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Editor



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- Mohanan (2003) finds that the much publicized Kerala model
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- "It is widely believed that the legal status of Kerala women is higher status of Kerala women is higher status, since they could share the benefits of education" (Mohan, 2003, p.84).

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- Same as single author with the surnames of all the authors.
- (Pillai & Joshy, 2010)
- Pillai and Joshy (2010) argue that ...
- Strategic autonomy issue has been raised by several authors (e.g., Pillai, Parija, Menon & Josukutty, 2015)
- Pillai, Josukutty, Joshy and Parija (2015) support

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Citing print sources:

Mohanam, B. (2003). *Women and Law: The case of Kerala*. Trivandrum: ISDA Publications.

Ramalingam, P., & Nath, Y. (2012). School Psychology in India: A Vision for the Future, *Journal of the Indian Academy of Applied Psychology*, 38, 21- 34.

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Citing web resources

Shackelford, W. (2000). The six stages of cultural competence. In Diversity central: Learning. Retrieved April 16, 2000, from http://www.diversityhotwire.com/learning/cultural_insights.html

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INFORMATION EMPOWERMENT: A NEW LADDER OF GOVERNANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE DIGITAL ERA

Prayaga M A*

Abstract

Digital development guarantees a wider perspective from which the future of our country can be beautifully knit. Instead of remaining bolted in the paradigm of an eternally developing society, the hour has shown the chance to become an empowered knowledge society. The effect of globalization, liberalization and information technology revolution have enervated the inalienable myth on the classical approach of governance in public administration. The Weberian-wrapped ideology of the administration knelt in rigid, bureaucratic, reactive, rules driven administrative organizations could no longer sustain to the more changing days of the day. Effective civil service reform has become the need of the hour to include measures that improve access to information, strengthen accountability and which reduced political interference and there by the pace of information divide is slowed.

Key Words: Communication, Information, Globalisation, Governance, Administration

We – India- as a nation had showcased the interminable March to development swathed in the vibes of ‘tryst with destiny’ arrived on the global stage. The days had the painstaking efforts as well as the snags. In these days of 2019 it has become evident that, this is the time to show our strength, through confidence in dealing with global institutions, and there by filing the haunting memories of colonialism to deepest of graves.

**Skill Development Executive, ASAP, Higher Education Department, Government of Kerala, prayaganair1987@gmail.com*

The administrative order of present time ought to be more flexible, consultative, result oriented, proactive, encouraging, supporting creativity and innovation in all spheres and render services to the citizens at large. Third sitting of the Minnowbrook Conference, 2008, reflected the kind of changes in the realm of public administration where upcoming thinkers need to concentrate on. This once in twenty years conference echoed the concept of 3 'E's which back grounded the second generation reforms in public management. Rosemary O'Leary, the chair of the session called the attention of the developing world to pay attention in the empowerment of information. This remark made us think about the impertinent role of information in binding the civic society altogether.

A country like India, who witnessed different stages of mesmerizing administrative changes in flipping the pages of history need to seriously, put in an effort to analyse the lacuna in attaining fully fledged civil participation. Good governance, E- governance or M- governance, all are marching in its full pace but the real barrier is not often get addressed that is the information gap. The new phase of governance to exist in theory and practice, citizen must be empowered to participate in meaningful ways in the administrative process. They should be aware of their right to information and the right in access. The differences in this awareness are what create the division of digital knowledge, information, opportunities, opinion, and so on. Amongst all these new administrative development e-governance in its new form has emerged as the most approachable means to address development problems and demur as citizens find empowerment through access to information.

Globalisation can claim a long history, which runs through various stages from Germinal phase to the ongoing Consolidation phase (Robertson, 1992). The journey of information empowerment

ideology in the Indian soil has undergone various traditions through ages. This journey of the empowerment is highly connected to the seeds of so-called Globalisation movement. These can be packed up into six phases according to its nature and scope in Indian land.

Phase 1

Around 2300 years ago, Indian philosopher Chanakya through his treatise on state craft, Arthashastra, clearly pictures the role of communication and information in strengthening the set up of administration. According to him king alias leaders should be willing to answer people's queries and take apt time to explain the deliverables. Here lies the effect of facts providing and simulation of the after effect of this process.

Although his work has a strong focus on the wealth, effectiveness and well being of the king, the treatise focused on the adaptive nature of the administration which it needs to follow a while dressed as administrators. Whatever be the administrative sense, the society and its members would stay focused only if they feel safe and secure in the so-called administration. Kautilya indirectly through his communication theory clearly showcases the need and the effect of an awareness of information in strengthening the establishments of all time.

Moreover, with the passage of time many power changes happened in the land of the Indus and the notable period was that of the company rule. East India merchants crossed the land with a Charter to trade with India and stayed back years of settlement. The significance of information in the process of administration got widely recognized and it tried to resolve with the enactments of several statutes that favored it. Civil society of the period showed little trust on the effect of communication because of the mal experiences they went through. They took the plough of communication and

information as weapons to restore the regionalism into their land. The era of information development witnessed the budding stage in this period. In the study of value information movement, this period contributed the insights which were useful to ignite the motor of this move.

Phase II

The period in India witnessed the rise of community movements in the path of struggle for independence. The realization of the positive effect of group dynamics made the prominent figures of the moment to believe in community participation. This format of civic participation formed the basic stone of democracy in India. The flavor of this method of public involvement added fuel in the upcoming movement culture of our land. History reveals that the basic idea of information empowerment can be connected with the events that got evolved in connection with the events of those periods. We could trace the effect of growth of communication in the developments so happened within the academic society. Most of the universities in the budding stage needed an information movement as the need of the hour by the prominent leaders of the time. They got the flavor of this type of change in mindset with the global instances happening at that time with regard to information revolution. The need and use of information in achieving their demands were really got considered which in turn boosted the rise of a new method in governance.

The journey of public administration academically can be connected with this period in the year of 1900s Woodrow Wilson through his paper came forward with the idea of the new concept of administration to deal with the crisis of administration in his land. Though this idea gave room to a new approach in dealing with the theory of public administration, the result gave rise to new thoughts on the method of its implementation. During the 1920s

American universities started graduate courses in administration and on administrative culture. Consequently the culture studies on the administration gave a new era in studies of empowerment, great events of the period like the First World War, collapse of the League of Nations, the foundation of ILO, political disturbances all over the world and so on This laid the ground perfect for behavioral experiments by experts.

The reason why governments are failing regularly gave the real impetus for researchers with the wide opening of an area of the subject for study. Tremendous studies were carried out in the field of the administration which saw the emergence of humanistic movement along with Elton Mayo's Hawthorne studies revealing. The eminent thinkers of the time focused on the role of informative society in reducing the tension and opaqueness of their area.

Theoretically speaking the type of participatory model so evolved gave emphasis on "external", that is the governmental processes and procedures were designed to facilitate "external" participation. This participation didn't boost the public to ensure their participation in administration because of lack of appreciation.

During the second phase of the development what we could witness was through the contribution of F.W. Taylor (Scientific Management), Henry Fayol (Classical theory), M.P. Follet (Conflict theory), Chester Barnard (Satisfaction equilibrium theory), Herbert Simon (Decision making theory), Weber (Rational Authority), focused more on the development of administration. The development strategy of the governmental lay out unknowingly couldn't figure the role of informative cognizance which would have stroked the administrative thoughts of the period. The ideologies of Barnard and Follet had a second thought in measuring the effect of communication which built these perceptions when they started getting connected with the behaviorist phase. These theoretical growths in the subject proved

the age that practitioners need to be more focused in the area of communication for better results.

As a result of growing struggles for attaining independence, the Indian leaders at that time didn't get much connection with the global community of the same nature. Though some part of the globe tasted the effect of this empowerment our land couldn't get the breeze of it.

Phase III

This phase can be regarded as the most important period in the growth of this empowerment era in our nation. The academicians as well as the practitioners were well aware of the happenings around the world. The year 1930s gifted with the spark of a new phase in the approach of administrative science. Under the pioneer ship of Herbert Simon the development of behaviouralism paved way for a protest to an administrative culture which got stuck to the dogma of rules and had core institutionalism with absolutely no mention of people and their interaction which are to be the centre of whole administrative activities.

Rays of these events shook the very base of previous movements in our country and the ignition for a further upsurge with the setting up of academic institutional set up like the Indian Institute of Public Administration. The institution prepared ground for eminent scholars to come forward and to treat the subject of "administrative stages" from different angles and in different colours. A newly independent country like India who was struggling to attain the nation building and socio economic progress, this academic favour geared up their energy. The quest for a well structured ecological form of governance made thinkers, Goswami, Balwant Rai Mehta, Mahalanobis to search for the problem of failure of administration. As an initial remedy they brought out the effective form of community development approach. Though the program didn't catch the original vibes but this tends to be the gear on the program among

the civilians in information empowerment. They got a chance to direct participation where they would really contribute and could take away their benefits the system could have further developed if the sudden crisis didn't occur worldwide during the 1960s.

Phase IV

United States President, Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society Program" echoed the use of the citizen in achieving the development of society. The so-called method was termed as citizen participation. Vincent Ostrom's Public Choice Theory (originally this emerged during 1950s in the US) from economics background triggered the ground along with the theory of citizen participation. Along with the Minnowbrook (Frederickson, 1987) touch the entire gamut of administration took into the mould of a new form which was very far from our nation's flavor of administration.

As a result the political instability of the 1960s, the following year in our land couldn't concentrate on the so called administrative change which it started in the previous decade. The change which got ignited to become a status quo stage and it witnessed the entry of many events in our governmental system. However, it was during the 1980s the inclusion of ICT in the telecom sector came to our land (Rajiv Gandhi's Era). The mode of communication and the format was found to change in connection to this initiation. Though it was not a widespread revolution, as a result a gap arose between the person who had the facility of this service and the one who had not. Previously, what occurred was an economical or political divide and it was for the first time there came a telecom divided. This was the time when the man who had telephone or television at home was regarded the star of his village. Watching cinemas during Sundays or receiving a phone call was regarded as a credit feeling those times. This gap got narrowed with the advent of new economic policy (Singh and Rao, 1992).

Phase V

The inclusion of liberalization policies gave the scene clarity in accepting challenges of ongoing governmental and citizen administrative problems. With the national debate of 1997 by an administrative reform committee, the administrative wing of our country understood the necessity of inclusive governance. This form of administration was termed as 'SMART' (Andrapradesh Government Reform Committee, 2001), woven in the fur of responsive, accountable, transparent and assuring its adherence to constitutional principles. Therefore a code of ethics in the administration set up got evolved throughout the country.

This process of modernization of state and administration need an active and consociation of people at all levels of the governmental structure. Under evolving forms of governance government will play a different role in the steering of society. The first of these was central to the traditional public administration, the second is at the forefront of "new public management" and the third is central to "new public service". Technological change is the important contributor to the growth and development of information society. Today, e-learning, e-libraries, e-health, e-governance etc. are regarded as the pillars of the information society. The major concern for the growth of developing countries like India is the upsurge in digital divide. This is happening due to the non-uniform distribution of access to information in society. This finally results in the creation of a gap among those people and communities who can make use of communication technology effectively and who cannot. This is regarded as a major hindrance in the information empowerment programmes. Thus a phenomenon impregnated the society with two kinds of civilians, information rich citizen and information poor citizen.

The Conclusion

Today world is emerging fast and the developments happening in each day is changing. This incredible feature of the present scenario needs to be addressed in its complete swing. A society with weak information empowerment and with an increasing number of differences between information rich and information poor is not a well-built society. With the worldwide aching of these developments the nation also increase the pace of technological advancement in the services. Moreover, the country has travelled a long way in improving its telecom as well the technological sector. The rapid advancement in these sectors and its impact on society has brought many changes in our society with the inclusion of our new Digital Policy 2018, under the flagship programme Digital India.

If we take an account of all states in India, all these 29 states have benefited from these services in 29 ways. This cultural and traditional difference is not dealt with while formulating fast emerging policies in such a diverse nation. Government introduces and implements many new programmes and decisions for improving the life of its citizens, but what if the real beneficiary is all unaware of the entire frame. This is the lack of all sided empowerment in our country. Policy makers should turn their attention on this incredible issue as how to reduce the gap between the difference of information rich and information poor. This is the only step in the ladder of all phased development which is focused on a truly information empowered India.

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REPERCUSSIVE DISPLACEMENT: A STUDY ON INDIRECT DISPLACEMENT DUE TO DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN KERALA

Lekshmi Chandran* & Sobha B. Nair**

Abstract

The State has undertaken many development projects for the general welfare of the population. Almost all large infrastructure projects, be it dams, roads, airports, factories or ports requires land, and, therefore, has a direct and indirect impact on specific populations of the society. The direct or primary effects of development-induced displacement have been studied earlier by different scholars including the research scholar and are quite visible and are addressed by the state. But there is huge population who are living around these development project sites and are eventually being forced to move. This community is often forgotten in the sheer glory that development projects are bringing in and are left with no support from the authorities. Through this study, the researcher tries to understand the problems of repercussive displacement or indirect displacement due to development projects in Kerala.

Keywords: Repercussive displacement, In-direct displacement, Development projects

Development means an improvement in a complex of linked natural, economic, social, cultural and political conditions. In its strong sense, development means using product resources of society to improve the living conditions of the people. Many development projects are undertaken with the general welfare of the population in mind, but an adverse impact on specific segments of the population is also there. Almost all infrastructural project, be it dams, roads,

* Post Doctoral Fellow (ICSSR), Department of Sociology, University of Kerala

** Professor and Head, Department of Sociology, University of Kerala

airports, factories or ports require land and therefore has a direct and indirect impact on the local population from where the land is taken for the general good. The amount of land required will vary with the project, but the fact remains that almost invariably that land is required. People have to move from their own land for the benefit of society and the benefits mostly go to an entirely different set of people.

Displacement is the dislocation of people due to huge development projects that are pre-planned. The causes of displacement related to 'development' associated changes in 'land use' as identified by the international community (Jerve, 1999) are as follows:

- when a government decides to acquire private land to implement a public project;
- where the state decides to change the use of land already owned, or claimed, by the state itself (here the question of 'legal acquisition' does not arise);
- where state agencies are major real-estate owners, and changes in the use of such properties may also cause displacement, necessitating resettlement;
- where projects do not cause a complete change in ownership or use of land but introduce new restrictions on current land use; or
- where projects indirectly affect the land use in the impact area due to noise, air and water pollution, and erosion.

Thus displacement can be defined as the process by which people are moved out of their belongings either by force or persuasion. Displacement can be divided into two sub-categories, direct displacement and indirect or repercussive displacement. Direct displacement is the forcing of communities and individuals out of their home or homeland for huge development projects. Few scholars, including the researcher (Chandran Lekshmi, 2010 & 2011) have

studied the impoverishment risks caused by direct displacement and have suggested ways to overcome those impoverishment risks.

But there is a huge population of people who are living around these huge development project sites and tries to cope up with the sudden massive socio-economic changes. They fail miserably and are eventually being forced to move. This community is often forgotten in the sheer glory that the development projects are bringing in and are left with no support from the government or social scientists to cope up with the sudden changes in socioeconomic conditions, environmental changes and encounter with unfamiliar neighbourhoods. Thus repercussive displacement or indirect displacement due to development projects can be defined as the secondary displacement happening in and around a project site due to the development projects that are undertaken without due care, ecologically damaging the location, harming the existing community so that some of the inhabitant's livelihoods are constrained to the degree that people are forced to move.

In Kerala, there is an alarming growth of development projects and these development projects have an indirect impact on the people who are living in and near the development project sites but are not calculated or equated by any planners or policymakers. They are not even considered as victims of development projects. No monetary compensation or any rehabilitation policy covers or includes them as 'project-affected' or any such category. They are left behind to sustain on their own. With the increasing pressures on land due to urbanisation, rapid economic development, increased infrastructure requirements, etc, many new development projects are also implemented at an increasing rate. Thus in a state like Kerala with its dense population having predominantly small land holdings, the impact of development-induced repercussive displacement is a serious issue. In the words of Varma, S.C.(1985), "No trauma can

be more painful for a family than to get uprooted from a place where it may be a total stranger. And nothing could be more irksome than being asked to switch over to an avocation which the family has not practised before".

The repercussive displacement got far more consequence than direct displacement as it can't be really quantified and happens over a period of time. The cause-and-effect relationship to repercussive displacement due to development is mediated by ecological, economic or sometimes socio-cultural processes. Examples are

- repercussive displacement due to landslides or river flooding caused by logging
- repercussive displacement due to worsening livelihood prospects due to competition from new products or increased costs of traditional supplies
- repercussive displacement due to increased violence resulting from cultural change brought by the introduction of labour from outside a particular locale (Peter Penz, 2011).

The element of coercion is much more limited. There is no direct compulsion, nor a threat, in the sense of warning of intended harm, they are side effects. However, in an ecologically, economically and socio-culturally interdependent system, such side effects are pervasive. That is what makes the overall subject of repercussive displacement by development projects so much larger and so much important. Through this study, the researcher tries to understand the problems of repercussive displacement in detail.

Method

The data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was collected from the field through in-depth interviews, observations and case studies. Qualitative methods were used for the study. The displaced people were scattered

widely and so the sampling strategy used was snow-ball sampling. Samples were identified with the help of key informants. These interviewees introduce the researcher to other displaced people and the process continued. The tool used for collecting data was in-depth interviews. Interviews were conducted with 28 repercussive displaced people from three major development projects i.e. from Trivandrum International Airport, Technopark and Technocity in the Thiruvananthapuram district. Books, journals, newspapers, magazines were the prime source of secondary data. Articles and reports published in magazines, journals and newspapers were also utilized. Many social activists, economists and academicians were consulted for getting different perspectives of the problem.

Discussions

Repercussive displacement leads to untold hardships and deprivation. The destruction of the symbiotic relationship between man and nature, growing environmental pollution, deforestation, loss of agricultural land and marginalization of weaker sections in the area where the project is implemented, bringing prosperity for a privileged few that emanated from the multiple profitable economic linkages of the project, whereas the locals in the area where the project is implemented suffer from the brunt of backwash effects (Nanda, 2017). Seventy years since Indian Independence, it is now acutely clear that government needs to rethink this paradigm of development altogether since it has failed to balance economic interests with social costs. This model of development promises equality, but in reality, it privileges corporate interests. Displacement has been one of the major consequences of this process and the findings of the study have been explained below.

Livelihood Reduction and Loss of Income

The traditional occupation of the general population is disturbed. It forces the people to change over to altogether new ways

of making a living. People no longer remain in a position to re-initiate their lost livelihood. Thus the victims of repercussive displacement find themselves completely out of their traditional homely world where they used to enjoy every bit of life. The main problem is the loss of income resulting from the loss or change in occupation due to displacement. The social status that they enjoyed while occupied is also lost. The people who are displaced from that locality are forced to find an alternate job for their sustenance. They experienced a loss of income and were forced to move without adequate preparation. Individuals at the new location are not able to use their skills and make the human-capital useless.

The breaking of Community or Social Networks

Every bird has its nest and so human beings where they are at peace amidst their kith and kin. The familiarity of the place of residence and the acquaintance of the relatives surrounding them is the greatest consoling factor for anyone. The neighbourhood provides a complete "life-support system" with friends and acquaintances. A sudden attack on the identity of individuals or groups- the breakdown of status and communities- the disappearance of a feeling of togetherness- the ending of any feeling of harmony between the people and their environment are all mixed up in a highly complex manner which contributes to repercussive displacement. Neighbours and relatives are displaced, some sold their land to land mafias and settled at faraway places which destroyed the community once existed. Repercussions of development project tear apart the existing social fabric. It disperses communities, dismantles patterns of social organizations and interpersonal ties and kinship groups become scattered.

Ecological Changes and Repercussive Displacement

Repercussive displacement or indirect displacement is mediated by ecological, economic or social processes. In the first instance,

these are processes caused by the development projects in question. It is the resulting harm that propels the movement of people. 7 families who are living near the Technopark project in Trivandrum is being trapped in between the huge walls of Technopark on one side and the canal on the other side. During the rainy season, water from the canal overflows and rushes into their home and floods the surrounding areas. These 7 families have to depend on relatives and other friend's houses for survival during the rainy seasons. Earlier during rainy seasons, the water flows naturally to the lowest areas but due to the huge multinational development project, the surrounding areas have been filled with soil and it is above the level of their houses. So during the rainy seasons, the natural course of the water is blocked and hence floods the area. It enters the houses and damages the valuables. Now, these people are forced to move from their own houses which they were living for decades. Development projects if undertaken without due care can damage the ecology and harm the communities who are already living there.

Socio-Cultural Changes and Feeling of Insecurity

The huge development projects in Kerala often attract a large number of external labourers and technicians from outside the state who settle in and around the project sites. As the migrants pour in, they put pressure on land, cause unemployment, create environmental problems and foment interethnic tensions, thereby disturbing the demographic balance and posing a threat to the language and culture of the native people. The poor living habits of migrants bring in infectious diseases to the community from outside. Families living near the Technocity project in Trivandrum have an insecurity feeling due to the stay of migrant labourers near their homes. Those families where the husband is working outside the district rely on other family members home at night due to the fear of migrant labourers. The surrounding areas are vacant and

unoccupied due to development-induced displacement for this project and the kith and kins have been displaced and resettled in faraway places. The sudden socio-cultural changes 'pushing out' the remaining families also, who are living in and around the development project sites for generations.

Multiple Displacement and Human Right Violation

Displacement that occurs due to the development project is ironically the denial of the rights to development and it involves multiple human rights violations including the right to earn a decent living, right to food and nutrition, right to clean and safe drinking water, right to work, right to education, and right to reside in a place of one's choice, observes Seth(2002). The displaced people face the risk of impoverishment, powerlessness, marginalization and social disarticulation. Displacement not only breaks down the traditional production systems but also dismantles kinship organisation, the family system and cultural identities. The people near the Trivandrum International Airport are facing displacement for the second time for the same development project in their lifetime. They had to undergo many hardships at the time of the first displacement and now they are forced to face the same risks which they once overcome after several years of hard work and sufferings. This clearly shows a lack of planning from the government. They have no sense of security in their own land and cannot even construct a good house or cultivate cash crops, because of the threat of eviction hanging over them like the sword of Damocles (Murikan, 2003). The huge development project is expanding day by day and it demands more land. It's an ever ending process and people are like refugees in their own homeland.

Conclusion

A feasibility study should be conducted with the help of a social scientist before the implementation of a development project. Greater

attention to repercussive displacement could shift our attention to finding ways of preventing displacement, or where such effects are unavoidable, or minimising it to the point where people's lives and livelihoods are not destroyed. It is also important to conduct social and environmental impact assessment before and after the completion of the development projects. The rehabilitation policy should cover both direct and indirect displaced people or the project affected people. The government, as well as non-governmental organizations, ie, agencies and policy makers and implementers of good governance, should give equal importance to direct as well as indirect or repercussive displacement so that the lives of the displaced people could be safeguarded and provides them with a dignified life.

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GOVERNANCE AND GOOD GOVERNANCE: A COMPREHENSIVE CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

Sudheesh Kumar J*

Abstract

The term 'good governance' gained the privilege of a conceptual model only very recently. Though used interchangeably, governance has a broader meaning when compared to the government. By adding the adjective 'good' to governance, the scholars of administration and management, and international development agencies establish an intricate meaning to development administration. As a phenomenon, 'good governance' has launched a new development paradigm for all political systems. It is considered today as a measurable occurrence for exploring the administrative performance of each nation. In other words, the modern nations are trying hard to institute the principles laid down in the good governance "paradigm" in their respective political systems. This paper critically examines the different connotations of the concepts of governance and good governance.

Keywords: citizen-centric, actor-network, text-context dialectic, ethical consistency, organizational flexibility, pervasive patronage

The idea of governance has been introduced during the 1980s, to extend the prospect on policy and politics. It acknowledged that the government is not the only actor in managing and organising societal and political solutions. On the contrary, several stakeholders are to take part in the process of decision making. The shift to governance is best understood as a response to new challenges such as globalisation, increased international cooperation, societal changes,

*Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Mahatma Gandhi College, Thiruvananthapuram

including the increased engagement of citizens and the rise of non-governmental organisations (NGOs). It also deals with the dynamic role of the private sector, an augmenting complexity of policy issues and the resulting difficulty in making decisions with confidence and legitimacy. (Pacific, 2012, p. 3). Governance is defined as a system of values, policies, and institutions by which a society manages its economic, political and social affairs through interactions within and among the state, civil society, and the private sector. It is the way in which society organises itself to make and implement decisions and achieving mutual understanding, agreement, and action. It comprises the mechanisms and processes for citizens and groups to articulate their interests, mediate their differences and exercise their legal rights and obligations. It is rules, institutions, and practices that set the limits and provide incentives for individuals, organisations, and firms. (Raj, 2015, p. 102). In fact, governance includes a non-hierarchically organised structure encompassing state and non-state actors and bringing about collectively binding policies without a superior authority. It is simply the process of decision making and the process by which decisions are executed or not executed. It covers all phases of the procedure in which authority is employed and public affairs are administered.

Governance: Meaning and Relevance

The term governance has been broadly defined in social science as the casual and formal processes and institutions that manage and regulate the combined activities of a group. Vineeta defines governance as "the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It consists of mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and government articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences" (Rai, 2011, p. 156). The World Bank defines it as the way in which political power is

employed to manage a country's economic and social resources. Thereby, it identifies the following three distinct characteristics of governance: (i) the form of a political regime, (ii) the process in which authority is utilised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development and (iii) the ability of the government to design, formulate and execute policies and accomplish their functions. (Godbole, 2014, p. 24)

In the governance perspective, non-state actors play a more relevant role in decision making due to their emphatic sources of information and resources, compared to formal governmental agencies. Scholars subscribing to the governance approach measures actor-networks, and the role of the various actors in these dynamics to understand policy development and political decision making. Here, the power is divided among various actors who are part of the "multi-actor network". This view also encompasses the role of non-elected actors, such as civil servants, experts, think tanks and all kind of committees active in various ways in policy-making processes. The perspective thus draws attention to the diversity of actors, the diversity of their roles, their logic of action, the complex relationships between them and all kinds of dynamic networks emerging from these relationships. (Arora, 2014, p. 5) In a rural society, governance involves associations of peasants, cooperatives, NGOs, religious leaders, political parties, etc. In the national level, in addition to the above actors, media, lobbyists, international donors, multinational corporations, etcare also involved in the process. Therefore, governance is a process and ideology that involves the actions of several states, non-state, private and even (on certain occasions) international actors.

