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- Mohanan (2003) finds that the much publicized Kerala model.....

- Kerala society is widely considered as a matrilineal one (Mohanani,2003).
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- Same as single author with the surnames of all the authors.
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- 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.....

List of References

Citing print sources:

Mohanani, 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.

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

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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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Introduction, Objectives/Hypotheses, Method (not methodology), Results, Discussion, Conclusion and References.

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Results should be drafted in such a way that only the relevant points are included. Data may be provided preferably in the form of tables and occasionally in figures. Data should not be repeated in more than one form. Arabic numerals should be used for the numbering of tables and figures. Please avoid detailed ANOVA tables and give only F-values and their significance. Avoid describing the values already provided in the tables in subsequent paragraphs.

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Conclusion should be stated in unequivocal terms in agreement with the findings. It may also carry a paragraph or so on the applications of the study, if any.

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Abstract, Introduction, Specification of a theory or Propositions, Discussion, Closing paragraph/Conclusion and References.

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EPISTEMOLOGY OF IGNORANCE: A COGNITIVE JOURNEY TOWARDS PEACE

Beena Isaac*

Abstract

Epistemology is the study of the nature of knowledge and justification. Knowledge is reinterpreted as justified true cognition. Cognition is an activity of a subject which is basic to our knowledge and appears to be an act when we consider the result it brings forth. The ignorance enveloping human consciousness is considered to be the seed of all evil. To fight ignorance with epistemology is a difficult task and requires tremendous effort and diligence. Epistemology of ignorance is essential for discovering the eternal behind the non-eternal things in the world. The epistemic activity is an expression of our consciousness and thereby true knowledge is determined by the process of cognition. This paper tries to submit that practical value of epistemic activity leads us to remove ignorance and helps us to make peaceful life.

Key words: Epistemology, Justified true belief, Cognition, Consciousness, Ignorance

Knowledge at the time of its origin is neither true nor false. It is merely a manifestation of object. The nature of knowledge is said to be manifested because it presents an object to a subject. Knowledge does not make or unmake an object but it merely reveals an object. This revelation is compared to a light which illumines an object. The illumination is the sole function of knowledge irrespective of truth or falsehood (Singh,1982,p.7). Thus the ignorance of the reality or truth is part of the knowledge.

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Man faces the good and evil alike in life and their knowledge is divided and diverged. The ignorance leads to evil but the final destination of good is true knowledge. "We must expand the horizons of our vision of the real, we must explore and expand the frontiers of knowledge, we must accept the crude fact that what we know is not enough, there are still left many more things to know about" (J. J Shukla, 1999, p.2). The wise man, pondering over them discriminates and chooses the good in preference to the pleasant. Others choose the pleasant for the sake of worldly well-being. The temptation of worldly glitter and sense enjoyments has proved to be too powerful and many find it difficult to remain unaffected by it.

An essential characteristic of knowledge is said to be cognitive. It is a cognitive phenomenon which is different from a creative one (Singh, 1982, p.6). In the course of involvement in worldly life, the pre-rational cognition is capable of giving us an awareness of bare identity. Human life becomes meaningful only when an individual probes one's true identity. To think of oneself as the body is the natural tendency in beings, to the extent of ignoring the welfare of the self that abides within it. Ignorance is slavery and one has to overcome it by wisdom which is the science of happiness and peace.

The objective of this study is to identify whether the knowledge which people acquired is true or false. It will help human beings to understand what is right and wrong in their activities and what will create true knowledge. It also will support them to develop the process of self-realisation which is necessary for the ongoing of a peaceful life.

The methods used in this paper, is mostly analytical and descriptive in nature. Secondary data have largely been used for

the analytical purposes and also certain primary data has been collected through intraction. Data is collected mainly from different publications, research works and academic periodicals.

Definition and Nature of Epistemology

The word 'epistemology' is derived from the Greek word 'episteme' which means knowledge and explanation. Epistemology, as the theory of knowledge, is the study of the nature, origin and validity of knowledge and belief. The Indian Philosophers have discussed various problems regarding the nature of knowledge. In Indian epistemology the concept of definition, meaning and truth are interrelated. The concept of definition requires clarity of words and able to describe accurate meaning. Thus, whenever a person wants to acquire knowledge of facts through language he must understand the definitions of concepts and things through the meanings of the expressions in that language. The techniques of definition played an important role in the traditions of Nyaya and Advaita systems.

According to Nyaya-bhasya, the function of definition is to specify the notion of an object under consideration, certain ambiguity in the characterisation of definition or laksana is brought out in the process of analysis (Kunjunni Raja, 1977, p.265). Some definitions referring to asadharanadharma (unique property) and some formulate an instance of kevalavyatireki (exclusively negative inference). In Advaita theory, there are two types of definitions, svarupalaksana or essential definition and Tatasthaleksana or accidental definition. Svarupalaksana reveals the essential nature of a thing under consideration. Tatasthaleksana points only accidental but unique property of definition in order to demarcate the object of definition.

Meaning is the study of semantics which is the science of

the development of the meaning of the words. In Advaita tradition, there are two types of meanings postulated. They are primary or *vachyartha* and secondary or *lakshyartha* meaning. Advaita semantics implies that primary meaning of an expression as universal (*jati*) is contrasted with individual (*vyakti*) theory of meaning (Kunjunni Raja, 1977, p.74). Secondary meaning is related to primary meaning. In Navya-nyaya semantics we find referential theory of meaning according to which meaning of an expression is due to its reference to certain object in the universe. In meaning, universal element corresponds to the theory of sense and individual factor stands for denotation or reference.

The concept of truth (*satyam*) is necessary for the component of knowledge or *prama* and hence the analysis of truth is prior to the explication of knowledge. In Advaita epistemology, there is a distinction between truth (*satyam*) and knowledge (*jnanam*), for instance the ultimate reality is in the form of *satyam-jnanam*. "Knowledge which is not contradicted is truth" (Radhakrishnan, 1989, p. 501). The word *satyam* designates the actual existing state of affair. According to Sankara, '*satyamvada*' (speak the truth) implies that a speaker of truth must be reliable or trustworthy and must be capable of communicating the truth without twisting the information from the actual state of affairs.

