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Editor



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- (Pillai & Joshy, 2010)
- Pillai and Joshy (2010) argue that ...
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Josukutty, C.A., (2013). Af-Pak Policy: Implications for India. In Mohanam B Pillai (Ed.) *India's National Security: Concerns and Strategies*. New Delhi: New Century Publication..

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SOCIAL CAPITAL GENERATION THROUGH NATIONAL RURAL LIVELIHOOD MISSION – THE CASE OF ATTAPPADY TRIBAL BLOCK, KERALA

Tanita Eloo Philip* & Manju S. Nair**

Abstract

The incidents of malnourishment and health related issues in Attappady, Kerala points to the fact that the tribal population in Kerala remained excluded from the developmental process of the state. Massive infant deaths due to malnourishment in Attappady indicates the in efficiencies in the design and implementation of the existing programmes meant for the upliftment of tribal population. Consequent upon this, policy makers implemented National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM) –an integrated social development project in 2013-14, with the intention to elevate the socio-economic status of tribal community at par with general population. NRLM is implemented with the aim of creating social capital among tribal community through the support of Neighbour Hood Groups which in turn generates other modes of capital and resources that they lack. The paper tries to analyse the magnitude of social capital generated through the intervention of NRLM in Attappady, which becomes a compelling factor for the overall development of tribal community.

Keywords: *Malnutrition, Social Capital, NHG, NRLM*

Indian policy makers realize the fact that without considering tribal community who constitute around ten percent of total population, it is impossible to achieve inclusive growth (GOI, 2011). However, in spite of the plethora of developmental interventions

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programme, the plight of the tribal communities still remains deplorable as compared with general population (Mohindra, 2010).

Studies have pointed out that the existing programmes for the upliftment of tribal population could not attain the intended success as they have not taken into due consideration the socio political and cultural background of the tribes, the geographical peculiarities, local specifications, income and asset position and in particular the capability of tribal beneficiaries to handle the implemented schemes (Shyjan, 2008). Of late the need for enhancement of capabilities of tribal population to enable them to effectively take part in the development programmes is increasingly recognised by the policy makers as evidenced by the implementation of National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM) in 2011. NRLM is formulated on the philosophy that poor has inborn potential to graduate out of poverty and the only needed support is to foster towards generation of capabilities to unleash their entrepreneurial talent. Taking cue of this understanding, NRLM has put in place a dedicated, sensitive structure at different layers to assist the poor through the institutions which are framed to enhance their capabilities to mobilise credit, savings, livelihood support etc.

The developmental process that the state of Kerala has followed, which resulted in attainment of high human development status has eluded the tribal communities in the process (Shyjan, 2008). The deprivation of tribal people in Kerala is however reported to be non-uniformly dismal, with reference to socio economic status. Also existing literature and empirical evidence points out to the concentration of poverty and deprivation among tribal groups belong to certain geographical areas; Attappady tribal block being the finest example (Kunhaman, 1985). Of late, Attappady has been receiving much public attention because of the continued infant deaths, with the number of new born death tolls reported to be 37 within six

months in 2012. Studies on field, reported consecutive infant deaths in Attappady due to the combined impacts of loss of indigenous food items, poor public distribution system, unavailability of alternate nutritious food and the loss of employment opportunities (Ekbal, 2013; and Sathyan, 2014). This crucial circumstances pressed the central and state governments to come with many developmental intervention programmes and was implemented under the title 'Attappady Comprehensive Tribal Development Project'.

Of all the intervention programmes targeted to solve issues in Attappady, National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM) deserves special mention because of its multi-pronged approach. The project consists of three aspects – social development, livelihoods (Mahila Kisan Sashaktikaram Pariyojana) and skill development. The major components of NRLM projects are Institution Building, Community Kitchen, Bridge School, Bridge Course, Centre of Excellence, Gender Resource Centre, Youth Resource Centre, Micro Finance, Livelihood (animal husbandry, goat village, KILA Canteen, Production mill etc.). The project was introduced by focusing on building exclusive tribal women's institutions like NHGs, Oorusamithis and Panchayatsamithi. These institutions would function with the Integrated Development Project of Attappady under the Kudumbashree Mission supported by NRLM among the women in the three tribal communities of Irula, Muduga and Kurumba in Agali, Pudur and Sholayoor Panchayats.

NRLM was designed with a vision to create social capital among tribal communities which in turn can generate the other types of capital, particularly human, physical and financial capital which is further capable of improving their livelihood status. Hence NRLM strategy involves social mobilisation and building exclusive community network of tribal women through its components and institutions to create social capital. NRLM thus marks a departure

from the earlier intervention programmes which were specifically focussed at targeting single incapability of the tribes, may it be housing status, financial status or educational status. Implementation of projects or initiatives among tribal community is not so easy as their initial endowment is low. To overcome this, NRLM implements a participatory approach to make intervention fruitful. All the components of NRLM are being implemented through the community network, capable of creating social capital. NRLM ensures that at least one member from the identified tribal household is brought under the self-help group (SHG) network in a time bound manner. This clarifies that NRLM tries to address poverty through SHGs. Participation in SHGs makes the beneficiaries empowered (Desai & Joshi, 2014; Deininger & Liu, 2013; Banerjee et al. 2014). Long term exposure to poverty alleviation programmes (through SHGs) puts positive impact on the consumption, nutritional intake and asset accumulation (or wealth accumulation) of beneficiaries (Deininger & Liu, 2009); which ensures economic and food security of beneficiaries. Additionally, involvement in SHG network increases the social capital of members (Folgheraiter & Pasini, 2009; Nayak, 2015). The social capital is a resource derived from people's social participation. This social participation increases the social awareness that creates more concern regarding basic necessities including education (a component of educational security) sanitation, and drinking water (which are subcomponents of health security). Thus, participation in SHG ensures educational security and health security to tribal communities through the creation of social capital. In nutshell, it can be articulated that through the participation in SHG, beneficiaries could attain five dimensions of livelihood security, i.e., empowerment, health security, economic security, educational security and food security.

Wherefore NRLM is implemented with the objective of creating social capital through the support of SHGs and thereby, social

capital formation can have a positive ramification on generating capital and resources that they lack now. Groups and associations are often seen as a forum for the creation of social capital (Spaaji and Westerbeek, 2010). Putnam (1993) suggests that social capital in the form of networks, norms and trust, facilitates cooperation for mutual benefit. Therefore, the authorities took efforts to form local groups to make this project successful. Naturally, it could be assumed or presumed that an amount of social capital has been generated over the years.

In this context, the paper tries to look into the social capital that is generated through the implementation of NRLM in Attappady tribal block, Palghat district, Kerala. The paper is divided into three sections. Section I describes methodology and data sources. Section II examines the social capital generated through NRLM in Attappady and Section III provides the findings and conclusion.

Section 1: Methodology

The study aims to examine how social capital is generated through NRLM among different hamlets in Attappady. For analysing this, data regarding functions of NRLM institutions and the generation of social capital is collected from selected hamlets in Attappady.

Sample selection

Attappady consists of 192 tribal hamlets located in three panchayats (Agali, Pudur and Sholayoor) dominated by 3 communities (Irulas, Kurumbas and Mudugas). From the total, 5 per cent of hamlets are selected randomly for in depth analysis. Hence the selected hamlets are Nakupathi, Chittoor, Osathiyoor and Melekandiyoor from Agali panchayat (4), Thachampadi and Thazemanikani from Pudur panchayat (2), Chundakulam, Kottamala, Sholayoor and Oothukuzhi from Sholayoor Panchayat (4). In this study, 10 per cent of total beneficiaries from each hamlet is selected.

Table 1
Details of Sample Selected

Number of Hamlets	Total Beneficiaries	Selected sample (10% of total beneficiaries)
Nakupathi	40	4
Chittoor	52	5
Osathiyoor	78	8
Melekandiyoor	69	7
Thachampadi	65	6
Thazemanikani	45	5
Chundakulam	91	9
Kottamala	50	5
Sholayoor	48	5
Oothukuzhi	62	6
Total	600	60

Study relies upon data collected from 60 samples on aspects of working of NRLM and social capital generation. The tools developed by World Bank for measuring social capital is used to examine whether NRLM could mobilize Social Capital within the community.

Measuring tools:

- Social Capital Assessment Tool (SOCAT) and
- Social Capital Integrated Questionnaire (SC-IQ).

SOCAT is an integrated quantitative/qualitative tool used in survey. It measures the constraints and opportunities of individuals and groups by considering the social assets and networks that shows their level of resources.

(SC-IQ) is a part of SOCAT, which measures to extract quantitative data based on different dimensions of social capital. Groups and Networks, trust and solidarity, collective action and cooperation, information and communication, Social cohesion

and inclusion, finally empowerment and political action are the six key dimensions identified as appropriate proxies for social capital. These dimensions are used in this study to analyse whether NRLM resulted in social capital formation through the support of NHGs. The presence and magnitude of these dimensions of social capital is different for different individuals and between groups.

Quantitative techniques

Social Capital Index (SCI) is calculated by using six dimensions;

SCI1-Groups and Networks,

SCI2-Trust and solidarity

SCI3- Collective action and cooperation

SCI4- Information and communication,

SCI5- Social cohesion and inclusion

SCI6- Empowerment and political action.

Each index is computed by $SCI = \frac{(\text{actual} - \text{minimum})}{(\text{maximum} - \text{minimum})}$ so that the index lies between 0 and 1.

Finally, a combined Social capital index is worked out by averaging the individual social capital indices. On the basis of Social Capital index, the level of social capital in each hamlet is rated as high, medium and low.

If SCI is greater than Mean+SD, Social Capital formation is high

If SCI lies between Mean±SD, Social Capital formation is medium

If SCI is less than Mean-SD, Social Capital formation is low

The secondary data for the study is collected from annual reports of Integrated Tribal Development Programme (ITDP), Attappady tribal block, District census hand book, Report of Attappady Hill Area Development Society (AHADS) of Attappady. Palakkad District Various Census Reports, Population enumeration data, Journals and internet.

Section 2

Social Capital generation through NRLM in Attappady tribal block

National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM) was implemented in Attappady, with the target of addressing the problem of malnourishment through the creation of social capital by superseding in health, education, self-employment, empowerment etc. To execute a multi-pronged approach like NRLM is not so easy among tribal community as their initial endowment is found to be very low compared to general population. Therefore, NRLM is instigated with the intention of crafting social capital through the backing of NHGs and further, social capital formation can have an affirmative upshot on producing capital and resources that they are lagging behind at present. The authorities have taken ample efforts to make this project prolific by building a community networking scheme like NHG to meet the very purpose of NRLM. Certainly, it could be presumed that a significant degree of social capital has been generated over the years.

Social Capital Index of Selected Hamlets

Social Capital Index is worked out by averaging the sub dimensions like 'Groups & Networks', 'Trust', 'Collective Active', 'Information & Communication', 'Social Cohesion & Inclusion', and finally 'Empowerment & Political Action', as explained in the Methodology section.

Social Capital Dimension 1- Groups and network

The most prominent dimension associated with social capital is 'groups and networks'. The questions under this category considers the nature and extent of participation of members in different types of social organizations and informal networks and the range of contributions that one gives and receives from them. Moreover, it helps to examine the diversity of membership within group, how its leaders are selected and how one's participation has changed over the years.

Table 2: Group Participation

Hamlets		gp1	gp2	gp3	gp4	gp5	gp6	gp7	gp8	gp9	gp10	gp11	gp12	gp13	Gp
HL-1	Mean SD	0.80 0.21	0.85 0.14	0.85 0.14	0.85 0.14	0.90 0.14	0.80 0.11	0.70 0.11	0.65 0.14	0.70 0.11	0.90 0.14	0.85 0.14	0.90 0.14	0.75 0.18	0.81 0.08
HL-2	Mean SD	0.78 0.16	0.97 0.09	1.00 0.00	0.91 0.19	1.00 0.00	0.91 0.13	0.91 0.13	0.97 0.09	0.91 0.13	1.00 0.00	1.00 0.00	1.00 0.00	1.00 0.00	0.95 0.04
HL-3	Mean SD	0.54 0.23	0.64 0.13	0.64 0.13	0.64 0.13	0.68 0.12	0.64 0.13	0.57 0.12	0.61 0.13	0.61 0.20	0.57 0.24	0.54 0.23	0.75 0.00	0.57 0.19	0.61 0.13
HL-4	Mean SD	0.08 0.13	0.08 0.13	0.21 0.10	0.13 0.21	0.42 0.13	0.08 0.13	0.04 0.10	0.00 0.11	0.00 0.00	0.08 0.13	0.17 0.20	0.13 0.21	0.00 0.00	0.11 0.08
HL-5	Mean SD	0.42 0.33	0.58 0.25	0.72 0.26	0.58 0.22	0.81 0.21	0.56 0.17	0.39 0.25	0.31 0.24	0.28 0.20	0.61 0.13	0.67 0.13	0.58 0.13	0.22 0.08	0.52 0.06
HL-6	Mean SD	0.20 0.21	0.30 0.12	0.30 0.12	0.30 0.12	0.30 0.11	0.25 0.00	0.00 0.00	0.30 0.11	0.00 0.00	0.50 0.00	0.40 0.22	0.35 0.29	0.15 0.14	0.26 0.09
HL-7	Mean SD	0.70 0.21	0.65 0.29	0.75 0.18	0.75 0.25	0.80 0.11	0.60 0.29	0.60 0.22	0.55 0.11	0.60 0.14	0.70 0.11	0.80 0.11	1.00 0.00	0.60 0.14	0.70 0.14
HL-8	Mean SD	0.50 0.32	0.67 0.26	0.50 0.22	0.46 0.29	0.67 0.13	0.46 0.25	0.42 0.26	0.46 0.19	0.21 0.19	0.67 0.13	0.79 0.19	0.71 0.10	0.46 0.19	0.53 0.12
HL-9	Mean SD	0.69 0.32	0.44 0.24	0.44 0.24	0.44 0.24	0.75 0.00	0.31 0.13	0.31 0.13	0.31 0.13	0.25 0.00	0.50 0.00	0.81 0.13	0.38 0.32	0.25 0.00	0.45 0.13
HL-10	Mean SD	0.10 0.14	0.45 0.12	0.50 0.18	0.50 0.25	0.65 0.22	0.35 0.14	0.00 0.00	0.00 0.00	0.00 0.00	0.05 0.11	0.15 0.22	0.15 0.22	0.15 0.14	0.23 0.09
Total	Mean SD	0.48 0.34	0.58 0.30	0.62 0.29	0.57 0.30	0.71 0.24	0.52 0.29	0.42 0.34	0.44 0.32	0.38 0.34	0.58 0.31	0.63 0.32	0.62 0.34	0.43 0.34	0.54 0.27

(Chittoor- HT-1, Chundakulam- HT-2, Kortamala- HT-3, Melekandiyoor- HT-4, Nakupathi- HT-5, Oothukuzhi- HT-6, Osathiyoor- HT 7, Sholayoor- HT 8, Thachampadi- HT-9, Thazemanchikani- HT- 10)

Source: Primary Source.

Group participation level (gp1), Household benefits (gp2), Community benefits (gp3), Self-esteem (gp4), Food security (gp5), Economic benefit (gp6), Education and training (gp7), Health Services (gp8), Credit (gp9), Change in number of beneficiaries (gp10), Decision making (gp11), Effective leadership (gp12), Level of group interactions (gp13) are the variables used to analyse the magnitude of the dimension 'group participation', present among each tribal hamlet.

Table 2 shows the mean and standard deviation of each tribal hamlet with respect of each variables determining the magnitude of first dimension of social capital i.e, groups and networks. It is clear from the data that the magnitude of dimension 'Group participation' is highest for Chundakulam (HT-2) hamlet with highest combined mean value 0.95 and lowest standard deviation 0.04. The second highest position is occupied by Chittoor (HT-1), with mean value 0.81. Among the selected hamlets, Chundakulam and Chittoor exhibit highest figures on each identified variable that constitutes the dimension 'group participation. Moreover, variables like 'Community Benefits' (gp3), 'Change in number of beneficiaries' (gp10), 'Decision making' (gp11), 'Effective leadership' (gp12) are relatively high compared to rest of the variables employed for examining the strength of this dimension. All the attributes contributing to high degree of group participation was evidently visible while observing the working of Chundakulam and Chittoor hamlets. It is well understood from the researcher's informal conversation with the tribal community in Chundakulam and Chittoor hamlets that they are active in many group activities and initiatives taken place by NRLM through NHGs. Active participation in multi sectoral groups, activities executed and implemented by organizations and NGOs at grassroots level can generate high degree of social capital that facilitates solutions for future problem, and which will result in higher levels of social capital formation...and so on (Brown and Ashman, 1996).

On the other hand, the group participation level as a social capital characteristic is least for Melekandiyoor (HT-4) followed by Thazemanchikani (HT-10), with mean value 0.11 and 0.23 respectively. Strength of each variable identified for analysing the presence of this dimension is very low for both the hamlets. Observations in the field revealed the indifferent attitude of Melekandiyoor NHG office bearers which projects outas the major reason for the inefficiency in managing the activities of their hamlet and further it led to poor mobilisation of social capital in Melekandiyoor.

Table 3: Network

Hamlets (HT)		nw1	nw2	nw3	nw4	Nw	Gpnw
HT-1	Mean	0.90	0.90	0.95	0.80	0.89	0.85
	SD	0.14	0.14	0.11	0.21	0.13	0.09
HT-2	Mean	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.98
	SD	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02
HT-3	Mean	0.64	0.64	0.68	0.61	0.64	0.63
	SD	0.20	0.13	0.19	0.20	0.14	0.13
HT-4	Mean	0.25	0.21	0.79	0.21	0.37	0.24
	SD	0.16	0.10	0.10	0.19	0.08	0.08
HT-5	Mean	0.64	0.47	0.83	0.47	0.60	0.56
	SD	0.13	0.20	0.13	0.15	0.09	0.07
HT-6	Mean	0.40	0.30	0.40	0.10	0.30	0.28
	SD	0.14	0.11	0.14	0.14	0.08	0.03
HT-7	Mean	0.70	0.55	0.75	0.65	0.67	0.68
	SD	0.27	0.27	0.18	0.22	0.22	0.18
HT-8	Mean	0.58	0.46	0.88	0.50	0.60	0.57
	SD	0.30	0.25	0.14	0.22	0.14	0.12
HT-9	Mean	0.38	0.38	1.00	0.63	0.60	0.52
	SD	0.14	0.14	0.00	0.14	0.11	0.12
HT-10	Mean	0.20	0.15	0.35	0.30	0.25	0.24
	SD	0.21	0.14	0.14	0.21	0.12	0.10
Total	Mean	0.60	0.53	0.78	0.54	0.61	0.57
	SD	0.30	0.31	0.24	0.31	0.25	0.26

(Chittoor- HT-1, Chundakulam- HT-2, Kottamala- HT-3, Melekandiyoor- HT-4, Nakupathi- HT-5, Oothukuzhi- HT-6, Osathiyoor- HT 7, Sholayoor- HT 8, Thachampadi- HT-9, Thazemanchikani- HT- 10)

Source: Primary Data

Variables identified to analyse the level of 'network' among the tribal community of each hamlet are friendship rate (nw1), rate of people willing to provide money (nw2), probability of seeking the help of members to care children (nw3), number of people with a personal problem have turned to you for assistance (nw4).