Governance is a transmuted process and ideology which owes its derivation in the traditional concept of public administration. It is framed on a neo-liberal tilt with the initiatives marked by

the democratisation of public administration. In certain contexts, governance has certain limitations while regarded as a methodology or universal conception. It is so because being an instrument of efficiency, it ignores the importance of politics in shaping the exact nature of public administration. Therefore, it is required that one should consider the text-context dialectic to persuasively grasp the complexities of governance as a theoretical parameter.

Despite this shortcoming, governance has advanced as a counter-conceptualisation to the Weberian, centralised and hierarchical authority. It also helps to provide a concrete understanding of the functioning of public administration, particularly in developing countries. Governance as a design is now all accepted in the world administrative scenario because of its ability to facilitate loan from donor agencies and generated the hope of an impersonal government committed to development to all. It is adequately equipped to lay out a system of administration in countries that are suffering from an everlasting government deficit.

How the model of governance is substituted with that of the already existed traditional state-controlled system of public administration? Let us examine what actually necessitated governance as an alternative model and methodology? In an OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) publication, Wolfgang observes, there are four sets of historical developments that have influenced the rise of governance in the literature of administration: (i) the impact of struggles for greater democracy and competitive markets, (ii) the means by which changes in economic productivity and material wealth altered both the aims and methods of governance, (iii) demands for reforming the well-entrenched and excessively rule-bound system of administration and, (iv) managerial innovations and their application to transform the institutional design and the organisational structure of administrative operations. (Wolfgang

Michalski, 2001, p. 9). Further causes for the expanse of governance into a trusted ideology are : (a) The disintegration of the Soviet Union contributed to the need for an alternative to Marxist-Leninist model of management practices. (b) In the Western Capitalist countries, there was a rise of anti-state and anti-bureaucratic criticism - directed against the so-called 'government overload' which was the consequence of bureaucratic repercussion. There was also the phenomenon of 'overgrowth of bureaucracy'. (c) The demand at this juncture was to downsize the government and allow more free involvement of the market and civil society-giving rise to the new ideology of neo-liberalism. The advent of globalisation reduced the role of traditional bureaucracy and increased the emphasis of non-state actors in administration. (Bidyut Chakrabarty, 2017, p. 151). So it can be found that there were more than one compelling reasons for the conceptual transformation of public administration. The explicit evaluation of the Neo-liberal scholars was that there was nothing endured as "public" in public administration in the changed scenario.

The theoretical source of governance lies in the New right ideology of neo-liberal economic theories. In this context, governance is an interface between State, market and civil society. The governance discourse has its origin in (1) the new thrust towards neo-liberal restraint on the state by proposing market and civil society as competing for social authority and social service provider respectively; (2) the apprehension of international funding authorities for more accountable, transparent and participative rule; (3) the emergent globalisation trend impelled by economic, technological and political considerations. The New Right ideology redefined public administration by emphasising the cause of the free market and calls for a substantial reduction in the size and role of government in society. In a neoliberal world, governments have undergone a drastic

change in their structure and ideology. There is an obvious withdrawal of the state from most of the sectors. Globalisation brought about the marriage between corporate discipline and entrepreneurial spirit. The government in this era discards the traditional image of 'doer' and seeks the image of an 'enabler' with the influence of the market. Therefore, the contemporary State is more of a corporate state. (Bidyut Chakrabarty, 2017, pp. 151-152). It was Harlan Cleveland who raised the argument for more governance and less government for the first time in his paper "the Future Executive". Critical to the Weberian hierarchical and state-controlled form of governance, he put forward an alternative by highlighting some of the ideals significant while conceptualising public administration in the contemporary globalised world. To him, the features of governance were: 1. For enabling governance, decisions need to be pluralised (There should be multiple centers of decision making); 2. Once the stakeholders are recognised with due legitimacy, it creates the space for discussion and deliberation on issues critical to a government; 3. The future of organisation was to be horizontal and not hierarchical. (Cleveland, 1972, pp. 247-251). This led to a redrawing of conventional theory of public administration. The new governance perspective put forward a considerable withdrawal of the state from several sectors and increased involvement of the different stakeholders in the realm of decision making. It further emphasised the role of participation and auditing on the part of the general public over the political and bureaucratic decision makers.

Good Governance: A Conceptual Evaluation

The former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan observes good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development. As a corollary to this, the academic and policy discourses have converged around the idea that "good governance" is essential for human development and to uphold

the principles of democracy. The World Bank and other multilateral development banks see governance as an instrument that addresses the reform of economic institutions and public sector management. Organizations, like the United Nations, the European Commission and the OECD, are more inclined to highlight democratic governance and human rights aspects of political governance. Some of the issues that are treated under the governance schedules by various organisations include election monitoring, political party support, combating corruption, building independent judiciaries, security sector reform, improved service delivery, transparency of the government accounts, decentralization, civil and political rights, government responsiveness and 'forward vision'. In short, the term "good governance" includes a variety of generally "good" objects. (Pacific, 2012, p. 3)

Good governance is actually good government. The concept relates to the quality of the relationship between government and the citizens for whom it exists to 'serve' and 'protect', i.e., "citizen-centric". To put it more precisely and simply, governance means the way those with power exercise that power. The concept, therefore, has political, ethical and economic dimensions. Good governance emerges through the sincere and honest application of prevailing laws and respecting the spirit behind these laws. (Goel, 2007, pp. 4-5). The challenge of good governance would certainly require a brand new government, a reoriented bureaucracy, and a non-government business sector with social responsibility. Such a reframed government must have both the moral consistency and organisational adaptability to remain faithful toward the goal of public service. For the sake of good governance, that government is to function in a more missionary, fair, and energised manner, having a less machine-like and with less hierarchical structure and procedures (Mukhopadhyaya, 1999, p. 36). Hence, as a concept and a process,

different scholars recommends a number of tools and techniques for realising the goals of good governance. It is considered a privilege for all countries in the world to follow the principles of good governance for becoming citizen-centric and transparent.

Cleveland's conceptualisation on governance influenced several institutions in altering their approach towards public administration. World Bank, for instance, experimented this ideology while it failed to recover the financial loan that extended to many countries in Sub Saharan Africa. World Bank accounted that the recipient nations could not repay the loan amount because of the political instability prevalent there due to irregular regime changes. The World Bank, in the report titled "From Crisis to Sustainable Growth" stated that: the breakdown of a system of governance (leading) to widespread corruption, oppression, and nepotism (which) are not unique to Africa,...may have been exacerbated by development strategies that concentrated power and resources in government bureaucracies, without countervailing measures to ensure public accountability or political consensus. Consequently, the neglect of due process has robbed institutions of their legitimacy and credibility. Besides, it resulted in the proliferation of administrative regulations, such as licensing, controls and quotas which encouraged corruption in the administrative sector. Whereby, the common people began to march against the government. (WB, 1989, p. 22)

Good governance is more or less a continuum of the structural adjustment policy launched by international financial institutions during the 1960s in most of the developing and underdeveloped countries. The situation in most of these countries in the post-globalisation period was highly catastrophic. Since they have instigated privatisation in their respective economies, public administration became a weak affair for them. Public life deeply characterised by chaos that was the result of foul play by the authority which was

meant to subserve the interests of those who appropriated authority for private gains. World Bank's argument for this phenomenon was the failure on the part of governments to exercise political power in managing national affairs. The same was reflected on the state officials and bureaucrats in these countries. They acted irresponsibly and served their own interests in the absence of being checked by a competent authority. (Bidyut Chakrabarty, 2017, p. 154) In order to get rid of the mess, the World Bank devised some measures that insisted on: (1) staff testing to help select the best-qualified candidates (2) better personnel management with competitive entrance examinations and regular staff appraisals as the basis of promotion based on merit. (WB, 1989, p. 56) In order to revamp the civil service, the World Bank attempted to address the structural evils in it. Therefore it was suggested that 'a systematic effort to build a pluralistic intuitional structure, a determination to respect the rule of law, vigorous protection of the freedom of the press and human rights, was required'. It seems the propositions of the World Bank in this context has a universal characteristic. What it reinforces is the assumption that good governance is a set of techniques which, if fulfilled, will create conditions for efficient governance, regardless of the socio-economic and political circumstances. This was, however, criticised by many as interference by the Bank on the domestic governance of the sovereign countries. The Bank acknowledged the democratic values and governmental techniques of these countries followed till date as outdated and sub-standard. It sought these countries should initiate immediate alteration in their political system for getting funded.

The World Bank narrative covering good governance in the lending procedure has persuaded many Western developed countries and international financial institutions to implement those guidelines while extending financial assistance in the ensuing

years. Later, the United States of America became the leading nation to assess governance in a country and release funds accordingly. In November 1998, the U.S. Agency for International Development's (U.S. AID) Centre for Democracy and Governance provided a conceptual framework that recognized the importance of linkages between democratization and economic growth. It identified four categories that describe the agency's democracy and governance activities: rule of law, elections and political processes, civil society, and governance. Consequently, it started working with another independent agency, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC). Later on, financial aid was provided to those countries that can aspire to MCC eligibility. The MCC uses five of those six World Bank indicators, rule of law, government effectiveness, voice and accountability, control of corruption and regulatory quality, for choosing countries for getting funded. (Steve Radelet, 2005, pp. 1-15)

Though the 1989 Report of the World Bank was for the renovation of Sub-Saharan Africa, the Bank extended the principles of Good Governance to all countries across the world with its 1992 Reports. The reports pointed towards a conceptual universal alternation to Public Administration. 'Structuring the discussion around a specific model of institutionalised administration, one of the documents states that governance is a design that seeks to combat 'corruption (that) has affected development and ...pervasive patronage (that) has led to public investment choices being used to finance white elephants, usually by contracting excessive foreign debt' (WB, Governance and Development, 1992, p. 4). It is evident that besides highlighting the importance of agencies other than the government, governance is primarily a checklist of items to ensure efficiency in administration.

Underlining the above goal, the World Bank defined good

governance in the following manner: "Good Governance is epitomised by predictable, open and enlightened policy-making, a bureaucracy imbued with a professional ethos acting in furtherance of public good, the rule of law, transparent processes and a strong civil society participating in public affairs" (WB, World Development Report, 1992, p. 29). Four key elements are evident in the above conceptualisation: (1) public sector management, (2) accountability, (3) the legal structure for development and (4) information and transparency. That is, improving governance would begin with an evaluation of the institutional environment (accountability, the rule of law, openness and transparency) which circumscribes the patrimonial contour of the country. (Bidyut Chakrabarty, 2017, p. 156).

The conditionalities of good governance, as in the case of structural adjustment, are thus carefully outlined. The Bank document sums up, "Governance is a continuum, and not necessarily unidirectional: it does not automatically improve over time. It is a plant that needs constant tending. Citizens need to demand good governance. They can enhance their ability to do so when there are better opportunities for education and employment. Governments need to prove responsive to those demands. Neither of these can be taken for granted". (WB, Governance and Development, 1992, p. 30). Therefore, the mutual accountability of both citizens and governments are to be ensured. The continuous vigilance on the part of citizens and civil society is also inevitable. Change occurs in response to external or internal threats in a political system. It may also come from pressure groups, which may be in the form of populist demands. Although lenders, aid agencies and outsiders can contribute resources and ideas to improve governance, it is to be in line with the values of societies concerned and never be imposed. The Bank, hereby demands assurance from the lending agencies not to interfere with the socio-cultural and economic sphere of a

country. Fundamentally, it is a continuation of the Bank's "technical illusion". However, a kind of neo-managerialism encompassing more difficult spheres of political management of 'development' is experienced in the Third World Countries. 'Governance' is now being defined in terms of an autonomous administrative theory. It is centered around a new interpretation of the earlier 'administration-politics dichotomy'. That is, governance is sought to be withdrawn from the turbulent world of politics and the structure and purpose of the state. (Kumar, 2006, pp. 3-4). Thus the proposed governance perspective keeps the actual political and social realities outside the realm of administration. The administration needs to be more professional and people-centric.

The UNDP elaborates the concept of good governance by underlining that governance is "the essence of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises mechanisms, processes, and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights meet their local obligations and mediate their differences". Governance, according to the UNDP, can be articulated in terms of eight major characteristics:

Participation: participation by both men and women through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives in decision making is essential for good governance. More than just election and representation, everyone should get the opportunity to organise associations and express opinions on the one hand and an organised civil society on the other.

Rule of Law: Good governance further requires a fair legal framework and institutions to protect human rights. Hence, there should be an independent and impartial judiciary and incorruptible police force.

Transparency: it means decisions taken and enforced are done by following rules and regulations. Information regarding the decisions of government is to be made easily available. The access to information must be easy and understandable as far as the medium of communication is concerned.

Responsiveness: good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable time frame.

Consensus-Oriented: For good governance in a society where there is a difference in interests, a broad consensus to find the best interest is required. It also requires a broad and long term prospect on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development.

Equity and Inclusiveness: A society's well-being is the well-being of all, particularly the vulnerable. They must get the chance to improve or maintain their living conditions.

Effectiveness and efficiency: Good governance means that processes and institutions produce results that meet the needs of the community by intelligently utilising the resources. The concept of efficiency in the context of good governance is the sustainable use of natural resources and environment protection.

Accountability: It is a prime requirement of good governance. The private sector and civil society organisations along with governmental institutions need to be accountable to the public and the stakeholders. In fact, accountability cannot be expected without transparency and the rule of law. (UNDP, 1997, pp. 9-19). Scholars use these variables to quantitatively measure the intensity of good governance in different polities. Recent studies have advanced several quantitative techniques to find out how much a government follows good governance.

Conclusion

In fact, governance as a concept and good governance as a practice have emerged into an epicenter of administration in the post-globalized world. Governance which was presented contextually by the World Bank and its co-institutions set an alternative to the classical conception of public administration. The classical conception of Public Administration based on 'the notion of efficiency' faced set back in the neoliberal era. As a methodology and discipline, it remained ineffective to cope with the newly changed socio-economic and political environment. In order to fill this vacuum, governance was introduced as a model with certain essential principles. Compared to the government, governance had a multiple actor-network for energising the process of administration. Good governance had further enriched the philosophy of administration by providing it a new direction. It was a synonym of 'positive rule' for some. They concerned with a form of governance which serves the citizens by protecting the territorial integrity of the country and ensuring personal security, rule of law and the transfer of services ranging from education, health to subsistence and food security. For others, along with that, it was a conditionality set forth by lending institutions for offering aid. Both views gained popularity in the last two decades. It is rightly stated that: What is surprising is that the World Bank presented "good governance" thesis looks so unworld-Bank. It is so because normally the Bank concerned more about technical and economic solutions in the earlier decades. Observing this new orientation of the World Bank, many scholars have raised the question "what are the real intentions of the Bank?" Does the Bank concern 'domination' over 'democracy'? The views and opinions of the Bank to favour good governance faced a lot of resistance from several scholars and national leaders. The neo-liberal theory propounded the concept of good governance also earned

ardent criticisms. Also, marketing a single model of governance seems like resurrecting the old 'one best way' of management of the classical theory era. This assumption of the Bank let one think that "all is good in the First World" and "all is bad in the Third World". This mindset will also lead to mandatorily proposing unacceptable and unethical governance alternatives to the aid-seeking countries by the donor countries. There are substantial operational obstacles in transposing the new concept of governance into actual practice. Despite these repercussions, governance and good governance seem to have earned an agreeable position in the field of modern management and administration.

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KASHMIR BETWEEN THE 'ONE NATION THEORY' AND THE 'TWO NATION THEORY'

Sheikh Javaid Ayub*

Abstract

Kashmir is geographically positioned in such a manner that any socio-political change in the sub-continent profoundly affects the state. The nationalist movement in India did convince the people of Jammu and Kashmir to launch their political struggle against dynastic and the hereditary Dogra rule. But when nationalism discourse changed in India it impacted state politics badly. Since the adoption of Lahore Resolution and the revival of the Muslim Conference (MC), Kashmir came under the influence of two different theories of nationalism; One theory regarded India as 'One Nation', a 'unity in diversity'- unity that transcends countless diversities. The other theory looked upon the subcontinent as entirely composed of 'Two Nations', binary opposite to one another and which can never evolve a common nationality hence must be separated. The former was propounded by Nehru and the Congress and the later by Jinnah and his Muslim League (ML). The study tries to explain that the long drawn Kashmir conflict is rooted in these two opposite theories of nationalism and concludes that the tribal attack was not the sole reason for the division of Jammu and Kashmir.

Key words: *Two nation theory, the Muslim Conference, the National Conference, 13th July 1931, Sheikh Abdullah, Chaudery Ghulam Abbas, Secularization of politics, one nation theory*

Changing Contours of Kashmir Politics:

Jammu and Kashmir was founded by the colonial government in India by the infamous Treaty of Amritsar (TOA), a sale deed concluded between Maharaja Gulab Singh and the British Government in India

*Sheikh Javaid Ayub, Assistant Professor, Department of Higher Education Jammu and Kashmir, Email: Sunatjavaids@gmail.com phone 8803099372, 9596163577

on March 16, 1846 (Rai, 2016, p, 4, Noorani, 2013, p, 4). Through this inhuman treaty Gulab Singh was allowed to purchase 2.5 million people spread over 84,471 square miles for a meager sum of rupees seventy-five lakhs (Akber, 1991, p, 64). The most profound impact of this sale deed was that it placed majority of Kashmiri population under a minority Dogra rule, which is generally characterized as dynastic, authoritarian and despotic, feudal, ruler centric and religious centered rule of the Medieval Ages (Bhattacharjea, 1994, p. 56). This presents a contrast to the overall milieu of British India, which under the impact of British policies saw a period of transition from Medieval to Modern Age (Schofield, 1997, pp, 54-55). It is also worthwhile to account Prem Nath Bazaz's observations regarding the Dogra Rule (Bazaz, 2009, p, 108).

The Dogras have always considered Jammu as their home and Kashmir as the conquered country. As we shall presently see they established a sort of Dogra imperialism in the state in which all non-Dogra communities and classes were given the humble place of inferiors. The people of the Valley were thus brought under the imperialism of the Dogras which itself was functioning as a vassal of the super-imperialism of the British. But though Dogra imperialism brought nothing but misery, thralldom, physical and mental deterioration in its wake, the other imperialism did not come with some blessing.

Though each section of the Muslim Community was seething with discontentment owing to the oppression Kashmir was reeling under, the fact remains that the most discontented lot was the peasant class, the biggest segment of the population of Kashmir (Khan, 2009, p, 12). The causes of their discontentment were many, but the most crucial were the confiscation of property rights in land and the oppression they were subjected to by the state and its supporting structure- *jagirdars*¹, *chakdars*² and *maufidars*³. Under such a harsh system the cultivator was considered to have rights neither to his land nor to his crops (Lawrence, 2006, p, 272). In addition to this,

taxation and revenue policies unleashed havoc to the peasantry class, making them subjects of cruel money lenders (*waddars*) for the want of money to be paid in cash as revenue. To quote Lawrence (2006, p, 417), *nearly everything in the Valley was brought under taxation.... without going into details, it may be said that nearly everything save air and water was brought under taxation.*

It was as early as "1865" the heavy taxed labour class of Srinagar (shawl-bafs) revolted against the state. The revolt came when on April 29, 1865, these labourers marched in a body and protested to express their demands. The authorities ordered them to disperse but they negated and the unarmed legal revolt was crushed by the authorities killing 28 innocent people (Khan, 2009, p, 79). The labours of the silk factory again revolted in 1924 and this uprising was primarily an attempt on the part of the labourers of the silk factory to get their economic grievances redressed, but it proved to be an opening for the political unrest to explode. The state used its mighty power to control the labour unrest. This brought some realization among the people of Kashmir that they can't get justice at the hands of their rulers. Therefore, some influential members of the Muslim community decided to present a memorandum to the Viceroy Lord Reading while he was in the city. The prime mover was Khawja Saad-u-Din Shawl, who persuaded many hesitant friends to take a resolute public stand in vindication of their rights (Saraf, 2005). The Dogra Government setup a three member committee, consisting of Rai Bahadur, Col. Janak Singh and Chaudhri Khushi Mohammad Nazir, to investigate the matter but the report of the committee exonerated the Dogra Government and dismissed the charges as unproven (Saraf, 2005, p, 338). Instead, the signatories to the memorandum became the target of the state wrath. Some were exiled and their property confiscated (Bazaz, 2009, p, 117). The anger and resentment among the people of the vale was bound to manifest itself in some different ways.

It was under these revolutionary winds blowing in the valley that a number of young men arrived in Srinagar completing their studies from various universities in India, notably the Aligarh Muslim University. Their stay in India had convinced them that a mass movement alone could secure the people of the state their rights which had been so ruthlessly usurped by their rulers. These young men equipped with modern education started a Reading Room in Srinagar⁴. Reading Room worked as a launching pad for political discussions and anti-government propaganda (Taseer, 2005, p, 21). After successfully establishing its base, the Reading Room Party articulated the pathetic conditions of the people of the valley in different newspapers of Lahore, so as to bring home British public opinion. The formation of Civil Service Rules gave a second reason for the party to register their protest by submitting a memorandum so as to point out the unfairness and drawbacks in these regulations and to convince the government to make necessary amendments to them. The memorandum was sent to the government on September 11, 1930 (Abdullah, 2013, p, 52). In response to the memorandum, the government invited a deputation of the Reading Room Party so as to discuss matters on the table. On October 16, 1930, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Abdul Aziz Fazli attended the invitation as delegates of the Reading Room Party and met the Three Member Cabinet comprising of Mr. Wakefield, Mr. Wattal and General Janak Singh (Abdullah, 2013, p, 55). However, the meeting proved unsuccessful.

The failure of talks made a breakthrough in the political consciousness of the party and it now decided to prepare the ground for people's revolution. Sensing how charged the atmosphere was, the government invited a representative delegation of the Muslims to meet it with their demands. Unlike the Young Men's Association of Jammu which choose four representatives in a small party meeting, the Reading Room Party made the selection of seven representatives

a public discourse. On 21 June, 1931 a mass meeting was convened at Khanqah-e-Mualla to elect the representatives (Bazaz, 2009,p, 128). The meeting attended by thousands of people, was the biggest political congregation until then. The assemblage spelled out the formal inauguration of the freedom struggle of Kashmir. The most important feature of this meeting was that, the Muslim leadership (both political and religious) embraced each other leaving behind long years of ill-will. After the representatives were elected the meeting was dispersed. As the people were about to leave, a young man appeared on the stage to make an emotional speech calling people to revolt against the tyrannical Dogra rule. Abdul Qadir⁵ was not only successful in moving the hearts of the people but was also able to infuse in their minds a spark of revolt against the autocratic rule.

For his fiery and seditious speech, Abdul Qadir was arrested on the 25th of June, 1931 under section 124-A and 153 of the Ranbir Panel Code (Abdullah, 2013, p, 76). When Muslims learnt of his arrest, there was a wide resentment in the city. The trial of Abdul Qadir has started on July 6, 1931 at the Sessions Court, Srinagar. During the hearings huge crowds of Muslim had gathered to hear the proceedings of the case. The presence of huge gatherings of people had made authorities nervous. The trial was thus transferred to Srinagar jail to be held in camera on 13 July 1931.⁶ On the day of trial people gathered outside Srinagar Central Jail and it was on these people the Dogra soldiers had fired upon killing 22 people.⁷ The 13th July which changed the course of Kashmir is celebrated as Martyr's Day since then in Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah (2013, p, 77) has stated that the 13th July 1931 event has the same importance in the freedom struggle of Kashmir that the 1919 Jaliyanawala Bagh event had the freedom movement of India.

The events that unfolded after 13th July, 1931 were to change history, politics and the socio-economic course of Kashmir. Encouraged by the

mass support, the Muslim leadership got united and felt the need of an organized struggle. It was in the Central Jail, the leadership had discussed the formation of a political party to be named as the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference (MC) (Abdullah, 2013, p, 124). The inaugural session of MC was held on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of October 1932, in the historic Pather Masjid Srinagar, under the presidentship of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. (Abdullah, 2013, p, 124). In the presidential address Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said that the organization had been formed not only for the welfare of Muslims but for the restoration of the rights of all oppressed people of the State. In fact, every section of people living in the State would equally benefit by it (Abdullah, 2013, p, 122). He further said:

We have made it clear again and over again that the Kashmir movement is not a communal movement, but one aimed at redressing the grievances of all communities. And I assure the brethren of the State, Hindus and Sikhs, that we are determined to remove their hardships as in the case of the Muslims. Our State can't progress until we learn to live in harmony with each other. And that is possible only when we respect the legitimate rights of each other and sort out our difficulties among ourselves. Hence, the Kashmir movement is by no means a communal movement (Abdullah, 2013, p, 123).