Ignorance: A glance

According to Indian thinkers, the root cause of all bondage and suffering is ignorance, *avidya* or *ajnana*. "Avidya is either absence of knowledge or doubtful and erroneous knowledge" (Radhakrishnan, 1989, p.575). Avidya in the Upanisads is only ignorance as distinct from knowledge possessed

by the individual subject (Radhakrishnan, 1989,p.575). This ignorance creates such a delusion that one takes the unreal to be the real and gets trapped in the worldly play. Ignorance of our true self is simultaneously accompanied by identification with the body-mind complex in the form of the ego. Considering oneself to be the body, endowed with senses, mind and intellect, one enters the struggle for existence in this world. The mind runs through the senses towards the sense-objects experiencing pain and pleasure variedly, and one gets bound in the empirical world through attachments (raaga), aversions (dvesha) and fears (bhaya).

According to Sankaracharya, the principle of maya is the root of all sufferings. Maya can be controlled only by the means of knowing the ignorance. "Sankara observes: Knowing the true nature of all phenomena which represent the cycle of birth-and-death, which are manifest and unmanifest, and which are the result of ignorance, attachment and other defiled actions, and which consists of subject and object, merit and demerit, knowing such phenomena in their reality a Brahmana should practice renunciation"(Sharma, 1991, p.277).When we are under the processes of maya, we should deliberately 'ignore' that and try to understand the real self. Ignoring maya is one's duty to concentrate on supreme self. One thing we have to realize is that our self is an infinite reservoir of power. Ignorance mystifies one with a deep sense of desires and doesn't let one to realize the ultimate truth or to be established in that knowledge which liberates one from good. Thus, with the dawning of the wisdom of the self, one becomes absolutely free from all worldly afflictions born of ignorance. We should ignore some of the mental afflictions such as

- Ignore others praise and criticism
- Ignore unwanted desires
- Ignore partial knowledge
- Ignore unhealthy relationships
- Ignore selfishness, jealous, greed etc.
- Ignore illusions or error

Normally, people love to hear others praise of them. The problem with this love for praise is that it blinds us to our faults, and so there is no scope of self-correction. While it is true that not all criticism may be valid, if we refuse to accept criticism, there is the genuine possibility that we might be ignoring valid criticism too. We welcome praise, without bothering to check if we have done anything to deserve it. But when it comes to criticism, we conclude that all of it is unfair. Self-criticism was important. The experience of self-consciousness is an undeniable fact (Mahadevan, 1976, p.129). Without this, one would become complacent, and eventually forget to think of one's deficiencies. By criticising himself, the men had rewarded to taken care of his duties.

People have their own weaknesses. Atmajnana is good for realizing our own weakness in courage, confidence, fear and anger. But it is the atma that makes the mind to think. Sometimes we are scolded or abused by people, we move away, because we do not wish to retaliate. The senses are powerful and chase their respective sense objects relentlessly. Unless one learns to keep the senses under check, one turns to a life of sensuous enjoyment, not knowing that soon old age and disease will catch up and he will have to let go of these pleasures.

Desires may be necessary or unnecessary. Man has the power to discriminate their wants and unwants. So they can decide which desire is most relevant to satisfy their need. Desire for external objects brings misery along with it (Mahadevan, p.158). Then he can choose the correct one and relinquish all other worldly attachments and sense life and instead turn his mind inward in search of his inner self. Knowledge of the ultimate truth is too subtle to be expressed in words and philosophy. The quality of subtleness is understood as that which transcends grossness. So we ignore the partial knowledge and try to get the complete knowledge. The full knowledge can be done by the fine intellect which is subtler than the subtle and greater than the great.

Human relationship is very important in our life. But we should ignore the unhealthy relationships of our family, work place and in other situations. Good relationships make us to do something valuable and bad relations lead us to do crimes. If we get angry towards anybody, that is the symbol of selfishness, jealous and greed. These are negative factors which creates mental distractions. Illusion or error represents an object in a form which does not belong to it. It misrepresents a fact. It distorts the nature of reality and consequently misleads us in practical activity.

Cognition: A quick scan

Our knowledge of the objects is determined by the means of cognition. The term 'cognition' means knowing in the widest sense through perception or intuition. Cognition is an activity of a subject (Sastri, 1976, p.310). Cognition as a present act involves a conscious subject in active relation to an object. It is the reality or possibility of an object that determines the actuality

of all knowledge. Cognition is a quality of the psycho-physical organism, which belongs to the mind-body complex. According to Nyaya and Prabhakara School, cognition is one of the adventitious qualities of the self which come and go without affecting its essential nature. Specific cognitions activates without making any difference to the spiritual character of the self, but intelligence ever continues in all its changing states. Cognition may not be there in the absence of objects to be cognized, but the capacity to cognize can never be taken away from the self.

According to Kumarila, cognition is a potency of the self which is expressed in specific acts of awareness of objects. He refers to a theory according to which cognition is apprehended simultaneously with the object. Cognition can never be the object of cognition (Mahadevan, 1976, p.71).Prabhakara and Sankara hold that cognition is a self-revealing factor. The Naiyayikas argue that cognition is perceptible because it is a temporary specific quality of the soul, like pleasure, pain etc. All agree that pleasure, pain etc., are the temporary qualities of the soul, which are cognized directly through inner perception and cognition too is such a quality. To be a temporary quality of soul is not a sufficient ground for the inference that cognition is perceptible, because volition, which too is a temporary quality of soul and is the cause of activities like breathing in deep sleep, is not perceived during that state. Therefore cognition cannot be an object of perception under any logical pressure.

Types of cognition

Every cognition involves not only what we cognize but also how we cognize. This takes us to the means of cognition which are employed implicitly in daily life. There are six types of cognition.

- Empirical cognition
- Valid cognition
- Erroneous cognition
- Inferential cognition
- Perceptual cognition
- Eternal Cognition

Empirical cognition is possible through pure sensation, which is the limit of all empirical cognition. Sensation is the very core of the actual experience which is perception. The sense-perception is an apprehension of the particular essence of the object. The sense organs have the ability to give rise to vital cognitions. A cognition is valid if it does reveal the nature of the object, and if it can give rise to a successful activity. It can give rise to an activity only through the apprehension of the object. A valid cognition is strong in itself to reveal its validity. An erroneous cognition is an immediate apprehension. In the dream cognition, which is erroneous, have only a subject experiencing and there are no two apprehended things. Erroneous cognition is knowledge that is sublated by a subsequent cognition (Mahadevan, 1976, p.81). This should imply the validity and reality of all dream cognitions.