Table 3 points out the magnitude of network alone (nw) and the dimension 'Groups & Network' together (Gpnw). The degree of presence of network alone and dimension as a whole is highest among the members of Chundakulam hamlet with mean value 0.98 and the second position is occupied by Chittoor with mean value 0.85. High density of group participation leads to multiple groups and that will result into an 'overlapping membership' exposed with wider network of individuals within groups and outside of it (Putnam,2000). A stimulating fact observed while interacting with members in Chundakulam and Chittoor is that their range of network, faith, relationship and mutual dependence are very high compared to other hamlets. The presence of network alone and dimension as a whole (Groups & Network) is lowest for Melekandiyoor and Thazemanchikani and the presence of each variable contributing to this dimension is also found to be very low.

Social Capital Dimension 2: Trust

This dimension seeks to procure data on trust towards neighbours, key service providers, strangers and how these perceptions have changed over time among the tribal community of each hamlet. Generally, people who live in a locality will seek the help of neighbours to take care of their kids when they go out for work. This is a kind of social capital which can be generated out of trust and bond with the neighbours (Coleman, 1988).

Table 4: Trust

Hamlets (HT)		t1	t2	t3	t4	t5	t6	t7	T
HT-1	Mean SD	0.90 0.14	0.85 0.14	0.85 0.14	0.70 0.11	0.95 0.11	0.85 0.22	0.85 0.14	0.85 0.08
HT-2	Mean SD	1.00 0.00	0.69 0.26	0.91 0.13	0.88 0.13	1.00 0.00	1.00 0.00	0.84 0.19	0.90 0.04
HT-3	Mean SD	0.75 0.20	0.55 0.17	0.61 0.38	0.61 0.13	0.61 0.35	0.64 0.28	0.54 0.30	0.61 0.23
HT-4	Mean SD	0.63 0.14	0.25 0.16	0.25 0.16	0.17 0.13	0.50 0.16	0.25 0.00	0.04 0.10	0.30 0.07
HT-5	Mean SD	0.64 0.13	0.50 0.18	0.58 0.13	0.31 0.11	0.67 0.13	0.53 0.23	0.31 0.27	0.50 0.10
HT-6	Mean SD	0.55 0.11	0.45 0.11	0.50 0.00	0.55 0.11	0.50 0.18	0.45 0.27	0.30 0.21	0.47 0.10
HT-7	Mean SD	0.70 0.21	0.70 0.21	0.65 0.22	0.70 0.21	0.80 0.11	0.65 0.22	0.60 0.14	0.68 0.16
HT-8	Mean SD	0.71 0.10	0.67 0.26	0.75 0.22	0.63 0.26	0.71 0.19	0.71 0.10	0.63 0.14	0.68 0.15
HT-9	Mean SD	0.75 0.00	0.25 0.00	0.50 0.20	0.38 0.14	0.81 0.13	0.63 0.14	0.38 0.32	0.53 0.13
HT-10	Mean SD	0.40 0.14	0.25 0.18	0.40 0.14	0.15 0.22	0.30 0.11	0.15 0.22	0.10 0.14	0.25 0.13
Total 60	Mean SD	0.71 0.21	0.53 0.26	0.61 0.27	0.51 0.28	0.69 0.26	0.60 0.31	0.47 0.33	0.59 0.24

(Chittoor- HT-1, Chundakulam- HT-2, Kottamala- HT-3, Melekandiyoor- HT-4, Nakupathi- HT-5, Oothukuzhi- HT-6, Osathiyoor- HT 7, Sholayoor- HT 8, Thachampadi- HT-9, Thazemanchikani- HT- 10)

Source: Primary Source.

Data on table 4 provides a good understanding of the dimension 'trust' as such and the factors contributing to this dimension like 'trust worthiness of members' (t1), 'opportunistic behaviour' (t2), 'helping mentality' (t3), 'lack of trust among members in terms of lending and borrowing money' (t4), 'change in level of trust among members'(t5), 'contributing time for others' (t6), 'contributing money for others' (t7).

The data on table depicts the extent of trustworthiness enjoyed among the tribal community of each hamlet. It is evident from the data that Chundakulam hamlet possesses the strongest bond between its members and the second position is occupied by Chittoor. Moreover, variables like trust worthiness of members (t1), change in trust level among members (stayed about the same, better, worse over the years- t5), contributing time for others (t6), are relatively high compared to rest of the variables considered for examining the intensity of this dimension. In short, this shows the linkage of organizational density with trust, which is being developed through crosscutting ties of membership between organizations in order to develop public civicness (Borgatti, Jones and Everett (1998). As when trust and social ties gets established, individuals, firms, neighbourhoods, and even nations prosper (Putnam, 2000).

However, the degree of bond or trust is found to be very low among the members of Melekandiyoor and Thazemanchikani respectively. Presence of each and every attribute contributing to this dimension is absolutely low in these two hamlets.

Social Capital Dimension 3: Collective Action

Collective action implies the action taken jointly by members of a group, whose goal is to enhance their status and achieve common objective. This category explores whether and how members have worked with others in their community on joint projects or in response to a crisis. It also considers the consequences of violating expectations regarding participation.

Variables like 'work for the benefit of community' (col1), 'to help co-members' (col2), 'to help non-members' (col3) are used to analyse the magnitude of the dimension 'collective action' present among the tribal community of each hamlet. Data derived on the basis of identified variables undoubtedly point out that the intensity

Table 5: Collective Action

Hamlets (HT)		col1	col2	col3	Col
HT-1	Mean	0.80	0.80	0.75	0.78
	SD	0.11	0.11	0.18	0.13
HT-2	Mean	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	SD	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
HT-3	Mean	0.54	0.64	0.64	0.61
	SD	0.30	0.28	0.28	0.27
HT-4	Mean	0.08	0.21	0.21	0.17
	SD	0.13	0.19	0.19	0.16
HT-5	Mean	0.61	0.61	0.61	0.61
	SD	0.22	0.13	0.13	0.13
HT-6	Mean	0.70	0.70	0.70	0.70
	SD	0.21	0.21	0.21	0.21
HT-7	Mean	0.75	0.75	0.65	0.72
	SD	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.04
HT-8	Mean	0.63	0.71	0.71	0.68
	SD	0.26	0.19	0.19	0.18
HT-9	Mean	0.56	0.63	0.56	0.59
	SD	0.32	0.25	0.13	0.23
HT-10	Mean	0.10	0.15	0.10	0.12
	SD	0.22	0.22	0.14	0.18
Total	Mean	0.59	0.63	0.61	0.61
	SD	0.34	0.30	0.30	0.30

(Chittoor-HT-1, Chundakulam-HT-2, Kottamala-HT-3, Melekandiyoor-HT-4, Nakupathi- HT-5, Oothukuzhi- HT-6, Osathiyoor- HT 7, Sholayoor- HT 8, Thachampadi- HT-9, Thazemanchikani- HT- 10)

Source: Primary Source

of the dimension 'collective action' is uppermost among the members of Chundakulam hamlet, with mean value 1.00 and this position is followed by Chittoor, Osathiyoor, and Oothukuzhi respectively. Further, data reveals that, compared to Chundakulam, the strength of this dimension is relatively less for Chittoor, Osathiyoor, and

Oothukuzhi even though the position occupied by these hamlets are second, third and fourth, with mean value 0.78, 0.72 and 0.70 respectively.

To a large extent, the achievement of Self Help Groups depends on density of Collective action (Lalitha, 2013). During the field visit, the level of cooperation among the tribal community of Chundakulam hamlet was evident and their cooperation have resulted into high degree of Collective active. Meanwhile, a similar level of cooperation or collective behaviour was missing among other hamlets. Besides, intensity of variables which strengthens the degree of collective action is least among the tribal community in Thazemanchikani and Melekandiyoor, with mean value 0.12 and 0.17 respectively.

Social Capital Dimension 4: Information and Communication

Access to information is being increasingly recognized as central for helping poor communities to have a stronger voice in matters affecting their well-being (Grootaert et al. 2004). Questions under this dimension explore the ways and means by which poor households receive information regarding market conditions and public services and the extent of their access to different channels of communication.

Variables like 'Relatives, friends and neighbours' (in1), 'Community bulletin board' (in2), 'Newspaper' (in3), 'Television' (in4), 'Group Association' (in5), 'NGOs' (in6), 'Internet' (in7), 'Local Representatives/Leaders/Politicians/ Animators' (in8), 'Access to information' (in9), 'Person to person' (in10), 'Telecommunication' (in11), 'WhatsApp/Facebook' (in12), 'Any other access to communicate' (in13) are taken to analyse the presence of the dimension 'Information and Communication' among members of selected hamlets.

Table 6: Information and Communication

Hamlets (HT)		in1	in2	in3	in4	in5	in6	in7	in8	in9	in10	in11	in12	in13	In
HT-1	Mean	0.50	0.10	0.55	0.60	0.70	0.50	0.65	0.85	0.85	0.95	0.90	0.50	0.00	0.59
	SD	0.00	0.14	0.11	0.14	0.21	0.25	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.11	0.14	0.31	0.00	0.04
HT-2	Mean	0.59	0.03	0.56	0.56	0.59	0.38	0.38	1.00	1.00	0.91	0.91	0.31	0.00	0.56
	SD	0.30	0.09	0.26	0.26	0.13	0.13	0.38	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.19	0.32	0.00	0.08
HT-3	Mean	0.46	0.07	0.36	0.32	0.43	0.32	0.39	0.50	0.50	0.54	0.50	0.46	0.00	0.37
	SD	0.17	0.12	0.41	0.28	0.19	0.28	0.32	0.29	0.38	0.23	0.25	0.39	0.00	0.19
HT-4	Mean	0.25	0.00	0.08	0.08	0.17	0.04	0.08	0.79	0.71	0.79	0.67	0.04	0.00	0.29
	SD	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.20	0.26	0.10	0.20	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.20	0.10	0.00	0.08
HT-5	Mean	0.53	0.00	0.22	0.19	0.44	0.28	0.28	0.56	0.56	0.81	0.58	0.42	0.00	0.37
	SD	0.08	0.00	0.23	0.21	0.24	0.20	0.23	0.17	0.30	0.17	0.47	0.33	0.00	0.10
HT-6	Mean	0.25	0.00	0.45	0.55	0.40	0.15	0.35	0.70	0.75	1.00	0.75	0.25	0.00	0.43
	SD	0.31	0.00	0.33	0.41	0.22	0.22	0.34	0.11	0.18	0.00	0.18	0.18	0.00	0.11
HT-7	Mean	0.50	0.00	0.35	0.45	0.55	0.65	0.35	1.00	0.70	0.80	0.80	0.30	0.00	0.50
	SD	0.18	0.00	0.14	0.21	0.21	0.14	0.29	0.00	0.21	0.11	0.45	0.33	0.00	0.13
HT-8	Mean	0.38	0.00	0.42	0.50	0.58	0.63	0.46	0.88	0.67	0.75	0.75	0.38	0.00	0.49
	SD	0.14	0.00	0.34	0.22	0.26	0.14	0.37	0.14	0.44	0.00	0.32	0.35	0.00	0.17
HT-9	Mean	0.44	0.00	0.19	0.31	0.44	0.38	0.13	0.94	0.63	1.00	0.69	0.00	0.00	0.40
	SD	0.13	0.00	0.24	0.32	0.24	0.14	0.25	0.13	0.14	0.00	0.47	0.00	0.00	0.12
HT-10	Mean	0.05	0.00	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.05	0.05	0.45	0.55	1.00	0.50	0.05	0.00	0.24
	SD	0.11	0.00	0.14	0.14	0.22	0.11	0.11	0.21	0.11	0.00	0.31	0.11	0.00	0.09
Total	Mean	0.41	0.02	0.34	0.37	0.45	0.33	0.32	0.75	0.69	0.84	0.70	0.29	0.00	0.42
	SD	0.23	0.07	0.29	0.29	0.26	0.26	0.31	0.25	0.2	0.18	0.33	0.31	0.00	0.15

(Chittoor- HT-1, Chundakulam- HT-2, Kortamala- HT-3, Melekandiyoor- HT-4, Nakupathi- HT-5, Oothukuzhi- HT-6, Osathiyoor- HT-7, Sholayoor- HT-8, Thachampadi- HT-9, Thazemanchikani- HT-10)

Source: Primary Data

The presence of this dimension is relatively high among tribal community in Chittoor and Chundakulam with mean 0.59 and 0.56 respectively. However, the soundness of this dimension in these two hamlets, is not at par with the strength that they possessed in the case of previously examined dimension (like Groups & Network, Trust and Collective Action). At the same time, position occupied by Thazemanichikani and Melekandiyoor remain the same, with respect to their low level of access to information and communication.

On the whole, the presence of this dimension is not much impressive in any of the selected hamlets. An important factor which was noticed during the field observation is that except animators only few from each hamlet owns mobile phones. Besides, the usage of social networking sites or apps seems to be very low as most of them were using non-smart phones. On top of this, network connectivity in Attappady is very poor. Perfectly informed group members are more coherent and have more opportunity to shape positive networking with other groups (Lalitha, 2013).

Social Capital Dimension 5: Social cohesion and Inclusion

'Communities' are not solo entities, but rather categorized by numerous forms of division and dissimilarity that can lead to clash. This dimension seeks to identify the nature and extent of dissimilarity prevalent in a community, the mechanisms by which they are managed and also finds out the groups which are excluded from the strategic public services.

Table 7: Social cohesion and Inclusion

Hamlets (HT)	sc1	sc2	sc3	sc4	sc5	sc6	sc7	sc8	sc9	sc10	sc11	sc12	Sc
HT-1	0.90 0.14	0.55 0.11	0.60 0.14	0.80 0.21	0.80 0.21	0.85 0.22	0.60 0.22	0.65 0.22	0.70 0.11	0.65 0.14	0.75 0.25	0.75 0.25	0.72 0.09
HT-2	1.00 0.00	0.75 0.00	0.75 0.00	0.75 0.19	0.94 0.12	0.94 0.11	0.91 0.13	0.91 0.13	0.88 0.19	0.75 0.19	0.72 0.25	1.00 0.00	0.86 0.08
HT-3	0.71 0.27	0.75 0.00	0.68 0.12	0.57 0.37	0.75 0.14	0.75 0.14	0.71 0.09	0.71 0.09	0.71 0.09	0.71 0.09	0.61 0.32	0.57 0.28	0.69 0.13
HT-4	0.50 0.16	0.54 0.10	0.75 0.00	0.13 0.21	0.46 0.10	0.46 0.10	0.50 0.00	0.50 0.00	0.50 0.00	0.50 0.00	0.13 0.21	0.79 0.10	0.48 0.06
HT-5	0.72 0.20	0.69 0.11	0.58 0.18	0.19 0.17	0.69 0.11	0.69 0.11	0.42 0.13	0.42 0.13	0.42 0.13	0.42 0.13	0.56 0.11	0.75 0.18	0.55 0.07
HT-6	0.75 0.18	0.75 0.18	0.70 0.11	0.50 0.18	0.75 0.00	0.75 0.00	0.65 0.22	0.65 0.22	0.65 0.22	0.65 0.22	0.35 0.26	0.90 0.14	0.67 0.10
HT-7	0.90 0.14	0.75 0.00	0.75 0.00	0.30 0.27	0.60 0.22	0.60 0.22	0.60 0.14	0.60 0.14	0.60 0.14	0.60 0.14	0.60 0.29	0.85 0.22	0.65 0.12
HT-8	0.79 0.10	0.67 0.13	0.50 0.27	0.75 0.00	0.67 0.26	0.67 0.26	0.75 0.00	0.75 0.00	0.75 0.00	0.75 0.00	0.58 0.20	0.83 0.13	0.71 0.08
HT-9	0.56 0.13	0.75 0.00	0.75 0.00	0.31 0.13	0.81 0.13	0.81 0.13	0.56 0.13	0.56 0.13	0.56 0.01	0.56 0.13	0.25 0.00	0.88 0.14	0.61 0.08
HT-10	0.50 0.00	0.35 0.14	0.35 0.14	0.00 0.00	0.15 0.22	0.15 0.22	0.15 0.22	0.15 0.22	0.15 0.22	0.15 0.22	0.10 0.22	0.65 0.14	0.24 0.12
(Chittoor- HT-1, Chundakulam- HT-2, Kortamala- HT-3, Melekandiyoor- HT-4, Nakupathi- HT-5, Oothukuzhi- HT-6, Osathiyoor- HT 7, Sholayoor- HT 8, Thachampadi- HT-9, Thazemanchikani- HT- 10)													

Source: Primary Data

Variables like 'Feeling of togetherness or closeness' (sc1), 'difference in characteristics' (sc2), 'Difference cause problems' (sc3), 'Public gathering' (sc4), 'House visits' (sc5), 'Visits co-member's house' (sc6), 'Visits members from different caste' (sc7), 'Visits members from different economic status' (sc8), 'Visits members from different social status' (sc9), 'Visits members from different religious group' (sc10), 'Recreational activities with members' (sc11), 'Ceremonies attended like wedding, religious festival' (sc12) are used to examine the intensity of the dimension 'Social cohesion and Inclusion' among the tribal community in each selected hamlet..

Data on table 7 shows that Chundakulam hamlet possesses high values for variables like 'Feeling of togetherness or closeness' (sc1) and 'Ceremonies attended like wedding, religious festival' (sc12), which projects an overall high presence of dimension of 'Social cohesion and inclusion' (with mean value of 0.86) and is followed by Chittoor hamlet with mean value of 0.72. During the field visit, high level of intimacy and acceptance was evident from the behaviour of tribal community in Chundakulam and Chittoor.

Thazemanichikani holds an overall low position with respect to this dimension (with mean value of 0.24), particularly on variables like 'Public gathering' (with mean value of 0.00), and 'Recreational activities with members' (with mean value of 0.10), with lowest degree of presence.

Social Capital Dimension 6: Empowerment and Political Action

Variables like 'Educational level' (em1), 'Happiness level' (em2), 'Decision making power' (em3), 'Power to change your course of life' (em4), 'Impact of group participation on village' (em5), 'Attends village council meeting, public hearing or public discussion group' (em6), 'Called/sent a letter to a politician' (em7), 'Participated in a protest or demonstration' (em8), 'Participated in an election

Table 8: Empowerment and Political Action

Hamlets (HT)	em1	em2	em3	em4	em5	em6	em7	em8	em9	em10	em11	em12	em
HT-1	0.55 0.45	0.80 0.21	0.80 0.21	0.80 0.21	0.75 0.18	0.80 0.21	0.55 0.37	0.60 0.14	0.50 0.40	0.70 0.33	0.50 0.31	0.65 0.14	0.67 0.22
HT-2	0.47 0.34	0.97 0.09	0.56 0.12	0.81 0.22	0.81 0.12	0.88 0.19	0.63 0.19	0.66 0.13	0.59 0.13	0.59 0.13	0.34 0.19	0.72 0.16	0.67 0.12
HT-3	0.50 0.41	0.75 0.29	0.82 0.19	0.71 0.17	0.64 0.13	0.68 0.19	0.43 0.31	0.57 0.35	0.43 0.24	0.57 0.19	0.54 0.23	0.64 0.24	0.61 0.18
HT-4	0.42 0.38	0.33 0.13	0.29 0.10	0.38 0.26	0.08 0.13	0.29 0.19	0.04 0.10	0.25 0.32	0.13 0.21	0.33 0.20	0.13 0.21	0.29 0.19	0.25 0.16
HT -5	0.53 0.42	0.69 0.21	0.61 0.25	0.53 0.23	0.64 0.18	0.56 0.17	0.42 0.25	0.42 0.18	0.44 0.30	0.06 0.11	0.25 0.22	0.67 0.18	0.48 0.17
HT-6	0.60 0.38	0.55 0.21	0.50 0.18	0.50 0.18	0.50 0.18	0.40 0.29	0.35 0.29	0.40 0.14	0.40 0.14	0.40 0.22	0.20 0.21	0.30 0.21	0.43 0.17
HT-7	0.60 0.45	0.85 0.14	0.70 0.21	0.60 0.22	0.65 0.22	0.55 0.37	0.55 0.33	0.65 0.29	0.65 0.14	0.40 0.22	0.30 0.21	0.50 0.25	0.58 0.23
HT-8	0.54 0.46	0.71 0.29	0.67 0.20	0.54 0.25	0.58 0.34	0.54 0.33	0.42 0.26	0.54 0.25	0.58 0.20	0.58 0.30	0.38 0.21	0.58 0.30	0.56 0.23
HT-9	0.31 0.38	0.63 0.25	0.50 0.00	0.44 0.13	0.50 0.00	0.31 0.38	0.19 0.24	0.38 0.32	0.44 0.32	0.25 0.20	0.06 0.13	0.19 0.24	0.35 0.18
HT-10	0.20 0.27	0.20 0.21	0.15 0.14	0.20 0.21	0.15 0.14	0.10 0.14	0.10 0.14	0.25 0.18	0.25 0.18	0.15 0.14	0.10 0.14	0.30 0.21	0.18 0.14
Total	0.48 0.38	0.67 0.29	0.57 0.26	0.57 0.27	0.55 0.28	0.54 0.32	0.38 0.30	0.48 0.26	0.45 0.27	0.40 0.28	0.29 0.24	0.52 0.27	0.49 0.23
60													

(Chittoor- HT-1, Chundakulam- HT-2, Kottamala- HT-3, Melekandiyoor- HT-4, Nakupathi- HT-5, Oothukuzhi- HT-6, Osathiyoor- HT 7, Sholayoor- HT 8, Thachampadi- HT-9, Thazemanchikani- HT-10)

Source: Primary Data

campaign' (em9), 'Alerted a local problem in newspaper, radio, TV or social media' (em10), 'Notified police or court about a local problem' (em11), 'Local leaders take efforts to consider the opinion of tribal community' (em12) are used to analyse the magnitude of the dimension 'Empowerment and Political Action' among the tribal community in each selected hamlet.