From Green Crescent to White Plough

Theoretically, the Muslim Conference was an organization aimed at safeguarding the interests of the Muslim community alone but practically it worked like true secular and progressive political organization with an agenda to represent the cause of the deprived sections of society (Ganaie, 2009, p, 124). MC main political demands were grant and safeguard of civil liberties and the establishment of a responsible government. Such a programme not only served the interests of the Muslims but the non-Muslims were also equally benefited. In the same way the socio-economic programme of the

Muslim Conference had a class rather than a communal character (Ganaie, 2009, pp, 124-25). But it cannot be out rightly said that the MC was not having any religious orientation. C. Bilkees Taseer states that Sheikh Abdullah tactfully used religion with politics, as politics alone was not enough to mobilize the people (Taseer, 2005, p, 18). Prem Nath Bazaz also states that initially the movement was more communal but he also acknowledges that it was a movement of oppressed against the oppressor and believed that sooner or later the movement was bound to proceed on secular lines, which to him was the only right track. He takes the credit of launching crusade against communalism and starting the uphill task of secularization of state politics (Bazaz, 2009, p, 130). He further writes that influenced by his policies, the Muslim leadership felt the necessity of secularizing state politics as early as 1932 (Bazaz, 2009, p, 139). It is true that Bazaz and some Congress leaders have influenced Sheikh Abdullah to the extent that he was willing to reorient the Muslim politics on more secular basis. His meeting of July 1932 with Bazaz in the Chashma Shahi garden was the most important meeting in this direction. Bazaz writes that it was in the same meeting both of them firmly resolved to conduct the movement on secular, progressive and democratic lines, and both promised to work together till the goal of complete freedom was accomplished (Bazaz, 2009, p, 139). On August 1st 1935, to popularize their secular ideology, they jointly started a weekly journal *The Hamdard* in Urdu. *The Hamdard* was inaugurated by Saif-ud-Deen Kitchlew, a famous Congress leader (Bazaz, 2009, p, 141). His inauguration served two purposes:

- i) The INC was introduced to people through the personal presence of Dr. Kitchloo whose mission was to introduce policy and programme of Indian National Congress in Kashmir politics.
- ii) The Hamdard was made the mouth piece of this policy (Khan, 2009, p, 323).

In his address Dr. Kitchloo ridiculed those who mixed religion

with politics. He stressed on Hindu Muslim unity and made it clear that, it was the duty of the majority community in the state to win the confidence of minorities for the conduct of a successful movement (Khan, p, 323).

It was in 1937 that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah came under Nehru's spell when in Lahore they for the first time met and became fast friends. Sheikh Abdullah states that Nehru advised him to leave open the doors of the organization for everyone in the state regardless of religion so that those of the non-Muslims who wanted to join the movement could do so without any inhibition (Sheikh, 2013, p. 167). The impact of the meet was so high that only after a few days Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah addressed a press conference in Lahore residence of Dr. Saif- ud- Kitchloo and remarked that his future program would be to act according to the ideology of the INC. Sheikh was moving close to INC. He invited JawaharLal Nehru and Badshah Khan (the Frontier Gandhi) to visit Kashmir which they gladly accepted (Sheikh Abdullah, 2013, pp, 166-67). Taseer (2005, p, 21) writes that in the later years Sheikh Abdullah realized that the real fight was not between the two religions, not two religious groups, but between haves and have nots, the oppressor and the oppressed. By stating this Taseer do say that the freedom fight started in 1931 was fought on religious lines, hence was communal.

Sheikh has made his mind to change the nomenclature of the MC, and this he hinted in the sixth annual session of the MC held in Jammu from 25th – 27th of March 1938. In his presidential address he stressed to accommodate all those people who suffer from the autocratic system of government. He made it clear that the movement cannot be taken to its logical conclusion unless all sections of the society, irrespective of their religion, caste, creed, colour are not involved in the movement (Saraf, 2005, p, 523). Sheikh Abdullah stated that the main problem before them, therefore, was to initiate a joint action and form a united front against the forces that stand

in the way of the achievement of their goal. This would require renaming of the organization as a non-communal political party, necessitating amendments in its constitution (Saraf, 2005, Pp, 524-25). In this connection on 28th June, 1938, the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference met in Srinagar to consider the question of changing the name of the organization. Consequently, a special session of the MC was held at Srinagar on 10th and 11th June 1939 (Abdullah, 2013, p, 173). There were speeches and counter – speeches delivered both in support and against the change. Finally, the resolution was put to the vote. Out of one hundred and seventy six delegates only four cast their votes against it. These were Maulvi Abdullah Vakil, Khawaja Ghulam Ahmad Ganaie Bhadrawahi, Sheikh Ahmad Din Banihali and Choudhry Hamidullah Khan (Sheikh Abdullah, 2013, p, 175). Thus the morning of 11th June 1939 became the end of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference and the birth of new All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference (NC). According to Z. G. Mohammad (2007, p, 27) the NC was an extension counter of the INC. This move of 'Secularization of politics' was, no doubt, opposed by a handful of leaders, although less in numerical strength but were to play a big role in the future politics of the state. This was the point where the secularism created the unabridged communal divide among the leadership as well as the masses. In the words of Joseph Korbel:

The year 1939 was a fateful one for the Muslims in Kashmir. As a matter of fact, the origin of the present tragic struggle can, in one sense, be traced back to those months. Up to that time the Muslims had been united through the Muslim Conference. In 1939, this unity was broken. Responsible for this tragic schism was none other than the popular Lion of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah (Korbel, 2008, Pp, 17-18).

Debating the Change:

Change in the nomenclature of the organization has opened a new discourse for the political analysts of the state. It has given

rise to a lot of questions which need to be addressed and answered. When the resolution to change the name of the organization was introduced, some of the delegates including Chaudhery Mohammad Abbas expressed fears about the future of the political movement after the change was effected. They feared that the change would undermine the movement as non-Muslims would get in with the design of setting up within the organization a force to safeguard their own vested interests (Bazaz, 2009, 144, Sheikh Abdullah, 2013, p, 170). They also feared that the NC would become a hand –maid of the Indian National Congress. To convince Chaudhery Mohammad Abbas, it was decided that the organization should keep aloof from the Indian National congress as well as the Muslim League (Bazaz, 2009, 144, Saraf, 2005, p, 437). Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah writes that Chaudhery Abbas feared that the congress was going to boss it over the National Conference. But he assured him that if they persevered in the pursuit of their objectives with unity among them there was no question of the INC or the ML getting an upper hand over them. Convinced by his argument, he changed his mind and favoured the change (Abdullah, 2013, p, 174). But Sheikh Abdullah's reasoned argument is strongly refuted by Prem Nath Bazaz. Bazaz writes:

From the outset the non-Muslim members of the NC set their heart on bringing the party, the spear head of the freedom Movement, under the increasing influence of the INC. They wanted to see this desire fulfilled within months and not years. No step was allowed by non-Muslim members to be taken and no decision adopted by the Conference unless and until it was strictly in consonance with the Congress philosophy, and practice. Be it the matter of the party constitution, the flag, the national language, slogans and in fact any resolution on any imaginable subject, these members raised hue and cry if the Conference did not follow the footsteps of the Congress. This altitude of their new colleagues made the Muslim leaders uneasy but helpless (Bazaz, 2009, 149).

Bazaz strongly states that in trying to bring the NC under the hegemony of the Congress leaders, the Hindu and Sikh members were not prompted by any burning desire for freedom or even by the wish to secularize state politics. They only felt happy that by doing so they were helping the cause of Indian nationalism which, despite the statements of the Congress leaders to the contrary, was becoming another name for Hindu nationalism. Clearly it was the prompting communal mentality of the Hindu's which was cleverly presented in a nationalist secular grab (Bazaz, 2009, 149).

Was MC really a communal party and politics it played communal politics? Was it necessary to change the nomenclature of the organization? Was it the only motive behind the change or there was some hidden agenda behind the change? Does it really require to change names for becoming secular? Is secularism embedded in the names? These along with such other questions need to be researched in order to provide a comprehensive and unbiased understanding of the events that changed the paradigm of the freedom movement in Kashmir.

Regarding the nature of the MC, it was from the very first session of the organization, stressed that the organization would work on secular lines and will struggle not only for toiling Muslims, but for all deprived sections of the society, irrespective of their caste, creed, religion, etc. In the very first session of the Conference Shiekh Abdullah in his Presidential address made it clear that:

Kashmir movement is not a communal movement, but one aimed at redressing the grievances of all communities. And I assure the brethren of the state, Hindus and Sikhs, that we are determined to remove their hardships as in the case of Muslims. Our state cannot progress until we learn to live in harmony with each other. And that is possible only when we respect the legitimate rights of each other and sort out our difficulties among ourselves. Hence, the Kashmir movement is by no means a communal movement (Abdullah, 2013, p, 123).

The Conference made persistent efforts to ensure a joint struggle of the Muslims and non-Muslims. It did not miss even the smallest opportunity to strive for this cherished goal. The Conference in all its annual sessions stressed on forging Hindu-Muslim unity. In the welcome address to the second annual session of the MC on December, 1933, Raja Mohammad Akbar Khan passionately appealed to the non-Muslim in the following words:

I would not hesitate to request you to come forward, forget the past and to stand united in order to ensure an era of friendship, love and peace (Ganaie, 2009, 163). Sheikh Mohd Abdullah in his Presidential address also tried to win the hearts and minds of the non-Muslims. He stressed that the MC was not meant for any particular community and its achievements have benefited all the communities alike. There was no special treatment for Muslims in these achievements and all the communities irrespective of caste and creed have been equally benefited (Ganaie, 2009, 164). Same kind of message was delivered by Chaudhery Mohd Abbas in the fourth General Session of the Conference held in Srinagar in 25th – 27th October 1935. In his Presidential address he stressed on Hindu-Muslim unity. He appealed to the non-Muslims in the following words:

I, on behalf of the Muslims of the state, very sincerely appeal to my non-Muslim countrymen that they should extend their cooperation to us. I assure them that Muslims have no intention to deprive any nation of its legitimate rights and that they are seeking justice for everyone and demand for themselves only those rights that belong to them. Let us all join together to struggle for the emancipation of our country (Saraf, 2005, 512).

It must be admitted that whatever achievements in the direction of Responsible Government were made by the MC, rendered its fruits for all sections of the people of the state. If it is admitted that the demands were made keeping in view the oppressor and the oppressed, not Muslims and non-Muslims. Then an important question needs to be answered that what forced Sheikh Abdullah to

initiate the change when what they could do, they were doing already under the banner of MC? If the reason was to make non-Muslims to join freedom movement, one can simply question, how many non-Muslims joined the movement after the MC was changed into the NC? The expectations vanished when non-Muslims remained unmoved from their positions. Even those who joined (with some other mind set) occasionally resigned creating chaos and confusion in the ranks of the organization. Sheikh Abdullah himself said that, "It seems they had joined the NC with a view to bending its policies to their will (Abdullah, 2013, 179). When non-Muslims remained unmoved and the secularization of politics did not bring them close to the NC, Chaudhery Ghulam Abbas appealed Sheikh Abdullah to go back to the basics. Speaking to the special session of the MC held on 17th – 19th April 1942 he stated that despite Sheikh Abdullah's honest endeavors to make non-Muslims join the freedom struggle, they have not responded positively, instead have abandoned him when he was in need of their support. He appealed Sheikh Abdullah to forget about forging alliances with them and offered him to unite with him so that together they could jointly take some decision about the future (Saraf, 2005, 612).

In support of his idea of 'secularizing Kashmir politics' Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah even went to the extent of saying that Ali Mohd Jinnah and Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal advised him to secularize state politics. In his autobiography, he writes that when he met Iqbal in 1937, he advised him that "The salvation of Kashmiri lay in joining a united front, and that the Muslim Conference should take into its fold non-Muslims too. That would be the only means to achieve Kashmir's freedom (Abdullah, 2013, 168). About Ali Mohd Jinnah, he writes that Jinnah, in his visit of 1936 to the Valley, had impressed upon the Muslim leadership to consider non-Muslim as an integral part of their movement and to instill confidence in them. (Abdullah, 2013, 165).

No doubt, Jinnah had suggested the Muslim leadership to assure all minorities about the safeguard of their rights and fair treatment after the establishment of a democratic set up, but it is to be remembered, he did not suggest any change in the nomenclature or the constitution of the MC. Both, Alama Iqbal and Ali Mohammad Jinnah are regarded as the founders of the Muslim movement in India, how can it be assumed that they were in favour of secularism when they, especially, Iqbal propounded the concept of Pan-Islamism and Jinnah carved out a separate state for the Muslims of India. Sheikh Mohd Abdullah's argument can be refuted by quoting Jinnah's address to the Kashmiri students of Aligarh Muslim University on April 1, 1939. In his words:

I can say with certainty that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah is in the wrong. Having got himself ensnared by the Congress which is thoroughly a Hindu organization, he has put the ship of his community in a whirlpool(Khan, 2009, p, 272).

The arguments provided by Shiekh Mohammad Abdullah and his lobby are feeble and self-contradictory, hence easily refutable. These arguments do not lead us to the bigger motive behind the change. The bigger cause remains hidden, or had been kept hidden. It seems that the most important cause and perhaps the cause of causes was to neutralize the growing influence of the ML in the state. The MC and the ML were same in almost all respects-both were Muslim organizations created for the Muslim cause, both had green crescent flags and both were demanding greater share of power for the Muslims. When Jinnah started parting ways form the Congress, Nehru and his Congress made tactical moves to counter him and his ML almost at every level. The forming of All India States People's Conference in 1927 was a peril of the same string of thought. In case of Kashmir, the ML could only be kept aside if the state's politics could be drafted on secular lines. This secularization process was

initiated by taking the services of some prominent Kashmiri Pandits especially that of Prem Nath Bazaz. Further, Sheikh Abdullah's meeting with Nehru at Lahore had done the trick. After returning from there Sheikh Abdullah changed the name of the organization. This resulted in another division in the Muslim Conference. Having become nationalist and non-communal the NC could not be expected to ally itself with the ML.

Parting of Ways

The changing of the nomenclature of the MC was not well received by a large section of the Muslim community. They were unhappy with the change of the party name, and soon movements were launched against this change. Campaigns against the change were launched in Srinagar as well as in Jammu. The most effective opposition to the NC was offered by Mirwaiz Mohammad Yousuf Shah (Saraf, 2005, p, 610). In Srinagar, a group of young workers under the leadership of Qureshi Mohammad Yousuf dissociated themselves from the NC and decided to revive and preserve the MC. In Jammu Prof. Mohammad Ishfaq Qureshi took the same initiative (Saraf, 2005, p, 552). Christopher Snedden (2013) has mentioned four causes that led to the revival of the Muslim Conference:

1. Muslim Conference was revived because some Muslim members of the National Conference were disenchanted with the party's secularism, which they believed diluted Muslims' power in the party. They also disliked Abdullah's close friendship with Nehru and the National Conference's support for the All Indian National Congress and its ideals.
2. Personal and regional rivalry was another cause that played an important role in the revival of the MC. The rivalry between Chaudery Ghulam Abbas and Sheikh Abdullah and between Mirwaiz Yousuf Shah and Sheikh Abdullah consolidated the efforts for the revival of the MC.

3. The prevalence of thought among some Muslims that Hindus were not liberal enough to see the liquidation of the autocratic rule of the Hindu Maharaja. They believed that self-interested Hindu clients of the Maharaja, particularly in Jammu province, wanted the regime of their co-religionist Maharaja to continue, as he would look after their interests better than non-Hindu politician.
4. Muslims felt that the Muslim Conference needed to be revived not only to oppose the secular, pro-Indian National Conference, but also as a political vehicle for Muslims to pursue their wellbeing (Snedden, 2013, pp, 22-23).

The revival process had clicked when on 10th October 1940 twelve workers of the MC met in Srinagar and decided to revive the organisation. However, the most dramatic event in the revival of the Muslim Conference was the resignation of Chaudri Ghulam Abbas from the NC. The resignation came at a time when Chaudri Ghulam Abbas realized that Sheikh Abdullah and his NC is strongly coming under the spell of INC (Bazaz, 2009, p, 153). Abbas and his group from Jammu had resigned from the NC as a protest against toeing the Congress line after Nehru visited Srinagar in May 1940 (Snedden, 2013, p, 23). Abbas reminded Abdullah of his assurance of keeping the NC away from outside politics especially from the influence of the Congress and the League but getting no satisfactory reply he resigned from the conference with him left most of the Jammu Muslim leaders (Bazaz, 2009, p, 153). Sheikh Abdullah himself admits that 'after the birth of the NC his relation with the Congress grew strong' (Sheikh Abdullah, 2013, 184). The workers of the MC unanimously decided to convene a special session of the MC. The session was held in Jammu on 17-19th April 1942. It was in this particular session a resolution was passed which recorded the organizations' disapproval of the Cripps Plan for a united India. The resolution further recorded its full support to the demand of Pakistan (Saraf, 2005, 611). After facing some initial difficulties, the leaders

of the organization were ultimately successful in reviving the MC. It was not a coincidence that the revival coincided with the adoption of the Muslim League's epoch making resolution, famously called as Lahore Resolution of 1940, which demanded a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent. The MC supported the Lahore resolution, and it was from here that the Two Nation Theory gained ground in Jammu and Kashmir.

After the revival of the MC, both the conferences (Muslim and National) were striving for recognition as the voice of the people, the former on the basis of Muslim representation and the later as the forces of national secular movement determined now to remove the Maharaja, not in his capacity as an alien ruler, but as a feudal anachronism (Birdwood, p, 2009, 49). This was the background of Sheikh Abdullah's Quit Kashmir Movement. However, the MC did not support the movement and therefore earned huge criticism for the Muslim Conference and its leadership (Birdwood, p, 2009, 50).

Kashmir between the two opposite theories of Nationalism:

At the time of partition of the Indian sub-continent, a triangular set of forces were operating in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. From one side Nehru could trade whole India for Jammu and Kashmir. He was to integrate India with Jammu and Kashmir. On the other hand, Jinnah looked on Kashmir as an inseparable part of Pakistan. Maharaja, however, had other design. He had made his mind for an independent state which did not materialize due to the political exigencies of the time. The conflict has a strong base in the uncompromising and perhaps uncompromisable theories of nationalism, based on two different world outlooks, two ways of life, and two scales of values and spiritual attitudes. To Nehru, the subcontinent is undeniably one nation, a 'unity in diversity,' and to Jinnah, it consists inescapably of two nations - The Hindu Nation and the Muslim Nation.

In Kashmir, the MC endorsed the two nation theory and got ideologically committed to it while as the NC adopted the theory of one nation. From one side, the NC openly came in support of the 'One Nation Theory' while as the MC, supported the 'Two Nation Theory'. Although the popular leadership threw its weight behind the NC, but the MC leadership showed their steadfastness to survive under such critical times. The growing popularity of the MC frustrated the NC as well the Congress leadership. The NC leadership realized now that they were losing ground among the Muslims without making any headway among the non-Muslims, so something was to be done to retrieve the loss. They invited Pandit JawaharLal Nehru to rehabilitate the lost position of the NC. Nehru, as usual, preached his 'One Nation Theory' while as the MC strongly came in favour of the 'Two Nation Theory'. Nehru's visit of 1940 aimed to cement the bond in the united fight against communalism. The immediate outcome of this visit was that NC joined the All India State People's Conference (Akber, 1991, 83). This bi-polarity in politics of the state became the genesis for the future conflict. Sheikh Abdullah supported states' accession with India, while as Ghulam Abbas supported states' merger with Pakistan. Kashmir got divided first ideologically and then territorially.

The Muslim League, on the other hand, was not ready to surrender Kashmir to Nehru- Abdullah axis; therefore, M.A. Jinnah visited Kashmir in the summer of 1944. The visit came at a time when his presence was a must in Delhi as Pakistan was being in making. But his concern that Kashmiri freedom struggle should go in the direction he wanted, made him visit Kashmir. He was accorded a grand reception both by the NC and the MC. To quote Mir Qasim:

By organizing this reception, Sheikh wanted to give a demonstration of Kashmir's hospitality in recognition of Jinnah's political stature, but

without subscribing to his (Jinnah's) political philosophy and his new found national ideology.....In view of the National Conference, Leagues' Two Nation Theory was an anti-people philosophy which sought to widen and institutionalize communal differences within the Indian society(Qasim, 1992, p, 16).

He addressed the huge mass gatherings and asked the Muslim leadership (both the NC and the MC) to forge unity among themselves. He advised Sheikh Abdullah not to get lured by the false ideology of secularism which the INC projected. Jinnah advised the people to join the MC, as to him the MC alone was the representative organization of the State Muslims. This led to the war of words between the NC and the MC leadership as well as the supporters. Jinnah was warned by Sheikh Abdullah that 'if he does not give up the habit of interfering in our politics, it will be difficult for him to go back in an honorable manner (Bazaz, 2009, pp, 179-80)'. Jinnah left on July 25, 1944.

These two theories of 'One Nation and the Two Nations' has engulfed the whole subcontinent into its fury and the state of Jammu and Kashmir too could not remain immune to it. From one side the subcontinent was heading quickly towards freedom, but from the other side, the divide between the two differing viewpoints was also becoming wider. Every step towards freedom was a march towards a long lasting conflict. Even after the partition, and the creation of Pakistan, for what reason does India continues this bitter fight for the idea of 'Oneness'? Simply, the answer is, in the mind of Nehru and Congress, Kashmir is –in miniature, another Pakistan, and if this Muslim Nation can be successfully governed by India, then their philosophy of secularism is vindicated. Moreover, it would ease the tension among those fourteen hundred million Muslims who still find themselves on Indian soil and will serve a sound argument to refute the logic of the Two Nation Theory.

Conclusion

Throughout 1940s Kashmir remained oscillating between 'One Nation and Two Nation Theory'. In 1947, before Kashmir came under tribal attack. It is generally regarded that the tribal attack became the primary cause for Kashmir's accession to India but the facts suggest otherwise. Sheikh Abdullah was ideologically and politically committed to one nation theory hence has made his mind, long before tribal attack, to accede with India. Sheikh Abdullah's deep relations with Nehru made him think on 'secular-progressive' lines. The 'secularization of politics' in the state left very little space of the ML to carry its agenda. But, revival of the MC not only challenged the NC's one nation theory but also polarized the state politics by committing itself to the ML's two nation theory. The visits of the INC and the ML leaders further widened the divide and this ideological divide became the basis for the territorial division of Kashmir. Even in the absence of any tribal attack, it seems, the story of Jammu and Kashmir was never going to be different as the Pakistan administered part of Kashmir (Azad Kashmir) had long before the accession with India, announced its allegiance to Pakistan. Division of the state seemed a natural consequence the way politics was played in the state.

Notes:

1. *It was a class next to the Maharaja who appropriated a considerable portion of the revenue of the Valley. An area whose revenue was assigned to a particular, individual was known as Jagir and the assignee was called Jagirdars.*
2. *This new institution emerged in the year, 1862 and was motivated by two objectives viz. to bring the fallow land of the valley under cultivation and to reinforce a class of favorites.*
3. *The rent free land grant given either for the left time in perpetuity to religious institutions and other was known as mafia or Dhamarth and the guarantee was called Maufidar.*

4. *There is however, no unanimity among the scholars on who actually was the real founder of the Reading Room Party. According to Dr. Satish Ganjoo, Mohammad Rajab along with Syed Ali Akbar were the founding fathers of the Reading Room. C. Bilkees Taseer states that the Reading Room party started in 1929 with G. N. Gilkar and Sheikh Abdullah as founder members. But it seems that Mohammad Rajab along with Khawja Gh. Nabi Gilkar were the first to articulate the idea. According to Mohammad Yusuf Saraf it was Mohammad Rajab and Bashir Ahmad who were the founders of the Reading Room Party. A more accommodative view is that of Prof. Fida Hussnain. To him Reading Room was established on May 8, 1930 in the house of Mohammad Skinder, Post and Telegraph Master, with Khawja Mohammad Rajab as President and Khawja Gh. Nabi Gilkar as Secretary. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and Mufti Jalal-uddin, according to Prof. Fida Hussnain, were not the founding members of the Reading Room Party.*
5. *According to G. H. Khan (2009) Abdul Qadir was a non-Kashmiri Muslim in the service of an officer of the Kings Own Yorkshire Light Infantry at Peshawar, then on vocation in Kashmir (p, 130). According to Saraf (2005) Qadir was from Amroha, a town in north- Indian state of Utter Pradesh (p, 373). Munshi Mohammad Ishaq in Nidai-e-Haq (2014) claims that Qadir was from Rampur town of Utter Pradesh (p, 106).*
6. *Abdul Qadir was sentenced to five years of rigorous imprisonment and a fine of 50 rupees or, in default, to a further years' imprisonment (Khalid Bashir Ahmad, 2017, p, 95).*
7. *Sarf (2005, pp, 378-79) has given the list of 22 people killed in the incident.*

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LEAKAGE IN EXCHANGE ENTITLEMENT MAPPING – A DETERMINANT OF RURAL POVERTY IN KERALA

Aabha Benjamin*

Abstract

This study is an attempt to find out whether the leakage in Exchange Entitlement Mapping is a determinant of rural poverty in Kerala. The study is based on the hypothesis that Leakage in exchange entitlement mapping due to bad habits and payment of interest and principal on past debts is an important determinant of rural poverty in Kerala. The analysis is based on primary data collected from four panchayats. In this study, BPL households are the focus group and APL households were surveyed to draw comparisons with the focus group. The study found out that 63.63% of BPL households have debts which are neither self-liquidating nor asset-creating and a substantial proportion of the income earned by the poor, instead of getting converted into essential goods and services in the entitlement set, is lost as expenditure on bad habits.

Key words: Leakage, Exchange Entitlement Mapping, Rural poverty

Poverty is the denial of opportunity to lead a long, healthy creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity and self- respect and the respect for others (Human Development Report 1997, p.15). Kerala is a land of baffling contradictions. Amidst the visible signs of affluence, there is a widening spectrum of poverty and deprivation, a phenomenon that continues to evade focused attention (Pragabhaidas, 2017).