The ‘smoke’ that is apprehended in the inferential cognition is dependent on something other than itself; but the memory and the relation of smoke to fire cooperate in giving us one knowledge. Knowledge is a phenomenon occurring in time (DebabrataSen, 1984, p.64). Such a knowledge can never be directed to the removal or elimination of an object. In perception we have the cognition of an object which is conditioned by a definite place and by a specific time. Perception is an immediate

apprehension in which we find consciousness expressing itself through certain media like the sense organs. When we are aware of the sense organ coming into contact with an object, we have an epistemic activity. Cognitions and the soul are eternal and one because they are of the nature of intelligence, if there is diversity it is due to the object. Cognition or jnana is the function of this intellect. Cognition has no form other than that of intelligence. It is the contact of the sense-organs with the intellect that brings forth a cognition. Hence, it is said that thought or intellect is eternal and that it is capable of undergoing modifications through which it is connected with the several cognitions.

Cognition is a means and state as well. We come to know the object when we have an image or an idea of the object. Our awareness of this image or idea is the result of the means of cognition employed. But any such analysis is a mental construction which does not have any ultimate validity. According to the Naiyaika, knowledge remains itself unrevealed when an object is revealed through it (Debabrata Sen, 1984, p.251). The valid means of cognition are grounded in sensory experience in which the positive conditions of revelation are present. Even then our experience is true and undeniable; but what is false is our knowledge derived from the experience. That is, the terms true and false are applicable to the knowledge which seeks to interpret an experience. Thus knowledge may be true or false, valid or invalid. True knowledge leads us to the supreme wisdom. False knowledge can be determined by proper utilization of our intelligence. Valid knowledge is a true and definite knowledge of some new fact. Invalid knowledge is a form of illusion like doubt, dream and memory. In this list of invalid knowledge ignorance is not considered as invalid because it is only the absence of knowledge. The human self can exist even

without cognizing.

Maya as the Universal phenomenon

The progress of the world means more enjoyment and more misery too. This mixture of life and death, good and evil, knowledge and ignorance is what is called maya or the universal phenomenon. "Maya or Avidya is not pure illusion. It is not only absence of knowledge. It is also positive wrong knowledge. It is a cross of the real and the unreal" (Sharma, 1991, p.252-253). There are two ways which left open – one by giving up all hope to take up the world as it is and bear the pangs and pains in the hope of a crumb of happiness now and then. The other, to give up the search for pleasure, knowing it to be pain in another form, and seek for truth and those that dare try for truth succeed in finding that truth as ever present, present in themselves. Then we also discover how the same truth is manifesting itself both in our relative error and knowledge, we also find the same truth as bliss which again is manifesting itself as good and evil, and with it also we find real existence which is manifesting itself as both death and life.

Thus one realizes that all these phenomena are but the reflections, bifurcated or manifold, of the one existence, truth-bliss-unity, our real self and the reality of everything else. The real self is identical with the pure manifesting unity of all consciousness (Dasgupta, 1975, p. 475). Then only it is possible to do good without evil, for such a soul has known and got the control of the material of which both good and evil are manufactured, and he alone can manifest one or the other as he likes, and we know he manifests only good. A redistribution of pain and pleasure is better than always the same persons having pains and pleasures. The sum total of good and evil in the world re-

mains ever the same. It is our responsibility, and we have the freedom, to cultivate knowledge within ourselves.

Seeking truth or wisdom

We acquire a dependable method of truth-seeking, a method that can be applied to every sphere of human life, then we have an instrument of infinite power that will serve us as long as humankind endures. This method of attaining wisdom is self-corrective and self-evolving. Historically there has been five chief ways of seeking the truth. They are

- Divine revelation
- Recognized authority
- Intuition from self-evident knowledge
- Rationalism with certain logical assumptions
- Modern scientific method to establish knowledge

Traditional religion has heavily relied on divine or supernatural revelation in its quest for knowledge, as when some revered prophet received the direct vision as the absolute and immutable truth. In any religion the ideas and insights that a believer purports to acquire by means of prayer are also presumed to come through revelation from a supernatural power. "A valid means of knowledge is such that it could apply to any of the three meanings, which we ascribed to the term, namely divine revelation, authoritative tradition and report" (Jayatileke, 1980, p.184). The methods of authority demands ultimate faith and at that moment they have some responsibility to make certain facts.

Intuition means the direct, immediate and certain apprehension of truth by the human personality, sometimes by

means of so-called innate ideas, without the intervention of any reasoning process or the mediation of sense perception. Intuition as the royal road to infallible and self-evident knowledge with higher standing in philosophy. The method of rationalism starts out with certain fundamental mathematical or logical assumptions and builds up a closely interrelated complex of ideas into a coherent whole. The fifth way of seeking truth, modern scientific method, embodies whatever is valid in past methods and adds its own distinguishing characteristic of empirical confirmation through accurate observation and experiment.

Thinking is unique

Thinking is a most incredible faculty that all humans have, and have no real understanding of how thinking actually happens. When we are thinking, we are actually quietly talking and simultaneously listening to ourselves, though external audible sound is absent. We learn from others by listening to them, by processing the information we receive externally through the complex internal mechanisms of our own mind. So listening is a conscious effort to direct our attention, to concentrate on what is being heard, whether it is the spoken word or something read. Listening is hearing with attention. When we listen, we are fully engaged, focused and concentrated.

Thinking without creative response makes so many problems. The world of creation begins with desire. Human life, as we know, is a manifestation of desire. Life is an expression of our known and unknown desires, seeking fulfilment- overcoming obstacles, conquering challenges and getting fulfilled or frustrated. Indeed, life swings like a pendulum, between fulfilment and frustration. No man can ever claim to have fulfilled all his desires. Fulfilment of certain desires and unfulfilment of

countless others are the story of an average human being. We all know, right at our very birth when as new-borns we give out a cry. That cry is the first visible expression of desire. Desire give birth to action and action creates karma, then karma creates desires and the chain continues and keep rolling. But there is a logic behind the desire and the dictum, 'enjoy, fulfil your desires with care'. We should be care of our desire which can be transformed. While desire for objects of enjoyment bind, 'desire to not desire' liberates us.