Data reveals that, the level of this dimension 'Empowerment and Political action' is high for Chundakulam hamlet (with mean value of 0.6713). The variables like 'Happiness level' (with mean value of 0.9688), and 'Attends village council meeting, public hearing or public discussion group' (with mean value of 0.8750) are high and are crucial in influencing this dimension. This is followed by Chittoor hamlet with mean value of 0.6660.

During the field visit, animator of Chittoor hamlet shared an incident which substantiate the strong incidence of this dimension. The animator and the members of this hamlet has come forward to protest against a local toddy shop which created public nuisance and issues in nearby households. They could successfully shift the toddy shop from their locality. This indicates their level of empowerment.

While considering all the determinant variables of this dimension, Thazemanichikani is lagging behind all other hamlets, especially attributes like 'Attends village council meeting, public hearing or public discussion group' (em6), 'Called/sent a letter to a politician' (em7), and Notified police or court about a local problem (em11) are very low. This position is followed by Melekandiyoor with mean value of 0.2483.

Social Capital Index

Social Capital Index is worked out by averaging the sub dimensions.

Table 9: Social Capital Index

Hamlets (HT)	Groups & Networks (Gpnw)	Trust (t)	Collective Active (Col)	Information & Communication (In)	Social Cohesion (Sc)	Empowerment (Em)	Social capital
HT-1	0.85 0.09	0.85 0.08	0.78 0.13	0.59 0.04	0.72 0.09	0.67 0.22	0.74 0.09
HT-2	0.97 0.02	0.90 0.04	1.00 0.00	0.56 0.08	0.86 0.08	0.67 0.12	0.83 0.05
HT-3	0.63 0.13	0.61 0.23	0.61 0.27	0.37 0.19	0.69 0.13	0.61 0.18	0.59 0.18
HT-4	0.24 0.08	0.30 0.07	0.17 0.16	0.29 0.08	0.48 0.06	0.25 0.16	0.29 0.09
HT-5	0.56 0.07	0.50 0.10	0.61 0.13	0.37 0.10	0.55 0.07	0.48 0.17	0.51 0.07
HT-6	0.28 0.03	0.47 0.10	0.70 0.21	0.43 0.11	0.67 0.10	0.43 0.17	0.50 0.11
HT-7	0.68 0.18	0.68 0.17	0.72 0.04	0.50 0.13	0.65 0.12	0.58 0.23	0.64 0.12
HT-8	0.57 0.12	0.68 0.14	0.68 0.18	0.49 0.17	0.71 0.08	0.56 0.23	0.61 0.14
HT-9	0.52 0.12	0.53 0.13	0.59 0.23	0.40 0.12	0.61 0.08	0.35 0.18	0.50 0.13
HT-10	0.24 0.10	0.25 0.13	0.12 0.18	0.24 0.09	0.24 0.12	0.18 0.14	0.21 0.12
Total 60	0.57 0.26	0.59 0.24	0.61 0.30	0.42 0.15	0.63 0.18	0.49 0.23	0.55 0.21

(Chittoor- HT-1, Chundakulam- HT-2, Kottamala- HT-3, Melekandiyoor- HT-4, Nakupathi- HT-5, Oothukuzhi- HT-6, Osathiyoor- HT 7, Sholayoor- HT 8, Thachampadi- HT 9, Thazemanchikani- HT- 10)

Source: Primary Data.

On the basis of Social Capital Indexing, Chundakulam comes under high level of social capital mobilised hamlets, whereas Chittoor, Osathiyoor, Sholayoor, Kottamala, Nakupathi, Oothukuzhi, and Thachampadi belongs to hamlets with medium levels of social capital formation and low level of social capital is witnessed by Thazemanchikani and Melekandiyoor. From table 9, it is evident that all the six dimensions like 'Groups and Networks', 'trust and solidarity', collective action and cooperation, 'information and communication', 'Social cohesion and inclusion', 'finally empowerment and political action' determining the presence of social capital is highly visible among Chundakulam and Chittoor hamlets.

The informal interactions with the members of selected hamlets helped to understand some major factors which pre requisites to contribute towards high scores of social capital in Chundakulam and Chittoor. It is witnessed during field survey that the credibility of animators and their personal rapport with the helpers and members are well established and that could have definitely resulted towards high degree of social capital. Moreover, a harmonious social relation was found among the tribes in Chundakulam and Chittoor. Thus, this relationship ensures functional sustainability of NRLM projects in these hamlets. Another important factor which got into attention while conducting field work in Chundakulam and Chittoor was functional transparency. It implies that each member is well informed of all functioning activities of their respective NHGs. Further it draws the idea that the functional transparency along with proper maintenance of records and accounts of NHG could have generated into mutual confidence among the people in Chundakulam and Chittoor. Whereas lack of these factors led to low social capital score in Melekandiyoor and Thazhemanichikani.

Monitoring and coordinating abilities of animators and office bearers was found to be poor and posed a major barrier to possess high social capital score as they are the ones who facilitate necessary platform to run NRLM projects through NHGs from scratch. The conversation with the members of NHG during the field survey helped the researcher to find that the animators of Melekandiyoor and Thazhemanichikani are reluctant to visit and supervise the activities of their hamlets regularly. When the head is sick the whole body is sick- Dutch Proverb.

Section 4: Conclusion

National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM), was implemented in Attappady, Palakkad District of Kerala with an objective to bring an effective solution to address the problem of malnutrition by a comprehensive way of intervening into areas like education, health, livelihood and empowerment etc. The paper focuses on analysing social capital formation through NRLM as a nudge to address directly the problem of malnourishment. To implement an integrated programme like NRLM is not so effortless as the tribal community lacks even the bare minimum capital which it should possess in terms of money, knowledge, physical capital and even as natural resources. In connection with the implementation of NRLM's programme, an assumption which guided the authorities was that the presence of social capital was either insufficient or absent among the tribal community in Attappady and furthermore with a perception that NRLM in return will result into social capital formation through forming NHGs. Inferences from the study points out that NRLM could create an agreeable level of Social Capital. Moreover, the study further scrutinised the intensity of social capital among each selected hamlets and found that Chundakulam exhibits the highest score of Social Capital, whereas hamlets like Chittoor,

Kottamalla, Oothukuzhi, Osathiyoor, Sholayoor, Nakupathi and Thachampadi, possess medium level of Social Capital. Although, Chittoor fits in medium level of social capital, data indicates that there is only a minor difference in level of Social Capital attained by Chittoor compared to Chundakulam. On the other hand, low incidence of social capital is perceived among Thazhemanichikani and Melekandiyoor hamlets.

Even though NRLM was designed in such a way that it would generate social capital uniformly among all the hamlets, the study shows uneven presence of determining variables and wide difference in social capital creation among selected hamlets. From the observation, the capability of animators of Chundakulam and Chittoor was found to be high as compared to rest of the animators. The educational qualification of animators of these two hamlets are post-graduation and degree. Thus, it can be presumed from the data that the educational qualification of animators has a significant role on strengthening the level of social capital through NRLM. Meanwhile, it is clear from the observation that the voluntary initiatives and helping mentality of beneficiaries, non-beneficiaries, animators and office bearers are the major factors which made NRLM to function at an impressive standard in some hamlets. This noticeably illuminates the qualities of social capital formation generated through NRLM by forming NHGs.

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INDIA - ISRAEL RELATIONS: PEREGRINATION FROM IDEALISM TO PRAGMATISM

Sathian V.T.*

Abstract

The Post Cold War era coupled with globalisation compelled India to renew her traditional stance with Israel. It has generated controversy and heated political debates. The Paradigm shift in Indian foreign policy towards Israel has largely dependent on regional conjunctures and domestic politics to more specialised collaboration on the name of national security and development. In the changed context, Indo-Israeli relations assumed greater strategic and bilateral dimensions in the international and regional posture. The study is an attempt to analyse the strategic compulsion upon India in her Israel policy.

Key Words: The Cold War, Foreign policy, Non-Aligned Policy, Strategic cooperation, Zionism.

Every state resort to different postures and strategies for a successful foreign policy, which are adaptive and dynamic in character and may be the natural reflection of the foreign policy behaviour that followed by various actors in the international system. The strategies espoused by various national actors are in line with the changing character and the dynamics of international environment. The management of external affairs adopted and followed by different state actors, often, designed and executed on some historical or philosophical ethos, but it deliberately accommodates its national interest rather philosophical compulsion. Foreign policy being an apparatus for promoting and protecting the national interest; all states engage in

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such convergence; mostly democratic, gives importance to domestic considerations. Such a general trend of foreign policy behavior is also true in case of India in its policy towards West Asia and particularly to Israel.

Geo -political apprehension

The burgeoning Indo-Israel relations can be best examined in the context of geo- political postures with Securitisation theory; which holds that national security policy adopted and practiced by national actors are not a natural outcome; instead, it carefully designed by foreign policy formulators and decision makers. Therefore dimensions and shift in India's Israel policy can be examined in the changed context of global political scenario and the drastic dynamics in the old patterns of relationship, which driven by the technology, strategic and economic forces.

Besides, India's Israel policy can be analysed with intra regional context, particularly in growing influence of China and the cross boarder terrorism sponsored by Pakistan. Although it was not the result of a pre planned design to normalise the relation; but contemporary convergences between the two countries are the result of a combination of factors; predominantly strategic and security; at the international, national and domestic levels, rather than the ideological and philosophical foreign policy paradigms set forth during the pre independence period.

One of the key changes in Indian foreign policy lies in the transition from a diplomatic discourse based on idealism to a discourse hinge on realpolitik. The Realpolitik school holds that a country continually strives toward power, expressed mainly in terms of military capabilities (Wilson, 2011, p. 332). During the Nehruvian period India was compelled to follow the policy of

estrangement by ideological, traditional and geo-political factors in its relation with Israel. The creation of India with all its strategic and geo-political features compelled to have a balancing policy. However, later, the realistic and objective evaluation of India's international posture decided to take maximum diplomatic advantage through the strategic and diplomatic exercise. In the context of the security dilemma faced by India from its adversaries had a compulsive effect on embracement with Israel in its contemporary convergence.

Gandhi and Nehru: Era of Ideological Constraints

India and Israel gained independence on August 15, 1947 and May 14, 1948 respectively; from the yoke of British colonialism; though both are Asian and following the democratic system of government; but relation with Israel was always constrained. India's philosophical ethos of promotion of international peace and security, anti-imperialistic stance and the Non-Aligned Policy, gave predominance for the question on Palestine; which was mostly subscribed by Indian National Congress (INC) during the pre independence days.

M.K Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were the most popular nationalist leaders of India and were responsible for initiating and carrying out the pre- independence foreign policy. Their perceptions of Zionism have often interpreted and decisively influenced India's post-independence Israel policy during various regimes (Kumaraswamy 2010, 35). Gandhi was very sympathetic towards the Jews following their prosecution in Germany in late 1930. However, his personal affinity and sympathy towards the Jews not influenced his perceptions on the question of Palestine. Gandhi may be having a critical attitude towards Jews due to three factors. Firstly, was the thoughtful concern of the Indian Muslim community; secondly, his

strong ideological opposition to political Zionism and thirdly, due to the rebuttal of Zionist methods (Blarel, 2015, 45).

It was a time when under Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister and the architect of India's foreign policy, India recognised the State of Israel on 18 September 1950. India, during initial years of independence had the role of the champion of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism (Abayankar, 2012, p.11). However, Nehru had sympathy towards the Jews; but viewed Zionism as an idea of British imperialist; the real issue of Palestine was not the religion but of imperialism. Nehru's anti-Zionist approach endorsed and supported by Indian National Congress and the Indian intelligentsia.

It was a fact that India's global posture during the Nehru era provided her considerable recognition and advantage in the global politics. Despite India's material and military weakness, political stance against dominant political trends of the period gained international admiration. The socio-political realities of India and the cultural heritage compelled her to adopt such a global posture; which also reflected in its regional posture as well (Sreekandan 2004, 37). India's policy compulsion towards Israel during this period attributed to its need for pursuing energy and economic security with Arab states and Cold-War realities and its dependence on the Soviet Union. Further, the perceived pre-eminent role in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and sensitivity of policymakers to its large Muslim constituency coupled with the traditional unwavering support to the cause of Palestinian (Browne, 2012, p.326).

The views maintained by both Gandhi and Nehru were identical in nature. Both had sympathy for the Jews, but they were too much particular to see that the parties concerned should resolve the issue, and keep away from the intervention of imperialist forces.

Thus the attitude of Indian leaders on West Asia; during the pre independence period; was conditioned without disturbing the Hindu-Muslim unity. This, in a sense was a pragmatic approach to fight against British imperialism with the support of all for the cause of independence.

The Budge towards engagement

The impact and imprint left by Nehru on Indian foreign policy was tremendous. Post-Nehruvian congress system was also subscribed the policy of non-compromising towards Israel. The successive leadership for a long time was not ready to make any alteration in it. When Indira Gandhi assumed office in January 1966, after Nehru, Israel felt that India could come closer and such an expectation was high. However, she continued a hostile foreign policy towards Israel and was a staunch supporter of the Arab world. The assumption of first non-congress government after the emergency; the Janata Alliance indicated the period of hope under its Foreign Minister, A.B. Vajpayee, and the support of Jan Sangh; but the coalition was a failure.

After the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on 31 October 1984, by her security staff, Rajiv Gandhi pushed into the role of Prime Minister of India. Notwithstanding his domestic political constraints, certain steps also taken regarding Israel by Rajiv Gandhi's government (Kumaraswamy, 2002, p.29). The ideological and internal compulsion of the past governments had no attraction for him, who tried to carry forward the country into 21st century as a modern and technologically competent one; who adopted a non-ideological model of foreign policy, which created a favourable climate towards Israel.

India's Israel policy during the initial years was a matter of

controversy and sensation and exhibited estrangement due to ideological compulsion. However, the changed international scenario and the emergence of the New World Order, compelled to set aside the traditional policy of inhibition. Besides, the visible shift in domestic and strategic equations; social and political aspects forced India to change its attitude towards Israel and established formal diplomatic relations. It was Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, who reversed the four-decade policy of estrangement and established full diplomatic relations with the state of Israel.

Pre- diplomatic strategic ploys

Even during absence of formal diplomatic relation between India and Israel there was some amount of cooperation at the time of crises. The security relationship between India and Israel existed even before 1992, when the diplomatic relations inaugurated. During Indo-China war in 1962, along disputed Himalayan boarder, India sought sympathy and support from every quarter. In this regard, India did not get full-fledged support from Arab states; it was unexpected. As part of universal appeal to the problem, Nehru personally wrote Ben Gurion. His reply to Nehru was polite but non-committal (Kumaraswamy 2010, p.199).

Ben Gurion recommended Golda Meir, Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs; approved the transfer of heavy mortars and mortar ammunition to India. In fact, a precedent has created by Nehru in receiving the military assistance from Israel without fulfilling formal diplomatic exchange. Israel also used this opportunity to put into place the back channel diplomacy. This became a new dimension in Indo- Israel relations. Nehru never showed any signs of change his position on Israel despite the apparent military support (Blarel 2015, Pp.156-57).

At the time of Indo-Pak war on the issue of East Pakistan in 1971 was yet another test, which examined the attitude of Arab states on both India and Pakistan. Most of the Arab states stayed indifferent to India during the conflict. The government of India disappointed in the lack of support from the Muslim world (Gerberg 2008, p.185). When the war broke out, the Israeli Deputy Prime Minister openly defended India's position. India offered political, medical and even military assistance from Israel. Indira Gandhi asked for artillery weapons (160 mm mortars and ammunition) manufactured by Israel. Golda Meir secretly arranged to airlift artillery equipment to India (Blarel 2015, p.186).

During Indira Gandhi government, nevertheless began to develop covert contacts with Israel. Soon after the inception of the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), Indira Gandhi reportedly allowed Director, K.N. Rao to open a line of communication with its Israeli counterpart Mossad. Intelligence cooperation reportedly concentrated on Pakistan, which gave military assistance to Arab countries (Raman 2008, p.127). In spite of Indira Gandhi's strong condemnation on Israel; this kind of minor reflection of cooperation, were successfully established. However, she was reluctant to establish full-fledged diplomatic relation.

Concocting to Security Convergence

With the end of the Cold War and transformation in global power equations, India was compelled to alter its policy towards Israel. The year 1991 was the marking point; when India was decided to reorient its foreign policy to accommodate the changing international milieu (Pant, 2004, 2). The collapse of Soviet Union put a little blow on Indian armory, compelled India in search for a new partner; no wonder Israel, a major producer of modern weaponry

became an option. Besides, India's domestic political dynamics also had a major role in the upgrading Indo- Israeli convergence. The decline of the Congress Party and the ascendance of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP); which always supported for strong ties with Israel; in the Indian political system removed hesitations about Israel (Kumaraswami, 2002, p.198).

India's need for adequate resources for developing modern weapon system with advanced technology and its quest for technological predominance in the region strengthened defence cooperation with Israel. Besides, India's difficulty in upgrading and modernising the armed forces, after the collapse of Soviet Union, compelled it to seek fruitful collaboration with Israel. The defence collaboration may consider as very prominent because of the external threats that India facing from two neighbours namely, China and Pakistan. Besides, defence capability was required to India to project it as a technologically and strategically competent regional power in Asia. Further, after independence, India is not free from cross border conflicts with its neighbours. Therefore as a defence measure, it urgently needed to intensify its indigenous arms production as well as to increase its import of military apparatuses to face the growing regional menace from its enemies.

India's desire of becoming a self-reliant nation as far as military power is concerned compelled it to seek Israel's aid in both lethal and non-lethal areas of military component such as its weapon and radar system, technology on communication and electronic warfare and engineering equipments for border fencing (Kumar 2017, Pp.95-96). A major amount of military sales to India by Israel and military ventures undertaken jointly were also for the development of advanced weapon system and technology to face the bourgeoning

regional challenges. This marked a new phase in the military relationship between India and Israel; which indicated the synergy in military affairs between the two states.