Rural poverty has always been a topic of debate among economists and politicians in Kerala. Most of the recent studies on rural poverty in Kerala have been done by the state governmental

**Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, University College, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala; Email: aabhabenjamin@gmail.com*

authorities. These studies are often unreliable because of political interference. Some studies were conducted on rural poverty in Kerala by individual researchers during 70s and 80s. In recent years, independent individual researchers are hesitant to deal with this topic because it is considered as an old topic of study and there is a widespread belief that poverty is no longer an issue of concern in Kerala.

Large sections of the people in the State are faced with poverty. Poverty has several unique dimensions in Kerala because of the peculiar path of socio-economic development of the State (Pragabhaidas, 2017). In spite of spending huge amounts of money on anti-poverty programmes, rural poverty is a grave problem in Kerala. Efforts to eradicate poverty will become successful if and only if the determinants of rural poverty in Kerala are correctly identified and the anti-poverty programmes are formulated and implemented on the basis of them (Aabha, 2010).

In the present study an attempt is made to find out whether the leakage in Exchange Entitlement Mapping is a determinant of rural poverty in Kerala. The study is based on the hypothesis that Leakage in exchange entitlement mapping due to bad habits and payment of interest and principal on past debts is an important determinant of rural poverty in Kerala.

1. Method

Primary data was collected from four panchayats – two panchayats from Thiruvananthapuram district and two from Kollam district. Parasala panchayat and Peringamala panchayat were selected from Thiruvananthapuram. From Kollam district Chathanoor panchayat and Vilakudi panchayat were chosen. These panchayats were selected on the basis of information collected from village extension officers, non-governmental organizations, political leaders, official records, publications of government and personal visits conducted

by the researcher. Primary survey among Below Poverty Line (BPL) households and Above Poverty Line (APL) households was done in three wards from each panchayat. Three wards were selected on the basis of secondary data secured from the panchayat office and information obtained from panchayat authorities. No reliable list of BPL or APL families was available in the panchayats. With the help of Kudumbasree leaders and leaders of non governmental organizations researcher prepared a list of BPL households of the selected wards. From the list, sample was selected using systematic random sampling technique. Fifty households were surveyed in each panchayat among BPL households and thirty households were surveyed among APL households. The total sample size was 200 in the case of BPL households and 120 in the case of APL households. In this study, BPL households are the focus group and APL households were surveyed to draw comparisons with the focus group. A household was designated as BPL or APL on the basis of Kudumbasree criteria. The Interview survey research method was used to collect primary data.

1.1. Statistical Techniques

The following statistical techniques were used:

1. Test of significance for difference of means
2. Chi square test
3. Mean
4. Correlation

1.2. Theoretical Framework

For this study Entitlement approach put forward by Amartya Sen is used as the Theoretical framework. 'Entitlement Approach' to poverty called the combination of all those legally owned resources by a person conforming to established norms and practices as the 'endowment set' of the person. A person owns tangible as well as

intangible resources. Tangible resources are land, equipments, animals etc. Knowledge, Skill, labour power, membership of a particular community etc. forms intangible resources. The set of all possible combinations of goods and services that a person can legally obtain by using the resources of his endowment set (not just the one actually being enjoyed) is the 'entitlement set' of that person. The 'exchange entitlement mapping' is the rate at which the resources of the endowment set can be converted into goods and services included in the entitlement set (Sen,1987).

The entitlement approach is commonly used for analysis of famines. At the same time, this approach is found to be more suitable for analysing the determinants of poverty than other approaches to poverty. It is also helpful in presenting the determinants of poverty systematically.

2. Results and Discussions

2.1. Leakage in Exchange Entitlement Mapping of BPL Households

A significant portion of the income earned by the poor, using the resources in their endowment set, fails to get converted into useful goods and services in entitlement set. The present study is based on the assumption that there are mainly two leakages in the process of exchange entitlement mapping that hinder the efficient and effective conversion of resources in the endowment set of rural poor in Kerala into useful goods and services in the entitlement set. They are: a) debt repayment and interest payment b) expenditure on bad habits. Lack of goods and services in sufficient quantity and with required quality in the entitlement set of a household results in impoverishment of that household.

2.1.1 Debt

Directing credit to the rural people, the poor and the farming classes constitutes an important component of what is now known as

financial 'inclusion'. In the last one decade or more, the government has taken recommendations from several expert committees in an attempt to fill the credit void. A number of innovative models and techniques are being explored. A number of new ideas are pouring in. This is certainly an area witnessing a lot of activity and deliberation (Ghosh, 2008). Table 1 depicts the amount of debt of poor households.

Table 1. Amount of debt of BPL households

Amount	No: of households	Percentage
Nil	68	34.0
< 10,000	39	19.5
10,000-25,000	24	12.0
25,000-50,000	22	11.0
50,000-1Lakh	34	17.0
Above 1Lakh	13	6.5
Total	200	100

(Source: Primary Survey)

132 households have debt. They have taken 149 loans. 37.58% of the borrowings have been from money lenders and 26.17% have been from private banks. Borrowings from money lenders and private banks together form 63.34% of the total indebtedness. 13.42% of households reported that they relied on neighbours and relatives to meet their credit requirements. 6.04% availed credit from kudumbasree. Co-operative bank (6.04%), Housing board (4.03%), Co-operative society (4.03%) and Nationalised banks (2.68%) are the other sources of borrowing. It is a disturbing fact that only 22.82% of the borrowings are from the public sector.

As it is clear from Table 2, 28.19% of the indebted families got credit without pledging any security. The highest percentage of those who borrowed *ie.*, 36.91%, gave land document or house document or both as security. Credit was secured by giving stamped paper by 18.79% and through personal bail by 13.42% of indebted households. Three households (2.01%) pledged gold and one household pledged coconut tree as security.

Table 2. Details of Borrowing of BPL households

SI No.	Particulars	No: of households	Percentage
01	Sources of Borrowing		
a.	Money lender	56	37.58
b.	Private bank	39	26.17
c.	Neighbours and relatives	20	13.42
d.	Kudumbasree	9	6.04
e.	Co-operative bank	9	6.04
f.	Housing Board	6	4.03
g.	Co-operative Society	6	4.03
h.	Nationalized bank	4	2.68
i.	Total Debts	149	100
02	Annual rate of interest (%)		
a.	No interest	22	14.77
b.	<10	22	14.77
c.	10-15	12	8.05
d.	16-25	12	8.05
e.	26-36	49	32.89
f.	60	32	21.48
03	Security pledged		
a.	No security	42	28.19
b.	Land/ house document	55	36.91
c.	Stamped paper	28	18.79
d.	Personal bail	20	13.42
e.	Gold	3	2.01
f.	Coconut tree	1	0.67

(Source: Primary Survey)

Usually loans are not given for unproductive purposes by public sector sources except Kudumbasree. But 66.31% of indebted households have incurred debt for unproductive and non-asset creating purposes. The clean demand loans given by public sector banks need assets as security. Institutional sources are not helpful during emergencies because of lengthy official procedures. Moreover, they provide loans only after checking the repaying ability of the borrowers. People have access to money lenders at any time of the day. Repayment of loans from moneylenders can be made daily or weekly. Since majority of earning members of these households work for daily wages or weekly wages, this system is convenient for them. These are the important reasons for the high degree of dependence the rural poor has on the private sector for their credit requirements where, interest rates are exorbitant.

People are paying an interest rate ranging from 7% to 60% annually. Majority of indebted families (32.89%) have borrowed at an interest rate between 26% and 36%. 21.48% of them are paying 60% of the principal amount as interest. 14.77% of indebted families have borrowed at an interest rate less than 10%. Interest free credit has been secured by 14.77% of households. 10 to 15 percent is the rate of interest paid by 8.05% of indebted families and another 8.05% of them are paying 16 to 25 percent interest. Interest rate on loans provided by the public sector is below 20%. Zero-interest loans are mainly those which are provided by neighbours and relatives. Money borrowed from money lenders and private banks carry interest rates between 20% and 60%. From the above description it is vivid that a major portion of the income of the poor families is lost by way of interest payment.

In the Table 3 the purpose of borrowing of the sample households is given. The highest proportion (31.82%) of indebted households has borrowed for house construction. All the households

Table 3. Purpose of borrowing of BPL households

Sl No.	Purpose of borrowing	No: of households	Percentage
1	Housing	42	31.82
2	Marriage	34	25.76
3	Medical expenditure	25	18.94
4	To repay past debts	16	12.12
5	Education	08	6.06
6	Customs	4	3.03
7	To pay interest on debt	3	2.27
8	To buy consumer durables	3	2.27
9	Purchase of land	3	2.27
10	Daily household expense	2	1.51
11	Others	4	3.03

(Source: Primary Survey)

in the sample where there has been marriage of daughters during the last few years have debt due to it. 25.76% of indebted households have borrowed for marriage of daughters. In order to meet medical expenses 18.94% of them have incurred debt. Those who were forced to borrow, for repaying past debt forms 12.12% and for paying interest on past debts forms 2.27% of indebted families. 6.06% has borrowed for educational purposes, 3.03% for meeting expenses of customs, 2.27% for purchase of land, and another 2.27% for purchase of consumer durables. 1.51% of indebted households have borrowed for meeting daily expenses.

Borrowing for housing, purchase of land and purchase of consumer durables are less harmful as assets are being added to the endowment set or entitlement set. But we cannot ignore the fact that, in many cases, the interest plus the principal amount will be much higher than the actual value of the asset secured. Debt incurred for educational purposes can be considered as self- liquidating or

productive. All the other debts impose real burden on the households. 63.63% of the indebted households have debt of this nature.

Usually, it is said that due to consumerism, Keralites borrow unnecessarily. But from the present study it is understood that the rural poor borrows mostly for necessities. If dowry system is abolished and expensive celebrations relating to wedding are avoided, cases of indebtedness among the poor will come down substantially.

2.1.2 Bad Habits

Bad habits among the sample population include alcoholism, smoking, using pan, chewing tobacco and consumption of drugs. They have both social and economic costs. Those costs are difficult to estimate. They have both direct and indirect effects on the poverty status of individuals, families and the entire community. Economic consequences of such habits are particularly severe for the poor (Lwanga-Ntale, 2007).

Bad habits hinder the efficient conversion of resources in the endowment set into entitlement set in several ways. Heavy alcohol and drug abuse adversely affects physical as well as mental health. It reduces the ability to work with efficiency. So addicts to bad habits are not able to trade their most important resource- labour power for higher and regular wages. Such people are also more prone to accidents.

A substantial proportion of the income earned by them, instead of getting converted into essential goods and services in the entitlement set, is lost as expenditure on bad habits. Thus it is an important leakage in the process of exchange entitlement mapping. Medical expenses are also high for them. Many get into debt as a result of bad habits especially alcoholism.

Use of alcohol by the male members in the family plays a key role in a substantial proportion of domestic violence in these panchayats (Lwanga-Ntale, 2007). Children are worst affected by

the bad habits of their fathers. The ill-treatment given to them and their mothers by drunken fathers adversely affects their physical, mental and intellectual development. Researcher could see children waiting in the evening fearfully, for the arrival of their drunken fathers. Children of such families do not have an atmosphere to concentrate in their studies in the evenings.

Many of the families have houses with one room. Very often male members smoke inside their houses when babies are there. Researcher saw scenes such as an elderly man with a burning cigarette in one hand rocking his granddaughter's cradle.

Table 4. Details of bad habits among the BPL households

Sl No.	Bad habit	No: of households	Percentage
1	No bad habit	85	42.5
2	Alcoholism alone	22	11
3	Smoking alone	30	15
4	Alcoholism and Smoking	20	10
5	Pan alone	6	3
6	Alcoholism, Smoking and Pan	24	12
7	Drugs alone	2	1
8	Tobacco chewing and Smoking	11	5.5
	Total	200	100
	Who is having the bad habit	No. of households	Percentage
1	Male head	86	74.78
2	Children	12	10.43
3	Male head and children	6	5.21
4	Female head	5	4.34
5	Male head and female head	6	5.21
	Total	115	100

(Source: Primary Survey)

57.5% of sample households have at least one member with a bad habit. House holds with smoking addicts alone form 15% of sample. 11% of sample households have member/members addicted to alcohol alone. Both the above mentioned bad habits are prevalent in 10% of the families studied. Families with persons using pan alone form 3% of sample. There are two households with drug addicts. Alcoholism, smoking and use of pan are there in 12% of sample. 5.5 % of sample households have members who chew tobacco and smoke.

In 74.78% of families with bad habits, male heads have the bad habit. Children are addicts to bad habits in 10.43% of the households. Both children and male heads have bad habits in 5.21% of households. The proportion of households with female heads having the bad habit of chewing pan forms 4.34% of sample. As revealed by the Table 4, in 5.21% of households both the male head and the female head have some bad habit.

Table 5. Percentage of annual income lost due to bad habits

Percentage of income lost	No: of households	Percentage
N.A	85	42.5
< 10	49	24.5
10-20	33	16.5
20-50	32	16.0
>50	1	0.5
Total	200	100

(Source: Primary Survey)

As shown in the Table 5, for 24.5% of sample households below 10% of their annual income is lost due to bad habits. Leakage in annual income is in the range of 10-20 percent for 16.5% of the

sample. It is a disturbing fact that 16.0% of households are spending 20 to 50 percent of their total annual income on bad habits.

Usually, it is assumed that for households with members having bad habits, the chance for falling in debt is more. In order to verify this assumption the correlation between debt amount and leakage in income due to bad habits is calculated. 'r' obtained is 0.061 and P value is 0.394. So it is inferred that there is no correlation between debt amount and leakage of income due to bad habits.

2. 2 Comparison of APL and BPL households

2.2.1 Debt

In the case of both APL and BPL the highest percentage of borrowings has been from money lenders. The dependence on money lenders and private banks is more among BPL households than APL.

34.47% of APL households having debt and 36.36% of BPL households with debt have borrowed for asset creation. The Proportion of APL households which have incurred self- liquidating debts form 17.23% and it is 6.06% for BPL sample. All the households in APL and BPL samples where the marriage of daughters have taken place during the last five years have incurred debt for that purpose. 61.93% of APL households with debt and 63.63% of BPL households with debt have debts of real burden.

Table 6. Sources of borrowing of BPL and APL households

Sl. No	Sources	BPL		APL	
		No: of households	Percentage	No: of households	Percentage
1	Money lender	56	37.58	9	27.27
2	Private bank	39	26.17	3	9.09

3	Neighbours and relatives	20	13.42	6	18.18
4	Kudumbasree	9	6.04	3	9.09
5	Co-operative bank	9	6.04	0	0
6	Housing Board	6	4.03	2	6.06
7	Co-operative Society	6	4.03	6	18.18
8	Nationalized bank	4	2.68	4	12.12
	Total Debts	149	100	33	100

(Source: Primary Survey)

Table: 7. Purpose of borrowing of BPL and APL households

Purpose	BPL		APL	
	No. of households	Percentage	No. of households	Percentage
Housing	42	31.82	7	24.13
Purchase of land	3	2.27	3	10.34
Medical expenditure	25	18.94	5	17.24
Education	8	6.06	2	6.89
Marriage	34	25.76	7	24.1
To repay past debts	16	12.12	4	13.7
To repay interest on past debts	3	2.27	2	6.89
For going to Gulf	0	0	3	10.34
Customs	4	3.03	0	0
Daily household Expense	2	1.51	0	0
To buy consumer durables	3	2.27	0	0

(Source: Primary Survey)

Table 8. Difference in the incidence of debt of BPL and APL households

<i>Incidence of Debt</i>	BPL		APL		Chi	p
	<i>No. of households</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No. of households</i>	<i>Percentage</i>		
Yes	132	66.0	29	24.2	52.5**	0.000
No	68	34.0	91	75.8		
Total	200	100	120	100		

(Source: Primary Survey)

The incidence of debt is 66% for the BPL sample and 24.2% for the APL sample. By applying the Chi-square test it is found that the number of indebted families in the BPL sample is significantly higher than the number of indebted families in the APL sample.

Table 9. Difference in the amount of debt of BPL and APL households

Group	Mean	SD	N	t	Significance
BPL	48367	74911	132	4.49**	0.000
APL	182138	306355	29		

(Source: Primary Survey)

The mean amount of debt is 48367 for BPL and 182138 for APL. From table 9 it is clear that the average debt amount of APL is significantly higher than that of BPL households.

2.2.2 Bad habits

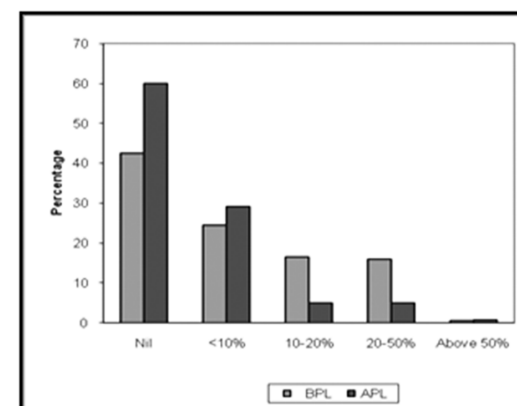
The number of families having at least one person with some bad habit is more among BPL households than among APL households. Using Chi Square test, it is proven that the variation is statistically

Table 10. Difference in the presence of bad habits among BPL and APL households

Presence bad habit	BPL		APL		Chi	P
	<i>No. of households</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>No. of households</i>	<i>Percentage</i>		
Yes	115	57.5	48	40.0	9.19**	0.002
No	85	42.5	72	60.0		
Total	200	100	120	100		

(Source: Primary Survey)

significant. 57.5% of BPL households and 40% of APL households have at least one member with bad habit.

Fig.1. Comparison of Percentage of Annual Income Lost due to Bad habits for BPL and APL**Table 11. Difference in the percentage of annual income lost due to bad habits for BPL and APL households.**

Group	Mean	SD	N	t	Significance
BPL	8.4	10.6	200	4.27**	0.000
APL	3.6	8.0	120		

(Source: Primary Survey)

The application of the test of significance of difference between means proves that the amount lost as a percentage of total annual income due to bad habits of the BPL households is significantly higher than that of APL households. The mean value for BPL is 8.4 and APL is 3.6.

3. Conclusion

Payment of interest and principal of past debt is an important leakage in Exchange Entitlement Mapping. 66% of BPL households have debt. 63.63% of BPL households have debts which are neither self-liquidating nor asset-creating. Only 6.06% of the debts are self liquidating. The interest rate at which they borrow varies from 7% to 60%. Borrowings from money lenders and private banks together form 63.34% of the total indebtedness. Only 22.82% of the borrowings are from the public sector. By applying the test of significance of difference between means it is found that the number of indebted families in the BPL sample is significantly higher than the number of indebted families in the APL sample. The dependence on money lenders and private banks is more among BPL households than APL. The proportion of APL households which have incurred self-liquidating debts is higher than that of BPL households. Construction of house, marriage expenses and medical expenditure are the main purposes for which the BPL households have borrowed. All the households in the sample, where there has been marriage of daughters during the last few years have debt due to it. From the present study it is understood that the rural poor borrows mostly for necessities.

A substantial proportion of the income earned by the poor, instead of getting converted into essential goods and services in the entitlement set, is lost as expenditure on bad habits. Thus it is an important leakage in the process of exchange entitlement mapping. Bad habits among the sample population include alcoholism, smoking, using pan, chewing tobacco and consumption of drugs. 57.7% of the sample households have at least one member with

a bad habit. 16.5% of the BPL households lose more than one fifth of their annual income by way of bad habits. 57.5% of the BPL households and 40% of the APL households have at least one member with a bad habit. Using Chi Square test, it is proven that the variation is statistically significant. The application of the test of significance of difference between means proves that the amount lost as a percentage of total annual income due to bad habits by BPL households is significantly higher than that of APL households.

Alcohol use by the male members in the family plays a key role in a substantial proportion of domestic violence in these panchayats. Children are worst affected by the bad habits of their fathers. The ill-treatment given to them and their mothers by drunken fathers adversely affect their physical, mental and intellectual development.

From the above analysis it can be concluded that leakage in exchange entitlement mapping by way of debt repayment and expenditure on bad habits is an important determinant of rural poverty in Kerala.

4. Suggestions

More credit facilities should be made available in the public sector for the poor in order to reduce their dependence on money lenders and private banks. Information should be disseminated to the less educated poor people regarding the existing credit facilities and schemes in the public sector. Social action is needed against the dowry system. Huge expenses relating to marriage ceremony and customs is pushing many into poverty. Social marriages should be encouraged. Awareness programmes regarding this should be organized with the help of NGOs. If rural poverty is to be eradicated bad habits especially alcoholism among the poor has to be controlled. NGOs working in this field have to be encouraged. The government should show the will power to limit the availability of liquor. Illicit liquor is very common in the areas studied. Strong measures should be taken to forbid the production and sale of illicit liquor.

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MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH AND THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE: 1906-1947

A.K Ampotti*

Abstract

Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in the beginning of his career, was sternly opposed to the All India Muslim League. He joined it when it changed its aim from "loyalty to British" to "a form of self-government suitable to India". He was described as 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity' for his role in the Lucknow Pact of 1916. Two events led to his exit from the Congress: Gandhi's ascendance in the political horizon, and his reluctance to join the massive protest in connection with the Khilafat Movement. Even after this he tried to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity, but from a Muslim shore. As a leader of the Muslim League he tried to bring the Congress and the League closer. Later, he lost his interests in Hindu-Muslim unity, and was determined to revive his leadership through communal means.

Key words: *Liberalism, Khilafat Movement, Separate Electorates, Delhi Proposals, Simon Commission, Fourteen Points, Lahore Resolution, Cripps' Proposals, Mission Plan*

A close scrutiny of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's political career would reveal that the period from 1892 to 1896, when he had been a student of Law in London, contributed a great deal to the formation of Muslim League. Though he left India for London to work as a business apprentice, he sooner than later left the job to join Lincoln's inn and study law, thanks to his admiration for Dadabhai Naoroji and a deep desire to chart out himself a career in politics. (Wolpert, Pp. 10-12). Naoroji's maiden speech in British Parliament made an indelible impression on his mind so much so that, back in India,

*Assistant Professor, Islamic Studies, University of Kerala

he became an advocate of the moderate stance and constitutional approach meticulously held by Naoroji. Jinnah absorbed many liberal ideals from the Grand Old

Man, who was to Indian youth, an Indian Gladstone. Those were the times when liberal ideas were in full swing and naturally those ideas seeped into his whole being. Among the British politicians, Gladstone and Morley influenced him the most. While in Morley's works he found the necessary underpinnings for his own political direction, he was influenced by Naoroji's approach to politics, particularly his abhorrence of the hysteria of agitational politics.

Naturally back in India, he came to be associated with such Congress leaders as Sir Perozeshah Mehta, Dinshaw, E. Wacha and Sir Chimmanlal Setalvad. This eventually led him being included in the Congress delegation to London led by Gokhale to demand a greater share for Indians in the administration. Gokhale was so much impressed by Jinnah that he called him the best ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity [Hector Bolitho, p.55]. Naturally Jinnah found himself at loggerheads with the ideals of the orthodox Muslims and the All India Muslim League. When Sir Syed Ahmed Khan left no stones unturned to prove that Hindus and Muslims were two different nationalities, he unflinchingly held the view that the so-called rivalry between the Hindus and the Muslims was a 'convenient decoy to distract attention and defer the day of reform' [Report of the Indian National Congress, p.1890]. Many a time he had to cross swords with the Muslim ulema. When the Special Marriage Amendment Bill was passed to provide legal protection to marriages not covered by Hindu or Muslim law, the ulema opposed it terming it as the negation of the laws of the Quran. On the other hand Jinnah supported the Bill pointing out that it would provide equality. [Abstracts of Council Proceedings, Pp. 160-162]. As far as the question of the entry of Indians into the Indian Civil Service was concerned, he was of the view that simultaneous examination

should be conducted both in England and in India, and that there should be no representation based on religion [S.S Pirzada, p.58]. This was in conformity with the liberalism he campaigned and the policy of the Congress leadership at that time.

Two factors which paved the way for the founding of the All India Muslim League were: (1) the partition of Bengal by the Viceroy Lord Curzon in 1905 and (2) the impending Minto-Morley Reforms. With a view to assure the Viceroy the Muslim loyalty to the British government and request for separate representation for the Muslims, the Muslim leaders visited upon the Viceroy who assured them of his support. This led in the long run to the founding of the All India Muslim League in 1906 [The Times, 2 January 1907]. Jinnah who felt that the Muslims could find solutions to their problems through the Congress, left no stones unturned to attack the non-representative character of the deputation. He also felt that the system of separate electorates would only serve to divide the nation against itself [Aga Khan, Pp. 122-23].

The Congress assumed a conciliatory tone towards the League from 1909 onwards, and Jinnah also took a stand in tune with the change of attitude of the Congress. The Congress conceded even separate electorates to the Muslim community with a view to bringing the two communities together. Jinnah echoed this view when he said that no resistance should be shown to their demand for separate electorates. [Sarojini Naidu, Pp. 99-100]. The British decision for the reversal of partition of Bengal had alienated the Muslims from the British so much so that the Muslim League changed its aim from 'loyalty' to the British to 'a form of self-government suitable to India' [Pirzada, pp.360-62]. Jinnah, who had so far refused to join the League, now found himself in a position to join the organization. This finally led to the famous Lucknow Pact (1916) of which he was one of the principal architects.

Jinnah continued to be on the crest of a wave and a powerful force in Indian politics till 1919. Jinnah's fall from grace can be attributed to two developments. One was the passing of Rowlatt Act in March 1919. It opened the floodgates of agitation to the forefront of Indian politics. In this context it is to be noted that Gandhiji and Jinnah responded to the Act in altogether different ways, and that made the difference. While Jinnah resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council, Gandhiji asked the people to suspend business and observe the day as one of the fasting and prayer. This led to Gandhi's ascendance and Jinnah's descendance in India's political horizon, Jinnah who did not follow the tenets of Islam in his life, was not sensitive to the spiritual significance of the Kaba, and took a legislative view and refused to take part in the massive agitation against the British [Zakaria, p. 22]. Jinnah, a constitutionalist to the core, wanted a constitutional solution to the issue. This led to his parting of ways with the Congress, and he slowly drifted towards the Muslim League as the vehicle of his political career. However he continued his efforts to bring the Congress and the League on a constitutional platform. But this he would do only after establishing the Muslim League as the sole representative of Muslim India.