Desire again, are the source of all anger, greed, and violence. Says the famous verse in the Gita, "Thinking of objects, attachment to them is formed in a man. From attachment longing, and from longing anger grows. From anger comes delusion, and from delusion loss of memory. From loss of memory comes the ruin of discrimination, and from the ruin of discrimination he perishes." (Bhagavat Gita: 2.62-63). There are two ways of giving up all attachment. The one is the realization of their own ignorance and the other is the attainment of the truth and reality. Spiritualization of life is the only way to go 'beyond' our thinking.

True self

In spiritual life the creative response leads us to remove our ignorance. The art of listening and thinking make us to know the subtle spiritual truths of the universe. Through deep thinking, reflection and meditation upon what we have carefully listened to, we are able to gradually experience the subtle realms of spiritual reality, which transcends all sound and thought. So learning the art of listening is extremely important in recovering our true self. In Vedanta, it is known as *sravana*, *manana* and *nidhidhyasana* which are threefold method of attaining self-

realisation. In order to mastering the art of listening we have to consider three factors:

- Interest in knowing what we need
- Appreciation for the value of what we are listening to
- Mindfulness to remove the ignorance

Whatever we are interested in, we effortlessly give our attention to that itself. Interest stimulates our feelings, holds our attention, engages our entire personality; infuses us with energy. Generally, our interest is scattered over many things. It is very important that we focus our attention on one thing which is necessary for removing our ignorance. If we are not really interested in something, for all practical purposes, it doesn't exist for us. As long as we are all wrapped up in this world and are satisfied here, that yearning for spirituality will never come. But the moment genuine yearning dawns, our interest begins to shift from worldly things to the divine. In spiritual life we have to become one-pointed; our interest has to be directed within. So having an intense interest in acquiring true knowledge, in self-realization, is perhaps one of the most salient means of cultivating the actual skill of listening.

Whatever we value, we have respect for that and want to listen about it carefully to enter the true knowledge. We pay attention to that knowledge and find delight in dwelling on it, because it has meaning for us. A knowledge seeker is deeply appreciate of the values which helps to removes his ignorance. There is no other source for this kind of knowledge other than our own direct experience. By listening to the values and practice it will be instantly free from the bondage of samsara. So the value in listening to our spiritual teachers is immeasurable, in-

comparable (Virajaprana, 2013, p 298). They convey the assurance of the truth and our ability to realize it, which strengthens our convictions and impels us to intensify our practices.

In our daily lives when we pay attention and listen carefully to the truth and reality, of others, of ourselves, and of the world around us, is an excellent training for the removal of our ignorance. This is an opportunity to choose the correct decision in our daily activities. Learning the skill of listening is also the result of conscious effort and practice, of bringing more self-awareness, more mindfulness. This mindfulness is expressed through our creative response.

Creative energy

Every one of us is endowed with creative energy and we have the freedom to decide how to express that creativity. But unfortunately we are ignorant about our creative energy. This creative energy is boosted with our will and consciousness. It is our power to decide what to do and be responsible for what we do, that puts us apart from inert things and animals. According to Swami Vivekananda the most oft-quoted words are 'arise', 'awake' 'stop not till the goal is reached'. To arise is to claim ourselves as people with a will. To awake is to claim ourselves as pure consciousness. We should arise for the welfare of the world. We should awake because that is the only way to create our energy.

When in ignorance one accepts ignorant men as Guru, the result will be catastrophic. It will be like a blind man taking a group of blind men under his fold. To know the truth is one thing; but to experience it in one's consciousness as the truth with unwavering faith is realization. The realization of the absolute and the ultimate is essential for understanding the true

consciousness of human beings. One must listen to the 'inner voice' and resort to seeking divine guidance. If we are aware of the inner voice we can easily develop our creativity within us. Human will and divine will are co-related. Unlike animals and inanimate objects human beings have the power or will to choose the course of action and follow that course of action. Humans could save themselves from a speeding automobile by moving away but this is not possible for a tree or even some animals.

Cognitive peace

Peace is a state of harmony characterized by the lack of violent conflict. Inner peace or peace of mind refers to a state of being mentally and spiritually at peace, with enough knowledge and understanding to keep oneself strong in the face of discord or stress. Being 'at peace' is considered by many to be healthy mental condition and the opposite of being stressed or anxious. Peace of mind is generally associated with bliss and happiness.

There are some prescriptions to peace given by men of wisdom over the centuries. We must have four sorts of ideas.

- We must have friendship for all
- We must be merciful towards miserable persons
- We need to cultivate an attitude of gladness
- We should practice indifference to evil

To be friendly means trusting others, and not doubting and getting suspicious of others. Being friendly means to be helpful and kind. It is a blessing to have a good, understanding friend, 'someone who knows all about you and still loves you' (The Vedanta Kesari, January 2013, p.7). This attitude of friendliness

when extended further relieves us of stress and restlessness. Often silence makes the real conversations between friends.

Being merciful makes the mind pure. It fills the mind with pure vibration while externally a merciful person may seem 'disturbed' to see others suffering (The Vedanta Kesari, January 2013, p.8). While mercy cleans up the mind of all self-centeredness and make a person kind. Inner peace requires that one should be free from all cruelty and hardheartedness and cultivate mercy towards all.

One should feel happy to see others doing good works and not imagine bad motives to them. Comparison and competition are two things that are at the core of jealousy. A jealous person invariably compares himself or his situation with someone who he thinks is better placed or is being favoured and he feels it is unfair to him (The Vedanta Kesari, January 2013, p.9). There is a feeling of lack, some kind of emptiness caused by jealousy and taking away all peace. Let us be happy at others' happiness, for that is the way to inner peace and joy.

Often we see wickedness in others and just go on thinking of it. We forget what is evil to us, and what is causing unhappiness to us, is quite relative and not an absolute truth. We should practice indifference to that evilness not to wicked person. Only a person who has done wicked actions in the past becomes wicked and brings suffering for himself and others. A seeker of inner peace can change the wicked and develop right approach to him.

These four attitudes together form the most mature and wise prescription for inner peace.