Deepening defence Ties

The credibility of Israel as a reliable defence partner to India was reinforced during the time of Kargil War of May and July 1999; when an armed encounter between India and Pakistan in the Kargil district of Kashmir along the Line Of Control (LOC). The Indian defence force launched a mission to clear the sector in the name of 'Operation Vijay'. Israel supplied Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) and surveillance system Mirage and Jaguar squadrons of Indian Air Force. Besides, it provided technology to upgrade the MIG-21 combat aircraft for the IAF and the Indian Army received arms and ammunition to face the situation (Pant & Sahu, 2019, p.1). The Israeli support during the Kargil war has diluted the internal political obstacles and reinforced India's economic and military relation with Israel.

India purchased from Israel Aerospace Industries (IAI), Phalcon Airborne Early Warning and Control System (AWACS); designed to detect aircraft, ships and vehicles at long range; mounted on Russian IL-76 transport aircraft. Israel signed deal with India in 2007 to develop an anti-aircraft system and missiles. Israel became one of the major arms suppliers to India, which includes mounting Thermal Image Stand Alone Systems (TISAS) on 500 BMP-2 infant combat vehicles, upgrading of 300 T-72 M1 tanks as well as Long Range Reconnaissance and Observation system (Inbar, 2015, p.7).

During the beginning of 2014, the Cabinet Committee on Security of former UPA-II government approved for the purchase of

Heron Unmanned Aerial Vehicles from Israel that would improve the surveillance capabilities along the border. The major defence transfers to India up to 2014 include; Searcher and Heron Surveillance UAVs, Harpy and Harop Loitering Anti-Radiation Drones, The Popeye Air to Ground Missile, The Python-4 Air to Air Missile, The Spike Anti Tank Missile, The SPYDER Air Defence System, The Barak-1 Air Defence Missile, The Green Pine multifunctional Missile Defence Radar and The Phalcon EL/M-2090 Airborne Early Warning and control (AEW+C) radar, fitted on Russian Il-76 transport aircraft.

Frequent cross border attacks and cross border terrorism compelled India to improve its surveillance; India decided to adopt Israel's technology for internal security, and methods to counter terrorism in Kashmir and insurgencies in the North-eastern states. To realise this objective India set up a Joint Working Group (JWG) on Counter Terrorism. In the field of counter terrorism, Israel assisted in training counter terrorist forces such as the National Security Guards. Besides, the thousands of Indian Special Forces (ISF) received special training in Israel, along with modern weapons and equipment, to enhance counter terrorism skills.

Since normalisation relation, India and Israel showed interest in co-operating the space technology. Israel's capability to develop small and advanced satellites and India's indigenous launch capability opened wider spectrum in space programs. In collaboration with Israeli Space Agency (ISA) and Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO), India launched RITSAT2 (Radar Imaging Satellite 2) on April 2009 to increase surveillance and defence capabilities.

Israel is one of the major contributors to India's defence programme and helping it to acquire missile capability of carrying nuclear warheads. In this regard, Indo-Israel military agreements

were mainly for the upgradation of air defence system for India. This technology and system produced by Israel; designed for the naval use of India can shoot down incoming missiles, planes and drones. This added much to India's missile nuclear capability and striking capacity, thereby an upper hand in South Asia.

The Modi Era: Period of Good Optics

After a decade of United Progressive Alliance (UPA) led by INC; in May 2014, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) came to power and Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister of India. After that, Indo-Israeli relationship has assumed new dynamism marked by symbolic breakthroughs and substantive steps. Modi became the first Indian Prime Minister to visit Israel since it came into being in May 1948. The quantum of diplomatic energy, strategic ingenuity and political boldness channelised by the Modi government into building a new relationship with Israel is indicative of a transformative shift in India's foreign policy (Kaura, 2012, p.229). Modi period is a period of constructive engagement. He re-defined a strongly politicised issue which largely dependent on regional conjunctures and domestic politics to more specialised collaboration on the name of national security and development. Indo-Israel ties were more overt after the Modi government has come to power.

The bilateral relation and cooperation between India and Israel have considerably strengthened since 2014. Sharing of common views and opinions on many issues, building up mutual trust and understanding and the convergence of interests on the regional and global of issues intensified the policy of embracement with Israel. Boosting up of the defence ties and recognition of Pakistan as a common enemy became the solid basis of their relationship. India's strategic position in South Asia poses major challenges to its security

in the current international environment. To ensure security, emerging strategic alliance with Israel is essential.

On 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and Israel, Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Israel from 4-6 July 2017 at the invitation of Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. This was a historic first-ever visit by an Indian Prime Minister to Israel, which solidified the enduring friendship between their peoples and raised the bilateral relationship to that of a strategic partnership. "The two leaders affirmed their intention to build a broad-based relationship that will realise the full potential of their association and widen their collaborative endeavours in a broad range of areas. Both committed to cooperate for the early adoption of the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism (CCIT)" (MEA, Joint statement, July 5, 2017).

Deepening ties with Tel Aviv does not mean that the Modi government is unaware of the importance of the Arab States or there is a shift in India's stand on Palestine. By delinking the Israeli-Palestinian conflict from its relations with Israel, India had concluded a shift that began in the early 1990s; still holding the historical thread of idealism in its trajectory towards pragmatism.

Conclusion

The tectonic geo- political shift over the past decades after normalisation and deepening ties with Israel is a gradual and calibrated shift, necessitated by the insertion of more relation in Indian foreign policy towards Israel. Indo-Israeli strategic co-operation left a sign of a major strategic revolution in military strength, power projection capabilities, and indigenous capabilities to produce the weapons and defence technologies of India. The blooming Indo-

Israel relations have gained attention; nationally and internationally; because it is based very practical strategic considerations. As far India is concerned, Israel is a source of high technology in military technology and in security areas. Building strong ties with Israel is an effective pragmatic approach to counter balance enemies. This real politik compels India to take closer embracement with Israel. Such a meaningful relationship burgeoning could ensure India's national security.

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LOCAL BODY ELECTIONS 2020 - KERALA, WITH WHOM?

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Abstract

Arguments and accusations are actively going on in one side as to how many voters will be included in the electoral list of 2020 from the voters list of 2015 elections. The uncertainty as to how many additional voters will be there in the 2020 elections is being shared by the State Election Commission and also our mainstream political parties. The study here tries to assess the situation with the help of data from LSG Elections held in 2015. As the opposition argues that anti-incumbency factors will be a decisive factor and the ruling front is blatantly denying it, the coming days undoubtedly will be crucial for both sides. The major Fronts share the view that there will not be much difference in the attitude of the voters in 2020 local body elections and the 2021 assembly elections.

Panchayat / Municipality / Corporation elections were held in the state of Kerala in 1995, 2000, 2010 and 2015 following correct time schedule. Most of the political parties in Kerala, as is evident from their statements, share the anxiety as to whether the elections done in 2020 will be conducted on time. The State Election Commission¹ is of the view that the voters list of 2015 can be used, whereas some political parties are of the view that the voters list of 2019 shall be followed. The Hon'ble High Court of Kerala has directed that an election has to be conducted in accordance with the electoral list of 2019 and the same has been challenged by the State Election Commission before the Hon'ble Supreme Court. What will be the finding of the Hon'ble Supreme Court in this issue? It is in these premises that this article intends to go into the aspects related to

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the forthcoming elections on the basis of the elections conducted in 2015 and 2010.

Given below is some basic information regarding five local body elections (from 1995 to 2015);

Table 1

Year	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
Number of Candidates	58702	60307	64159	70915	75549
Number of Polling Stations	28282	28274	36210	37233	34423
Number of Voters	20508855	22504328	23705440	24012535	25108536
Number of Votes	15074169	14873110	16984236	18326367	19524397
Voting (Polling) Percentage	73.5	66.09	70.35	76.32	77.76

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

Arguments and accusations are actively continuing in one side as to how many voters will be included (will find a place) in the electoral list of 2020 from the voters list of 2015 elections which recorded a polling of 77.76%. 10, 96, 00 voters were additionally included in the elections held in 2015. The uncertainty as to how many additional voters will be there in the 2020 elections is being shared by the State Election Commission and also our mainstream political parties.

Kerala in 2015

When we look into the voters list of 2015, there is a total of 2,51,08,536 voters which includes 111 transgender and 457 voters who live abroad. In report to number of voters, Malappuram, Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur stands at the top with maximum number of voters. Of these, the total number of voters in Malappuram was 29,05,103 and that in Thiruvananthapuram 26,02,589 and Thrissur 24,36,213 voters. Wayanad stood in the last position with a minimum number of voters, women, as usual, stood in the majority-1,30,50,163 women and 1,20,58,262 men. There was not won a district where men exceeded or stood in equal number to

women. In respect to transgender community, of the total of 111 voters, Ernakulam stood first with 21 voters. Next came Thrissur with 17 voters. Pathanamthitta stood least with only one voter. Now let's look into the non-resident category's position; total number of voters-457;423 men and 34 women. Maximum numbers of voters are from NRK's own district Malappuram – 119 voters. Kozhikode comes first behind with 84 voters. In this category, Idukki, Kozhikode and Wayanad stand apart with not even a single women voter.

Polling Stations and Affected Booths

While there were 37,233 polling stations during 2010 elections, in 2015 it got reduced to 34,423 polling stations. A detailed study revealed that it was possible either to close down or attach together 2810 polling stations. The stipulation regarding the maximum number of voters in Grama Panchyats as 1,100 and a maximum of 1500 voters in Municipal/ Corporation wards has helped in reducing the number of polling stations.

It was in Malappuram, Thrissur and Thiruvananthapuram (3911, 3298,3255 respectively) that maximum polling stations were set up. The minimum was in Wayanad -847 polling stations. The affected polling stations were relatively less in number and in the 2015 elections according to the police department, out of the 34,423 stations 1,315 were regarded as "affected". In the said polling stations, the possibility of introducing web casting system with the cooperation of IT mission and Keltron was looked into and the same was introduced in 1016 polling stations, which was a specialty of 2015 elections.

The official declaration to conduct elections to self governing institutions on 2015 November 2 and 5 was published on October 7. October 17 was the last day to withdraw nominations. Votes were counted and result announced on November 7. The Election Commission says that 2020 elections will not be delayed; in the

Table 2. Number of Polling Stations (District wise)

District	Urban	Rural	Total
Thiruvananthapuram	792	2463	3255
Kollam	377	2360	2737
Pathanamthitta	132	1326	1458
Alappuzha	268	1984	2252
Kottayam	253	2078	2331
Idukki	69	1384	1453
Ernakulam	748	2356	3104
Thrissur	482	2816	3298
Palakkad	284	2689	2973
Malappuram	480	3431	3911
Kozhikod	670	2297	2967
Wayanad	99	748	847
Kannur	440	1994	2434
Kasargod	119	1284	1403
Total	5213	29210	34423

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

given situation, the question; whether it is possible solely depends on the verdict of the Hon'ble Supreme Court in this matter.

As stated earlier 2015 elections were held on the 2nd and 5th of November. Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Idukki, Kozhikode, Wayanad, Kannur and Kasargod districts went to polls in the first phase and Pathanamthitta, Kottayam, Alappuzha, Ernakulam, Thrissur, Palakkad and Malappuram districts moved to the polling booths on November 5. But for the problems which arose in connection with the electronic voting machines, elections generally went on peacefully. The highest polling percentage (Panchayat, Municipal, Corporation combined) was recorded in Wayanad district-81.5%. Kozhikode stood second with 80.5%. Malappuram, Idukki and Alappuzha stood third with 79.7% polling. Thiruvananthapuram recorded the least with 71.9%. When we take the case of Grama Panchayats, Ernakulam district recorded the maximum poll percentage-84.6%.

Table 3 Polling Percentage

District	Panchayat	Municipality	Corporation	Voting Percentage
Thiruvananthapuram	76.22	76.47	62.9	71.9
Kollam	77.42	77.34	69.9	74.9
Pathanamthitta	72.89	72.14	0	72.5
Alappuzha	81.38	77.95	0	79.7
Kottayam	78.79	77.77	0	78.3
Idukki	78.07	81.26	0	79.7
Ernakulam	84.6	81.38	69.62	78.5
Thrissur	78.78	78.95	71.88	76.5
Palakkad	80.93	76.77	0	78.9
Malappuram	79.97	79.44	0	79.7
Kozhikod	83.06	82.48	74.37	80.1
Wayanad	82.42	80.63	0	81.5
Kannur	81.83	80.16	74.75	78.9
Kasargod	78.69	76.49	0	77.6
Total	79.65	78.51	70.62	77.76

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission

Regarding Municipalities, Kozhikode recorded the highest- 82.48%. Among the six Corporations in the state, Kannur secured the topmost position with 74.75%. Thiruvananthapuram recorded the least with 62.9%.

Table 4- Seat Position 2015

Front	Panchayat	Block	District	Municipality	Corporation
LDF	7623	1088	170	1263	196
UDF	6324	917	145	1318	143
BJP	933	21	3	236	51
Others	1078	53	4	259	24

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

Given above is the seat position of various political fronts/ parties in the local self-government institutions. In the 2015 elections the Left Democratic Front² (LDF) consisted of 12 political parties.

It included major parties like the CPI (M), CPI, JD(S) and LDF (Independents) etc. In the Panchayat level elections CPI (M) secured 5902 wards and CPI, 934 wards. In the Block level elections CPI (M) was able to secure 854 seats and CPI could secure 178 seats. In the District Panchayat level, CPI secured 129 seats. In the Municipality level, while CPI (M) secured 934 seats. Independent candidates of LDF could secure more than the 102 seats secured by CPI. When we take the seat position at corporation level, CPI (M) could secure 163 seats. In short, the total seat position of LDF in all the categories are as follows; CPI (M)-7982 and CPI-1273.

Now, let us examine the position of the United Democratic Front³ (UDF), which consisted of 9 parties including the Indian National Congress. Congress could secure 4231 seats at the Panchayat level. In the Block Panchayat election, Congress was able to secure 608 seats, while Muslim League, 37 seats. In the Municipal elections, Muslim League secured 437 seats and Congress, 755 seats. Congress secured 109 seats in the elections to the Corporation Councils. When we take the total, Congress could bag 5784 seats, Muslim League 2120 seats and Kerala Congress (M) with 630 seats became the third largest party in UDF.

National Democratic Alliance (NDA) led by BJP was a front consisting of 5 parties. No other party except BJP could claim any benefit in these elections. BJP secured a total of 1205 seats which included 905 seats in Panchayats, 21 seats at Block level, 3 seats in District Panchayats, 225 seats in Municipal Councils and 51 seats in Corporation Councils. The performance of BJP in these elections at the Municipal and Corporation level, especially the fact that they could secure 51 seats in the Corporation Councils and come secured to CPI (M) has been portrayed as a major achievement of BJP.

Another significant feature of 'Elections-2015' was that the 'others' including SDPI, PDP, independents etc could bag more

seats than the BJP led front. This was proof to the fact that in local body elections personality and popularity of candidates play a vital role than the party/front aspects. 1021 independent candidates could win in the Grama Panchayat elections, 52 independents were elected to Block Panchayats, 4 to District Panchayats and 245 to Municipal Councils. In the Corporation Council elections 22 were elected from the 'Independent' category. Thus the total figure of 'Independents' from these various levels were 1344. SDPI secured 40 seats in total.

Though there is a difference in the number of seats secured, there is not much difference in the vote percentage between LDF and UDF. This makes the local body elections more significant in our state.

Table 5. Votes Secured by the Fronts

Front	LDF	UDF	BJP	Others
Rural	5938258	5873409	1990073	1826959
Urban	1462902	1503343	641198	574194
Total	7401160	7376752	2631271	2401153
Percentage	37.36	37.23	13.28	12.12

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

In the local-body elections of 2015 the difference in votes secured by the two major fronts was 0.13%. It is this neck-to-neck state in the voting percentage which makes election 2015 very different. It is this phenomenon which makes the 'others' including independents decisive with 12.12% votes in their credit.

The picture will be clearer when we analyse the voting figures of the various fronts/parties in the Grama Panchayat, Block Panchayat, District Panchayat, Municipal and Corporation elections. First of all let us look into the district level figure of Grama Panchayats.

Table 6. Voting Percentage at District Level

District	Vote% LDF	Vote % UDF	Vote % BJP	Vote % Others
Thiruvananthapuram	37.71	34.42	18.39	9.45
Kollam	41.29	34.18	16.30	8.21
Pathanamthitta	34.43	36.42	17.14	11.99
Alappuzha	37.97	35.57	15.64	10.79
Kottayam	28.85	38.43	12.51	20.17
Idukki	34.78	41.24	7.95	16.02
Ernakulam	38.40	39.60	10.24	11.73
Thrissur	39.68	33.97	16.14	10.17
Palakkad	42.71	35.21	13.66	8.39
Malappuram	29.43	44.18	5.82	20.56
Kozhikod	40.46	39.85	10.61	4.92
Wayanad	40.52	40.94	13.61	4.92
Kannur	49.35	36.07	7.93	6.60
Kasargod	36.09	36.46	17.22	10.22

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

In the Grama Panchayats, the district-level vote percentage reveals that in seven districts-Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Alappuzha, Thrissur, Palakkad, Kozhikode and Kannur- LDF has an upper hand in the percentage of votes received.UDF got an upper hand in the remaining seven districts. When we take the case of BJP, the party claimed its strength by securing more than 15% votes in 6 districts. The “others” category including “independents” secured more than 15% votes in 3 districts which was ample proof that in Grama Panchayat elections, individuals had more influence among people than political parties. It is thus also clear that in the elections to local self government institutions, the influence of political parties and political fronts is the least in the Grama Panchayat level. Though both the Fronts i.e., the LDF and UDF could claim upper hand in 7 districts each, it was only in 6 districts that they were able to record a

difference of more than 5% votes. Also that is these 6 districts both LDF and UDF could secure upper hand in 3 districts each is ample proof to the fact that elections to the local self government bodies in the state is highly competitive in nature.

Now let’s look into the situation at Block Panchayat level.

Table 7. Voting percentage at Block Panchayat level

District	Vote% LDF	Vote% UDF	Vote% BJP	Vote% Others
Thiruvananthapuram	42.37	38.93	14.83	3.85
Kollam	45.17	37.46	14.62	2.72
Pathanamthitta	38.16	40.45	15.50	5.86
Alappuzha	40.54	39.95	12.39	7.09
Kottayam	33.89	44.53	11.93	9.60
Idukki	29.84	47.51	8.42	14.20
Ernakulam	38.74	43.89	10.20	7.15
Thrissur	42.44	38.04	16.12	3.35
Palakkad	45.17	38.01	13.60	3.21
Malappuram	32.36	50.25	6.91	10.47
Kozhikod	40.79	41.54	11.64	6.05
Wayanad	40.79	42.37	14.25	2.56
Kannur	51.24	38.10	8.51	2.10
Kasargod	37.79	38.45	19.11	4.63

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

Things are different in the case of Block Panchayat elections when compared to Grama Panchayat elections. Here LDF could establish upper hand in 6 districts. The remaining 8 districts went with UDF. .BJP secured more than 15% votes in 3 districts. The “others” including “independents” could not make any impact in any districts except Idukki. In Idukki the “others” tagged 14.20% votes. In the Block Panchayat in 7 districts there is a difference of more than 5% between LF and UDF. Those districts are Kollam, Kottayam, Idukki, Ernakulam, Palakkad, Malappuram and Kannur.

The LDF registered an upper hand in Kollam, Palakkad, and Kannur districts. The question is whether they (LDF) will be able to retain this edge in the elections 2020.