In the post-Khilafat period also Jinnah continued his efforts to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. In order to evolve a joint reform proposals of the Congress and the Muslim League, and also to appease the Hindu Mahasabha, which accused him as a communist in the garb of a nationalist, he went to the extent of abandoning the claim for separate electorate. As a compensation for the abandoning the claim for the separate electorate, he proposed what came to be called the Delhi proposals. It included (i) separation of Sindh from Bombay Presidency (ii) treatment of North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as the other provinces (iii) electoral representation in the Punjab and Bengal in accordance with

population and one-third representation in the Central Legislature. The All India Congress Committee accepted the proposals with minor changes but sooner than later other influential groups came out in opposition to them. The Hindu Mahasabha attacked Jinnah as being unrepresentative of Muslim India, and as such his proposals were not of any consequence. Many Muslim leaders felt that in such an atmosphere of communal distrust, the Delhi proposals were not workable [Indian Quarterly Register, Vol.I].

In the meantime there arose a split in the Muslim League on the question of the Simon Commission. While Jinnah was for the boycott of the Commission, a small group led by Shafi welcomed the appointment of the commission. Jinnah was deeply worried about the split for he feared that it would undermine his political base, and it would enable his opponents to allege his non-representative status. So he wanted to bring about unity at any cost. Thus when the Nehru Report was put forward, he was not ready to take the Congress lead on the issue, and for him unity within the Muslim League was more important than the benefits to be gained from submitting to Congress recommendations. At the same time he found many of the recommendations of the report unacceptable. He felt that in order to prevent the domination of the Central government by one religious community, Muslims must be given one-third representation at the centre rather than one fourth advocated by the Nehru Report. So he rejected the Nehru report and suggested a number of amendments which included one-third representation for Muslims at both houses of Central Legislature and vesting of residuary power with the provinces. These amendments were rejected due to the influence of the Mahasabha and the Sikh League and to the domination of the Congress by the views of Jawaharlal Nehru and the younger nationalists.

This did not deter Jinnah from making further efforts for a

communal settlement. But before that he wanted to patch up with his co-religionists badly bruised after his Delhi Proposals. He saw that unity within the Muslim community was highly essential for the success of negotiations with the Hindus. This he did by taking into confidence Shafi and by re-uniting the divided League in March 1929. He then brought about collusion with various Muslim groups and leaders which resulted in the formulation of his Fourteen Points. This was indicative of the change which came over Jinnah from his early years in politics. Besides they show Jinnah's efforts to win the support of the Muslim leaders in the provinces whose provincial politics he opposed in the early 1920s. Thus it can be seen that on three occasions Jinnah suggested various ways to sharing sovereignty : the pre-Nehru Report Delhi Proposals; the Six points offered by the Muslim League as amendments to the Nehru Report; and the Fourteen points offered by Jinnah after the rejection of the 'Six Points' by the All Parties Conference. He made last-ditch efforts at Hindu-Muslim unity through the Round Table Conferences. Having found that the conferences failed to bring about any rapprochement between the leaders of the Congress and the League, he decided to remain in London. Later when he was persuaded by Muslim leaders in India to return to India and lead the Muslim League, he came to India in 1934. Having lost all interest in Hindu-Muslim unity, he was firmly implanted in the Muslim camp, and wanted to revive his leadership through communal means. [Chagla, pp.103-104]

In the 1937 elections, the Muslim league was not in a position to form a government in any of the provinces. As for the Congress, which had clear majorities in six out of the eleven provinces, and the largest party in three other provinces, was not inclined to co-operate with the Muslim League. In the United Provinces it invited the Muslim League to form a ministry but on humiliating terms such as foregoing its identity and merging itself with the League. Jinnah

used this opportunity to his advantage and alleged that the Congress was a Hindu fascist organization out to destroy the Muslim League. The Muslim league brought out the Pirpur Report in which it was alleged that the Congress governments failed to protect the religious and cultural rights of the Muslims.

When the war broke out in 1939, the British felt the need of the co-operation of Indian parties. Jinnah feared that the exigencies of wartime would drive the British into giving concessions to the Congress. He wanted to work such a settlement. The congress demanded for a promise of independence in return for its cooperation in the war effort. The Muslim league thereupon demanded that no promise of constitutional advance would be made without the consent and approval of the league. This stand of the league proved to be a means by which the Viceroy could challenge the Congress claim for speaking for all India and its demand for a promise of independence in return for its cooperation in the war effort. Linlithgow now turned towards Jinnah and the Muslim League as a counterpoise to the Congress [National Herald, 26 October 1939]. In the circumstances the Congress ministers resigned on 10 November 1939. However, there was not much of a sign of a solid Muslim political front in the early months of 1940. What therefore required was a basis by which to overcome the conditions of being a minority in India. It was in this context that the league passed the Pakistan resolution in Lahore on March 23, 1940. It was a relief to the British as it helped them to repudiate the Congress demand for independence.

After the Lahore Resolution, League's policy was to ensure that an independent Pakistan was created at the same time that India would get freedom. In all the subsequent negotiations with the Congress and the British government, Jinnah advanced three basic demands: (1) the League should be regarded as the sole spokesman

of the Muslim India; (2) the creation of Pakistan as an independent state should be accepted in principle; (3) in any interim government that was formed, the Muslims represented by the League should have equal representation with the Hindus if the Congress came in, otherwise they should have majority of seats, since the main burden and responsibility would be borne by the Muslims in that case. [Speeches by Marquess Linlithgow, Vol. 2, pp238-42]

Thus it can be seen that Muhammad Ali Jinnah was bent on creating an independent Pakistan after the Lahore Resolution. With this end in view, he sabotaged all the subsequent attempts at creating a unified India. When the Cripps' proposals put forward Indian independence and self-determination to the provincial units after the war, both the Congress and the League rejected them on two counts. While the Congress found in them a severe blow to the conception of unity, the League felt that though the possibility of an independent Pakistan was recognized by implication, the proposals embodying the fundamentals were not open to any modification. Similarly in the Simla Conference held on 25 June 1945 also Jinnah insisted that the Muslim members of the proposed council should be chosen by the League, and this led to its failure.

With a view to hand over power to Indian representatives at the latest by the June 1948, Atlee government sent Cabinet Mission to India. The Mission plan was a compromise between the Pakistan and united India ideologies. Accordingly there would be union of India with such areas as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications under its control. Below the union would come a sub-federation of three groups: Group 'A' consisting of provinces not claimed for Pakistan, Group 'B' consisting of the Punjab, NWFP, Sind and Baluchistan, and Group 'C' of Bengal and Assam. This meant that there would be no partition of India. Along with this scheme there was a scheme for the formation of an interim government. At the

same time it would give Jinnah "the essence of Pakistan". However Jinnah raised his objections on two points: (1) there should be parity between the Congress and the League, and (2) as far as the nomination of the Muslim members was concerned he should have the sole right to nominate them. He knew very well that his demands would not be accepted by the Congress, and in that case he could demand nothing short of Pakistan. Thus Cabinet Mission ended in failure. Thereupon Jinnah called upon the Muslims to resort to Direct Action Day to get Pakistan. The Direct Action day witnessed communal riots and massacres of thousands of innocent Hindus and Muslims in many parts of India. The Muslim League refused to join the interim government unless and until the two of its previous conditions were fulfilled. It later joined the interim government as it felt that it could not stand aside while the Congress consolidated its power through the interim government. It became soon clear that both the parties could not work in unison. The violence continued unabated. In the circumstances the British government sent Mountbatten to India entrusting him the task to transfer power to responsible hands by a date not later than June 1948. With Jinnah sticking to his earlier stand the India was partitioned into two: India and Pakistan on 15 August 1947.

Conclusion

A close scrutiny of Muhammad Ali Jinnah's political career shows three phases: one when he was a Congressman opposed to the Muslim League, two when he was a member of both the Muslim League and the Congress, and three when he was a member of the Muslim League only. He came closer to the League when it changed its aim from "loyalty to the British" to "a form of self-government suitable to India". In 1918-19 period saw Jinnah at the apogee of his popularity. His aversion to mass politics sidelined him with the advent of Gandhi on the scene. His disagreement with the

Khilafat agitation led to his resignation from the Congress. Yet he made earnest efforts to bring the Congress and the League closer. He on three occasions suggested to the Congress ways of sharing sovereignty: the pre-Nehru Report Delhi Proposals, the Six Points as amendment to the Nehru Report and the Fourteen Points but to no avail. His efforts in this direction through the Round Table Conferences also met with failure. Thereafter he set his eye and heart on charting a course different from that of the Congress, culminating in the division of Pakistan.

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GENDER DIMENSIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE OF KERALA: AN ANALYSIS

Sheela M.C.*

Abstract

Kerala has often been hailed as the 'land of women' because women in Kerala are believed to have enjoyed, from time immemorial, a better status in society than their counterparts elsewhere in the country. The prevalence of the matriarchal system among several Hindu castes, and the high levels of literacy, education, and health of women gave them such a privilege. Kerala's development process bring up at par with developed countries and first among the states in India. Paradoxically enough, the real life situation of women in Kerala seems contradictory to the above development records. This study examines the extension of female participation in the development experiences of Kerala. Study finds that gender equality doesn't prevail even in Kerala. Women are lagged behind in health, employment and educational status. It seems that they are unable to reach at par with their counterparts. Study also finds that atrocities towards women are high in Kerala.

Key Words: Sex ratio, Infant Mortality Rate, life expectancy-Morbidity, Atrocities, Foeticide.

Even after the attainment of seven decades of independence and the constitutional guarantees for gender equality, the condition of women in India continued to remain marginalized in socio-economic, health, educational and political fields. This was brought out very sharply by the report of the committee on the status of women in India. Gender disparity and discrimination shown to women emerged as a major issue. While initially the approach at redressal was more 'welfare oriented', in the succeeding decades, it

*Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, University College, Trivandrum, Kerala, India

shifted to the development of women and in 1980s onwards, the shift took place from development to empowerment and autonomy of women. Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen (2000) explored and examined why inequality does exist in the world. According to him, inequality exists due to unfreedom to certain groups to enjoy human freedom. Osella finds that in any case, all societies at all times have some forms of inequalities (Osella and Osella, 2000p.11). This inequality on the basis of caste, class, creed, race, ethnicity and gender etc. leads to social, economic, educational and gender inequalities.

Gender inequality refers to unequal treatment of perceptions of individuals wholly or partially due to their gender. It arises from differences in gender role. Gender equality is also known as sexual equality that offers the state of equal ease of access to resources and opportunities including economic participation and decision making and the state of appreciating different behaviours, aspirations and needs equally, regardless of gender. It is essential for ensuring that men and women can contribute fully at home, at work and in public sphere, for the betterment of societies and for sustainable development. Various studies recommend that the attainment of literacy and education is the basic requirement for the realisation of gender equality. In this context, this study tries to examine the position of women in the development process of Kerala.

Kerala has achieved remarkable improvements in material conditions of living, reflected in and identifiable by major indicators of social development like low level of infant mortality, and population growth, high level of literacy, high life expectancy, high age at marriage for women etc.. Kerala's achievements are comparable to those of many developed countries, but the paradox is that even though the state has scored equivalency with the developed west in certain cases, her per capita income is comparatively low. The above achievements of Kerala and the resultant social development are

attained not all on-a-sudden but as a result of gradual and continuous efforts that began even before the formation of the state. The impact of various Social Reform Movements led by reformers like Mahatma Ayyankali, Sree Narayana Guru, initiative by the Royal Travancore Government through a Declaration for free education for all, the outstanding contribution made by the Left Government through a daring effort for the implementation of land reforms in Kerala, the initiatives of Church in Education etc. are worth mentionable. Studies also show that high literacy rate of women is the basis upon which the factors like low infant mortality rate, nutrition, health and education of children, hygiene and protection of environment etc. are built up in state. What is again paradoxical is that even in the midst of high literacy rate and women empowerment, data shows that gender discrimination, atrocities towards women, unequal work conditions with the opposite gender etc. are significantly present in the state. Still, the institutional mechanism for the unity and empowerment of women like the Kudumbasree has achieved a great deal to defend the cause of the underprivileged and unemployed women folk in the state. The present study is an analysis of the contextual situation of women in the state based on three indicators viz. demographic and health indicators, education and employment, and atrocities towards Women.

Data and Method

In order to analyse the gender dimension in Kerala's development experience, data were collected mainly from the secondary source based on government reports, status papers, books, journals and other publications.

Demographic and Health indicators

Sex ratio is one of the most important social parameter indicating the balance between males and females in the society. The

overall sex ratio in Kerala continues to be favourable to women, 1084 compared to 936 for the country as a whole. Further, it is favourable to females in all the districts of Kerala. Details are given in table 1.

Table 1. Sex Ratio in Kerala & India

Year	Kerala	India
1901	1004	972
1911	1008	964
1921	1011	955
1931	1022	950
1941	1028	945
1951	1027	946
1961	1022	941
1971	1016	930
1981	1032	935
1991	1030	927
2001	1058	933
2011	1084	936

Source: SRS Report

Foeticide in Kerala

In spite of India making rapid progress in science, technology and other fields, the picture that we see of India as of now is not one that can be appreciated, especially in terms of its treatment to the fairer sex. Discrimination against girl children, parents' neglect of the girl child, illegal abortions and female infanticide are clear instances of this. The practice of female foeticide, which is illegal, is still prevalent in our country. There is one section of the Indian

society which is trying its level best to be liberal in their thoughts, although aping the Western culture. On the other hand, there is another section of the society, in fact a large chunk of it, which is still in the clutches of orthodox views and thoughts.

Female foeticide is one such grave social problem arising out of the so-called "traditional thoughts" of our society. Illegal abortion of the female foetus is done due to family pressure from in-laws, husband or the woman's parents, and the reasons for this are preference of son, girls being considered as a burden, poverty, illiteracy, social discrimination against women etc.

Increasing incidents of female foeticide in Kerala have come as a surprise. The number of girls in the 0-6 years category is coming down in Kerala and this has happened just because of female foeticide and nothing else. Kerala's unique sex ratio 52% females to 48% males - is under threat from an 'invisible' quarter: the state's increasingly skewed child sex ratio. In both the 2001 and 2011 census, there has been a significant decrease in the number of girls compared to boys in the 0-6 age category. State health department statistics reveal that the child sex ratio has fallen in nine out of 14 districts in the past ten years. While the average number of girl children (the child sex ratio is calculated per 1,000 boys) in the state decreased from 963 to 959. The skewed sex ratio is an indication that female foeticide is still rampant even in Kerala which has higher literacy and better quality-of-life indicators than other states. The child sex ratio in Kasargod district fared worst with a decrease of 24 per 1,000 in the past decade: the number in this district came down from 984 to 960; Malappuram and Alappuzha came second and third respectively with a decrease of 19 and 15 children per 1,000 in the same period. The girl child can outlive male child once she crosses six years.

Infant Mortality Rate

Among the states in India, Kerala has the lowest infant mortality rate. Kerala has become the first state in the country with a single digit IMR(2014). It is now as low as that in the US. This means that only 6 in 1,000 babies below the age of one year die in Kerala, a number which is the same as the national IMR of the US and the standard IMR for developed nations. The number is doubly impressive if we consider India's national IMR, which is 41. During 1911, it was 242. In Kerala out of every 1000 children born, only 13 girl children die before attaining their first birthday as per the estimates given by SRS Bulletin October 2008. While it was 10 for boys. At the all India level, it is 56 for girls and 55 for boys.

Table 2. Infant Mortality Rate in India & Kerala from 1961-2011

Year	India			Kerala		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1961	122	108		55	48	52
1991			80			16
2001	64	68	66	14	9	14
2002	62	65	65	9	12	14
2003	57	64	64	11	12	14
2004	58	58	62	14	11	13
2005	56	61	58	14	15	14
2006	56	59	57	14	16	15
2007	55	56	55	12	13	13
2008	52	55	45	10	13	12
2009	49	52	43	10	13	11
2011	49	51	28	10	12	11

Source: SRS Bulletin, October 2017, Registrar General, India

Health Status of Women in Kerala

The health indicators of the State are considerably superior to the national figures.

Life expectancy of women & Men

Life expectancy is defined as the average number of additional years a person could expect to live if current mortality trends were to continue for the rest of that person's life. It is a standard indicator for the level of socio-economic development. According to the latest WHO data published in 2018 life expectancy in India is Male 67.4, female 70.3 and total life expectancy is 68.8 which give India a world life expectancy.

Table.3. Life Expectancy of Males and Females in India and Kerala

Years	KERALA			INDIA		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2001	70.8	76.2	61.3	61.3	63.0	55.1
2002	70.9	75.9	61.6	61.6	63.3	57.23
2003	70.0	76.0	61.1	61.8	63.7	58.45
2004	71.3	76.1	62.3	62.1	63.9	59.0
2005	71.3	76.3	62.3	62.3	63.9	59.0
2013	67.7	73.9	70.8	64.6	68.7	66.5
2014	67.8	73.9	70.9	64.4	68.8	66.7
2015	68.3	73.9	71.5	64.9	68.2	68.0
2016	69.0	74.8	71.5	64.9	68.0	68.3
2017	70.3	75.2	72.4	64.9	68.4	68.4
2018	72.8	77.8	74.9	65.1	68.9	69.6

Source: SRS Bulletin, October 202018, Registrar General, India Prevalence of Anaemia

Kerala has the lowest percentage of women with anaemia. It was 32.8% and All India was 55.3 in 2009. Among the states in

India, Kerala, Manipur, Goa and Punjab have the lowest prevalence of anaemia for both men and women. Even in these states more than one-third of women are anaemia. In Kerala, the prevalence of anaemia for men is only 8%. Details are given in the following table.

Table 4. Trend in the prevalence of anaemia in Kerala- results from NFHS and DLHS surveys.

Variable	Under five children	Adolescent girls	Pregnancy	Women in reproductive age group
NFHS-2 (1998-99)	43.9%	NA	20.3%	23.2%
NFHS-3 (2005-06)	44.5%	NA	33.8%	33%
NFHS-3 (2005-06)	59.6%	90.4%	90.1%	NA
DLHS-4 (2012-13)	48.5%	31.3%	34.6%	32.7%

Source: NFHS 2012

NFHS data showed an increase in the prevalence of anaemia during pregnancy from 1998 to 2005. Even though DLHS data showed a drastic decline in the prevalence of anaemia in all age groups over 2002 to 2012, the cut off for DLHS-4 was different.

Morbidity

The incidence of morbidity across age groups by gender in rural and urban sectors in Kerala and India is shown in table. The incidence of diseases across all age groups in Kerala is significantly higher than the all India average.

Table 5. Incidence of Morbidity in Kerala and India

Kerala			India	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Male	24.2	23.5	8.3	9.1
Female	26.2	24.4	9.3	10.8

Source: NSS report No.507.

Literacy rate in Kerala

Male-female gap in literacy is declining at fast rate. However, it cannot remove yet now. Data regarding literacy and sex ratio shows that though number of women are higher than men, literacy rate is lag behind men. Table 6 shows a clear picture regarding it.

Table. 6 Literacy rate in Kerala from 1951-2011

year	Male	female	Total	Male-female gap
1951	58.45	36.43	47.56	21.92
1961	64.89	45.56	55.54	19.23
1971	77.12	62.62	69.90	14.60
1981	84.56	73.36	78.45	9.53
1991	93.34	86.17	89.47	
2001	94.20	87.86	90.78	9.45
2011	97.41	92.06	94.56	6.34

Source: census of India

Educational status of Women in Kerala

Educational status measured in terms of enrolment and drop out rate. Enrolment of students in the state has been showing a slight decline in the recent years. In 2009-10, this has got reduced to 44.58 lakh students. Enrolment of students in 2009-10 shows 1.94% decline over the last year.

Enrolment of Girl Students :

The girls constituted 49.27 per cent of the total enrolment, which shows that the gender gap is virtually absent in education of children in the state.

In LP section it was 49%, in UP Section, 48% and HS Section it was 49%. Enrolment in higher education shows that girls are

ahead of in UG and PG in Arts and Science streams. Enrolment of women in technical and engineering colleges are low.

Table 7. Enrolment of Boys and Girls in schools(std 1 to 10)

Year	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
1981	51.70	48.30
1991	51.05	48.95
2001	50.98	49.02
2008	50.77	49.23
2012	50.65	49.35
2016	50.45	49.55

Source: Directorate of Public Instruction

Table 7 gives data regarding the enrolment of boys and girls separately from 1981 to 2016. In school level there is no gender discrimination can be seen. Not only that, data shows that enrolment of girls in higher education also girls are equal and sometimes it is higher than boys. Girls are least enrolling in Engineering & Technology and IT & Computer. Data regarding these are available in table 9, 10 and 11.

Table.8. Details of UG & PG Enrolment in colleges during 2015-16 in Kerala

Streams	Total	Of which girls
B.A	31624	20912
B.SC	30263	21749
BCOM	12316	7536
M .A	6029	4430
M.SC	7312	5679
M.com	2398	1635
B.Tech	5134	690
M.Tech	1715	927

Source: Economic Review.2016

Table 8 shows that girl students outnumber boy students as 67.47% of students enrolled are girls. While table 9 shows that Engineering & Technology and IT & Computer, girls' representation is low.

Table 9 Enrolment of Male&Female in various categories of education in Kerala

Discipline	Male	Female	Total
Arts	30.27	37.97	33.79
Engineering & Technology	24.71	12.00	18.89
Commerce	14.70	14.28	14.51
Science	10.89	13.19	11.94
IT & Computer	5.40	4.66	5.06
Management	3.12	2.16	2.68
Social Science	2.67	3.03	2.83
Education	2.06	3.95	2.93
Medical Science	1.93	3.71	2.75
Language	1.01	1.38	1.18
Law	1.00	0.59	0.82
Agriculture	0.42	0.26	0.35
Foreign Language	0.42	0.66	0.53

Source: UGC Report, 2012

Occupational Status of Women

Participation of women in economic activities outside home has an important bearing on gender relations within the household. The overall unemployment rate in Kerala is 12% showing a wide gender gap with 24.3% for women and 6.5% for men. Percentage of women employed in the government institution in Kerala is lower compared to the percentage of men employed. Table 10 shows that representation of women in public and private sector in Kerala. Work participation rate among women is low..It is the real situation in Kerala also. Details are given in table 11.

Table 10. Employment in the Organised Sector in Kerala (lakh persons)

Year	Public			Private			Total		
	men	women	total	men	women	total	men	women	total
2000	4.51	1.93	6.44	2.96	2.86	5.82	7.47	479	12.20
2005	4.27	1.88	6.15	2.63	2.62	5.25	6.90	450	11.40
2010	4.18	1.95	6.13	2.49	2.53	5.02	6.67	448	11.35
2015	3.78	1.92	5.70	1.96	3.70	5.66	5.74	562	11.36

Source: Directorate of Employment, GOK

Table 11. Work Participation Rates: Kerala and India (percent)

Year	Kerala		India	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1901	56.30	32.70	61.10	31.70
1911	53.30	28.90	61.90	33.78
1921	53.80	24.50	60.50	32.60
1931	51.30	35.90	58.20	27.60
1941	NA	NA	NA	NA
1951	46.70	18.30	54.10	23.30
1961	47.20	19.70	57.20	27.90
1971	45.20	14.60	52.71	14.20
1981	44.90	16.80	52.61	19.70
1991	47.80	16.90	51.60	22.70
2001	48.58	16.00	51.90	21.90
2011	48.90	15.79	50.45	21.80

Source: Census of India Reports

Note: data was not available due to census was not conducted fully in 1941 due to World War II.

A low female work participation rate indicates the existence of a large proportion of unemployed women in the labour force. According to an estimate made by the Department of Economics and Statistics of the Government of Kerala, nearly 61 percent of the female labour force in Kerala remains unemployed. A significant and peculiar feature of Kerala's unemployment situation is that women outnumber men who seek employment through employment exchanges. This position is reflected in all the 14 districts in Kerala.

The Problem of Unemployment Among Women

Despite the higher level of attainments among the women, they are the most unemployed category in Kerala. The National Sample Survey revealed that apart from the high incidence of unemployment among women in general, the youth seem to have a high unemployment rate in the State. Young men Unemployment rate based on UPS Kerala has highest rate.

Table 12. Employment and Unemployment Indicators (per 1000-Kerala)

NSS 68 th round(July2011-June 2012) USUAL PRINCIPAL STATUS									
Indicator	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
LFPR	565	208	375	558	199	370	563	205	373
WPR	543	161	330	540	161	341	542	161	340
PU	22	47	35	18	38	29	21	45	34
UR	39	227	94	33	192	78	37	218	90

Source: Based on Survey conducted on 2011-212

Table 13. Job Seekers in Kerala –Gender wise in 2015 & 2016

2015					
General Category		Professional & Technical jobseekers		Total	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
276026	270324	17989	18724	294015	298048
2016					
1194518	2072540	136682	119492	1331200	2192032

Source: Directorate of Employment, GOK 2016

Data on work seekers in the live register will give us an idea about the growing number of work seekers, especially from the educated women. It is a controversial situation among women. Women's status in education and higher education are high, but employment is low.

Rural and Urban Unemployment Rate by Gender

The data on unemployment rate by various surveys of NSSO reveals that it has been increasing from 9.7 in 2009-10 to 12.5 in 2015-16. Under UPS approach and 8.3 to 10.6 under UPSS approach. Rural and urban unemployment rate by gender is compared between various rounds of surveys conducted NSSO. The difference between rural/urban unemployment rates is least in all the surveys under consideration (table 14). One important feature to be noted is that female unemployment rate is high compared to male in rural and urban areas under all the approaches in all the surveys during 2009-2015.