Conclusion

The state of knowledge and ignorance are simultaneous and interdependent. Whether phenomenal or transcendental, the knowledge indirectly indicates ignorance and vice-versa. It is the state of knowledge which makes a person feel about the ignorance. In the case of transcendental knowledge, the knowledge is both means as well as goal. The law of nature itself explains that the existence of something is the cause of the existence of another thing. Thus the natural phenomena has both the characteristics of the real and unreal. But both are misunderstood for each other and this causes a great concern for understanding ignorance and knowledge. This is why, from the earliest times, knowledge and ignorance both have been taken in view by the philosophical thinkers of various ages. The Rigvedicmaya and the Upanisadicavidya and maya, the Buddhisticsamvrtti and avidya and the Sankariteavidya and maya is an effort in the same direction.

The ancient philosophers were greatly introspective, no doubt, but they also gave importance to the world in which they lived. There was no question of living in disharmony or in isolation, or for one's own self-interest. It comes only when one has grown beyond the demands of the body and mind and is no longer bound by them. This leads us to peace. In today's world there is none who does not long for peace even as the world we live in is engulfed in the hustle and bustle of modern living. We should be introspective and realise that we are one with the universe and the universe is one with us; as long as this 'oneness' is not realised, there will be lack of balance and peace.

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INDIA'S PRIORITIES FOR ENERGY SECURITY IN CENTRAL ASIA

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Abstract

Post 9/11 along with discovery of oil and gas carried a new dimension to strategic importance of Central Asian Region in the world. Being in the proximity of India's extended neighborhood, Central Asia became important source of its energy security. India's economic developments are craving for Energy Security. Rising India is dependent for its energy consumption on the imports from many countries including Saudi Arabia, Iran as well as some African and American countries. India's growing disparity between production and consumption of energy puts pressure on furthering imports from other countries. The recent exploration of energy resources in CARs has forced energy hungry nations to approach towards this region. India also has options to fulfil its growing energy demands from Central Asia, for which India has already begun its important role in the construction, development as well as stability of this region.

Key words: Energy, India, CAR, oil, Gas, import, export

India is one of the fastest developing economies in the world and is expected to be a major economic power by 2020. Energy Security is important concern of India in enhancing India's relation with Central Asia. The importance that India now attaches to energy security is reflected in the former Prime minister of India Manmohan Singh's remarks in an interview with financial times in 2004 stating, that the Energy security is second only in our scheme of things to food security. The study of rising demands of energy and disparity between production

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and consumption of energy are chief objectives of this paper.

Most of authors who have written on the energy security, have very nicely predicated the growing demands of energy for India in future and in its reliance on few major suppliers. Madan (2010) argues that together China and India would account for 50 percent of Global energy demands. Madan in her article 'India's International quest for Oil and Natural Gas: Fuelling Foreign Policy' has further analysed the growing dependence of India on oil imports by 90 percent by 2030. Bupendhar Chada (2010) 'India's Energy Security Challenges and Opportunities' has analysed the fluctuation of markets on the imports of energy from other countries. He has analysed that the uncertainty of energy supplies, makes the energy as priority and concern for foreign policy makers. In an article Bupendhar Kumar sing (2009) 'Changing Dynamics: Gulf Energy Security' analysed the impact of growing consumption of oil and petroleum by Gulf countries locally. Daniely (2006) 'Ensuring Energy Security' relates the energy security with national strategy. He states energy as the fundamental need for power to economic growth. Daniely further states that India has to readjust its abilities to the new dependence on Global market. The challenges of energy security would be more frequent because of the growth of energy trade in global market. There would be more shocks because of disruptions in Gulf, African and Latin American Countries. The growing gap of production and consumption of energy lead India to formulate the strategies at domestic and external level, this theme has been captured by Devika Sharma in her article 'India and its Energy Security Strategy'. The growing demands for energy have brought changes in the regulatory mechanism. The self Reliance and independence in energy security are major components of India's energy strategy. A vision

document known as 'India- Hydrocarbon Vision 2025' was prepared to assure self reliance in energy security. Energy strategy has been the priority of India's major bilateral, regional and pluralateral high level meetings. India's major energy strategy is diversification of energy sources and alternatives. Hence the CAR has emerged as an option and an important alternative for India's energy Strategy.

Method

The paper has a limited theme of Central Asia in India's Map of energy strategy. This paper is both analytic in nature and scope. As per the requirements of the study both qualitative and quantitative methods found a significant space. The bulk of study based on the analysis of documents, journals, periodicals and scholarly papers, both online and offline substantiates that secondary sources form the very base with the support of accessible primary data in the form of official documents and statements. The textual interpretation or content analysis employed as a research tool substantiates the objectivity and subjectivity of the methodology to complete the task

Importance of Central Asia to India

The five soviet central Asian states have appeared on the map of the world after the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991. Traditionally, Central Asia has been an area of "great game". Russia, China, US, Turkey, Iran, Europe, EU, Japan, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan have all substantial security and economic interests in the region. India's growing interests in central Asia are well-recognised. India views itself as a stabilizer and security provider in the region and with its growing economic influence, an attractive economic power. India's interest in securing reliable energy supplies and trade through central Asia re-

mains important. The subject of India Central Asian relations is not a new one, they have close bonds of history that always linked these two regions, and it is accepted as India's "extended neighbourhood". India's engagements in Central Asia have been renovated under different official names of "extended neighbourhood", "immediate and strategic neighbourhood" and "look north policy" as well as connect Central Asia Policy. The shock of Soviet disintegration and changes in post-cold war world politics influenced India's Central Asia policy. India always showed a low profile in its engagement in Central Asia. In modern times, the importance of Central Asia to India is not merely civilizational and historical, but also geopolitical and economic. The relations with central Asia are significant for India's short and long-term foreign policy goals in this region. The paper further elaborated on the option of energy security for India in CARs.

Growing Demands for Energy

The world consumes 12000 million tonnes of oil equivalent (mtoe) of energy resources; India consumes 4.4% of the world total (524.2 mtoe). Global consumption of primary commercial energy (coal, oil and natural gas, nuclear and major hydro) has grown at a rate of 2.6% over the last decade. The size of the oil and gas industry in terms of turnover stands at US\$ 160 billion. Of India's total energy requirements, 45 percent are fulfilled by oil and gas. According to US Energy Information Administration in 2013, the value of India's crude oil imports reached nearly 3.9 million bbl/d. About 78 percent of India's petroleum consumption is met from imports (mostly crude oil); while about 25 % of natural gas (including LNG) consumption comes from imports. According to World Energy Outlook, India's dependence on oil will grow to 91.6 percent by the year 2020

(Sarma 2010: 71-74).