Now let us look in to the District Panchayat elections where the political fronts and parties addressed the voters politically.

Table 8. Vote percentage for political fronts

District	Vote% LDF	Vote % UDF	Vote % BJP	Vote % Others
Thiruvananthapuram	42.58	38.35	17.46	1.61
Kollam	45.14	37.03	14.84	2.93
Pathanamthitta	35.29	42.60	15.82	6.28
Alappuzha	40.50	40.56	13.86	5.07
Kottayam	30.27	42.73	14.06	12.86
Idukki	26.72	44.94	11.14	17.19
Ernakulam	37.82	44.50	10.78	6.84
Thrissur	43.94	37.72	17.07	1.26
Palakkad	43.87	35.78	15.75	4.58
Malappuram	28.80	49.51	8.53	13.12
Kozhikod	39.98	40.38	12.01	7.56
Wayanad	40.48	43.57	15.01	0.93
Kannur	50.37	35.52	10.72	3.31
Kasargod	36.28	36.96	19.59	7.15

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

In the District Panchayat elections, as per the voting percentage, LDF got an upper hand in 5 districts whereas UDF could flourish in 9 districts. Different from Panchayat, Block levels, UDF could make advantage in more districts in the District Panchayat elections, which is of special significance. BJP received more than 15% votes in 6 districts and the pertinent question is whether BJP will be able to repeat its performance of bagging more than 10% votes in the districts other than Malappuram in the forthcoming elections 2020. The “others” including “independents” were not able to secure more

than 15% votes in any districts other than Idukki where the vote percentage is 17.19.

Municipality/Corporation

In the local body elections 2015, perhaps most severe fight between parties/ fronts took place at the Municipal/Corporation level. This will be clearer from the table given below.

Table 9. Municipal/Corporation Level votes for fronts/ parties

District	Vote% LDF	Vote % UDF	Vote % BJP	Vote % Others
Thiruvananthapuram	42.58	38.35	17.46	1.61
Kollam	45.14	37.03	14.84	2.93
Pathanamthitta	35.29	42.60	15.82	6.28
Alappuzha	40.50	40.56	13.86	5.07
Kottayam	30.27	42.73	14.06	12.86
Idukki	26.72	44.94	11.14	17.19
Ernakulam	37.82	44.50	10.78	6.84
Thrissur	43.94	37.72	17.07	1.26
Palakkad	43.87	35.78	15.75	4.58
Malappuram	28.80	49.51	8.53	13.12
Kozhikod	39.98	40.38	12.01	7.56
Wayanad	40.48	43.57	15.01	0.93
Kannur	50.37	35.52	10.72	3.31
Kasargod	36.28	36.96	19.59	7.15

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

In the local body elections 2015, the Municipal/Corporation level elections were the most vigorous in competition. In the 14 districts in the state, LDF could gain supremacy in 4 districts. UDF established upper hand in 10 districts. The LDF fortress were Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Kozhikode and Kasargod. UDF made maximum gain in the local body elections in the Municipal corporation level. The same was the case of BJP as the party reaped

maximum benefit at the Municipal/Corporation level. The fact that BJP could secure more than 15% votes in 7 districts added to their confidence and especially in Thiruvananthapuram and Palakkad they could reap remarkable advantage. Whether BJP will be able to perform similarly in the 2020 elections is a matter yet to be seen. The fact that the “others” could secure more than 15% votes in 5 districts was also proof of the vigorous nature of the elections 2015.

Local Body Elections 2010

Along with the analysis of 2015 elections, an analysis of the local body elections of 2010 will also be of use to look into the prospects of the forthcoming elections, 2020.

Grama Panchayat

Table 10

District	Vote% LDF	Vote % UDF	Vote % BJP	Vote % Others
Thiruvananthapuram	38.58	40.25	7.35	13.82
Kollam	42.68	41.55	3.12	12.66
Pathanamthitta	36.57	41.22	6.43	15.77
Alappuzha	41.18	41.15	5.03	12.64
Kottayam	26.22	45.44	2.67	25.68
Idukki	34.27	47.07	1.31	17.89
Ernakulam	36.47	44.8	1.94	16.78
Thrissur	39.27	41.28	4.53	14.93
Palakkad	42.54	40.46	3.3	13.7
Malappuram	29.98	47.76	2.44	19.81
Kozhikod	39.3	42.7	4.36	14.09
Wayanad	34.16	48.04	3.22	14.58
Kannur	49.24	39.95	2.63	8.19
Kasargod	35.15	35.28	11.84	17.72

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

Block Panchayat

Table 11

District	Vote% LDF	Vote % UDF	Vote % BJP	Vote % Others
Thiruvananthapuram	43.9	45.75	4.8	5.54
Kollam	46.72	45.86	2.28	5.14
Pathanamthitta	37.95	47.07	6.74	8.24
Alappuzha	44.63	44.85	4.42	6.1
Kottayam	29.84	51.67	2.68	15.81
Idukki	35.74	51.45	1.64	11.17
Ernakulam	38.61	49.72	2.58	9.09
Thrissur	42.93	44.79	5.1	7.18
Palakkad	46.27	44.37	4.23	5.14
Malappuram	31.76	51.85	3.95	12.43
Kozhikod	40.91	45.67	5.47	7.95
Wayanad	38.44	49.25	5.43	6.88
Kannur	51.65	41.26	3.37	3.72
Kasargod	39.63	39.54	14.26	6.58

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

District Panchayat

Table 12

District	Vote% LDF	Vote % UDF	Vote % BJP	Vote % Others
Thiruvananthapuram	43.5	44.34	6.52	5.64
Kollam	48.14	44.4	3.08	4.37
Pathanamthitta	38.84	45.79	9	6.37
Alappuzha	46.05	44.95	5.69	3.31
Kottayam	29.84	51.67	2.68	16.26
Idukki	40.72	53.29	2.91	3.08
Ernakulam	34.41	49.03	4.78	11.78
Thrissur	40.99	42.73	7.05	9.24
Palakkad	45.12	44.54	5.37	4.98
Malappuram	32.97	55.04	5.49	6.5
Kozhikod	39.41	45.06	6.71	8.82

Wayanad	33.73	49.48	6.05	11.55
Kannur	50.34	40.23	5.77	3.65
Kasargod	33.64	37.66	16.19	12.51

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

Municipal / Corporation

Table 13

District	Vote% LDF	Vote % UDF	Vote % BJP	Vote % Others
Thiruvananthapuram	40.41	36.47	11.06	12.61
Kollam	45.3	39.71	3.68	11.3
Pathanamthitta	25.05	42.75	4.94	27.53
Alappuzha	36.76	42.29	4.22	16.73
Kottayam	23.55	40.38	3.54	32.53
Idukki	30.06	44.77	6.79	18.37
Ernakulam	34.13	46.16	3.56	16.33
Thrissur	34.36	43.71	5.73	17.01
Palakkad	22.59	35.42	15.31	26.95
Malappuram	32.23	49.83	1.33	16.89
Kozhikod	41.46	37.42	8.61	13.05
Wayanad	42.57	52.83	0.98	3.62
Kannur	50.96	37.3	4.21	8.16
Kasargod	28.18	43.18	11.39	17.25

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

Table 14

	LDF	UDF	BJP	Others
Grama Panchayat	37.88	42.7	3.99	15.43
Block Panchayat	40.92	46.71	4.4	7.96
District Panchayat	40.66	46.41	5.98	6.68
Municipality/ Corporation	36.61	41.37	6.39	15.64

Source: On the basis of various reports of the State Election Commission.

When we compare the 2015 local body elections it will be evident that in the elections 2010, UDF was able to establish its supremacy

at all the levels (4 levels). The fight between the two major fronts and the fact that the UDF could secure 4.76% votes more than the LDF in the state has to be specially mentioned when we look in to the elections 2010. BJP could gather only 6.39% votes and this led to the debate that the party was not at all happy with that position. But in 2015, things changed and the vote position of BJP rose to 13.28% which naturally boosted the self confidence of the party. Another interesting fact which became evident in this comparison election 2010 and 2015 is that there was increase in the LDF votes and significant decrease in the UDF votes and also that BJP made remarkable progress in its vote percentage.

What will happen in 2020?

UDF which flourished well in local body elections 2010 also came into power in the assembly elections the following year, 2011. The local body elections in 2015 were beneficial to LDF and the front came to power with a thumping majority in the assembly elections the following year, 2016. Now all eyes are set on elections 2020. Who will get the majority? Those who secure majority will walk into the assembly elections of 2021 all the more confident. The advancement of BJP had created a sizeable amount of vote drain for the UDF in 2015. To what extent can the BJP advance in 2020 is the pertinent question. If BJP can still better its performance, whose vote share will be affected by that? The UDF or LDF? Which front will be benefitted by the Citizenship Amendment Act promulgated by the Union Government? Though national issues are not generally made a discussion point during local body elections, the citizenship issue will surely be a major point of discussion for the major Fronts in the elections 2020. Meanwhile the question, whether the delimitation of the wards will be challenged before the court is a matter yet to be seen. Whether the verdict of the apex court in the subject of voters list is in favour or against the decision of the government

is immaterial, as the conduct of the elections 2020 will undoubtedly be a challenge to the State Election Commission. As the opposition argues that anti-incumbency factors will be a decisive factor and the ruling front is blatantly denying it, the coming days undoubtedly will be crucial for both sides. The major Fronts share the view that there will not be much difference in the attitude of the voters in 2020 local body elections and the 2021 assembly elections.

Notes

1. *The State Election Commission (SEC) came into existence on the 3rd day of December, 1993 as visualized in Articles 243K and 243ZA of the constitution of India. The first and foremost function of the SEC is to prepare the electoral rolls of Panchayats, Municipalities and Municipal Corporation and conduct their elections. The Commission is also the Chairman of the Delimitation Commission of the State.*
2. *The Left Democratic Front (LDF) is an alliance of Left wing political parties in Kerala. This alliance is led by the CPI (M), CPI and many other smaller parties, including Janata Dal (Secular), Nationalist Congress Party, Congress (Secular), Kerala Congress (B), Indian National League, Revolutionary Socialist Party (Leninist), Loktantrik Janata Dal, Janathipathiya Samrakshana Samithy, Janathipathiya Kerala Congress (Skaria Thomas), Independents. At present the LDF is the ruling coalition in Kerala with 91 seats out of the 140 in Kerala Legislative Assembly.*
3. *The United Democratic Front (UDF) is a coalition of political parties in the state of Kerala, created by K.Karunakaran, the prominent Indian National Congress (INC) leader in the state of Kerala in the 1970s. This coalition is led by the INC party in the state of Kerala. The other members in the coalition are, Indian Union Muslim League, Kerala Congress (M) headed by Shri.Jose K.Mani, Kerala Congress (M) headed by Shri.P.J.Joseph, Revolutionary Socialist Party, Kerala Congress (Jacob), Communist Marxist Party, All India Forward Bloc. This alliance is the opposition in Kerala with 44 MLAs in the Kerala Legislative Assembly.*

INDIA, MODI AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD: THE SIX YEARS OF PHONY PROMISES

Naseer Ponnarath Kunnummal*

Abstract

A review of Modi government's engagement in the neighbourhood for the last six years reveals that nothing has improved from the past, but worsened the engagements more specifically with the countries of Nepal, Pakistan, and Maldives. Modi's most celebrated foreign policy initiative of 'Neighbourhood First Policy' desperately proved to be ineffective to scale down the mounting India-centred distrust and tension in South Asia. The aggravated policy perception of South Asian neighbours, towards India makes the sense of some fundamental lapses and failures in Modi government's formal engagement in the neighbourhood. Obviously, it's a surprising fact that even the traditional friends of India in the neighbourhood came forward to openly censure India's policies and strategies. The reality is that there is nothing to be proud of Modi Government's six years of reality compared to his promise of neighbourly relations in the election manifesto of 2014.

Key words: *Tough Neighbourhood- Neighbourhood Diplomacy- Bilateral Tension and Coercion*

India lives in a tough neighbourhood. Henry Kissinger's much debated comment of these still remains afresh. Nothing has reduced the basic spirit of Kissinger's comment over the years. It's because, nothing is there in the credit of India to claim which improved India's bilateral engagement with the neighbours to settle the longstanding disputes with them on a permanent basis. India's failure in articulating a permanent strategy to deal with the

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neighbours creates a sense of ambiguity whether Indian foreign policy makers overlooked the significance of peaceful and cooperative neighbourhood for protecting and promoting India's regional and global aspirations (Malone, 2011). It's genuinely devastating that India's failure to keep in close with the neighbours gives ample space for China to build its economic base in India's neighbourhood. It's certain if Indian foreign policy remains unsuccessful to address the notion of tough neighbourhood, the future will record India as 'China locked'.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) had created high temptation regarding India's neighbourhood management through their election manifesto for the general election of 2014 (Kulkarni, 2016). The manifesto alleged the absence of statecraft in dealing with the neighbours during the time of United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government. It further proclaimed the urgency for establishing political stability, progress and peace as essential for the growth and development of South Asian region. The BJP-led alliance got majority in the 2014 election and formed the government under Narendra Modi. The expectations were high when Modi declared his 'Neighbourhood First Policy' and his swearing-in ceremony was attended by the leaders from the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) countries as special guests. It was viewed by the strategic analysts and the media as the beginning of new phase to end political division, economic divide and the geostrategic difference in South Asia.

The Annual Report 2019-20 of the Ministry of External Affairs says that, "traditional partnerships and the diplomatic initiatives of the recent past were given a newer dimension by the installation of a new government following general elections in May 2019." But when we are making an analysis of the neighbourhood, it is possible to sense that the traditional friends have turned to be much hostile to

India in the recent past. The situation in the region makes us believe that beyond initial heroism, the neighbourhood first was not at all a sustainable policy initiative. The much celebrated policy was soon proved futile with the emergence of the anti-India voices from the neighbourhood. The widening gap in the relations between India and the neighbours, the unfulfilled agenda of SAARC partnership and the increasing level of Chinese presence in the region are pointers to Modi's phony promises.

Tough Neighbourhood

India's neighbourhood, which is geographically acknowledged as South Asia or Indian sub-continent due to the natural separation of the region by the Himalayan ranges, comprises Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The countries are inter-connected by geography, history, economy, politics, and culture. Such kind of an inter-connection established both convergence and divergence of interests among the countries of the region (Dubey, 2016). Political independence and democratic regime is somewhat a recent concept in South Asia since many countries were under external dominance or internal monarchy.

The region was one of the hot spot of European invasion because of the rich minerals, spices, cotton, and cheap man power (Cohn, 2006). The two hundred years of British colonial control over the region had made drastic impact over the socio-political structure of South Asia. Political and religious rivalry becomes a great intimidation to the peace and stability of the region. Today development and nation building in South Asian nations are harshly affected by the political conflicts, democratic instability, social backwardness, economic inequality, religious fundamentalism, and mutual distrust. Though the problems of South Asian countries having a root in the past, a collective endeavour has not been taken to save the future aspirations of these vulnerable countries.

From the standpoint of the importance of managing the neighbourhood, India is not so successful and has been experiencing its worst impacts. Though the basic tenets of Indian foreign policy pronounces the value of friendly and cooperative relations with the neighbouring countries who share common antecedents with her, India has failed to manage South Asia and confronts a troubled neighbourhood. The failure of India in this regard is mainly because of her approach which is largely driven by power and security motives (Chacko, 2014). Indian leadership was largely guided by the realist interest of applying power hegemony upon the comparatively smaller neighbouring states.

On the other hand, the neighbours' perception on India was largely negative and dominated by the posture of 'big-India' trying to dominate them through unilateral policy interventions (Chandra, 2015). Any means of dialogue and compromise with the neighbours to dilute the tensions is viewed by India as hurting her power status. So the dispute with the neighbours, particularly the border disputes, has remained unresolved. Because of this unending rivalry and suspicion with each neighbour, regional integration in South Asia has become an unaccomplished effort.

China's growing interest and influence in South Asia further makes the region tough for India to deal with. China is obviously very eager to expand its economic activities in South Asia by way of huge investments for trade and development in the region. China's strategic plan to build transport and infrastructure connectivity with the neighbouring states will have a high-power impact in the regional politics of South Asia (Jain, 2018). China's growing strategic involvement with her 'all-weather friend' Pakistan and the newly found 'regional-mate' Nepal is a worrying fact for India. China's aim is to grow into a major power in South Asia instead of India. Together, the South Asian neighbours wanted deepen their partnership with China to counter balance the strategic hegemony

of India. Without significant changes in India's South Asian policy and diplomacy, India's tough neighbourhood could continue to do the same or more in the future, thereby creating huge security flaws against India in the region.

BJP Election Manifesto

The BJP's election manifesto for the general election of 2014 envisaged a resurgent India to ensure the rightful place of the country in the comity of nations and international institutions (BJP Election Manifesto 2014). The term 'resurgent India' was used to highlight its disparagement to the foreign policy of Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government which ruled for the two consecutive terms (2004-2014) under the prime ministership of Dr. Manmohan Singh. The BJP avowed the vision to reboot and reorient the foreign policy goals, content and process to facilitate India's global strategic engagement in a new paradigm and on a wider canvass. In the manifesto, BJP made the critical mention of India's global engagement as 'limited political diplomacy' and optimised for India's greater regional as well as global involvement under BJP to protect the country's economic, scientific, cultural, political and security interests. The manifesto says, BJP will make India economically stronger and her voices will be heard in the international fora.

Regarding the neighbourhood management, the manifesto stated that the growth and development in South Asia is possible only when the region acquires political stability, progress and peace (BJP Election Manifesto 2014). It rendered the criticism of the failure of UPA government in developing enduring friendly and cooperative relation with the immediate neighbourhood. By indirectly referring India's troubled relation with Nepal, the manifesto accused that India's relations with the traditional allies have turned cold under the Congress rule. BJP identified the conditions of political drift, policy confusion, absence of statecraft, and political floundering as features

of the neighbourhood approach of the Congress. For BJP, the worst performance of India in the neighbourhood was actualised by the collapse of Indian economy. It was true that the reluctance of UPA government to give due significance and respect for neighbourhood had sharpened BJP's criticism against the Congress in its manifesto.

As the part of action plan, the manifesto says that instead of being lead by big power interests, BJP will be proactive in the engagement with the neighbours. Further, BJP promised for the resurgence of SAARC as an effective regional platform for bringing an essential linkage among the nations for mutual collaboration and assistance. The mention about the possibility of the use of India's potential soft power also had an implication towards the neighbourhood. The propositions in the manifesto regarding South Asia were a game-changer since the UPA government was a failure in managing the troubles in the neighbourhood, especially in its second term. From the reality of India's distressed relations with the neighbours, the manifesto projected a plan of action for an engaged neighbourhood.

But the time has proved that the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government made no more difference from the UPA government in their neighbourhood management and sometimes even worsened the situation of engagement (Menon, 2018). The neighbourhood first policy has produced no more positive outputs, but witnessed mounting antagonism in South Asia against Indian policies and actions. Under the situation of diplomatic letdown in South Asia, it was not at all a surprise that the election manifesto of 2019 hardly found any reference on Modi's enchanting initiative of neighbourhood first policy. It was even totally silent about South Asia. It was a drastic diplomatic as well as strategic setback for the BJP government since there were no more stories of diplomatic success from the neighbourhood in its credit to highlight in the manifesto of 2019.

