both directions only according to the changes in grants. Substantiating the comments of state finance commissions of time to time the progress in Own revenue, is alarmingly low.

Figure-1.1
Revenue Composition Malayinkeezhu GP



Source: AFS of the GP for the period under study

Table1.1

Annual growth rate of revenue composition (in %)
Malayinkeezhu GP

Year	Annual Growth Rate of Total Revenue	Annual Growth Rate of Total Own Revenue	Annual Growth Rate of Total Grant
2012-13	40.62	45.35	40.36
2013-14	-18.19	15.10	-20.08
2014-15	13.82	8.80	14.23
2015-16	-47.31	-24.20	-49.11
2016-17	32.53	71.75	27.98
2017-18	25.02	-8.74	30.27

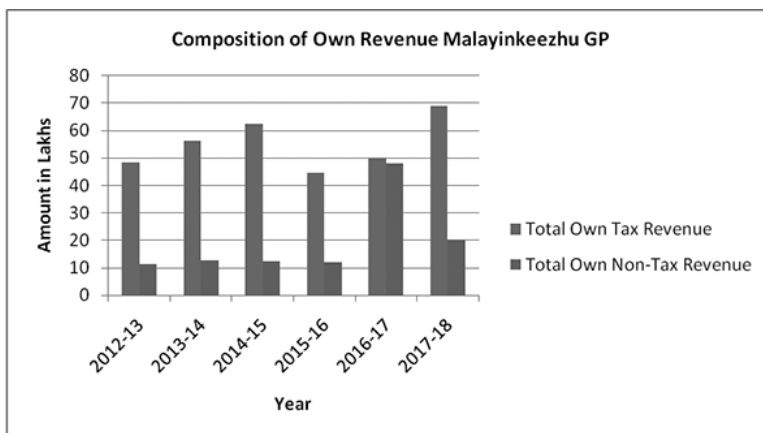
Source: AFS of the GP for the period under study

The identical trend in annual growth rates of total revenue and the total grant in the table1.1 is self-explanatory.

Own Revenue

Own revenue includes revenue from tax and non tax sources.

The major tax sources consisted with property tax, profession tax, entertainment tax, advertisement tax, and service tax. Non-tax revenue is the composition of fees, license charges, registration charges, rents and other charges .The period under the study shown a growing trend by the tax revenue sources .Except the year2016-17 the non-tax revenue is far below than the tax sources.

Figure-1.2

Source: AFS of the GP for the period under study

The annual growth rate of own revenue components given below is a numerical explanation for the trend.

Table-1.2

Annual growth rate of own revenue Malayinkeezhu GP

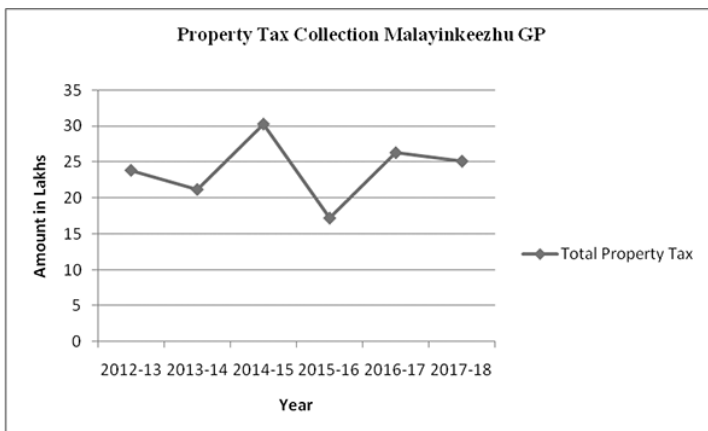
Year	Annual Growth Rate of Total Own Tax Revenue in %	Annual Growth Rate of Total Own Non -Tax Revenue in %
2012-13	62.0	1.3
2013-14	15.9	11.9
2014-15	11.3	-2.4
2015-16	-28.5	-2.7
2016-17	11.3	294.2
2017-18	38.2	-57.5

Source: AFS of the GP for the period under study

Property Tax Collection

Property tax being the focal point of study; more details and empirical data is to be explained in this regard. From the beginning of the source of revenue it had been considered as one of the major revenue sources of local government. The points from the theoretical explanations given in the section one has to be read adding together with the following empirical figure (1.3). The year 2013 becomes the milestone in the history property tax of Kerala, through the implementation of change in the system, including the tax rate and method of assessment. The property tax collection in the year 2013 is showing a tremendous performance due to the new system, but after that in 2015 the effect of withdrawal of the new method had reflected in the performance of the source also. Presently property tax system is existing through a modified system without reaching the desired level of collection or even not achieving a steady growth rate.