From a global perspective according to the International Energy Agency (world Energy Outlook 2013) primary energy demand in the world will increase by 66 percent from the year 2002 to 2030, where Asia's share is projected to increase from 28 percent to 35 percent. The share increase will be especially significant as regards oil demand. Two sectors; transport and petrochemicals will be prime sectors for oil consumption by 2035. The Asian developing countries will take the largest share, 38 percent in 2030 of which china will account for 16 percent and India 8 percent. India's demand will more than double during that period and India will also increase its share of total consumption of natural gas and coal.

Secondly few other sources of energy is as suitable and environment friendly as oil and gas. There is also a remarkable correlation between oil demands in transport and GDP growth. India's GDP has been growing by 6-8 percent annually during the last few years till 2011 and oil demand is calculated to grow between 4 and 5 percent annually during the coming decades to meet these growth rates.

India is one of the fastest growing economies of the world. In recent World Bank report terms of purchasing power parity despite fairly low per capita consumption, India replaced Japan as third largest world economy after US and China respectively. To sustain India's prosperity and growth India needs energy resources. According to the government's integrated energy policy, with 2003-04 as the base, India needs to increase its primary energy supply by a factor of three or four of its electricity generation capability by a factor of five to six (Chatur Vedi 2013: 41). Keeping a development agenda, India's commercial

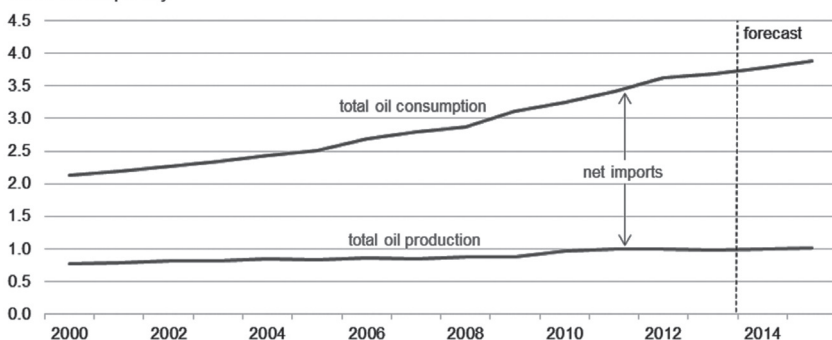
energy supply would need to grow from 5.2 percent to 6.1 percent per annum while its total primary energy supply would need to grow at 4.3 percent to 5.1 percent annually (Chatur Vedi 41). Power generation capacity of around 160, 000 MW. Correspondingly, the coal requirement will need to expand to over 2 billion tons per year (Sachdeva, 2012, 33).

Production Consumptions Gap

India lacks enough domestic energy resources which compels it to import almost 70 percent of its energy requirement. According to the oil and Gas Journal, till end of 2012, India had 5.5 billion barrels of proved oil reserves. About 53 percent reserves are from onshore resources, while 47 percent are offshore reserves. According to 2006-07 estimates, natural gas reserves in India are around 1075 billion cubic metres. Natural gas demand is rising rapidly from 242.66 mmscmd in 2013 to 378.06 mmscmd in 2016-17 and will be more than double to 516.97 mmscmd in 2012-22, according to a study commissioned by PNGRB (Petroleum and Natural Gas Regulatory board).

India petroleum and other liquids production and consumption, 2000-15

million barrels per day



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, International Energy Statistics and Short-Term Energy Outlook June 2014.

US Energy Information Administration, International Energy Statistics and Short Term Energy Outlook 2014

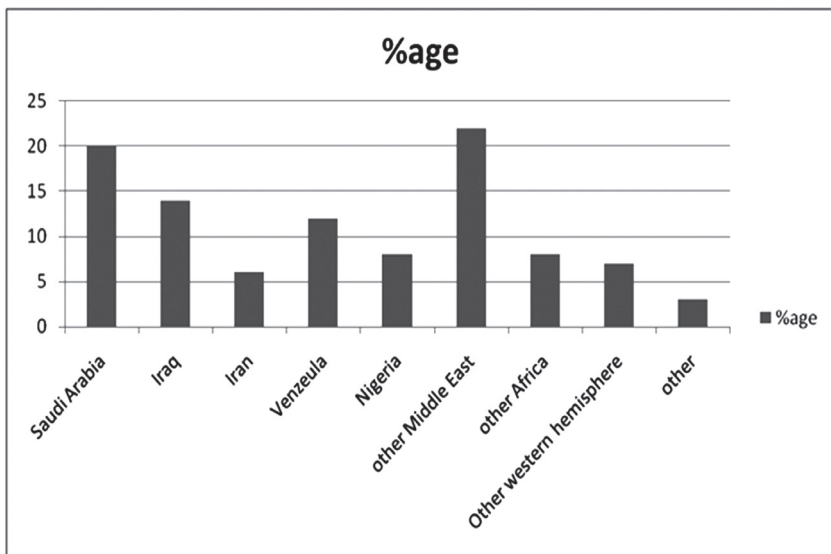
According to the US Energy Information Administration (EIA) the gap between India's oil production and consumption is raising rapidly. Last year 2014 the demand reached nearly 3.7 million barrels per day (bbl/d) compared to less than 1million bbl/d of total liquid production. According to EIA projection, by 2040 India's domestic total liquids production will remain relatively constant around 1 million bbl/d, the demand will increase more than double to 8.2 million bbl/d. Indian dependence on imported crude oil has led Indian energy companies to diversify their supply sources as a result, Indian national oil companies (NOCs) have already purchased equity stakes in overseas oil and gas fields in South America, Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Caspian Sea region to acquire reserves and production capability. However, the majority of imports still continue to come from the Middle East. Hence, energy is one of the important sectors India is hoping to access the energy market of CAR.

Considering this growing energy needs, the Indian former President, A.P.J. Abdul Kalam (2007) had stated that Indian's energy needs are going to play a key driving force in future foreign policy. As a result, convergence of India's foreign policy diplomacy and domestic needs for development needs is striking in the context of energy security.