Table 14 .Rural and Urban Unemployment Rate by Gender for Kerala Under various Approaches

Approaches	Rural			Urban			R+U		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
NSSO 68 th Round (July 2009-June 2010)									
UPS	4.1	22.8	9.9	3.7	20.6	8.9	4.0	22.1	9.7
UPSS	3.6	17.6	8.4	3.2	17.6	7.8	3.5	17.5	8.3
CWS	5.2	21.4	10.4	5.5	18.8	9.7	5.3	20.9	10.2
CDS	13.9	29.3	18.5	12.8	22.3	15.7	13.5	27.2	17.9
NSSO 68 Round (JULY 2011-JUNE 2012)									
UPS	4.3	24.4	10.4	3.3	19.7	8.1	4.1	23.2	9.8
UPSS	3.5	15.6	7.7	2.9	14.6	6.6	3.4	15.4	7.4
CWS	6.8	22.3	11.8	4.9	18.7	9.1	6.3	21.4	11
CDS	13.0	29.3	18.0	8.9	22.0	12.6	11.9	27.4	16.5
NSSO 68 Round (April 2015-December 2015)									
UPS	3.8	30.8	12.5	4.6	29.0	12.6	4.1	30.0	12.5
UPSS	3.1	24.1	10.2	4.0	25.1	11	3.7	24.5	10.6

Source: 5th survey on Unemployment, NSSO, 2015

Note: UPS-Usual Principal status, UPSS Usual Principal Subsidiary Status- CWS-Current Weekly Status, CDS- Current Daily Status

Table 15. District wise work seekers in Kerala by Men and Women

District	General work seekers		Professional/ Technical		Total work seekers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
TVM	169836	237819	26132	36766	195968	2324585
KLM	138582	231519	9921	5067	148503	236586
PTA	43171	74092	3389	911	46560	75003
ALP	111616	190442	13657	2863	125273	193305
KTM	74873	123914	6746	3529	81619	127443
IKY	43461	63107	2310	1138	45771	64245
ERM	103361	167834	18941	23000	122322	190834
THR	101410	200023	7634	2740	109044	202763

PKD	87346	141569	7935	2702	95271	144271
MPM	99445	167743	5379	1224	104824	168967
KZD	102957	195268	18900	33657	121857	228965
WYD	32387	51609	1689	694	34076	52303
KNR	57585	122801	12314	3257	69899	126058
KSD	28468	54800	1745	1904	30213	56764
Total	1194518	2072540	136682	119492	1331200	2192032

Source: Directorate of Employment, Govt. of Kerala, 2016

Thiruvananthapuram District ranks first in the number of work seekers in both general and professional categories as on 30-09-2013. The total number of work seekers in Thiruvananthapuram district is 6.4 lakh of which 3.8 lakh are women and 2.6 lakh men. The second largest number of work seekers is from Kollam district. There are 4.0 lakh job seekers in Kollam District as on September 2013, out of which 2.4 lakh are women and 1.6 lakh men. The lowest number of work seekers is in Kasargod district with 0.98 lakh persons, preceded by Wayanad District with 1.00 lakh persons.

Atrocities towards Women

Even though Kerala is the forerunner in social and human development indicators, there are a number of crimes against women and suicide cases registered of which 2785 were women. The crimes against women and children continue to increase at an alarming level. They include rape and molestation (1,635) kidnapping, eve-teasing (131) dowry deaths (4) and cruelty by husbands and relatives (1187), despite rigorous steps from the part of the Government and social justice department's to prevent them. Table 18 & 19 gives detailed information regarding atrocities towards women in Kerala.

Table 16. Crime against Women in Kerala During the period 2007-2018

Crime head	2007	2011	2016	2017	2018
Rape	500	1132	1656	1987	2015
Molestation	2604	3756	4029	4498	4589
Kidnapping & Abduction	166	221	166	200	181
Eve teasing	262	573	328	394	463
Dowry	22	15	25	13	16
Cruelty by husband & relatives	3976	5377	3455	2863	2048
Other Offences	1851	2205	5455	4298	4427
Total	9381	13279	15114	14254	13732

Source: Kerala Police.gov.in (2018).

Conclusion

Kerala has achieved material conditions of living even in the amidst of poor economic background. It is reflected in indicators of social development comparable to those of developed countries even though the state's per capita income is moderate. It shows that Kerala's achievements in social indicators such as education, healthcare, high life expectancy, low infant mortality and low birth rate, are the creation of social infrastructure rather than productive infrastructure.

Study also finds the paradox that even in the midst of better social infrastructure and effective institutional mechanism for women empowerment, gender equality does not prevail in the real life situation of Kerala. Women are lagged behind their counter parts in the fields of health, employment and in engineering and technical education. Study also finds that atrocities towards women are fast growing in Kerala. Study concludes that unless it is profoundly engendered, Kerala's development achievements turn out to be

endangered soon.

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GENTRIFICATION AND THE CHANGING SOCIO-GEOGRAPHY OF SUBURBS IN THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

Praveen P* & Sunil John*

Abstract

Today more than half of the world population is living in urban areas. Studying the consequences of urbanization is pertinent in all times. Changing the profile of adjoining city spaces are seen all over the world. The suburbs are now a days standing like hub of middle income community. The population in the suburbs, their social participation, type of family, land use pattern followed etc are forced to be changed. The original occupants are actually afraid of what is happening in and around their place. The retrofitting mindset kept by the government and the fast growing tertiary sector are connected with all the detrimental effects of urbanization. The present study is aimed to explore the changing profile of the suburbs in Thiruvananthapuram City and observe the impact of urbanization in the life of suburban areas.

Key Words: *Urbanization, Social geography, Suburb, Gentrification*

Urbanization and gentrification are intersected concepts. In the process of urbanization gentrification is the practice of renovating deteriorated urban neighborhoods by means of the influx of more affluent residents. This is a common and controversial topic in urban planning. The term gentrification has come to refer to a multi-faceted phenomenon that can be defined in different ways. It is meant by some as improvement in neighborhood. Higher income people move to more sophisticated areas for settlement causing gentrification. On the other side, it also potentially forces relocation of current, established residents and businesses, causing them to move from a gentrified area, seeking lower cost housing and stores. Gentrification often shifts a neighborhood's racial/ethnic composition and average

*Research Scholar, Loyola College, Thiruvananthapuram

**Research Guide and Principal, Government College, Manjeswaram, Kerala

household income to new and more expensive resources of living. Academics and planners have questioned the negative connotations associated with the word 'gentrification'. It is argued that gentrification can lead to dislocation of the community for lower-income families in gentrifying neighborhoods. The gentrification process is typically the result of increasing attraction to an area by people with higher incomes spilling over from neighborhoods. The phenomena perform like both positive and negative in its nature, which is discussed by researchers all over the world. It will shift the entire outlook of the suburbs and displaces the original working class members who settled previously there. When the rate of urbanization in an area stretches it means that there are high chances for the introduction of gentrification by certain means. Changing cultural preferences, government policies, expansion of tertiary sector etc. are such means of gentrification arrival. Thiruvananthapuram is one such a most urbanized city in India, which can easily show the gentrified people and regions.

It is unfortunate that not much prior researches have been found in the aspect of gentrification in the country. From literature review on gentrification, it is seen that the research on the topic in India is almost rare. Gentrification research in southern world is very limited except Lees (2007), worked on comparative urbanism. Even in the case of northern cities, researchers argued very few works and not yet studied in many cases. Smith (1996), argued that gentrification become a dirty word in academic literature. In many cases it is sugar coated as urban redevelopment, urban renaissance, urban redevelopment etc. This paper, researcher tries to have a close look at this topic. It tries to initiate such an effort to observe the most gentrified region in the context of Thiruvananthapuram, the capital city of Kerala.

Some of the important literature the researcher came across include: S.R. Singh who defines urbanization as the process where there is concentration of population in a new place of habitation or

in a place characterized by a new way of life, where there is a variety of profession other than agriculture and there is no agricultural pattern of economy. Mulik defines urban as a complex which makes up the characteristic mode of way of life in the cities and urbanism is the adaptation of man to urban life. It is the process that is internal to the urban or city setting itself. Kopardekar viewed four concepts about urbanization. They are Behavioural (the way of life), structural (occupational order), demographic (an increase in urban population towards the total population of the country) and spatial (the landscape from single to simple use to complex). Paul K Hatt introduced certain determinants of urbanization: the effect of agricultural revolution, technological revolution, commercial revolution, efficiency of transportation and demographic revolution. Sarikwal introduced two criteria analyzing urbanization process: population size and industrial components. According to Tisdale, industrialization is the pre-condition of urbanization. Ramachandran advocates that the process of urbanization through modernization of primary activity is an ongoing and potentially most significant urbanization process in India. The tertiary sector plays the much role behind urbanization. The effect of the educational institution, courts and Cinema hall etc are molding city life. Leonard Reissman introduced four components for urbanization: urban growth, industrial growth, rise of middle class and nationalism as an ideology. The present growth of urbanization in Asian countries is an outgrowth of colonialism. Hauser has mentioned some features from which arise the differences in the urbanization process of Europe and Asia. Until recently Kerala was considered as one of the least urbanized state in the country, as the growth of urban population was very slow and below the national average. However, during the last two decades things got changed. Moreover, it is very important to analyze Thiruvananthapuram and the concomitant changes in the suburbs in the present day. It is worthwhile to check the concept of suburb and different processes.

There are several approaches that attempt to explain the roots

and the reasons behind the spread of gentrification. Bruce London & J. John Palen (1984) compiled a list of five explanations: (1) demographic-ecological, (2) socio cultural, (3) political-economical, (4) community networks and (5) social movements. The important theoretical explanation of gentrification is political-economic and is divided into two approaches: traditional and Marxist. The traditional approach argues that economic and political factors have led to the invasion of the inner-city, hence the name political-economic. The changing political and legal climate of the 1950s and 1960s (new civil rights legislation, anti-discrimination laws in housing and desegregation) had an unanticipated role in the gentrification of neighborhoods. The decreasing availability of suburban land and inflation in suburban housing costs also inspired the invasion of the cities. The Marxist approach denies the notion that the political and economic influences on gentrification are invisible, but are intentional. This theory claims that the powerful interest groups follow a policy of neglect of the inner city until such time as they become aware that policy changes could yield tremendous profits (London & Palen 1984). Once the inner city becomes a source of revenue, the powerless residents are displaced with little or no regard from the powerful. The literature on suburb is extensive, yet the subject always seems elusive. For some, suburb is a geographical space: for others, a cultural form: while for others still it is a state of mind (Hinchcliffe, 2005). Suburban spaces exhibit a diversity of spatial forms and social characteristics. Whether we consider the 'classical' model of single family home tract housing, the high-rise dominated 'modernist' suburbs of Europe or Canada, the squatter settlements of Asia and Africa, the gated communities of California, Brazil or South Africa or the explosive extension in mega-urban India and China, they are all contributing to suburban growth. In addition, the post suburban environments existing even shrinking metropolitan regions are home to many, if not most urban century's population. Suburbanization has been part of urbanization and

urban development as long as urbanism has emerged as a form of life or as a mode of collective organization (Baron & Teaford, 2011). Researchers studied the expansion of suburbs and coined terms like outer cities (Harrington, 1984), cities without cities (Sieverts, 2003), Metroburbia (Knox, 2008), Boomburbs (Lang & Lefurgy, 2007). Social geography is an independent branch of geography, which deals with the social significance attached to place and with analyzing the spatial structures that give rise to different social relations, in particular the processes that create inequality. Social geography is concerned with the mapping and explaining the role of space in these issues.

The researcher here used focus group interview as a method of data collection. The members of three residential associations from three wards of Thiruvananthapuram (Powdikkonam, Pallithura and Kachani) are selected as sample population. After recording those relevant data from the key respondents, the researches approached the respective ward counselors. A planned interview has carried out with them by using the Interview guide. As per the interview, researcher got to know a plenty of key information which happened and happening in the present study area. Finally the researcher met the well educated natives like, scientists, lawyers, doctors, teachers and engineers for discussing about what is actually happening in and around there place of living. On the basis of these techniques, the researcher came to certain findings and conclusion.

The Setting

Thiruvananthapuram, the southernmost district of the coastal state of Kerala in south India came in to existence on 1st November 1956. The city gets its name from the word 'Thiru-ananthapuram' meaning Abode of Lord Anantha. The district is part of the south Kerala coast and is divided into three sub micro regions; highland, midland and lowland. Thiruvananthapuram lies between north latitudes 8°17' and 8°54' and East longitude 76°41' and 77°17'. The district includes six Taluks namely, Chirayinkeezhu, Nedumangadu, Thiruvananthapuram, Neyyattinkara, Varkkala and Kattakkada, 115 villages, one corporation

and four municipalities. There are 12 community development Blocks and 73 Panchayats in the district. The district is most densely populated among the districts of Kerala. City has several central and state government offices. Apart from being the political nerve centre of Kerala, it is also the major academic hub and is home to several educational institutions.

Population Table

Census year	Total population India (million)	Total population Kerala	Urban population India (million)	Urban population Kerala	Urban population India (%)	Urban population Kerala (%)
1901	238.3	63,96,262	25.8	4,54,499	10.83	7.11
1911	252.1	71,47,673	25.9	5,24,661	10.27	7.34
1921	251.3	78,02,127	28.1	6,80,900	11.18	8.73
1931	278.9	95,07,050	33.5	9,16,330	12.01	9.64
1941	318.6	1,10,31,541	44.2	11,95,550	13.87	10.84
1951	361.0	1,35,49,118	62.4	18,25,832	17.29	13.48
1961	439.2	1,69,03,715	78.9	25,54,141	17.96	15.11
1971	548.1	2,13,47,375	109.1	34,66,449	19.91	16.24
1981	683.3	2,54,53,680	159.4	47,71,275	23.33	18.74
1991	846.3	2,90,98,518	217.6	76,80,294	25.71	26.39
2001	1027.1	3,18,41,374	285.4	82,66,925	27.78	25.96
2011	1210.2	3,33,87,677	377.1	1,59,32,171	31.16	47.72

(Source: Census Trivandrum, 2011)

Urban Population Thiruvananthapuram 2011 Census

Total population of Thiruvananthapuram	Percentage of Urban population
3,301,427	53.66

(Source: Census Trivandrum 2011)

(Source: Maps of India, 2015)

Methodology

The methodology adopted here is both primary and secondary data collection. Interview guide is the prime tool used to collect

primary data. Apart from the interview guide discussion with experts, Corporation officials, aged people and SHG is also carried out. The Thiruvananthapuram Corporation is divided in to 100 wards. Among the 100 wards 30 above wards are found as suburbs in the city. For the present study 3 wards were selected as samples for representing all the 30 wards. Interview guide is used to collect relevant data from ward counselors. Analysis of various books, articles, corporation documents, census reports, etc carried out. The collected data are carefully studied and analyzed for achieving study objectives. On the basis of analysis certain findings also listed below.

Powdikkonam

The place has the total geography of 8 kilometers, 3650 houses and 12000 voters. Majority is Hindus, 20% Christians and the minority of Muslim community (50 houses). It was actually part of Sreekaryam Gramapanchayat before 8 years. When the introduction of the smart city, the Powdikkonam also adjoined as such ward among the wards of the Thiruvananthapuram Corporation. There is one counselor for 6 Panchayats. Prime Minister Awas Yojana is working successfully here and 140 houses built in the last four years for the lower class society. The land value of the place is revising by the effect of Technopark, Technocity and both private and government offices in the nearer areas. A large number of the population is the younger generation who invaded the place as permanent for reducing their commuting. The land revenue is higher compared to last decades and not all basic facilities full-fledged actually. The drainage system of Powdikkonam is not well and a report is submitted directly to the central govt by ward Counselor with the support of Suresh Gopi MP. The new report is aiming a perfect drainage from Perumpalam to Uzhiyalathara and an adjoining morning walk path for dwellers. This is for improving the health aspect of the Powdikkonam people. 50% of the lower class move out of the Powdikkonam because of no other option. There previous neighbors and relatives fond of

money and already shifted to nearby rural areas. The lower class was engaged in agricultural and daily wage work. The gulf working population of Powdikkonam is shifted to the middle class now a day. The demography of Powdikkonam is comprised of 85% of the middle class, 10% higher class and 5% of lower class. In my locality lower class is using costly dress than middle class says, Rajendran (Ward counselor). The gentrification is highly seen in each and every corner of Powdikkonam. The gentrified population goes behind the place and settles there in rural areas for the rest of their life.

Pallithura

Pallithura is located near Kazhakootam, and it is one among the wards of the Thiruvananthapuram Corporation from 2010. The place is highly famous because of nearer institutions like KINFRA, ISRO and Marian Engineering College. Pallithura has a huge middle class community compared to last 5 decades. A huge number of north Indian people also exist among the permanent population. A mixture of Scientists, Techno park officials, engineers and teachers are there in as a majority in the place. The majority of the population is original occupants and Christianity is the pivot there. The land value of Pallithura is very high compared to 2010. The service sector is working smoothly because of cheap availability of employees. The region has a great number of middle class and it is showing occupational mobility as a prime factor behind it. There exist a huge number of gentry who comes in for snatching related jobs. People of Pallithura don't even want to sell their entire property and it is clear from the words of Scientist E M George, retired scientist ISRO, no natives are unaware about the socio economic tension which they may face if shifting to rural areas. The selling a portion of existing property and sticking in the rest is commonly seen in the region. The railway network connection by the nearby location Station kadavu is supporting the inner city workers to reduce commuting. 10% of people are high class and 85% of middle class and just a 5% are lower class in Pallithura. Now a day lower class is the inappropriate

word if actually we take the downtrodden families of Pallithura says, Prabhadevi (ward counselor). Residents are showing many changes in their living standards and income earning. The gentrification is highly concentrates in Pallithura but the displacement of the lower class is not even 2% from last 5 decades.

Malamukal

Malamukal is situated in Kachani ward of Thiruvananthapuram Corporation since 2010. The housing loan is well supported by church and govt for welcoming new people. But the population which welcomed recently is seen as the lower class only mainly. This is a hilly area so that lesser in availability of shops and similar supporting firms. No displacement is seen there among the lower class original residents. The land value is affordable for even lower class in-migrants and housing is undergone so smoothly these days. The tax paid to govt is equal to city regions so that it makes cumbersome in the minds of both original and newer population. The geography of the place is mostly covered with flora, which supports for a good climate all around the suburb. The lifestyle of the people is not yet much changed towards the influence of the city adjacent meet up with the middle and higher class. The educated dwellers in Malamukal are not much worried about the health aspect of the place and they appreciate the local people for cooperating with government activities. The majority of the population is Christians and minority is Muslims. The less commuting chance is one factor behind the absorbing of the land in this place by the outer people. But interestingly the new invaders are mostly lower class only from nearer locations who works in the city like painters, carpenters, masons, wood cutters and hotel workers. My people are very poor, says Babu (the ward counselor of Kachani).

Findings

- Suburbs are welcoming a newer population especially for job related purpose

- The land value of the areas are triggered by the effect of urban development
- Suburbs are very helpful to run the tertiary sector very smoothly
- The problem of commuting is highly tolerated by different suburbs in Thiruvananthapuram
- The best number of suburban dwellers are middle class
- The geography of the suburbs are getting wide changes with the effect of government policies
- The new-build gentrification is not much high in Pallithura compared to the Malamukal and Powdikkonam

Conclusion

Suburbs are always the hub of a mixture of people from different locations. People came for job related purpose and they face a new culture, tradition and way of life. The geographical alterations are common in all the suburbs in Thiruvananthapuram. The Service sector and secondary sector are benefiting much from the suburban population.

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TRENDS AND PATTERN OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA: REFLECTIONS IN THE NEO-LIBERAL POLICY REGIME

Sukumaran M* & Santhosh Areekuzhiyil**

Abstract

Education in general and higher education in particular plays a decisive role in the development of an individual, society and the nation as a whole. India has widely opened its gateway for global market economy in 1991 and her society and the polity have been undergoing radical changes since then. It includes the education system, particularly higher education as well. It is observed that, Indian higher education has been enduring phenomenal changes with respect to the trends and patterns in the growth of higher education institutions, management enrolment and faculties. Here it is supposed that, the changing trends and pattern of higher education is the after effect of globalisation. In this backdrop, this paper is presenting some empirical evidences to explain the political economy of changing trends and pattern of higher education in India in the regime of neo-liberal policy.

Key Words: *Political Economy, Higher Education, Globalization, Neo-liberal Policy.*

Higher education in India has been undergoing radical changes particularly since the implementation of new economic reforms in 1991. The initiation of new economic reforms helped India to become part of global economic culture and the emergence of new political economy in almost all aspect of the socio-political and economic dimension of India. The global political change

*Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Govt. Arts and Science College Balussery, Kozhikode, Kerala, email:suku20580@gmail.com.

**Assistant Professor of Educational Psychology, Institute of Advanced Studies in Education, Thrissur, email: santhoshclt@gmail.com.

also affected the educational sector of India, particularly in higher education. The changing trends and patterns have been manifested in the demand and supply of higher of education institutions, enrolment in higher education, types of management etc. Over the years, predominantly from 1991, the Indian higher education has been experiencing momentous growth in its every aspect.

As a consequence of the phenomenal change in global political and economic milieu, higher education in India has been privatized and recorded higher growth rate (Kapu and Mehta, 2004). It is believed that, the growth of higher education and the changing trends and pattern of higher education in India are the pros and corn of neo-liberal policies and it is basically in tune with the responses of market forces. The augmentation of higher education includes the sudden spurt in higher educational institutions which leads to the increase in enrolment. This paper is an attempt to examine the changing trends and pattern of higher education in India based on the indicators like number of educational institutions, management wise educational institutions, level wise enrolment, and faculty wise enrolment in India since 1980-81 to 2014-15 and have a discourse on it.

Since the study is mainly focusing on the changing trends and patterns of higher education in India since 1991, its result would enable to comprehend present trend and pattern of higher education and see how it affect the ultimate objectives of education. Thus the study will have a strong drive to chalk out policies and programmes for the sustainable and inclusive development of higher education in the country. It is expected that the result of the study will have a strong impetus on the policy formulation for assimilating future prospects of higher education.

Method

The study followed mixed method approach in data analysis and interpretation. The secondary data were collected from official publications of University Grants Commission in various years, Basic Educational Statistics of MHRD, All India Survey on Higher Education and some of the published articles on higher education. The collected secondary numerical data were triangulated with the qualitative data collected from articles on higher education in India and reach in to the interpretation.

Objectives

Following are the objectives of the present study.

1. To examine the growth of higher education in India in quantitative terms with respect to number of higher education institutions and enrolments.
2. To find out the share of public and private sectors in the growth of higher education in India.
3. To analyse the enrolment in higher education in level wise and faculty wise.

Results and Discussions

This section presents the results followed by the discussions on 1. Growth of universities and colleges, 2. Management- wise distribution of colleges, 3. Number of educational institutions and students enrolment, 4. Level wise enrolment and 5. Faculty wise enrolment in higher education from 1980-81 to 2014-15.

5.1 Growth of universities and colleges in India

Table.1. Number of universities and colleges in India from 1980-81 to 2014-15

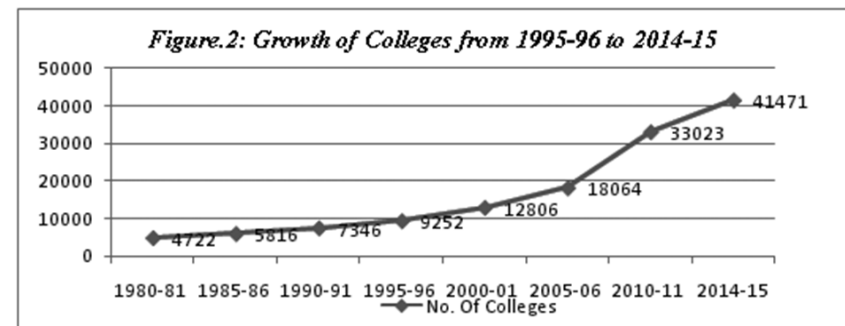
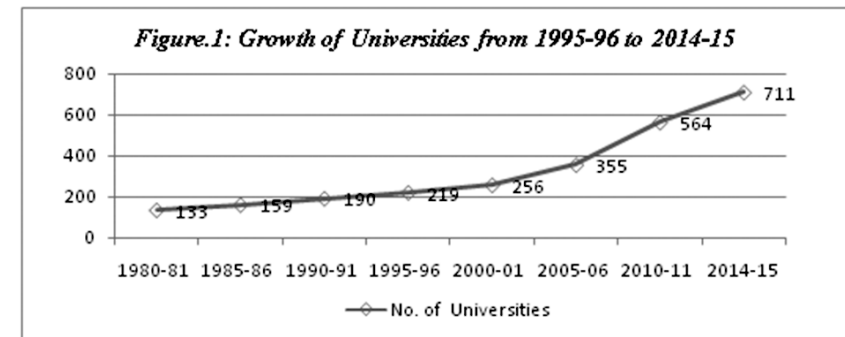
Year	No. of Universities	No. Of Colleges
1980-81	133	4722
1985-86	159	5816
1990-91	190	7346
1995-96	219	9252
2000-01	256	12806
2005-06	355	18064
2010-11	564	33023
2014-15	711	41471

Source: (i) UGC Annual Reports, Various Issues.

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Growth in the number of universities and colleges in India is presented in Table.1. From the Table it is obvious that, the number of universities and colleges in India has been recorded a momentous growth over the years from 1980-81 to 2014-15. Over the three and half decades the number of universities has been increased more than 5 times from 1980-81 to 2014-15. The number of colleges has been increased more than 8 times in the same period. Thus the growth of universities and colleges in quantity terms is very obvious from the data. It is also very evident that, the growth of universities and colleges are very drastic particularly after 1991. The same is also presented in Figure1 and 2.