Neighbourhood First Policy

The 'neighbourhood first policy' was the priority initiative in India's foreign policy declared by Narendra Modi after the election victory in 2014. The priority was, as declared in the BJP manifesto, 'instead of being led by big power interests, we will engage proactively on our own with countries in the neighbourhood and beyond.' The priority was definitely visible in the swearing-in ceremony of Modi, which was exceptional since it was attended by the leaders from all SAARC countries. The group photo of the leaders of all SAARC countries after the ceremony had attracted the world attention as a sign of new 'region-building' in South Asia under the leadership of Modi (Muni, 2017). The participation of Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in the ceremony also made the hope of improving the bilateral relations between the two which is inevitable for any proactive initiative for regional cooperation in South Asia. Hence, the ceremony was turned to be a high profile diplomatic event with greater strategic expectations.

The sentiments of this new beginning in South Asia was expressed by Modi in his speech in the UN General Assembly in September 2017 by saying that, "a nation's destiny is linked to its neighbourhood. That is why my government has placed the highest priority on advancing friendship and cooperation with its neighbours (Singh, 2017)." The key thrust of this new wave engagement with the neighbours in the initial stage was the official country tour of Narendra Modi. As he was much interested in foreign visits, Modi made official visits to all the neighbouring countries by 2015. The remarkable fact about the visits was that Modi became the first Indian prime minister to visit Sri Lanka in 28 years, Nepal in 17 and Pakistan in 11 years. Beyond doubts these visits were part of the measures to build confidence in bilateral engagements. Modi's 'hug-gestures' and 'surprise visits' were phenomenal in the starting.

Through all these, Modi was personally succeeded to make the image of a leader for 'neighbours first'.

The first test on the credibility of Modi's neighbourhood first initiative for ensuring regional partnership was the SAARC annual summit held at Nepal in November 2014. In his address to the summit, Modi said that, "Nowhere in the world are collective efforts more urgent than in South Asia; and, nowhere else is it so modest. As SAARC we have failed to move with the speed that our people expect and want. We can all choose our paths to our destinations. But, when we join our hands and walk in step, the path becomes easier, the journey quicker and the destination closer." But the end result of the summit made the words of Modi in vain. Although there were enormous requirements for the region particularly in connectivity, the only outcome of the summit was the last minute deal on establishing regional energy grid (Sahoo, 2016). Hence the theme of the summit, "deeper integration for peace and security" remained an unfulfilled agenda of South Asia despite the new vigour and initiative of India.

The neighbourhood first initiative for improving the bilateral engagement with the neighbours was also not much progressive. At one level the initiative was no longer capable to resolve the traditional areas of conflict. On the other, it was not much attracted the neighbours to discourage the Chinese interests in South Asia (Khan, 2018). The only exception to the poor management of neighbourhood first initiative was Bangladesh. The boundary agreement with Bangladesh which ended a dispute dates back to the independence of India was an achievement of Modi. The relation with other neighbours was nothing more than the initial spirit. The failure of the South Asian policy under the BJP regime for six years indicates that Modi's neighbourhood first policy had nothing but personal image building through foreign tours and hugs.

Modi and the Neighbourhood

Even if the old saying "well begun is half done", this proverb has to be corrected in the case of Modi's neighbourhood policy. Modi's first day of neighbourly relations began on a promising note, but the following days proved to be a hollow promise and ultimately the worst in India's diplomatic history. It is very pathetic that India's foreign policy and diplomacy is failing to be sceptical of other countries in South Asia, despite its very good physical condition (Zeeshan, 2020). Since India is unable to change the perception that India is dominant over the rest of South Asia, India's neighbourly approach is ineffective. Judging by Modi's neighbourhood first policy, it is a fact that even under the last six years of Modi, India's negative image has not been changed. If Modi started from a rift that existed between India and neighbouring countries, today it has become a crater.

Initially Modi had given some good expectations. It is interesting to note that he visited all the countries of South Asia and Modi's first visit as Prime Minister was to the small country of Bhutan. Narendra Modi's visit is a major highlight of the event, which has seen Indian leaders not visit in some of these countries for decades. But the expected new neighbourhood order was short-lived. In the past, India's quest to interfere in the internal affairs of its neighbours has led to the loss of its popularity in the South Asian region. The sad fact is that the new regime of Modi has not been able to change this pattern (Panda, 2018). Modi regime has absolutely deteriorated India's relations with Nepal and Pakistan. Though the relations with Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka are somewhat friction-free, nothing has improved significantly from the past. Another worrying fact from the strategical point of view is that in these nations China has its engagement more than ever.

In the above context, it is imperative to understand how India lost Nepal and how the rift with Pakistan further increased under

Modi. When Modi visited Nepal, it was history that an Indian leader visited Nepal after 17 years and he has become the first foreign leader to speak in their constituent assembly. But the crisis associated with the introduction of the new constitution of Nepal in 2015 and India's role and stand in it have prompted Nepal to stay away from India. The problem was exacerbated by the lack of maturity of Indian diplomacy in dealing with this issue (Muni, 2015). India's public statement of disagreement in this regard has caused Nepal's displeasure because the constitution is an internal matter of Nepal. Nepal's claim that the blockade and the protests of the Madhesi faction were aided by India has provoked a major uproar in Nepal against Modi.

The problem with India has led to the emergence of a new nationalism in Nepal and thereby the anti-India sentiments have spread to the Nepalese people (Jha, 2017). An example of the anti-India sentiments that has emerged in Nepal is that people in Nepal took to the streets with 'Modi go back' placard during Modi's visit. Further, the diplomatic issues with India have brought Nepal closer to China and China has seized the opportunity to become Nepal's largest foreign investor. Most recently Nepal published a new political map of the country which included the Indian regions of Kalapani, Lipulekh and Limpiyadhura as part of Nepal's sovereign territory. What is clear from this is that Nepal under the Communist government is completely free from its subordination to India and the future is determined by how much India understands it. Modi government has definitely played a crucial part in bringing Nepal away from India's traditional bond.

Initially, everyone was confused about Modi's attitude towards India's traditional rival Pakistan. Modi had set new expectations by inviting the Pakistani prime minister to the swearing-in and taking a surprise visit to Pakistan. But as we have seen later, Pakistan has become India's diplomatic headache as it always is. The underlying

issues were not discussed or resolved apart from being photographed together at the swearing-in and taking a surprise visit to birthday. Those who wanted to hear about the warm relationship between India and Pakistan heard about surgical strike and mutual arguments. It is unfortunate that there have been no more attempts by India to work with Pakistan in the interests of India to suppress terrorism. It is unfortunate that Pulwama and Balcott have happened instead.

The aggressive hindutva positions of the BJP and Modi have further worsened Pakistan's ties with India. The hindutva stand taken by the BJP on the issue of Kashmir and Citizenship Amendment Act has intensified this rift. While the conflict with India continues, Pakistan is strengthening its ties with China in another direction (Cherian, 2019). Together with China, Pakistan poses a serious threat to India's strategic security in the Himalaya. The fact is that Modi has never shown any genuine sincerity and maturity in making good relations with Pakistan. In a meeting with the military personnel in January 2020, Modi said that "our armed forces will not take more than 7-10 days to make Pakistan bite the dust." Modi's words may be true in fact, but shows how immature he is as a statesman and how futile to think of a good relations with Pakistan under him.

Regarding India's bilateral relations with Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives and Sri Lanka, nothing has improved from the starting to claim as the success of Modi's neighbourhood first policy (Kaura, 2017). The only advantage is that there was no more open conflict with these countries. But some harsh criticisms were made by some of these nations regarding India's diplomatic intervention in their domestic politics. The open contentions of Maldives and Sri Lanka regarding India's intervention in their domestic electoral politics were an unwanted and unusual part in Modi's credit. It is also important to note that in these years India has not been able to solve any of the longstanding bilateral disputes with any of these nations other than Bangladesh. That achievement amid mounting

criticism was the land border agreement with Bangladesh to resolve the decades-long border dispute and the long-demanded Teesta river water-sharing pact.

We can learn much on these from how close these countries are to China. China's high investment in South Asia is evidence of this new trend. China is the biggest source of foreign direct investment in all of the Indian neighbours, except Bhutan. These aggressive investments by China are certainly against India's strategic interests. India's neighbours desire to embrace China shows their keen desire to change the political equation in South Asia. The irony is that India's actions are behind that desire. It is difficult to disassociate neighbours from this mindset. Modi's six year role in bringing South Asia into this situation is not trivial.

How strong China's investment is in each country is indicative of how far away its neighbours are from India. Pakistan is the focal point of China's investment strategy in South Asia. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor plays the vital strategic role in China's investment game. This corridor is surely China's long run investment for her motive for political control over the region (Mahajan, 2019). Needless to say, the BJP's hindutva stance has prompted Pakistan to take China up against India. With significant influence in Afghanistan, China has been able to strengthen its influence in the North West of India. Although India was a key player in Afghanistan's rebuilding, China has emerged as the largest investor in that country today. The fact is that India has shown utter disregard for constructive diplomatic relations with Afghanistan.

China's domination of the Nepal economy, which had traditionally relied on India, must be seen very seriously. China was actually taking advantage of the anti-India sentiments that were created in Nepal as their economic opportunity. China's large-scale investment in Nepal is likely to impact Indian in the long run by means of Nepal's complete political affiliation with China and the

smuggling of Chinese products to India through India-Nepal open border. India's unnecessary involvement in the issue of Nepal new constitution has had a significant impact on bringing Nepal closer to China. As such, Modi can never get away from the role he played in creating this situation of acute trouble.

China's investment hegemony over Sri Lanka and the Maldives is absolute and their economy is fully subordinated to China. China's massive investment has put these countries in the debt-trap (Mahajan, 2019). China's overtaking of India as the largest economic partner in these countries reveals the inefficiency of India's neighbourhood policy. Given China's dominance and debt-trap, the political orientation of these countries is in favour of China and its acceptance of China as a trusted partner in Asia. There is no doubt that Chinese control and monopoly on Sri Lankan ports will seriously hurt India's foreign trade interests. With China's dominance over Sri Lanka's imports, India's economic space in Sri Lanka is likely to be completely lost in the years to come (Cherian, 2019). With massive investment of China in local infrastructure and tourism, the situation of Maldives is no different. Foreign policy analysts expect the Maldives to become China's military facility like Pakistan in the future.

Bangladesh has the most vibrant economy in South Asia. Bangladesh is a country that traditionally maintained political and economic ties with India. Given the fact that China now controls the financial infrastructure of Bangladesh, we must understand how China has grown to be a major influence around. There is no doubt that China has emerged as a major power that controls the economic order in South Asia (Sukumar, 2018). This is the first time that India has become so isolated in the South Asian region. It is this isolation of India that is pushing China to infiltrate India's border. China is pursuing a psychological strategy to keep India's neighbours in line with China by causing discomfort on India's border. If there is a

choice between India and China, India's neighbours today would choose China. This is an indication of what the past six years have been like.

An overview of the failure of Modi's neighbourhood first policy comes to a close when we look at what Modi has done for SAARC. That review will be complete in the simple answer that nothing has been done. Modi's stated aim was to transform SAARC into a productive and responsive organisation. The causes for the inefficiency of the SAARC in the past includes the hostility between India and Pakistan, lack of economic cooperation and engagement, big brother attitude and interference of India, and the lack of mutual trust among the members. Nothing has changed from the past. These causes are still determining the inefficiency of SAARC. The fact that the SAARC Summit has not been held since 2014 validates this assessment. It was simple to photograph together during the swearing-in ceremony, but since then Modi has not been able to keep the SAARC countries in the frame of mutual trust and cooperation.

Conclusion

The criticism that Modi's neighbourhood first policy was just a hollow promise can be authenticated through an analysis of four keys issues. The first issue is how much progress has been made in bilateral relations with neighbouring countries. The second issue is how much progress has been made in resolving the ongoing dispute with neighbouring countries. Third, the extent to which India has been able to defend her strategic security interests against Chinese influence in the South Asian region. The fourth issue is what has been done to revive the SAARC, which has not made any major progress to date. India's open trouble with Pakistan and Nepal, the anti-India sentiments in the neighbourhood, China's economic domination and partnership with South Asian neighbours, China's infiltration in Indian border, SAARC's inefficiency to host even its Summit

etc. are the explanation to these issues. Creating good neighbourly relationships requires creative tactics, rather than heroism.

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STUDY OF GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS ON PHYSICAL, PHYSIOLOGICAL, ANTHROPOMETRIC VARIABLES AND PLAYING ABILITY OF SOCCER PLAYERS

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Abstract

The aim of the study was to investigate comparatively the effect of different geographical conditions on selected physical, physiological and anthropometric characteristics and soccer players' ability to play. The study sample was 96 inter university soccer players from different geographic conditions. Pace, stamina, leg strength and abdominal strength were the physical variables chosen for this analysis. The physiological variables were heart rate resting, blood pressure resting, breathing rate and vital capacity. The anthropometric measurements include height, weight, length of legs, girth of thighs and girth of calves. During the actual competition, the soccer play ability of all players was judged by the panel of three qualified judges, and average score was considered to be play ability. The one way variance analysis and Pearson's Product Moment Correlation were used. Significance level was kept at the level of 0.05. The study results indicate that the geographic conditions have a significant impact on soccer players' physical, physiological, and anthropometric variables.

Key words: *Anthropometric characteristics, vital capacity, resting heart rate.*

The purpose of the study was to investigate the effect of different geographical conditions on selected physical, physiological and anthropometric characteristics and soccer playability. This was also designed to assess the relation between physical, physiological and anthropometric characteristics with soccer players' ability to play.

The subjects were ninety-six soccer players who had played from various geographical conditions in inter-university football

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tournaments. Thirty-two subjects were selected from Kerala (Coastal area), thirty-two subjects from Madhya Pradesh (Non-Coastal area), and thirty-two subjects from Sikkim and Manipur (Hill area) were selected. The subject age ranged between eighteen and twenty five years. The whole subject resided at various geographical conditions.

Height, stamina, leg strength and abdominal strength were the physical variable chosen for this analysis. The physiological variables were heart rate resting, blood pressure resting (systolic and diastolic), vital capacity and respiratory rate as well as anthropometric measures were height, weight, length of leg, girth of thigh and girth of calf. Data reliability was calculated using the software re-test process. In the actual game, the soccer play ability of all soccer players was assessed by the panel of three eligible judges, and average performance was considered to be play ability. The various university soccer players belonging to the coastal area, non-coastal area and hill area were administered all the tests. Following their matches all the subjects were tested.

The weight was taken with the aid of regular weighing machine; with the aid of wall scale, standing height was used. The length of the leg was measured from the bottom outside of the center of the foot to the upper edge of the larger trochanter with flexible steel tape. Calf girth and thigh girth was measured using steel measuring tape. The heart rate of rest was measured early in the morning, using a stop watch and a stethoscope to count heart rate; total heart rate was reported for every minute. Blood pressure was measured using a Doctor's Sphygmomanometer and stethoscope (systolic and diastolic). Vital capacity was assessed with the aid of wet spirometer. Respiratory intensity has been felt just below the thoracic cavity by putting side. The calculation of speed, stamina, leg strength and abdominal strength was 50 m, sprint, 12 minute run / walk exercise, standing wide jump and bent knee, sit-ups, respectively.

The one-way study of variance was used to analyze physical, anthropometric variables and play skill of soccer players under different

geographic conditions. Further to find out the relationship with playing capacity between physical, physiological, and anthropometric variables. Product Moment Correlation (zero order) for the Pearson was used. Significance level was kept at the level of .05.

The study results indicate that the geographic conditions have a significant impact on soccer players' physical, physiological, and anthropometric variables. But the geographic conditions have no effect on soccer player's ability to play.

The result also indicates that the majority of physical, physiological, and anthropometric variables have no important relationship with skill playing soccer players.

The analysis shows that speed, stamina, abdominal strength and strength of the legs at various geographical conditions varied significantly. Speed differentiates greatly between coastal area, non-coastal area, and soccer players in the hills. The endurance difference between the coastal area and the hill area is significant. Leg strength differentiates significantly between hill area and coastal area, hill area and non-coastal area. Abdominal strength differentiates significantly between coastal area and hill area, non-coastal area and soccer players in the hill area.

The resting heart rate variable physiological has a significant difference between soccer players in the coastal and non-coastal areas. There is no significant difference between those geographical conditions between diastolic and systolic blood pressure. Vital ability differentiates greatly between coastal area and hill region, non-coastal area and hill region soccer, player. There is a significant difference in respiratory rate between coastal area and non-coastal area, non-coastal and hill area football players.

Anthropometric height estimation has no noticeable difference between coastal area and hill area, non-coastal area and hill area soccer players, thigh girth and weight between these regional conditions. The length of the legs is significantly different between the coastal

area, non-coastal area and soccer players in the hill area. Calf girth differentiates significantly between all three geographical conditions. There is no significant difference in the playability between all three geographical conditions.

The result shows that there was no significant relationship between coastal area and hill area soccer players' physical variables (speed, endurance, leg strength, and abdominal strength) to the playability. Speed, endurance and abdominal strength of these physical variables are significantly related to the playability of non-coastal area soccer players.

The physiological variable (resting heart rate, systolic blood pressure, diastolic blood pressure, vital capacity, and respiratory rate) has no significant relation to the playability of coastal and hill soccer players. All other physiological variables have no major relationship with non-coastal area soccer players except resting heart rate. The anthropometric weight of the measurements has a significant relationship to the playability of non-coastal area soccer players. All other anthropometric scales have no direct relation to soccer players who belong to specific geographic conditions.

Conclusions

With the limitations of the present study following conclusions may be drawn

1. Geographic conditions have a significant impact on soccer players' physical, physiological, and anthropometric variables.
2. The geographical conditions have no effect on football players' ability to play.
3. Football players in the coastal area have greater speed than non-coastal area and soccer players in the hill area and non-coastal area have better speed than soccer players in the hill area.
4. Football players in the coastal zone have better endurance and abdominal strength than soccer players in the non-coastal area and hill area.

5. Football players have better influence on the geographical condition of hill area to develop leg strength.
6. The physiological factors of systolic blood pressure and diastolic blood pressure are not influenced by various geographical conditions.
7. Football players in the hill area have better vital capacity than soccer players in the coastal area and non-coastal area, whereas players in the coastal area have better heart rate than others.
8. Non-coastal soccer players have less respiratory rates than soccer players in the coastal area and hill area.
9. Football players in the coastal region and non-coastal area are taller than hill level.
10. Specific geographical conditions have no effect on weight and thigh girth of the anthropometric measurements.
11. The coastal area a soccer players have more length than non coastal area and hill area soccer players whereas soccer players belonging to hill area have better calf girth than coastal area and non coastal area.
12. The various geographical conditions do not have much influence on playing ability of soccer players.
13. The physical variables velocity, endurance, abdominal strength has a significant relationship to non-coastal area playability. But leg strength does not have any relationship to the playing ability of these soccer players.
14. The physiological variables of systolic blood pressure, diastolic blood pressure, vital capacity, and respiratory rate are not significantly related to soccer players in all three geographical conditions, but the resting heart rate is significantly related to the playability of soccer players in the non-coastal area.

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EFFECT OF STABILITY TRAINING ON FUNCTIONAL MOBILITY IN OLDER WOMEN

Shereen K*

Abstract

The Functional Mobility required by an individual is depended on the functions that he needs to perform. Stability training for functional mobility is considered as a relevant program to be undertaken especially for older people of our society. The purpose of this study is to determine the effect of Stability Training Programme on Functional Mobility of older women. Sixty women (30 each in the experimental and control group) between the age group of 60-70 years were selected as subjects for the study. The stability training programme of 45 minutes only to the experimental group was given, thrice a week for a period of 8 weeks. Functional Mobility was assessed by timed up and go test and recorded to the nearest 1/10th of a second. The mean difference between the initial and final score of the experimental and control group, 't' test was employed. The analysis of the data shows that the experimental group improved significantly by following eight weeks of the stability training programme.