India is mostly dependent on the Gulf countries for its energy requirement as shown in Table II. Political crisis in the Gulf region and the sanctioned imposed by United States on Iran compels India to diversify its energy sources which is now a prime concern of India's energy policy. The ongoing conflict

in West Asia which is one of the important energy exporters to India informs the same policy.

1. India's Petroleum and Other Liquids Imports by Source, 2013



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, Global Trade Atlas

India's Energy Options in CAR

The CAR has substantial unexploited energy resources (Table III) and need investor for the exploration of their energy resources for their own consumption and foreign revenue. Among the Central Asian States Kazakhstan possess the most untapped natural resources and minerals followed by Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan though lacks oil and gas has hydroelectric power capability in the region. India has already assisted Tajikistan to rehabilitate and modernize the Varzob-1 hydropower Plant through the Indian Public sec-

tor Units BHEL (Bharat Heavy electrical Limited) and National Hydro Power Corporation (NHPC). The hydro power station was inaugurated in 2012 and productively operating now. This hydro power project has received about 47 percent of the total committed grants to CAR (Hemant, Taraporevala, Prasad and Mullen 2014: 14).

Estimates of proven Reserves of Oil and Natural Gas in Central Asia and India

	Oil (Billion Barrel)		Natural Gas (Trillion Cubic Feet)		
	BP Statistical Review	Oil & Gas Journal	BP statistical Review	CEDI-GAZ*	Oil & Gas Journal
Country	Year-End 2007	January 1, 2009	Year-End 2007	January 1, 2008	January 1, 2009
Kazakhstan	39,828	30.000	67,203	67,099	85,000
Kyrgyzstan	NSR	0.040	NSR	NSR	0200
Tajikistan	NSR	.012	NSR	NSR	0.200
Turkmenistan	0.600	0.600	92316	94644	94,000
Uzbekistan	0.594	0.594	61603	61978	65000
India	5459	5625	37257	37257	37906
world	1237876	1331698	6257780	6315770	6254364

NSR: not separately reported

**Centre International d' Information sur le Gaz Naturel et tous Hydrocarbures Gazeux.*

Source: *US Energy Information Administration Data Base*

India in 2006 succeeded in obtaining exploration right for hydrocarbon reserves in Turkmenistan by oil and Natural Gas Corporation of India. Agreement between Kazakhstan and Indian in Satpayev gas field in Caspian Sea, MoU between Uz-

Uzbekistan and India on the joint exploration and production in Uzbekistan Gas field and third countries, and India's participation in TAPI projects are some significant development India has gained in CAR. The 1,800 km long Turkmenistan pipeline supported by the Asian Development Bank expected to be completed around 2018. The pipeline will transport Caspian Sea natural gas from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan into Pakistan and then to India. Estimated cost of the pipeline projects is reported at \$7.6 billion. From Indian side GAIL, signed the purchase agreement and become a part of the project. The project aims to export up to 33 billion cubic meters (bcm) of natural Gas per year. The CAREC (Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation) on strategy for regional cooperation in the energy sector identifies TAPI as one of the links in the inter energy relationship among CAREC countries. Aims of TAPI are strategically aligned with CARECs objectives of by ensuring energy security through balanced development of regional infrastructure and institutions, secondly creating a stronger integration of markets and finally economic growth through enhanced energy trading. TAPI is a high priority flagship project in the energy sector under CREC 2020. For India, the South Asia's Regional Cooperation Strategy and programs (SARCSP) of 2011-2015 also focuses on the energy sector as a priority area. Road shows were held between 10-20 September 2012 in Singapore, New York City and London to meet with Proactive consortium leader and financiers. Technical Working Group and Steering Committee meeting were also organized during this period. After several TWG and steering committee meetings, the four Governments have obtained necessary approvals for establishment of TAPI Ltd, which is the pipeline company will design, building, own and operate. An initial \$ 5.0 million

capital injection has also been approved for each of the parties to provide as an initial into TAPI Ltd (USAID Trade project, July 2014).

New Great Game

Lack of connectivity and transit facility with the region still remain major impediments for India to reach out to the region for boosting economic cooperation. Central Asian Region is a land locked region and having a limited connectivity with neighbours particularly with India. However, India is sharing a good trade and economic partnership with china, Iran and Russia, immediate neighbours of the region. Hence a fruitful mutual cooperation benefiting both is not too far to realize. India also in recent times is seriously engaged in CAR and its neighbouring country Afghanistan and Iran through many humanitarian and development measures to not only stabilize the region but engage in many construction activities to link CAR through these countries. Pakistan's repeated denial to transit India's goods through the country pushed India to bypass Pakistan if necessary to connect the region and substantially fulfilled the India's future goal in this region. The assistance and cooperation in the development of Chabahar port of Iran, construction and repairing works in the border roads of Af-Iran-CAR shows the India's growing interest in the region.

Infrastructural Projects

From Indian Side a CAR driven policy is much needed for India to sustain India's growing energy requirements and development of the country. Despite low per capita consumption, in terms of purchasing power parity India is third largest energy consumer for both if India is able to import its energy require-

ment from CAR countries. The pipeline projects which are intending to link CAR with India or South Asia are as following.

Regarding the pipeline projects between CAR and India, the most important and slowly developing project is the TAPI pipeline project. It was started in 1995 as TAP, Turkmenistan-Afghanistan and Pakistan. India joined later in the eve of two-day Regional Economic Cooperation forum on Afghanistan held in 2006 in New Delhi. It is a 1680 km (1040 miles) long gas pipeline that has potential to transport up to 33 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually for thirty years from Dauletabad field in Southeast Turkmenistan to first Afghanistan then running through Pakistan to India. According to the projection, India and Pakistan would get 38 mmscmd each, while remaining 14 mmscmd supplied to Afghanistan. It is a pioneering effort to link the gas rich Central Asian economies with the energy deficient economies of South Asia. It has potentiality of benefiting both the regions. This would pave Turkmenistan's way to become natural gas hub of Eurasia. Turkmenistan has the world's fourth largest reserves of natural gas with 7.94 trillion cubic meters (TCM), after Russia, Iran and Qatar (Debata 2011: 22). Turkmenistan has an estimated reserve of 4 to 14 TCM of gas in the world's largest field reserves. It will follow the reinvigoration of ancient trading route from Central Asia to South Asia almost 7.15 km through Multan and Pakistan at Quetta (Ballochistan) and proceeding about 800 km through Multan and Pakpattan in Pakistan towards the Indian border town of Fazilka. The estimated cost of pipeline is 7.6 billion U.S. dollars and according to projections work should have started in 2010 and end after five years in 2015. However due to security situation and India-Pakistan's strained relations project is yet to start. However, a new deadline has been set up by the member