Growth of Colleges in Management wise

Management wise distribution of colleges in India in percentage is presented in Table.2 and figure. 3. From the Table and corresponding figure, it is apparent that, the percentage of private unaided colleges has been increasing over the years. It was 59.8percent in 2010-11 has been increased to 64 percent in 2016-17. However, the percentage of private aided colleges has been fluctuating downwards and upwards but not significant as much as the change occurred in unaided institutions. It is also evident from the data that the percentage of government colleges has been decreasing from 2010-11 to 2016-17. This conveys the message that, lion portion of the colleges in India is owned by the private sector jointly by the private aided and private unaided sectors. Thus the private unaided higher

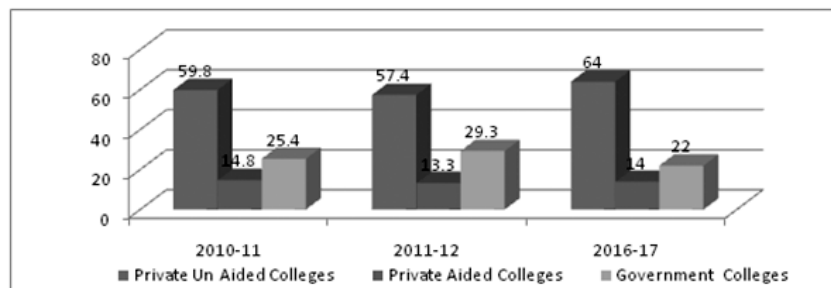
education institution in India is getting the hegemony of the higher education. Now they can decide the future of higher education in India since majority of the higher education institutions are owned by the private aided and unaided managements in India.

Table.2. Management wise distribution of colleges in India in percent

Type of Management	Private Un Aided Colleges	Private Aided Colleges	Government Colleges
Year			
2010-11	59.8	14.8	25.2
2011-12	57.4	13.3	29.3
2016-17	64	14	22

Source: ASIHE 2010-11 Provisional, ASIHE 2012-1, ASIHE 2016-17.

Figure.3. Management wise distribution of colleges in India in percent



Number of educational institutions and students enrolment

The total number of educational institutions and the enrolment of students in higher education are presented in Table 3. From the data it is evident that, the number of educational institutions has been increased from 4722 in 1989-81 to 41471 in 2014-15. Similarly the enrolment in higher education has also increased from 2752437 in 1980-81 to 26585437 in 2014-15. From the data it is also evident that, the number of education institutions has increased 8 times than the 1980-82, where the enrolment has increased 9 times

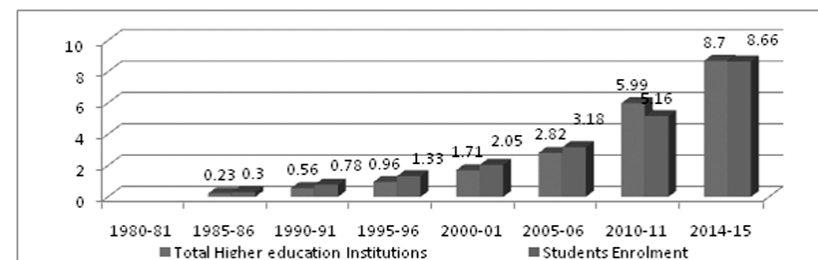
than the 1980-81 in 2014-15. That means the increase in enrolment is only marginal.

Table.3. Number of educational institutions and enrolment from 1980-2015

Year	Total Higher education Institutions	Students Enrolment
1980-81	4722 -	2752437 -
1985-86	5816 (0.23)	3605029 (0.30)
1990-91	7346 (0.56)	4924868 (0.78)
1995-96	9252 (0.96)	6425624 (1.33)
2000-01	12806 (1.71)	8399443 (2.05)
2005-06	18064 (2.82)	11506475 (3.18)
2010-11	33023 (5.99)	16974883 (5.16)
2014-15	41471 (8.70)	26585437 (8.66)

Source: UGC Annual Reports, Various Issues.

Figure.4. Growth of educational institutions and enrolment from 1980 as base Year



Level-Wise Students Enrolment

Level wise students enrolment in university departments, university colleges and affiliated colleges has been presented in Table.4 and corresponding figure 5. From the empirical data it is evident that, except post graduate level enrolment, the enrolment in all other degrees and diplomas has been decreased marginally. It gives the indication that, even though the number of higher education

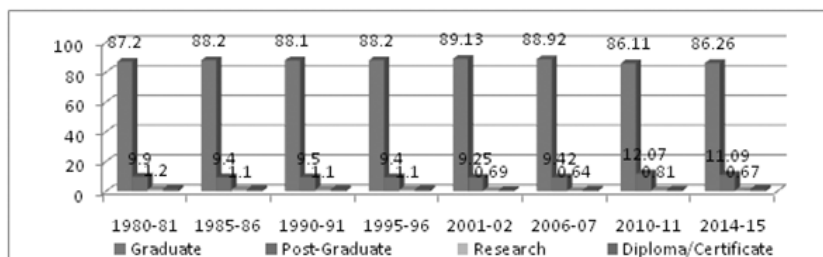
institutions has been increasing at increasing rate, the enrolment in various levels of education has been increasing at decreasing rate or decreasing some times. It expresses the tendency of decreasing minimum required number of students in the higher education institutions in the future.

Table.4. Level-wise enrolment in higher education 1980-81 to 2014-2015

Year	Graduate	Post-Graduate	Research	Diploma/Certificate
1980-81	87.2	9.9	1.2	1.7
1985-86	88.2	9.4	1.1	1.3
1990-91	88.1	9.5	1.1	1.3
1995-96	88.2	9.4	1.1	1.3
2001-02	89.13	9.25	0.69	0.93
2006-07	88.92	9.42	0.64	1.02
2010-11	86.11	12.07	0.81	1.01
2014-15	86.26	11.09	0.67	1.57

Source: UGC Annual Reports, Various Issues

Figure.5. Level-wise students enrolment in higher education 1980-81 to 2014-2015.



Faculty wise students enrolment from 1980-81 to 2014-15 in percent

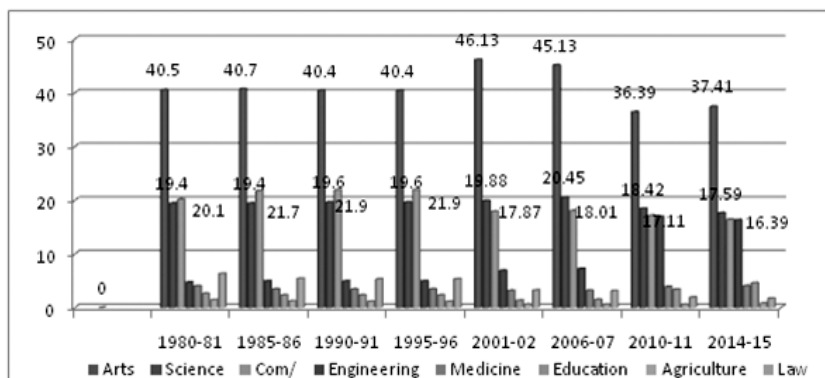
Another important and interesting trend of growth of higher education in India is the growing passion of the students to go for engineering courses. It is very interesting to note that even though the tendency of the present generation is moving towards technical education, the demand and trends towards the conventional education has not been decreased significantly but it is only marginal. On the other, increase in enrolment in engineering and technical education is very significant and suppose that, the global political economy is evolved since the implementation of new economic reforms. The global political economy has been strongly intervening and influencing the growth of higher education in India in tune with the demands of the global market economy. The details of faculty wise enrolment are also presented in Table.5.

Table.5: Faculty wise students enrolment from 1980-81 to 2014-15 in percent.

Year	Arts	Science	Com / Management	Engineering	Medicine	Education	Agriculture	Law	Vet nary Science	Others
1980-81	40.5	19.4	20.1	4.7	4	2.6	1.4	6.3	0.3	0.7
1985-86	40.7	19.4	21.7	4.9	3.4	2.3	1.2	5.4	0.3	0.7
1990-91	40.4	19.6	21.9	4.9	3.4	2.3	1.1	5.3	0.3	0.8
1995-96	40.4	19.6	21.9	4.9	3.4	2.3	1.1	5.3	0.3	0.8
2001-02	46.13	19.88	17.87	6.87	3.13	1.3	0.6	3.2	0.16	0.88
2006-07	45.13	20.45	18.01	7.21	3.16	1.46	0.58	3.1	0.15	0.8
2010-11	36.39	18.42	17.11	16.86	3.85	3.36	0.55	1.9	0.1	1.37
2014-15	37.41	17.59	16.39	16.27	4.02	4.57	0.78	1.7	0.11	1.1

Source: UGC Annual Reports, Various Issues.

Figure.5: Faculty wise students enrolment from 1980-81 to 2014-15 in percent.



Major Findings

Following are the major findings of the study.

1. The number of universities and colleges in India has been increased over the years from 1980-81 to 2014-15. It is more colossal particularly after 1991.
2. Lion portion of India's higher education institutions mostly the colleges are owned and managed by the private sector. Here private sector comprises of both government aided private sector and unaided private sector. They contribute 58 and 14.8 percent respectively. Whereas, the government colleges contribute only 27.2.
3. Number of educational institutions has been increased 8 times of 1980-81 in 2014-15 and total enrolment in higher education has been increased 9 times in the same period.
4. Among four levels of higher education, such as degree, post graduation, research and diploma/ certificate courses, except post graduate level enrolment; others are decreased in actual number.
5. Enrolment in engineering has been recorded a drastic increase compared to other faculties particularly after 1991.

Conclusion

From the analysis it is obvious that, the number of universities and colleges has been increased over the years and it is very pervasive since 1991. It is also evident that, the higher education sector in India is deeply prone to the dominion of private sector education. The trend and tendency of growth of higher education in quantitative terms shows the predominance of private sector over public sector. The hegemony of neo liberal ideology as reflected in the adoption of free trade, market economy, privatization and predominance of corporate culture that actually calls for progressive decrease of state involvement in the governance, finance and administration of the higher education system in India hijack the idea of a welfare state (Mishra and Sirguroh 2014). The increased growth of higher education institutions namely, universities and colleges enabled the increase in enrolment in higher education. But the increase in higher education enrolment is mostly appropriated by the growth of technical education namely engineering education. Most of the other faculties have been increased only marginally. Thus the combined reading of the increasing growth of private education and engineering education particularly after 1991 tend to infer and conclude that, a functional relationship exists between the global market economy surfaced as a result of the process of globalization and the growth of higher education in India. Such an educational system would enable to produce socially negligent technocratic society enmeshed with the psycho-social behaviours instilled by global political market economy. In such an educational system, there is no scope for performing expecting the social welfare function of education. The social welfare is to be surrogated for maximisation of profit and the common man never attains the equilibrium in the new higher education market. This is because of the poor ability to pay for the commodity (Education) and services.

The ability to pay of an ordinary man is far behind the target of new higher education market. Though social welfare is not a matter, the profit maximisation is the matter of higher education in the neo-liberal global economy. The economic ideology of demand and profit became the underlining ideals of education and the stepping back of state from the sector has accelerated this trend (Sivadasan, 2015). Higher education in India is highly centralized, Politicized and militates against producing general intellectual virtues (Kapu and Mehta, 2004).

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IMPACTS OF PADDY FIELD CONVERSION ON ENVIRONMENT:A CASE STUDY OF NELLANAD GRMAPANCHAYATH, TRIVANDRUM

Niveditha P S*

Abstract

The paddy fields play vital roles in maintaining ecological stability. The Nellanad Grmapanchayath once known as the place of paddy fields is now on the verge of destruction due to many reasons. As a common property resource in nature the conversion and destruction of the paddy fields cause negative externalities. Social marginal cost will exceed the private marginal cost and thus it will lead to market failure. This paper attempts to point out the negative externalities caused by the paddy field conversion and suggests market valuation methods to assess the impacts of the environment. The study has found various kinds of negative externalities which are acting as threats to the ecological balance.

Key words: *Paddy field conversion, Negative externality, Market failure, Ecological balance.*

Paddy fields are multi-functional eco systems. The functions done by paddy fields are storage of water level, flood control, maintenance of soil fertility, balancing biodiversity by providing a good space to medicinal plants, fish, frogs and other water species, plants, so forth. Paddy fields in Kerala are typical wetland ecosystems and food security provider. But Landowners using their right to opt for crop of their choice convert paddy fields for other crops and also for non-agricultural purposes. It is argued that economic return from paddy cultivation is not attractive to induce conservation. Sheeba (2015) finds out that the Landowners, most of them not full-time farmers basically argue for profit maximisation through

*Former student of Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram

the freedom of individual choice to shift away from paddy and it seems that they have accepted conversion inevitable to ensure adequate return. Conversion of paddy fields involves irreversible transformation of the ecosystem. Despite the fact that Kerala ranks top in literacy and environmental awareness, there was a 65 per cent fall in the wetland area under paddy in the last thirty years. Nellanadu Grmapanchayath once it was a prosperous village in rice production and people livelihood depended on rice cultivation. The ecosystem associated with was also valued by people by conserving them. But since last twenty years unabated massive conversion of these prosperous paddy fields are continuing without any limit and that may results in a total abandonment of rice cultivation as well as destruction of ecosystem in the near future of this village. So the valuation of environmental damages caused by the conversion of paddy fields is important, and analysing the market failure makes the policymakers to think seriously about the paddy field conversion. Even though many policies have initiated in Kerala to conserve paddy lands, but due to loopholes and other reasons these measures are still far from the reality.

Context of the Study

State agrarian economy is going through a radical changing mechanism in the name of development. Conversion of paddy lands means abandonment of highly developed and complex ecosystem which can be said as the 'irreversible transformation of ecosystem'. The study area, Nellanad Grmapanchayath which was a prosperous village for rice and was livelihood of 75 per cent of the total population. 'Nell' means rice and 'Nadu' means place, so the place name itself indicates as place of paddy fields. But due to many dynamic activities, these paddy fields once were seen as blessed ones are vanishing substantially. Nellanad had 220 hectares of land under agricultural activities, but now it has reduced to 22 hectares. This is

a major problem in this area and what are the negative externalities associated with this problem can be addressed in this study and possible solutions can be recommended also.

Reasons for Paddy Field Conversion in Nellanadu Region

The reasons for conversion can be divided into two areas; converting lands for other agricultural cultivation rather than cultivating paddy and for other purposes rather than agricultural needs like construction activities.

1. Farmers often say that rice cultivation has become less profitable and they are gradually switching from rice farming to cash and other profit-making crop cultivation. Acreage of crops like banana, tapioca, some vegetables, leafy, has increased significantly in last few years due to lower prices of paddy during harvesting seasons. It is mainly because of the increasing opportunity cost of cultivating rice in their fields. About 101 hectares are still under agricultural cultivation than paddy cultivation.
2. Next reason we can say is the conversion of paddy lands for construction purposes. In the study area [Nellanadu] we can see converting paddy fields are happening especially for building construction due to increasing population density. The period between 2014-2017 witnessed construction of forty -five new buildings and among them twenty -two is constructed through paddy field conversion as the panchayath record says.
3. In this study area in 2011 there happened a mobile tower construction by converting paddy fields. This has adversely affected the neighbouring paddy fields. Moreover the radiation emits by the tower is huge and cultivation of paddy seen as no longer viable.
4. Maximisation of economic returns .when we calculate costs and benefits of rice cultivation we can see that rice cultivation is no longer profitable.

Negative Externalities and Paddy field Conversion

Paddy fields are performing like positive externalities or as public goods where the property rights are clearly defined. Moreover, the functions performed by paddy fields have the characteristics of public goods, and they are used by everyone without excluding any person who does not pay. Considering the case of paddy field conversion and its market failures, we can say that when the paddy fields are converted because of many reasons in one word we can say 'for private benefits'. The other people who are mainly depend on the positive externalities provided by the paddy lands suffer the most. The efficient allocation of resources won't be there and it will lead to market failure. This will lead to the diversion of social marginal cost and private marginal cost where $PMC < SMC$ will lead to failure of market mechanism and there will be proper policy interventions for correcting this market failure.

Negative externalities created by paddy field conversion in Nellanad are given below. Impacts of paddy field conversion depend on for which benefit these paddy fields are converting. The purposes can be divided into two; agricultural purposes and non- agricultural purposes.

Negative externalities arise from converting paddy fields are the following

1. Fails to control flood during rainy season and the converted fields do not absorb the water level. This is known as the failure of paddy fields to perform hydrological functions. This mainly happens when paddy fields are converted into non -agricultural purposes because the concrete cement layer itself does not absorb water and it will cause flood in these regions. Since paddy fields are covered by ridges on all sides, they temporarily store water and discharges to the stream. But after the massive conversion of paddy fields in the region, experienced flood in 2007. The people

as well as cattle stock suffered a lot where schools in this area where closed for one week and heavy costs were borne by the society. Now the local government has taken this as a serious issue and providing maximum incentives for paddy field cultivation.

2. Another important negative externality caused by the paddy field conversion is the depletion of ground water level. A study conducted by Govt U.P. S Alinthara on the relationship between ground water depletion and paddy field conversion, they could find out that there was a substantial reduction in groundwater table in this area especially the area which was closer to the paddy fields. Nellanad village had never experienced water scarcity because of the presence of paddy fields. Even in the summer season also the water was available for subsistence level. Since the massive destruction of paddy fields happened, we can see people here are experiencing water scarcity and Panchayath is trying to bring back the paddy fields. The general water level in wells as well as in ponds also decreased in a large amount. When the paddy fields are converting for construction activities, these lands are converted in a way where it will cover the *micropores and macropores* in soil and there won't happen any infiltration process. This will lead to reduction in water table in this area.
3. The other important negative externality associated with this process is changing pattern from traditional irrigation facilities associated with paddy field cultivation to other irrigational facilities. When the field is converted into agricultural purposes, it will decrease the capacity of soil to perform evaporate-transpiration process. In this study area farmers are used to traditional irrigation methods mainly puddling method or *chelikakallal*. It is applicable to paddy fields only which are ploughed in a way that mixture of mud and water will retain the water level here. The *Tattunana* where fields are irrigated through dividing farmlands into certain parts

or ridges, the water level will be properly absorbed by the paddy plants as well as the soil fertility also. In Nellanad, people are familiar with Punchakan farming and these traditional methods of irrigation retain the capacity of soil to evaporate and will decrease acidity in the soil. Salinity was also less in these areas. When the paddy fields are converted into other crops cultivations, they are using modernised irrigation facilities like diesel and electronic motors which will definitely increase the salinity in the soil and deplete the aquifer capacity of the field. Sometimes the practice of *Thadamnana* or sprinkling water also affects soil structure, particularly when vegetables are cultivated.

4. One of the important functions that will fail when we convert paddy fields for other crops cultivation is loss of nitrogen content in the field. This will lead to loss in soil fertility. This particular externality arises because of the conversion of paddy fields into other crop cultivation [agricultural purposes]. This Gramapanchayath has seen applying of nitrogen fixing fertilisers in the converted lands for making lands fertile. The agricultural officer of this village says that demand for fertilisers especially nitrogen fertilisers has increased substantially, and demand for Ammonia, Urea fertiliser is most common. When they cultivate paddy, there is no need of applying nitrogen fixing fertilisers because the microorganisms present in paddy fields such as *azola*, *anabena*, *azotobactor*. They fix nitrogen automatically. This contributes major cost to the farmers as well as increases the pressure on soil.
5. Failure to absorb organic wastes. Paddy fields are the best source to absorb organic wastes such as food residues, cow dung, etc. This negative externality mainly happens when paddy fields are converted into residence purposes or non-agricultural purposes. Microorganisms in cultivated soil use organic materials as a food source, and eventually reduce the mineral form

which can be directly used by paddy plants. Paddy plants have very good capacity to absorb organic wastes as minerals compared to any other crops. Here people are mainly depend on cattle stock use their cow dung without any disposal mechanism and other organic waste are not disposed properly mainly due to the conversion of paddy fields into non-agricultural purpose. This is a very serious negative externality associated with the paddy field conversion which does not gain serious concern.

6. Loss of bio-diversity in this study area is also a crucial impact of the paddy field conversion. Panchayath itself has initiated a study on counting frogs in this area and the area which had the uncountable frog population near paddy fields have shown extinct. The loss of fish and many medicinal plants which mainly depended on the water supply and soil fertility of that particular are also vanished.

The organisms that have vanished due to paddy field conversion in Nellanad area are:

Freshwater crab, Climbing perch, Snake heads, Stringing cat fish, Kuruvapara, and Muthupilla

These varieties of fishes are completely disappeared in this area and traditional farmers who are familiar with these fishes are saying that now they have been completely vanished due to extensive range of paddy field conversion.

Important medicinal plants that has disappeared when there happened paddy field conversion [mainly for construction of buildings] are: Vayambu, Karimkuri, Amrith, Moovila, Orila, Veluthavanakku, Chakkarakolli

Loss of Birds Presence Due to Paddy field Conversion

The conditions of birds are worse after converting the paddy fields and those birds which mainly depended on paddy fields to eat

the rice before its harvesting is began to disappear. This study area has experienced the disappearance of birds like Spotted munia, Weaver bird, Indian myna, Pied kingfisher, Grey heron, and Littleegret.

7. Eutrophication process in converted paddy fields where weeds and algae grow and will threaten biodiversity

When paddy fields are converted and not using for any purposes [left without using it] water will not be absorbed by the soil and this will lead to growth of weeds and algae here .In this study area we can find many instances where paddy fields are left without any use since paddy cultivation is no longer profitable . Algae grow fast and it will threaten biodiversity in Nellanadu.

Economic Valuation of the Negative Externalities Caused By Paddy Field Conversion

The general public who benefit from these multifunctional roles do not fully understand them and do not appreciate their value. Moreover they will not approve of any policy intervention. It has therefore become necessary to evaluate the costs of the negative externalities associated with the paddy field conversion and we can take further steps to improve the conditions of existing paddy fields as well as the survival of vanished paddy fields.

Table: 1
Suggested Valuation Methods for Accessing Negative Externalities

Negative externality	Valuation method
1. Fails to control flood during rainy season and the converted fields does not absorb the water level .This is known as the failure of paddy fields to perform hydrological function	<p>Damage Cost Avoided method might be applied using two different approaches.</p> <p>One approach is to use the estimate potential damages to property if flooding were to occur. In this case, we can estimate the money and the probable damages to property if paddy fields are converted.</p> <p>Second approach would be to determine whether nearby property owners as well as the residents have spent money to protect their property from the possibility of flood damage, for example by purchasing additional insurance or by reinforcing their basements or contributing to construction of rain harvesting pits.</p> <p>In Nelland grmapanchayath have initiated a programme called '<i>catch the water where it falls</i>' to encourage construction rain water harvesting pits in order to control occurrence of floods in this region and surcharge of water to the ground water table than wasting it and preventing from massive destruction happening to other crops and cattle stock.</p>

2. The negative externality associated with this process is changing pattern from traditional irrigation facilities associated with paddy field cultivation to other irrigational facilities when the field is converted into agricultural purposes itself and it will decrease the capacity of soil to fail evaporate-transpiration process and increase salinity in soil	Replacement cost method; cost of applying fertilisers to avoid salinity of soil to bring back the lost fertility and another method Treatment cost method is where gypsum as well as lime can be used for reducing salinity in soil.
3. Another important negative externality caused by the paddy field conversion is the depletion of ground water level especially the area near to the paddy fields.	Contingent valuation method can be used by asking residents about the opportunity cost of time they are spending on collecting water. (Measured in terms of income they would have earned if employed as rural casual labour) .Another method is replacement cost method (cost of extracting bore wells, charges paid for the pipe water distribution. In how much depth the pumbing motors are established can be compared to usual depth before the conversion and can account the cost associated with it. In this area construction of bore wells are seen widely and 31percentages of people are using bore wells where their residence is situated near to converted paddy fields.

4. One of the important functions that will fail when we convert paddy fields for other crops cultivation is the nitrogen fixation problem and loss in soil fertility as well as productivity	The valuation method that we can use here is the Replacement cost method and as mentioned earlier in this grmpanchayth the use of ammonia fertilisers are increased in converted paddy fields and other nitrogen fertilisers also. If the cost of these fertilisers is accounted we can compute the value that lost due to conversion of paddy fields.
5. Failure to absorb organic wastes and paddy fields are the best source to absorb organic wastes such as food residues, cow dung, etc. This negative externality mainly happens when paddy fields are converted into residence purposes or non- agricultural purposes	Additional treatment cost of these organic wastes can be accounted some times there will be pits to accommodate the organic wastes
6. Loss of bio diversity in this study area is also a crucial impact of the paddy field conversion	It is difficult to estimate the extent and rate of biodiversity loss since the number of species, which had existed in the area at any point in time in the past, are not known. Otherwise contingent valuation method is preferable to know how people are responding to extinction and disappearance of these species and how they are valuing them especially frog and fish stock
7. The Eutrophication problem in converted paddy fields which are left without using it.	Treatment cost method is the valuation method where lime and leaching method are usually used to prevent the growth of algae and loss of biodiversity.

Policies and Recommendations

Paddy field conversion in Nellanad gramapanchayath is a serious issue in terms of economic, social and ecological impacts. It is becoming a burning issue in Kerala also. Since the population density is becoming very high, the demand for paddy field conversion is increasing day by day. Another concern of the paddy field conversion is that farmers are saying paddy field cultivation is no longer economically viable. If we go through the intensity of ecological impacts of the paddy field conversion we can see that there is a lack of proper policy intervention and lack of correct implementation of existing policies. The following are the policies that can be taken by the government to address this problem.