Keywords: *Functional Mobility; Stability Exercise*

Ageing is a fact which we all go through in our lifetime. The effectiveness of our functional life is determined by the ability of our sensory receptors and following changes in response to advancing age. The rate of declination in the functional capacity will vary. In some people, it will be more rapid compared to their counterparts. It depends on the individual effort taken to make our later part of life more proactive (Tarroun et al., 2007). As people grow older, many

begin to feel that exercise is something they cannot do. For most people, this is simply not true. Properly planned exercise for older adults is not only safe but also has many health benefits, increased working capacity, and an improved sense of wellbeing (Corbin et al., 2000). Women of all age benefit from physical activity. If a woman remains sedentary throughout her life, the progressive loss in aerobic power may eventually reach to a point where she is unable to handle the basic physical demand of daily living some of the functional changes that occur with ageing are permanent, others can be reversed to some degree through a physical training programme (Corbin et al., 2000).

When we are introducing an exercise programme to this particular population, it must be safe and low impact exercises for the purpose of improving their overall fitness development. Nowadays the older women are facing various problems, this has to be catalysed by a different demographic and cultural situation in our society. Older women are exposed to different health issues, both physically and psychologically. The poor physical and cognitive status will lead to recurrent falls. Numerous physiological changes are happening when we advanced to ageing like reduced neuromuscular conductivity, degeneration of tissues, poor proprioceptive and balance (Carroll et al., 2001). Stability training can challenge the proprioceptive system and thus help to train it effectively (Chavan & Sheikh, 2017). Identifying the effect of stability training in elderly women can help to meet the problem of reduced Functional Mobility in this group more effectively.

Objective

The purpose of this study is to find the effect of Stability Training Programme on Functional Mobility of older women.

Method

Sixty women between the age group of 60-70 years from Mary Matha Convent, Pothencode, Trivandrum were selected as subjects for the study. They were randomly divided into an experimental group (N=30) and control group (N=30). Functional Mobility was assessed by timed up and go test and recorded to the nearest 1/10th of a second. In this timed up and go test the subject was asked to sit on the standard armchair (seat height 46 cm and arm height approximately 65 cm) with back against the chair and arm resting on the chair's arms. On the command "go" she needs to get up and walk at a comfortable and safe pace to the line on the floor 3 meters away, return to the chair and be seated again. The training programme was given a week thrice for a period of 8 weeks, sessions lasting for a minimum of 45 minutes only to the experimental group. The training session started with a warm-up and ended with cooling down of 10 minutes each. To compare the mean difference between the initial and final score of the experimental and control group, 't' test was employed with respect to the Functional Mobility Variable. The detail of the training capsule is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Bi-weekly stability training programme for the experimental group

Weeks	Training Programme	Duration
First -second	Supine Toe Tape, Hip Bridge, Supine leg lift	25 minutes
	Stability ball hold, lined walk,	
Third- Fourth	Stability ball exercise, Supine leg lift	25 minutes
	Marching Hip bridge, lunge to front,	
Fifth – Sixth	Hip Bridge March, Stability ball Dead bugs,	25 minutes
	Bird dog lifts, Reverse flies	

Seventh -Eighth	Assisted squat, kick through lungs	25 minutes
	Dynamic band exercise, Lateral Lunge to Balance, Bird dog lifts, Renegade row	

Result

Table 2 reveals the mean difference in the Functional Mobility of both groups. In the case of the experimental group, there was a significant difference in functional Mobility following 8 weeks of the Stability training programme. The calculated 't' value was 5.947, which was higher than the required table value. In the case of the control group, there was no significant change. The mean of Functional Mobility for the experimental and control group is presented in Figure 1.

Table 2: Difference in mean scores of experimental and control groups in functional Mobility (time in seconds):

Paired samples test

	Paired Difference							
	Mean	Std. Deviations	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Pair 1 F. Mobility (cm) PTE F. Mobility (cm) PSTE	.2450	.2257	4.120	Lower	Upper	5.947**	29	0.000
Pair 2 F. Mobility (cm) PTC F. mobility (cm) PSTC	-.1764	.9149	.1670	-5180	1653	-1.056	29	0.300

* Significant at 0.05 level of confidence; ** Significant at 0.01 level of confidence;

't' value needed for the significance of 0.05 level with 29 degrees of freedom is 2.04 and at 0.01 level is 2.76

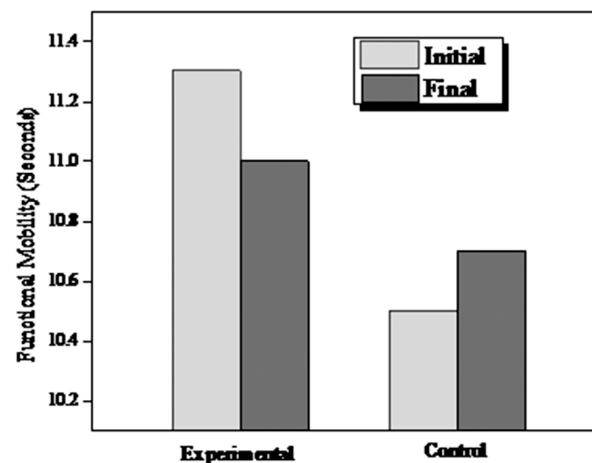


Figure 1: Mean Difference in Functional Mobility for Experimental and Control Groups (Means in Secs)

Discussion

Ageing induced changes are associated with the declination of physiological functions, and following limitations in locomotor ability and estimated risk of fall in older adults (Granacher et al., 2013), training-induced improvements in physical and structural aspect may represent promising functional Mobility and associated improvements in older women. Eight weeks of stability Exercise training programme resulted in an improvement in Functional Mobility in the case of the experimental group. The selected Stability Exercise would have affected the improvement in proprioceptive functioning, which trigger better muscle tone. Walking ability and doing a daily task. A number of neural adaptations and proprioceptive actions following stability training that made improvement in movement speed, balance and kinesthetic sense of older women (Long, 2013).

Conclusion

The analysis of the data revealed that the experimental group had

improved significantly in the functional Mobility of older women after the 8 weeks of the stability training programme. Functional Mobility is an important aspect of quality of life. At the same time, other psychological aspects are also explored. Ageing cannot be stopped but actively involving in this kind of training programme will help to improve our Functional Mobility, and thereby we can delay the ageing and associated medical emergencies.

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Book Review

PEDAGOGY OF THE OPPRESSED: A REVIEW

Sheikh Javaid Ayub*

Abstract

Revolutions do not only require a revolutionary thought but they also require revolutionizing the revolutionary thought itself. Revolution is liberation and liberation is a process of gaining the lost self, the very humaneness of the humans. Freire's book "The Pedagogy of the Oppressed" tries to engage intellectually both the oppressed and the oppressors to make them reach their lost destinations. It aims that humans make a long and cherished march from subjugation to liberation. Intellectual march has to precede the physical march. The colonial mentality thwarts revolutions hence revolutionaries cannot bank on the banking system of education. Critical thinking becomes indeed necessary and Freire believes that this thinking alone can bring the required changes in the society. The paper presents a critical review of the Freire's work and criticizes the author for presenting oppressor and the oppressed as homogeneous groups, with similar levels of consciousness. The paper concludes that mere consciousness is not enough for revolutions to occur but the need of a teacher, a revolutionary leadership is bitterly felt.

Key words: *Dehumanization, Banking education, Revolution, Oppression, Colonial mentality, Critical thinking, Dialogue*

Introducing the "Pedagogy of the Oppressed"

Written by Paulo Freire, a South African writer and a revolutionary, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has been among the greatest books human intellect has produced so far. The book was first published in 1970

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by 'The Continuum Publishing Company' and has reached its fifth anniversary this year. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is a book, claims Freire, for radicals who dare to rebel from the established status quo. The book is for a radical who is whole heartedly committed to human liberation, which, Freire believes, is the ultimate historical necessity. Paulo Freire uses dialectic method to make the readers understand the causes of occupation, oppression, dehumanization and the liberation. For him liberation is humanization and oppression dehumanization. Freire takes away from Marx the notion of history as the conflict between the two classes (Marx and Engels, 2010: 14), and replaces it with struggle between humanizing and the dehumanizing forces. The book is a complete blend of education, philosophy and revolutionary politics. It theorizes them in a very lucid manner and concludes that education, unless it liberates, is no true education. Friere presents a theory of education in the context of the revolutionary struggle. It seems that Friere, like Karl Marx tries to abolish eternal truths, authority over truths besides questioning the existing order-moral as well as physical.

Dehumanizing humans

The process of dehumanization, Freire states, produce two classes- one which projects itself to be more human (to which Friere calls distorted humanity) and the other which is generally regarded as 'less human'. This phenomenon so reached results in an inevitable clash between the oppressed and those who have made them so. Oppression is dehumanizing force and liberation a humanizing one. He defines history as a continuous struggle between man and the dehumanizing forces around him, and concludes that humanization is the people's vocation. He asserts that injustice, oppression, exploitation, and violence are the basic impediments that thwart humanization. Liberation is humanization but Friere cautions that the oppressed must not, in their struggle for regaining the lost

humanity, become in turn oppressors of the oppressors, but rather restorers of the humanity of both. So the oppressed are entrusted with this greatest task to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. Prophet Mohammad once said to his companions that help your brother if he is an oppressor or an oppressed. The companions replied that they understood what it means to help the oppressed but could not understand 'helping an oppressor'. Prophet Mohammad replied, stopping him from using oppressive measures to oppress others is helping the oppressor (Sahih Bukhari). This means that even the oppressors are in need of liberation but liberation demands power, the power that emerges from the weakness of the oppressed and has the potential and the strength to free both.

It must be admitted that oppression dehumanizes both the oppressed and the oppressor. The oppressor stoies the humanity of the oppressed, hence dehumanizes them; but in turn become less human himself. Dehumanization is thus an outcome of an unjust order that endangers violence in the oppressor, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi talks about violence in the same fashion as Friere does. For Gandhi violence meant exploitation, which he insisted, represented a denial of individual integrity. He believes that violence not only treats others instrumentally and degrades them but it also makes the user of violence less human (Terchek, 1986: 310). Both Friere as well as Gandhi believe in what Albert Memmi has rightly stated that oppression is the greatest calamity of humanity because it diverts and pollutes the best energies of a human; both oppressor and the oppressed alike (Memmi, 1991: XVII).

Friere defines oppression as 'any situation in which A objectively exploits B or hinders his or her pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression'. Such a situation constitutes violence because once the relationship of oppression is established,

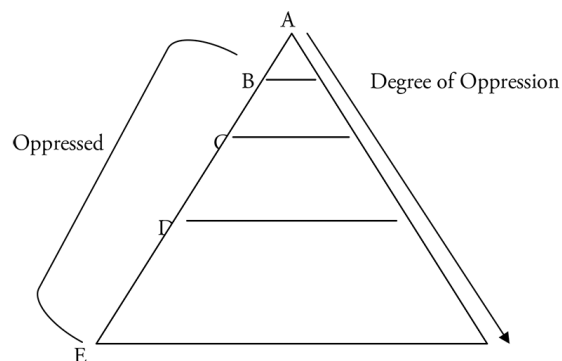
violence begins and history bears the testimony that violence has never been initiated by the oppressed. Friere makes a sweeping remark, as did Marx about the end of exploitation, that the contradiction 'oppressed and oppressors' can only be resolved when a completely new man emerges who will neither be an oppressor nor oppressed, but a liberated man or a man in the process of liberation.

Liberation, as such, is the only way for humanization. Friere believes that people are generally inclined to humanization but this inclination is thwarted by injustice, exploitation, oppression and the violence of the oppressor. The fact can be affirmed by the yearning of the oppressed for freedom and justice, and by their struggles to recover their lost humanity. But the stumbling block in every revolution is a kind of 'oppressed mentality'-a mentality that is quite OK with the status quo and hardly raises eyebrows against the prevailing conditions. A mentality that shows a dual character; from one side it expresses the disdain oppressed feels towards the colonizer and from another side the mentality makes oppressed to get passionately attracted towards the oppressor. Not only did they feel adhesion towards the oppressors but they also process a 'culture of silence'^[1], a culture where critical understanding and awareness are kept at bay, where men are routinized to the level that lose their urge to question, their appetite of understanding the cause and effect of the phenomenon around them.

This sort of environment creates huge changes in behavior and character of the oppressed lot. Their behavior becomes a 'prescribed behavior'^[2] and their character suffers from duality. From one side they know the value of freedom and from other side they fear freedom and are not ready to pay the price. They thus become oppressors and the oppressed themselves. Albert Memmi however, believes that this 'dependency complex' this 'colonizability' is result of colonization and not its cause. It emerges at a particular period of time and hence is not eternal (Memmi, 1991: 88).

Sometimes the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors, or sub-oppressors. This is partly because of the conditioning of their thoughts to the level that they develop an attitude of 'adhesion' to the oppressor and when that condition is reached the oppressor is not considered some alien, and instead of going against the oppressor, the oppressed try to identify themselves with the oppressor. This loss of consciousness puts liberation movement at stand still. But Friere like Fanon is firm that the methods of the oppressed may sometimes delay emancipation, but cannot stop it (Fanon, 2001: 11). The other part that nourishes this adhesion is the way the power is structured in the society. According to Memmi the oppressor build a kind of pyramidal relationship with and among the oppressed. Some oppressed are elevated to make them think of being different from the masses. They are given privileges not enough to liberate them but enough to make them think they were not masses. If this pyramidal structure begins to crumble, these privileged groups feel endangered and hence fight side by side with the oppressor (Memmi, 1991: XIV). As Frantz Fanon (2001: 29) has stated that this intermediary class of oppressors^[3] always use brute force and that too with a clear conscience of an upholder of the peace. There can be instances where some people from the ranks of the oppressors may be willing to join or join the oppressed in their struggle of liberation. Friere is highly skeptical about this trend and cautions, that they almost always bring with them the baggage of their past, marks of their origin, and hence can never be fully liberated from their prejudices and their deformations. The oppressed experience different degrees of oppression and will respond to it with different levels of consciousness, hence, cannot be homogeneous, so a harmonious state is a mere utopia. There is no doubt that the oppressed get united for a common value, or common cause-liberation but, as Memmi puts it, all of them do fight

for certain political futures as well. Hence, they would never fight a battle for any such future state where their orientation, ideology or leanings are crushed or meagerly represented (Memmi, 1991: 36).



A = The Oppressor

B = The Political elite among the oppressed

C = The bureaucrats among the oppressed,

D = The police and the army agencies among the oppressed,

E = The masses

(Foucault considers the groups homogeneous and hence receive same degree of occupation and the oppression, but they are not homogeneous and the degree of occupation and oppression varies within the groups. The degree can vary on the basis of class, gender, region, religion etc.)

“Banking System of Education”

Foucault calls the conventional method of teaching learning as ‘Banking System of Education’- a system which according to him has ossified the creative learning, has curbed the imaginations and has squeezed from the students the ability to question anything.

This system is enslaving, hence oppressive. So to be truly liberated the struggle has to be waged against three different but interrelated oppressive mechanisms. Firstly, against the mentality that develops adhesion for the oppressor which in turn not only creates duality in the oppressed but also creates a fear of freedom among them. Secondly, against the hierarchical structure of exploitation erected by the oppressor. Going against the structure is always a dreadful exercise but liberation is always painful and one has to bear the sufferings of liberation. For Foucault, oppression is not to be considered as a closed world, an unchanging and static world, from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which can be transformed. Third, against the culture of domination which breeds culture of silence among the oppressed. Culture of domination has to be culturally confronted and this can only be done through reflection and action.

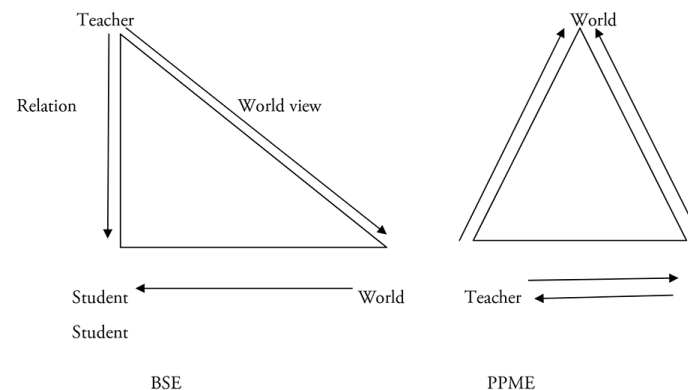
Domination both ideological and cultural is acquired and preserved by what Foucault calls ‘banking system of education (BSE)’. Knowledge is a continuous encounter of human mind with its environment but the banking system of education is vertically structured in a fashion that those at the top consider knowledge as a gift from them- the knowledgeable, to those who stood at the bottom and know nothing. Any system of knowledge that debars critical thinking or minimizes or destroys completely the creative power or stops independent inquiry and the authentic thinking, is a system designed to serve the oppressor and cannot be used for liberation. Isn’t it true that we still bank on this banking concept of education! In general, education has two purposes to serve: one, to liberate humanity by challenging the status quo and bring revolution; second, to adapt the young generation to the existing system by capturing their minds and by conditioning their behavior. This banking system of education is teacher centric and hence can be nick named as a ‘Narrative System of Education^[4]’ where teacher

plays the role of a narrator and students that of a container filled by deposits. The BSE shuts the doors of critical thinking hence make people adaptive with the world they live in and the world view they acquire. This adaptive behavior serves the interests of the boss and the status quo seekers. So it becomes imperative on the part of the oppressor to change the consciousness of the oppressed without changing the oppressive structure of the oppressive situation. The BSE maintains the structure of violence and the structure of violence, in turn, promotes this system of knowledge. Through this structure and the knowledge they try to assimilate to assimilate the marginalized by changing their consciousness about the structure and the situation. Thus it brings adaptability among the oppressed to the world of oppression and its world view. Friere however, believes that integrating them into the system is not a solution rather, solution lies in transforming the structure to the level that the marginalized can become their own beings.

According to Freire, 'Knowledge emerges only through invention and reinvention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other'. Production of knowledge occurs through critical thinking and the truly liberating education is one that cultivates a culture of critical thinking in the society; that teaches individuals to reflect, to act, to ponder upon, to question. Critical thinking does not emerge in a vacuum rather; it evolves by questioning, doubting and trying to exert one's self on the environment. As Friere rightly states that humans don't merely live; they exist. Let us learn to question even the unquestionable!

Education that liberates is the only true education and Fraire is of the view this banking system of education must be replaced by Problem Posing Method of Education (PPME). The PPME method of education is horizontal one, dialogical in nature; that may make

a teacher and a student to judge the problem from their own worlds and their own angles. It is dialogical in nature and the dialogue will make the teacher and the student to reach to reality. The teacher student relationship is changed at once and a teacher remains no more a teacher and a student no more a student, but who teach and are taught simultaneously. In making a further contrast between BSE and the PPME, he states that BSE emphasizes permanence and become reactionary while as PPME accepts neither a well behaved present nor a predetermined future but roots itself in dynamic present and becomes revolutionary.



The Road Revolution

Friere calls his revolutionary theory 'Praxis' and elaborates it in chapter three and four. He firmly believes that dialogue is the only emancipating practice for the humans. Dialogue is encounter of human mind with the world to transform the world. The essence of dialogue is reflection and action which are ordered in such a radical interaction with each other that if one is sacrificed (even partially) the other immediately suffered. He states that since the essence of dialogue is word; and word is reflection and action and if a word is

deprived of action it turns into verbalism and if reflection is sacrificed the end result is activism, and Friere believes that with activism alone no world can ever be transformed. Activism never leads to revolutions rather strong actions do. When realities are pursued critically a true knowledge emerges and only true knowledge leads to revolution.