Figure-1.3

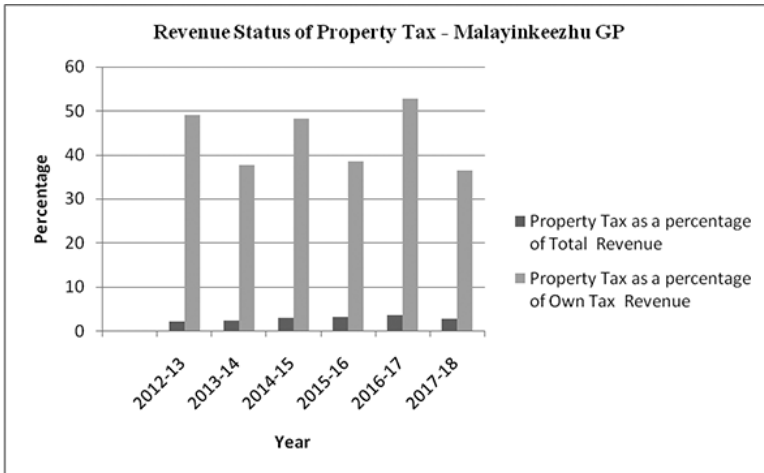


Source: AFS of the GP for the period under study

Revenue status of property tax

Here the property tax of the sample panchayat is being shown as the percentage of own source revenue, Total revenue and of Own tax revenue. Being the major component of revenue in Own source revenue the property tax must have to be the major share, but the catastrophe which is revealed here is that the percentage growth of the source is never reaching even up to 60% in the period under study. Its share to the total revenue is negligibly low and its share is below 60% even in tax revenue sources.

Figure-1.4



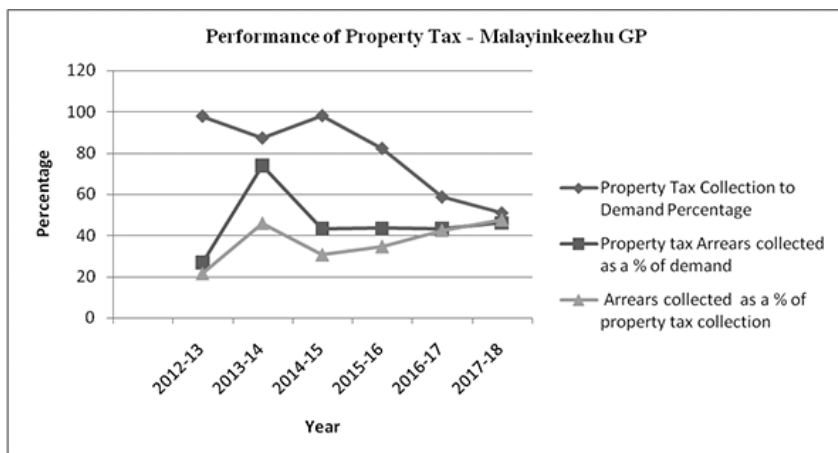
Source: AFS of the GP for the period under study

Performance of the property tax

It is measured using three variables; they are Property tax collection as the percentage of demand. Property tax arrears collected as a percentage of demand and arrears collected as a percentage of total property tax collection. These variables comprehend the performance of the property tax for the period under study.

The Collection trend shows a sharp decline from the period after 2014 and in every succeeding years, it is showing a decreasing trend. This point reminds the recommendation made by the fifth finance commission that the emergency steps should be taken to step up the performance of the source.

Figure1.5



Source: AFS of the GP for the period under study

The under performance of the source could be attributed to more than one reason. It can be divided into two major sections; Assessment and Collection. Assessment is a combination of tax rate, base, and valuation or assessment. The under performance of any of the components will be reflected in the final performance of property tax and will be a great loss of revenue as well.

The reduced performance of the property tax revenue in the sample panchayat is the result of few reasons, which are spotted under, Valuation, Exemptions from the tax, and collection. The valuation must be accurate for a sharp tax fixation, but it cannot be

ensured always. Variations in rate of the tax can be explained along with the valuation system. The rate is fixed by the local government, but the state government gives the range of the tax rate. The improper valuation alone is damaging the tax revenue, then the inconsistency in the rate will add the trouble.

Exemption from the property tax due to various reasons is prevalent in all over India. Exemptions are the side track of the policies but narrowing the main track due to the exemption should be checked. It should be permitted only after proper evaluation and cross verification. The undeserving group should be avoided from the privilege.

Collection is the process which should be examined as a different section. Collection must be proper, simple and on time. Collection methods should be more payees friendly. Online collection is a welcoming change that happens in the State in local level institutions.

Concluding Observations

The study tried to analyse the execution of the property tax using an empirical explanation with one sample panchayat. The analysis proved that the theoretical comments are true. The Grama panchayats are showing very poor achievement in property tax collection. The over reliance on Grants are the major cause of the neglect of the most potential source of revenue. The technical side of the property tax implementation is also weak in the Panchayat. For a better result property tax implementation should be efficient and effective. The system of taxation should be under a well organised efficient group and a well-constructed estimation roll must be the base for reassessments, which should incorporate tax rates and

criteria for assessments. Periodic renewal of assessment register is unavoidably needed. The provision for appeal and revision petition should be more easy and user friendly. Proper accomplishment of all these necessary steps will surely make the source incomparably efficient.

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