1. Strict implementation of Act of 2008 where ban on paddy field conversion has been passed by the Government of Kerala.

In 2008 since Kerala is experiencing high level of paddy field conversion the Government has passed the act stated that there will be complete ban on paddy field conversion such that these conversions should not affect the neighbouring paddy fields and the ecological functions. But in many cases this policy has shown liberal attitude towards constructing building on converted paddy fields in this village. Even though the Act is implemented, the outcome is far from efficiency and further leading to market failure. After 2008 itself there has been massive conversion of paddy fields in this area so proper implementation of this act is needed to be taken by the local government. Making paddy cultivation more profitable can lessen the conversions. Farmers in this area say that paddy cultivation is less profitable that's why they prefer other crop cultivation. To make paddy cultivation profitable is an important matter of concern and Panchayath is taking initiatives for supplying seeds and fertilisers at lower price. In order to reduce conversions we should focus on following policies also

1. Providing farmers with subsidies and these economic incentives can encourage them to do paddy cultivation. In Kerala even though the farmers were provided subsidies for rice cultivation since conversions were becoming serious issue the outcome was less satisfactory. The local government can take the initiative to provide subsidies to farmers
2. Given the high costs of cultivation and the modest yield levels, the price of paddy becomes an important determinant of profitability for the farmer. In Kerala, the minimum support price (MSP) for paddy announced by the State government is 1400 but it is not remunerative enough for the low middle class farmers. So they can be provided with better market situations for their harvest.
3. Farmers argue that paddy production was low in this area mainly because the available technology was not being utilized. They estimated that scientific planting of good quality seedlings, adequate use of organic manure, integrated water and pest management would increase the rice yield, but they are not getting it properly. So implementation of better technology for paddy field cultivation is also important.
4. Farmers should be provided with adequate credit facilities and the interest rate charged on them will be lower. In Nellanad many farmers are facing lack of credit, most of them depend on unorganised money market and since paddy cultivation is becoming less profitable the credit availability matters. Proper mechanism of credit availability should be developed here.
5. Encouraging collective farming by forming farm groups in this area can reduce paddy field conversion. Now there are NGOs like *Kerala Sastra Sahithya Parishath* and *Padasheekarasamithi* are cultivating paddy in allotted lands given by local government. Even schools are also actively participating in the paddy field cultivation and survival of vanished land and ecosystem. So the

local government should give adequate incentives to these NGOs and schools.

Conclusion

Paddy fields, being multi-functional ecosystems are vital to the economy as well as the environmental balance of Kerala. The level of ecological impacts are very high when these eco systems are destroyed and there should be necessary and urgent measures for the protection and survival of them. Government authorities concerned should take this as a serious problem. Like Nellanad grama panchayath, many villages are facing the same situations and ecological impacts. All these suggest the lack of better implementation of policies. Social movements and citizens themselves can also take initiatives on this problem and help the paddy fields to survive where concept of sustainable development became worthy.

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EFFECT OF INTEGRATED RELAXATION TRAINING ON SELF ESTEEM OF INDIAN ARMY MALE ATHLETES

Priya S.* , Suresh Kutty K.** & Padmanabhan T.V***

Abstract

The purpose of the study was to find out the effect of integrated relaxation training on Self-esteem among army male athletes. It was hypothesized that there would be a significant effect of twelve weeks integrated relaxation training on self esteem among army male athletes. To achieve the purpose of the present study, forty (n=40) male athletes in the age group of eighteen to twenty five years were selected randomly from Army Sports Institute, Pune. Pre test - post test randomized group design which consists of control group and experimental group was used for the present study. The self esteem was assessed by using Rosenberg Self esteem Scale. The data was collected before and after the twelve weeks of integrated relaxation training as pre and post test design. The data was statistically analyzed by applying paired 't' test to test whether there was any significance difference between the mean scores of pre and post test of the control group and experimental group. The ANOVA and ANCOVA were used to determine the effect of training programme in the subjects by controlling the initial differences in them. The result showed a significant increase in Self-esteem of experimental group. On the basis of the findings and within limitation of the present study it was concluded that practice of integrated relaxation training would help the male athletes for increase in Self-esteem.

Key words: Integrated Relaxation Training, Self-esteem

*Ph.D Scholar, School of Physical Education and Sports Sciences, Kannur University

**Associate Professor, Head of the Department of Physical Education, School of Physical Education and Sports Sciences, Kannur University

***Yoga Faculty , Department of Yoga, Central University of Kerala, Kasaragod. . . .

Introduction

Self esteem is a person's feelings about his/her own worth. A positive self esteem is mandatory for an athlete for improving excellence in sport activities. Relaxation is of great importance to any athlete striving for peak performance. The relaxation techniques can help athletes to reduce mental and physical stress and increase concentration and performance. *Relaxation techniques are many of which the Yogic relaxation technique has been found very effective for inducing psychophysical relaxation.* The concept of Integrated Relaxation Training involves the Yogic relaxation and mental imagery combined together. The Indian army proving its physical ability not only in battle field but also in sports. And the biggest example that the 13 athletes were participated in Rio Olympics 2016, it's clearly indicates that the importance of sports in the army. The Indian Army is focusing for Olympic medal so they started "Mission Olympic Programme at Army Sports Institute (ASI, Pune), which is the first sports academy in India to change the face of sporting culture in India. Even though their duties are very difficult, the army authorities are promoting various competitive sports for which they are being given effective coaching in their concerned sports events. The army personal made great contributions in sports events. The yoga is a holistic system teaching skills which many sports person seek, such as control over the mind, control over the body, good breathing habits, relaxation under the pressure, highly developed concentric skills and the ability to focus on the present. Breath control and meditation training help Jawans to ease the tension of their job and would help to increase self esteem. In the present study integrated relaxation training, a combined relaxation training of Yoga and Sports imagery was developed to administer the same to Army athletes with view to enhance self esteem and athletic performance.

Material and Method

For the purpose of the study forty (40) male athletes were randomly selected from Army Sports Institute, Pune, Maharashtra. The subjects were divided into two groups, namely experimental and control group. Their age ranged between 18 to 25 years. The dependent variable selected for the study was Self esteem. The Integrated relaxation training consisting of Pranayama, Yoga Nidra and Sports imagery was administrated five days in a week for forty five minutes for twelve weeks. The Control Group (CG) did not undergo any training program other than their normal daily routine work. The Self esteem was assessed by using Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale. The Self esteem of the athletes was assessed before and after the integrated relaxation training as pre and post test design. The data was statistically analyzed by applying paired 't' test to test whether there was any significance difference between the mean scores of pre and post test of the control group and experimental group. The ANOVA and ANCOVA were used to determine the effect of training programme in the subjects by controlling the initial differences in them and to determine how each dependent variable is influenced by independent variables while controlling for a covariate. To test the obtained result on variables, the criterion for statistical significance was set at 0.05 level of significance ($p < 0.05$).

Result

The findings pertaining to analysis of paired 't' test, ANOVA and ANCOVA between Control group and Experimental group on Self esteem of the male athletes are presented in table No. 1 to 2

Table 1
Result of paired 't' test for Significance of mean gains & losses
between Pre and Post Test scores on Self esteem of Control and
Experimental groups

Variable	Groups	Test	Mean	SE	Gain/loss %	't' value	'p' Value
Self Esteem	Control Group	Pre	21.00	0.64	4.04	1.15	0.263
		Post	21.85	0.84			
	Experimental Group	Pre	19.95	0.67	31.57	7.28	0.000**
		Post	26.25	0.70			

**** Significant at 1% level ($p < 0.01$) level for df 19 is 2.861**

Table 1 indicates the values of paired 't' test for the comparison of significant pre test to post test effectiveness mean Self esteem levels in control and experimental groups. In control group there does not exist significant change in pre test to post test mean Self esteem ($t=1.15$, $gain=4.04\%$, $p>0.05$). But in Experimental group there exist significant change in mean SE level before and after the Integrated Relaxation Training ($t=7.28$, $gain=31.57\%$, $p<0.01$) as the obtained 't' value 7.28 for Self esteem is greater than the table 't' critical value of 2.861 at 0.01 level of significance for 19 degrees of freedom. The diagrammatic representation of % of gain in Self Esteem level before and after interventions in the Control and Experimental group is shown in Figure 1

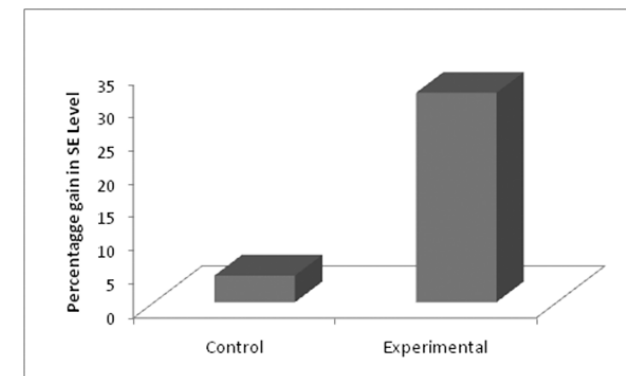


Figure 1: Diagrammatic representation of % gain in Self Esteem level before and after interventions in the Control and Experimental group

Table: 2
Result of ANOVA and ANCOVA Data and Test of Significance
(ANOVA & ANCOVA) for the comparison of control and
experimental group on Self esteem

SE	GROUP	MEAN	SE	SV	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Pre- Test ANOVA	CG	21.00	0.64	BG	11.02	1	11.02	1.25	0.269
	EG	19.95	0.67	WG	332.95	38	8.76		
Post- Test ANOVA	CG	21.85	0.84	BG	193.60	1	193.60	16.05	0.000**
	EG	26.25	0.70	WG	458.30	38	12.06		
Adj-Post ANCOVA	CG	21.61	0.73	BG	229.92	1	229.92	21.78	0.000**
	EG	26.48	0.73	WG	390.49	37	10.55		

**** Significant at 1% level ($P < 0.001$) for df 1 & 38, 1 & 37 = 7.31**

Table 2 shows the result of ANOVA and the ANCOVA for the comparison of Control and Experimental group based on self

esteem. The F value obtained from ANOVA for the comparison of mean Pre Test SE scores between Control and Experimental group is 1.25 with $P > 0.05$ which is less than the Table 'F' critical value of 7.31 for 1 and 38 degrees of freedom. Thus the Mean Pre-Test SE scores of Control group (21.00 ± 0.64) and Experimental group (19.95 ± 0.67) do not differ significantly.

The F- value obtained from ANOVA for the comparison of Mean Post-Test Self esteem scores between Control and Experimental groups is 16.05 with $P < 0.01$ which is greater than the Table 'F' critical value of 7.31 for 1 and 38 degrees of freedom. Thus the Mean Post Test Self esteem scores of experimental group (26.25 ± 0.70) was significant as compared to Control group (21.85 ± 0.84)

The genuine of the Post Test Mean differences of Self esteem scores between Control and Experimental group was statistically tested using ANCOVA after eliminating the effect of Pre- Test SE scores on Post -Test SE scores. The obtained F- value 21.78 for adjusted post-test mean was greater than the Table 'F' critical value of 7.31 for 1 and 37 degrees of freedom. Hence, the adjusted Post -Test Mean SE scores for the Experimental group (26.48 ± 0.73) was statistically significant as compared to the Control group (21.61 ± 0.73). The diagrammatic representation of pre test, post test and adjusted post test mean Self esteem level in Control and Experimental groups is shown in figure 2.

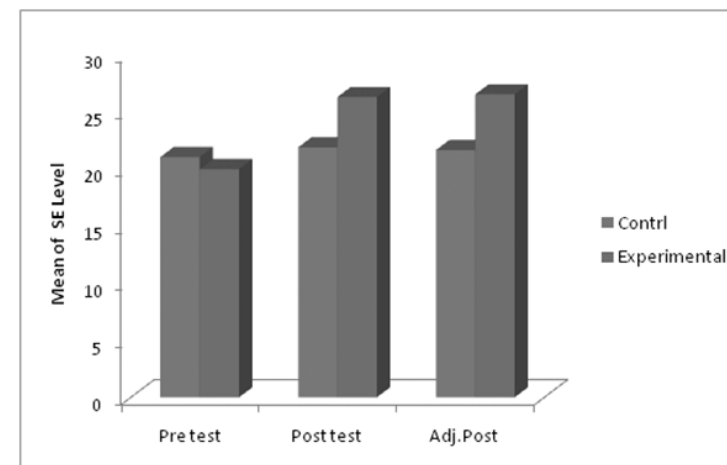


Figure 2: diagrammatic representation of pre test, post test and adjusted post test mean on Self esteem level in control and experimental group

Discussion

The result shows that the practice of integrated relaxation training which consisted Pranayama, Yoga nidra and Sports imagery helped the athletes to increase self esteem. The practice of Yoga nidra possibly helped the subjects to make an image of their own body by perceiving the whole body from all sides from head to toe to have a positive body image which correlates self esteem. Various Researchers had reported that practice of Yoga nidra can induce Alfa wave dominance in the brain. Alfa brain rhythm induces psychophysical relaxation which also helped the athletes to reduce tension and brought positive changes in subjective well-being and improved self esteem. Jadhav (2009). The mental imagery of relaxing scenes included in the present study possibly increased the self esteem as the use of imagery-induced relaxation has become a standard intervention not only for reducing stress and tension but also for enhancing self esteem. (Carroll, Marzillier & Merian, 1982;

Lang, 1979). The positive self talk technique employed in the Sports imagery programme also possibly helped to increase self esteem in the subjects for better athletic performance.

Conclusion

On the basis of the findings and within limitation of the present study it was concluded that practice of integrated relaxation training helped to increase the Self Esteem of the male athletes.

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RELEVANCE OF BHAGAVAT GITA IN MODERN SOCIETY

Shinamol J*

Abstract

The Bhagavad Gita is considered as an epitome of all scriptures. It is believed that it has emanated from the divine lips to a human disciple. The Bhagavad Gita contains seven hundred verses in eighteen chapters, each chapter is called an Upanishad, Brahma Vidhya and a Yoga Sastra. The Bhagavad Gita stands supreme in the world's spiritual lore. The tenets expounded in the Gita are relevant even today, the entire mankind, irrespective of caste, creed, cult and country. This paper tries to observe the relevance of gita in the contemporary society full of crimes, troubles and tribulations.

Today, the entire world is passing through a tense and chaotic stage, even worse than what was depicted in mythos of the Kurukshetra battle field. The present one is also a war, war between good and evil, sacrifice and greed, virtues and vices, tolerance and rigidity, religious co-existence and fundamentalism, traditional time tested values and quick gains and ego, and so on. The world is witnessing mind boggling scientific and industrial developments—like artificial intelligence, internet, social media, journey to the outer space, and what not one hand on the other, there is a total chaos, confusion, terrorism, bloodshed, and massacre in the name of caste, creed or religion, child abuse, rape, inequality, and boundaries of nation, etc. The industrialized society should have helped in preserving the human values apart from providing the materialistic gains and achieve development. Even though the present scientific innovations and technological advancements have converted this world of ours into a global village on the face of it, but the hearts

and minds have drifted far apart with deep valleys and barriers being created between man and man, one nation and the other, and between different sexes, races and castes. It is again because of the erosion of time tested value system. We have forgotten our ethos, culture and tradition.

The human spirit and approach is missing. The unfortunate part of it is that this is taking place with a highly developed education system carefully devised by great thinkers, philosophers, academicians and scientists. The values of bygone era, which helped this planet earth to sustain over the ages, are missing once the value system is missing, and then there is no difference between the human beings or the animals. It is true that we are living in a world that Dickens called 'Hard Times'. These all about our modern world and now look at on the nature of modern man. The predominant feature of modern man is tension. Tension permeates the entire fabric of social life leading to violence, disorder and disintegration of personality. Everybody is under tension. But it manifests in a more violent and turbulent manner among the youth. Desire, attachment and the carving for pleasure and enjoyment are among factors- responsible for creating tension. There is an innate urge among human beings for pleasure, enjoyment and happiness. But we do not know what real happiness is and how to get it. We run here and there for getting enjoyment and happiness. We try to find pleasure and happiness in external objects. This leads to a lot of blind grouping. And the blind grouping often ends up in frustration.

We seek pleasure through our sense organs. When the sense organs come into contact with the objects we experience a feeling of enjoyment. But the feeling is temporary and extremely short lived. We are chasing the enjoyment when we feel despair of one particular object of enjoyment. We are chasing another object for enjoyment

chasing pleasure is like chasing mirage. It is a never ending chase. Desire cannot be satisfied by supplying the objects. An ignorant man throughout his life period chases these pleasures without any meaning in his life. The enjoyment born out of contact ends up in grief only. They have beginning and an end. Wise men do not indulge in them. According to Bhagavad Gita, one who is above to detach his mind from the external objects and turn it inwards and fix it on the ultimate reality will experience undisturbed and imperishable happiness.

Role of Gita in Modern World

Gandhiji considered Gita as a Universal mother. She turns away nobody. Her door is wide open to anyone who knocks it. True votary of the Gita does not know what disappointment is. He said, "I find solace in the Bhagavad Gita that I miss even in the Sermon on the Mount..... If over whelming tragedies have left no visible, no indelible scar on me, I owe it all to the teaching on Bhagavad Gita." (Gandhi, 1997, p. 67)

Before explaining the teachings of Bhagavat Gita we try to understand that what is the reason behind every problem in our modern man and modern world. The answer is 'selfishness'. (an attitude of 'I' ness ahamkara or an attitude of 'my' ness mamakara). Selfishness is an innate biological factor and every individual is bound to his own self and again he cannot even think of world external to him. Majority of human beings use their life for selfish gains. From all these modern issues we can know that our society will lost its cultural heritage, scriptural knowledge, moral values, etc. How we can get it all back. How we can study our scriptures and our Upanishads in our drastically changing modern world. It is not easy to study all scriptures and 108 Upanishads in our limited

span of human life. Here is the importance of Bhagavat Gita, which contains the essence of all our Upanishads teaching Gita is easier to understand. Gita taught us that how to be live in this world with a mind of purity, selflessness, charity, mercy, love, happiness, peace, harmony, etc.

The Gita says that the source of all mental agitation is your own mind. The mind is full of innumerable desires vying for attention and you become a victim of your own desires. Practical application of Gita teaching is essential for our modern world. Each and every concept in Gita has its own value. This article is an attempt to explain the Bhagavat Gita's ideals about Nishkama karma, as means for attaining happiness and lokasamgraha (well being of all).

The Role of karma in Indian Philosophy

Before understanding the teachings of nishkama karma yoga firstly we can understand what is the importance of doing karma in our life. The doctrine of karma is considered to be one of the most important and fundamental doctrines of Indian Philosophy. All classical Indian school of thought except Charvaka believe in the doctrine of karma unquestionably. The meaning of karma carried by Indian philosophy is changed by system to system. Word karma signifies normally action. Here, action points out both religious and non religious aspects of human affairs. Every action has its own consequences papa or punya. Law of Karma abides by an authority who maintains the result of every action in proportion to the action or, in other words, what we sow that we reap. Karmas are divided in to three Sanchita, Prarabdha and Agami karmas.

Every living being has to do some work (action/karma) even for its own sustenance. Every action yields some result (fruit of action). The doer of the action is bound to accept the karma phala and enjoy

or endure it. The karma will get cancelled only when karma phala is experienced. Karmas which are yet to be experienced will remain waiting in the sanchita karma. Only such of the past karmas which are lying in sanchita and which are congenial for being experienced for being enjoyed or endured. These are called prarabdha karmas (activated karma). While experiencing the prarabdha karmas, man does fresh karma in present life, some of which, if unspent, will get added to the sanchita for being experienced in the future births. Karma in sanchita is the cause of rebirth. Birth necessitates karma. Thus the vicious circle of birth following karma continues perpetually. This is called cycle of samsara. The past samskaras (karma vasanas) are preserved subtle body which envelopes the jivatma and entices it into a compactable new body. The law of Karma postulates the attainment of spirituality through the medium of ethical and moral ways of establishing deeds. We have the right to choose any good or bad path. Good action leads to peace and happiness and bad action leads to pain and sufferings. "The cards in the game of life are given to us. We do not select them. They are traced to our past karma, but we can call us we please lead what suite we will, and as we play, we gain or loss. And there is freedom" (Dr. S Radhakrishnan, 1927, P. 75).

The Law of Karma remains the truth that, it is a must for beings to face the result of their own actions. No one can escape from the result of his actions. Nevertheless, karma doctrine induces people in doing desireless activities for free from the result of pain and momentary pleasures and reaching absolute freedom. Here is the role of Bhagavad Gita's most important teaching is the ideal of Nishkama Karma Yoga. The practice of nishkama karma yoga will helps an individual to free from all karmic bondages.

Nishkamakarma

The ultimate aim of every being in this world is the realization of the ultimate reality, Brahman. For the attainment of this Brahman Bhagavat Gita gives us three different ways, jnana, karma and bhakti (the way of knowledge, the way action and the way of devotion). Among the three the peculiarity of karma is:

*“na hi kascit ksanam api jatu tisthaty akarma krt
karyate hy avasah karma sarvah praktijair gunaih”*
(BG, II.5).

Everyone is forced to act helplessly according to the qualities he had acquired from the modes of material nature; therefore no one can refrain from doing something, not even for a moment. By virtue of modalities (gunas) born from nature, all are made to engage in action helplessly. So no man is free from action. According to Bhagavat Gita everything is action such as eating, sleeping, breathing, body maintenance, etc. All these actions make vasanas or impressions upon the mind as a result of every action. These accumulated results are known as sanchita, Due to this sanchita man is born again and again for fructify the fruits of his past actions. Man is free from this only through the practice of nishkama karma or selfless action. Nishkama karma means,

*“karmany evadhikaras te ma phalesu kadacana
\ma karma phala hetur bhur ma te sango stu akarmani.”*
(BG, II.47).

This sloka means that your concern should be with action alone, not for any benefits ever. Do not become benefit motivated and be not attached to inaction. The Gita succeeded in asserting the fact that when a person acts without desire, and renounces the attachment he has for the fruits of action, he becomes totally free

from the bonds of karma. But desire and anger are two enemies for man to prevent selfless action. These two are the basis of each and every crime in our modern society. For a smooth practice of selfless action a being firstly control his senses (five external sense organs and one internal sense organ) because senses are the seating place of this desires and anger.

*“dhyayato visayan pumssah sangas tesupajayate
sangat sanjayate kamah kamat krodho bhijayate.”* (BG, II.62).

This sloka teaches that meditating on objects of sense interest there is born in man an attachment for them, from attachment rises passion, in the face of passion arises anger. So controlling senses is essential for the practicing of selfless action. Lord Krishna gives Karma yoga through the practice of dhyana yoga we can control our senses. This selfless action we can apply practically in the field of svadharma. ‘Svadharma’ means one’s own duty in accordance with his station in life. Doing our actions with an attitude of ‘yanjarta’ which means an attitude of sacrifice. Here we are sacrificing the result of our actions, the ego or doership, etc. The majority of people doing their actions with an attitude of ego or the doership (I am the doer of this action). But in yanjarta karma or selfless action one can do his action with an attitude of ‘I am an instrument in the hands of God, I have only right to do in my actions, and I surrender all the results of my actions in the lotus feet of the almighty God.’ These types of action free the doer from the bonds of his actions.

Through the practice of selfless action one can attain the stage of sthitaprajna. Sthitapranja means ‘man with steady wisdom’ he is always in an attitude of equanimity and keep equality even in pairs of opposites such as heat and cold, success and failure, likes and dislikes, pain and pleasure, etc. This sthitaprajna always do his duties for the sake of his society and his fellow beings this known

as lokasamgraha or well being of all. When we are doing desirous action we are reducing the value of our actions to getting temporary pleasures. But in lokasamgraha we are uplifting our ideals for the well-being of our society. Here we replace our ideal from selfish desires to selfless progress of all beings in the society. This is a great ideal.

Through yanjartha karma the Bhagavat Gita gives importance to the idea of co-operation it is only through this mutual co- operation social progress can be achieved. The concept of yanja, means mutual nourishment between man and god, man and his environment, contains the secret of what is called in modern parlance 'sustainable development'.

Through the practice of selfless action in our field of action we have a great noble goal, that goal is known as lokasamgraha. This aspect has been well developed by great commentators like Lokmanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Aurobindo, etc. According to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, lokasamgraha is one of the two ideals of actions recommended by the Gita, the other being atmasudhi or self purification and believes that those who perform actions for the maintenance of the world, (lokasamgraha) are the wise and those who perform action for self purification are ignorant.

Vivekananda swami says that, "He works best who works without any motive, neither for money, not for fame, nor for anything use: and when a man can do that, he will be a Buddha, and out of him will come the power to work in such a manner as will transform the world. The man represents the very highest ideal of karma- yoga. (Vivekananda, 1930, p.142) Swamiji again says that the aim of practicing selfless action is for attaining two goals in life they are for the highest freedom of individual and the good of the world.

According to Gandhiji selfless service to humanity is a duty that promotes self-realization of truth which is the very purpose of human existence. Gandhiji believes that nishkama karma is a way to sarvodaya. Sarvodaya means the universal uplift of all or progress all in our society.

Balagangadhara Tilak and Sri Aurobindo also give importance to the practice of nishkamakarma as a social ideal for attaining the well being of all. So be a nishkama karma yogi in his life through out. In Bhagavat Gita karma became karma yoga through the practice of nishkamakarma. The teachings of these thinkers prove the significance of selfless action in the progress of our entire society.

Conclusion

Through the practice of selfless action we can reduce our tension, stress, frustration, crimes, corruption, suicide, etc. Live for the welfare of our world, contribute our maximum effort for the welfare of our society and our fellow beings. This never means that Bhagavat Gita is against enjoyment and any type of development. But Gita advice us to follow a life of moderation. Keep moderation in every field of our life, such as in sleeping, eating, enjoying, etc. With the practice of selfless action a seeker attain three important goals in his life. They are Atmasuddi (self- purification), Lokasamgraha (well being of all), Atmasakshatkara (Realization of the ultimate reality).

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