Human existence demands dialogue and hence cannot be silenced. So to be a human is to transform the world around. It is for all to dialogue because the world is not a privilege of some few persons. Dialogue implies an openness between moral equals, as hierarchy crushes equality. Dialogue opens the possibility that others might be converted to our position rather than coerced. As Hannah Arendt tells us dialogue is the very essence of living in polis. Living in polis means that everything should be decided by dialogue and persuasion and not through force and violence. No dialogue can be possible between those who want transformation of the world and between the status quo seekers. Liberation is transformation so dialogue becomes an existential necessity.

Dialogical praxis demands a conducive environment where dialoguers can dialogue freely. Dialogue is not possible in an environment where it is reduced to the act of one person's depositing ideas in another, nor can it be possible where 'tyranny of majority' prevails because no dialogue is possible in a state of domination. Dialogue demands love, and love, until it generates other forms of freedom is not love. Love originates not under the situation of oppression but when the oppressive structure is demolished. If there is no love of world, of life and of people, there cannot be any dialogue. Similarly, dialogue cannot be held without humility. Friere states that how can one dialogue when one always projects ignorance onto others and perceives his own. Self-sufficiency is incompatible to dialogue. Dialogue cannot exist without hope because hope is rooted in men's incompleteness, hence in his quest for perfection. Critical

thinking is another feature of dialogue as it does not perceive reality as static, rather as a process, as transformation. Dialogue requires critical thinking to generate critical thinking. If critical thinking is denied to the people, the revolutionary leadership handicaps their own capacity to think- or at least think correctly. Revolutionary leadership cannot think without the people, nor for the people but only with the people. Revolutions are not for the people by the leader, nor by the leader for the people, rather they both have to act together in an unshakable solidarity. Thinking without people is the character of dominant elites and not of revolutionary leadership. Dominant elites spend much money and energy to carry out systematic research about the people to know them better and thus dominate them more efficiently. The dominant elite never think with the people and neither lets the people to think for themselves. It is worth mentioning that in the process of oppression it can be stated that someone oppresses someone else but the same cannot be said in the process of liberation someone liberates someone else, rather humans liberate each other. In an antithetical relationship lies anti-dialogical action which is a necessity for conquest. The anti-dialogical individual, in his relation with others, aims at conquering them to the fullest and by every means, from the toughest to the most refined, from the most repressive to the most solicitous.

Theory of Revolution

Lenin has long back stated that no revolutionary movement is possible without a revolutionary theory (Lenin, 2013: 28) meaning thereby revolutionary theory must precede a revolutionary movement. Friere first explains the theory of anti-dialogical which, he believes, is oppressive in itself and through which the entire structure of oppression is maintained. The anti-dialogical theory has four essential principles; Conquest whereby the minds are conquered and are not allowed to develop critical thinking; Divide

and Rule by which the coherence, organization and the power of the oppressed are broken; Manipulation manipulates the process of dialogue; Cultural Invasion whereby the world view of the dominant groups are imposed on the submerged ones. The loss of originality is a necessary consequence of this aggression and invasion. It is to be taken into account that cultural invasion is both an instrument of domination and a result of domination.

Friere then moves to explain his dialogical theory which too is based on four essential principles: First, Cooperation which means, unlike anti-dialogical theory's first principle of conquest, people cooperate and unite to cooperate to transform the world. Second; Unity for Liberation which means shunning out the duality from the people to make them their own selves. Oppression requires division and division breeds confusion, hence fear of freedom. Unity requires de-ideolizing to the level that the oppressed be able to generate the consciousness of being oppressed. Third; Organization brings cohesiveness and solidarity among the oppressed. Fourth; Cultural Synthesis, the anti-dialogical theory proposes cultural invasion where as in contrary to this, the dialogical theory proposes cultural synthesis where the actors who come from another world to the world of the people do so not as invaders. They do not come to teach or to transmit or to give anything, but rather to learn with the people about the people's world.

Revolution requires three Ps: Philosophy (a dialogical one), that can provide a theory of revolution, People (organized, de-ideolized and conscious) who are made to think critically and before whom nothing remains sacrosanct; Power (to challenge the authority of any sort) through which myths can be debunked and truth revealed. However, there cannot be any permanent truth as truth exists in many forms. Let the submerged speak their version of the truth; let them name the world to transform it.

Conclusion

Friere's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has been a path breaking book of our epoch. However, it is not without its critiques. Friere clams his pedagogy to be universalistic in nature, as it speaks about universal issues. Suen Jackson has criticized Friere's pedagogy by stating that "whilst 'universal issues' may mean that the book 'speaks' to people across many boundaries, it does not give sufficient concentration to difference, to the conflicting needs of oppressed groups or the specificity of people's lives and experiences" (Jackson, 2007). Friere is criticized for viewing the world via the incomplete and particular lens of patriarchy, hence is unable to acknowledge the issue of gender, class and race of teachers and learners. He also fails to consider their structural locations (Sue, 2007).

Looking on the rise of right wing forces and muscular nationalism from one side and neo-liberal globalism on the other side, it seems that the author has overestimated the power of dialogue defined as the capacities of men and women to transform the world for the better. Cooperation is always relative and for people absolute gains matter more than relative gains. Similarly Friere can be criticized for as Sue Jackson has stated that "whilst transformative action may be possible, the ability to transform the world through transformation of self fails to recognize or acknowledge the highly unequal positionings we all occupy within economic globalization and super-powerful states" (Ibid). Friere, while presenting the possibility of transforming the world has not taken into consideration the structural inequality, race, class and the regions while presenting his thoughts on action and reflexion. Friere like Marx has stated that 'the emancipation of the working class is the work of the working class itself'. Marx meant that the relations of production create the characteristic revolutionary ideology of the proletariat and this ideology, he believed, to be the mainspring of an effective revolution. But Lenin criticizes this logic of self-consciousness by stating that 'the history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able

to develop only trade-union consciousness.' So the need of an agent is bitterly felt and in the absence of a teacher, or a revolutionary leadership, none can bank on the mere self-consciousness for any revolution.

Notes

1. *It is a culture that debars critical thinking. It is a manufactured culture that is maintained through the system of education. Education system that does not promote critical and independent thinking is oppressive system of education.*
2. *Prescriptive behavior represents a kind of behavior that accepts the imposed choices of the other individuals and thus transforms the consciousness of the person. Friere believes that oppression produces prescribed behavior in the oppressed.*
3. *Fanon uses this term for elites and their foot soldiers from among the oppressed.*
4. *See for example Manzoor Ahmad Mir and Sheikh Javaid Ayub, Re-thinking School Education System in Jammu and Kashmir, North Asian International Research Journal of Social Science and Humanities, Vol. 3, Issue, 12, December, 2017.*

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SYNTHESIS OF SKILL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION: NEW IMPERATIVES IN ACHIEVING INDIA'S GROWTH TARGETS

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Abstract

An ecosystem of empowerment wrapped in the culture of innovation and self reliance grounded on entrepreneurship are the driving forces on which India holds on the cusp of fetching global power status. The thorough going ideology of the mechanism is surrounded on the rising vision of a 'Skilled India'. Our perspective for growth and development are on the up surging percentage of youth in the human resources. The formidable challenge in this institutional approach is making optimum use of the potential and opportunity targeting the level of energy of resources in a more constructive form. In achieving this target skill development and entrepreneurship initiatives play significant role to promote workforce enhancements and thereby giving the space to bring forward the unused resources of the land. This paper sheds light on the different level of initiations carried out by Indian government in achieving this status. The study also focuses on the challenges and opportunities of the applied mechanism from a developmental perspective.

Keywords: *Skill Development, Entrepreneurship, Employability, Educational Unemployment.*

Education is regarded from ages as the solitary most prevalent instrument in ensuring social and economic transformation. Our own societal experiences showcased this single element alone cannot set the seal on. A population with formal structured education needs to possess adequate skill potentials unless they would be benefited of. This is regarded as the pre condition for exclusive growth and subsequently it is added with colorful opportunities. Thus for guaranteeing economic growth and social development in any

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nation the prerequisite condition is being regarded as the human resource with validated education and ample skill.

In contemporary world the only dependable element of progress is change. Every day the system needs to cope with new set of movements and to be proactive then the resources need to be prepared within the shadow of this level of change. India in its relentless march towards forming a 'knowledge economy' should focus more on this aspect of skill enhancement of its population. These improvements need to be focused on the concept of emerging environment from social, political and economic perspective. According to a survey conducted by Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMPE) in the first quarter of 2019, it was reported that among the youth especially 20-24 years age group the rate of unemployment is up surging to a figure of 34 %. This figure is the highest recorded in 45 years. During 2018 Periodic Labor force Survey (PLFS) report said the rate of unemployment focusing urban area 15 – 29 years old marked to 23.7%. These rising figures can be attributed to the ongoing education systems failure in a more social perspective. The receptors and inceptors of the mechanism are more concerned in fetching scores but least concerned in the qualitative change in a person (Ramaswamy,Sasikala & Gururaj, 2019, pp. 1-20).

The reason was thus regarded as due to skill shortage and then the system of administration began to view more attention on this discourse. Government conducted many studies and declared that this particular skill reasoned pervasive joblessness is happening primarily due to the poor training getting imparted to the youth. Majority of youth in Indian land are not getting the exposure to formal skill based training. Based upon the report from various surveys it is noted down that in India a percentage of 2.3 of the total workforce did undergo skill based training which when compared to other fast emerging nations is a mere figure. The report further states that among total employers 48% faced with difficulties on filling work vacancies as a result of the skill shortage for particular jobs. CMIE reports clearly demarcated the figure line of formally trained

unemployed youth to 33 % ((Ramaswamy,Sasikala & Gururaj, 2019, pp. 22-23).

This awareness of importance of skill based education forced the policy makers to think out of the box. 'Skill India', program could be placed under a part of this initiative which aims to impart training of multi skills to the available 300 million by 2022. This initiative got spread throughout India with immediate goals to acquire skills which employers require and to prepare youth and old for a decent mode of livelihood.

Landscape of Skill Development in India

In India the labor market is carrying out with a dynamic change. The average of labor pool with regard to the employability remains in a mismatch form due to several reasons. The traditional Indian education system is more prone to academic and the pass outs with good background were able to settle with almost all sectors, more in service one. Service sector is being the emerging field in these years. Recent analysis of the job market saw growing change in this concept. Now the manufacturing sector is growing and the lack of skilled labor is the reason of rising educated unemployment in our land. Despite all such trending surveys and ongoing recommendation measures only a mere 20 % out of the work force are getting formally skilled. Even 93 % of the labor bulk of India is working in the unorganized sector where they are not receiving any form of formal skilled training. Fortunately these days skill development turns to be the key policy matter and with result to these steps a renewed push in the extension of skill based education is getting clutch in our country. The complete landscape of skill development and promotion is based on this element. This element is depended on two factors, a) reducing birth rates b) qualified level of life expectancy. The element pushes India into the accounts for placing world's youngest labor force with an average age level below to emerging societies (Pandya, 2016, pp. 150-165). With its high level academically qualified workforce and consequent rising unemployment among them due to lack of finely tuned skilled techniques the situation is changing.

Government Initiatives till date

This concept of demographic dividend was the reason for the setting up of National Skills Policy. This got inducted in 2009. The policy aimed to impart expertise enhancement to a population nearly of five hundred million that too by 2022. The nodal institution for policy directives in this matter is National Council on Skill Developments. This organization with its three tier structure laid the basic foundation of Skill Development initiation in our land. These initiatives got placed as part of the scheme which is set up under the model of public private partnership (PPP). Thus by keeping in mind the extending numbers of population that are required to be skilled the necessity arises in strengthening the basis of skilled ecosystem and is getting introduced to innovative measures in the field.

In making the skilling system a sustainable ecosystem the adoption of skill development education with vocational education needs are to become more inspirational. Today's society pays comparatively low concern to vocational courses as it is coming under low mode of acceptability. Range of awareness is also reducing. Several reasons can be attributed to this nature; to list out the primary reason is the lack of a well structured & defined career progression within the group. In order to strengthen the ecosystem of skilled development it is mandatory to oblige to the preferences of youth and need to ascertain their level of interest and aptitude in this. The level of sustainability in improving the effect of skill driven mechanism can be ensured only through methodical studies of skill gap areas and need to inculcate a culture of assessment. An assessment in industrial demands and available workforce skills demand can be arranged for making improvements.

Prime Minister's Kaushal Vikas Yojana

The particular scheme offered by government through NSDC to give out trainees with certification on successful completion of the course and certain grants are awarded to them. This will ensure a comprehensive financial support while doing the training course

to the candidates. The particular scheme targets to offer around 10 million youth a skill based transformation which is industry relevant and completely skill based. Thus the policy aims in securing the candidate a skilled job for their better standard of living in the future.

Apprenticeship Training Scheme (ATS)

Under this program the candidature of apprentice can be enrolled into any of the five categories like Trade apprentice, graduate technicians, technicians (vocational), and optional trade apprentice. Each candidate is provided with monthly stipend by the concerning employer.

Skill Development Initiatives (SDI)

This particular program is to ensure vocational training in which, courses are based on modular employable skills through a vocational training providers (VTP) network are imparted since 2007. It focuses mainly on school drop outs, ITI graduates, existing youth workers, rural youth etc. The entire training part is carried out by registered VTPs who are registered under government, private sector and certain industrial establishments.

Skill India Mission

In 2015 this got initiated by the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship. The initiative got launched to impart market relevant skills to the young population of India. This package includes management and development programs, training of trainer initiatives, entrepreneurship courses, skill development programs, micro enterprises skill development initiatives and so on. Thus by ensuring proper development from the grassroots level almost all sectors could reap the benefits. This will in turn boost our economic growth, various schemes that are coming under this initiative are Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana, Skill Acquisition and Knowledge Awareness for Livelihood Promotion (SANKALP), UDAAN, Standard Training Assessment and Reward Scheme, Polytechnic Schemes, and Vocationalization of Education (Pandya, 2016, 170-190).

Way Forward

The ongoing skill development measures proved that if the demographic advantage of the land is used optimally then the sense of demographic dividend would be formed. This will be further enhanced by imparting the right form of skills to the working youth which can be in tune with the contemporary and future demand of skills. A lot of factors do contribute in the rising demand of skills like globalization, enlarging domestic market, automation and new technological adoptions, robotics and so on. Nevertheless, there rose a significant focus on the area of skill development but the fact that employability of skilled labor did remain one of the biggest challenges. Skill development and entrepreneurship can be seen complementary as the latter involves venturing into new arenas of our system. They are directly getting into the problems which are novel and finds new format of tackling and this process requires the finely tuned availability of skilled manpower. The dynamic entrepreneurship opportunities which are sprouting as a result of the fast emerging economic arena of the nation, such chances could be utilized as a pertinent area for ensuring the participation of youth. They could maximize this opportunity with this improved skills and their capabilities. Traditionally the concept of skill development sharpening any vocational skills and further certification of that process, but now the impetus of skill development itself is under great flux.

If we take an account of last two years the landscape of skill development in our country got changed comparatively. The rising challenge is to rely on the sustainable goals and to impart skill development initiations to the population from the set standards. Thus in long run the skill development initiation of our land needs to focus on spending limit and also in ensuring the suitability of a well trained ground for imparting the policy strategies. Even the government fund allocation is getting down to 2.08% in 2018-19 when compared with 2.81% of budget space of 2013-14. This rate itself is providing the waves of an alarming situation in its future

endeavors. Already set initiatives aimed for skill development need to be brought under periodic strict evaluation and skill imparted level surveys (Sharma & Sethi, 2018). India should prepare its room to learn from the models of China, Germany, Brazil, Japan and Singapore in technical and vocational training and education. These countries had gone through similar challenges and through their well framed holistic compatible adaptable education models. They were able to bridge the gaps of their skill based problems and which in turn ensured a higher growth rate of employability among youth.

Bridging the Gap

In a developing country like India private vocational training institutes could help by imparting primary role in extending help to government by including skill development programs in their curriculum. The concerning problem with Indian education system is that we are giving overemphasis on performance of academics and if we take an account even the high ranked universities and schools of the nation are competing each other to produce highly qualified in the sense of high marks but hardly these pass outs can be placed in the category of highly employable graduates. As a result the tone and range of employability among Indian folk is tremendously decreasing. This in turn results in the widening of the ongoing gap between highly qualified unemployed youth in the land. It is crucial that the policy makers should include skill development techniques as a strong component in our existing educational curriculum. They should inculcate a good mix of both classroom teaching as well as practical training along the format of study (Pandya, 2016, pp. 205-210). The challenging fact with the ongoing job market is that there is no dearth of jobs but the problem and current shortage rise is happening because of the lack of required skilled personnel for a particular job.

As a first step job training institutions could be brought into the limelight in providing help to government in identifying and nurturing such talents. Most of the times highly talented and

qualified candidates fall out of the line of this job placement drive because of good communication and soft skills. Until and unless these level of skill enhancement is triggered among the youth of the land a far reaching and long standing action in reducing the gap of educated unemployment in India could be handled out. In the modern world these skills include many concerns like expansion of job oriented vocabulary register, sharpened speaking skills, ability to write customized e mails for the job related activities, preparing and presenting the power point presentations and all these abilities are today essential skills for finding suitable job positions in today's labor market.

Conclusion

India in the millennium is after its long run towards achieving the effects of demographic and technological revolution. These initiations are carried out in an efficient way these days by the application of various updating which include the mechanism of skilling program which spread great inputs on every sector of the economy. Youth need to be more focused in skill development initiatives provided by government as they if properly guided could achieve anything and everything and witty fully could be able to accord to the nation building. This entire methodology will lead to the full flourish of the vision of a developed India. India being one of the youngest nations has a massive 62% of working age group of 15-59 among youth. They have the potential to get skilled for global job. If these potentials tapped in the correct form then they could find better job which will ultimately strengthen their economic as well as social capacity. However, at present India faces grave shortage in skilled and well trained personnel. If we list out about two thirds of our employers are continuously struggling to get workers with the right needy skills. At the same time a large no of educated labor force have little or may be no job skills, this will lead to increasing degree of unemployment. In order to fill this lacunae government is scaling up many types of skill development programs. These programs are getting implemented through different policies and programs as

carried out by Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship (MSDE).

These initiations are providing new steps and developments every day. This day such initiations are being taken favored by the fully fledged participation of Central governments, governments of all States, industry, private sector and it ensures full spirited global participation. Different sector skill councils (SSC) covered by the NSDC are adding more colors in this venture of skill enhancement with its 37 operational units. India International Skill Centre (IISC) program is providing various skill trainings to the human resource of our nation through different ongoing schemes. In the coming days government is in the initial plan and talks to get into a new form of globally interacted training technical collaborations with countries like UK, Australia and UAE. These steps are again nurtured by ensuring female participation in the systems. There is an up surging trend in the type of labor in which female work force are getting engaged these days. More conventional type of labor is getting way for many modern and more electronics, hardware jobs are coming into their interest list due to changing market interest.

The fragmentation in the ecosystem is providing many loopholes in the further advancements of this venture. These rising challenges are addressed by different adaptable policies by the centre. For instance the higher education of Kerala government introduced a new form of skill training module for undergraduate students in the form of Additional Skill Acquisition Program (ASAP) in 2011. The major goal of the program is to empower the young work force throughout the state by providing skill based training. Moreover, ASAP programs are modified in the form of finishing school status with a total coverage of 23 skill sectors in their module of course. Likewise many states came up with different skill training initiatives. Thus, India is addressing this concern of deficits of skill in a more collaborative and integrated manner. It is a multi pronged strategy which is the base of such implementations by which the existing work forces are equally and completely molded to tap the current

labor market potential. This action would help them to alleviate the problems of unemployment and poverty which will provide chances to ignite the power engines of economic growth as well as nation building which will prepare our country to the days ahead in tune with the adaptations.

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