countries by signing the purchase deal agreement \$7.6 billion and is likely become operational by 2018. From Indian side the agreement was signed by Chairman of GAILB.C. Tripathy. India also agreed to payment of 50 cents per million metric British thermal unit (mmBtu) as the transit free to Pakistan and Afghanistan for the gas. The TAPI pipelines project is also known as the 'peace pipeline' due to its potentiality to reduce the differences among the nations and to work towards for a greater integration of the region. (Debata 2011: 17)

Although the process of the project is slow, it carries lot significance. The recent India-Pakistan positive attitude for a healthy relation by new governments of both the nations enhances widespread positive implications for a long time sustainable regional cooperation. Speaking at an energy conference in Turkmenistan, Susan Elliot U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State on South and Central Asian Affairs said 'TAPI route may serve as a stabilizing corridor, linking neighbours together in economic growth and prosperity.' Since Afghanistan's Taliban is of utmost concern to the United States, it wanted to improve the security situation in Afghanistan linking through its neighbouring countries of South and Central Asia (Zubeda 1978: 23).

Repeating the important consequences of the project, Indian former External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna opined that credibility of TAPI is that it could become an important confidence building measures among the four involved countries and further enhance cooperation and economic benefits for the whole region.

The second important pipeline is IPI (Iran, Pakistan, India) which although did not involve the CAR has implications for enhancing cooperation between South and Central Asia. The

IPI gas pipeline was a bilateral pipeline between Iran and Pakistan, as both signed agreement for the same in 2010. However, later India joined the project but both sides dilly dallying on the project. From Indian side apprehensions are that the strained relations with Pakistan may in future result in cutting off gas supply passing through its territory to India. On the other hand, Pakistan is always sceptical towards India's engagement with Afghanistan and CAR (Zubeda 1978: 24). However, joining of India in any pipeline project linking to South Asia is important for financial concerns of the involved nations. As Nadeem Iqbal has pointed out that IPI pipeline project is only viable if it is extended up to India since Iran is hoping to make \$US 3.06 per MMBTU (million British thermal units) of gas sold to India, but would only get \$ 1.48 if limited to Pakistan only. On other hand Pakistan which is also an economic and developmental crisis is hoping to earn about \$14 billion in 30 years from the project including transit fees of \$8 billion. Same challenges and opportunities are also in front of TAPI project (Rila, 2006). However, Involvement of more parties and western support to TAPI lend more importance to the project. Further the stressed relation between western countries and Iran is another reason of delaying the IPI project. Iran which has the second largest reserves of gas after Russia has yet to emerge as a large exporter due to western sanctions and periodic political upheavals. Iran's interests in gas supply to the subcontinent are stated to lie in the geographical location of Iranian gas resources, especially South Pars field in the centre of Persian Gulf. This later makes India the best market for the country's gas export in the coming years (Pande 2011: 17).

However, gradual improvement of relations between U.S. and Iran has a positive implication for further enhancing the

project. India also shares great historical, political implication for enhancing the project. India also shares great historical, political and economic ties with Iran and was able to import its energy requirement during the sanction period too. Therefore, both TAPI and IPI pipeline (MAP I) are significant for the whole Central and South Asian regions, successful cooperation of one will boost the later. Both projects have potentiality to integrate the whole region with economic prosperity, development and future cooperation and confidence building between the regions.

Map I: TAPI and IPI pipeline



Source: http://outlookafghanistan.net/topics.php?post_id=2209

Conclusion

Post 9/11, along with discovery of oil and gas with other mineral and energy resources in Central Asia caught the attention of the world. On the other hand, post economic liberalisation India was able to create a space in the international economic sphere. India, according to recent World Bank report,

has succeeded Japan as the World's third largest economy. The main two sectors for India's energy demand increase are transport and petrochemical sectors. The prime energy demand related to the oil and gas sector corresponding to India's growing transport industry. According to US Energy Information Administration in 2013 India's crude oil imports reached to 3.9 million bbl/d. India is mostly dependent on the Middle East countries. Approximately 62% of India's imported crude oil comes from there. Saudi Arabia is India's largest oil supplier, with a 20% share of crude oil coming from Venezuela. While India has increased oil imports from African countries contributing 16% of India's crude oil imports, supply has been disrupted from major important countries, including Iran, Libya, Sudan and Nigeria. However, it is happening due to strained relation between Iran and US on one hand and the socio political crisis in the Gulf region on the other. Iran accounted for 5.5% of India's crude imports in 2013, down from 8.3% in 2011-12 (US Energy Information Administration June 26, 2014). As a result, India is searching to diversify energy sources while CAR could be able to meet future energy demand of India. CARs on the other hand have energy driven economic policies with huge unexploited natural resources and have welcomed India to invest in their country. CARs need long term partners to meet their national aspirations of growth and development while India edifices a successful emerging global economic power.

India has already signed many agreements and treaties with Central Asia to work together. India already gets access to the energy field of CAR maintain countries; On the other hand, CAR's main pragmatic policy is to maintain a balance between major power's interests in their region to protect their national interest through multi vector policies for prosperity and devel-

opment. Hence, both found mutual beneficiary areas that led to India growing interest in central Asia and Vice versa.

However, the most important impediment between CAR and India is the accessibility of land or sea routes. CAR is a landlocked region sharing border with Russia, China, Iran and Afghanistan. The closest route is via Pakistan and Afghanistan. For India, it is closer than other foreign partners. However, India is not able to access CAR vice versa CAR to India because of India's strained relations with Pakistan and anti-Indian Taliban force still active in Afghanistan. New Delhi has had to look for new routes that bypass Pakistan altogether. Towards that end, the North-South Transportation Corridor which connects India to the Central Asian region through Iran was envisaged as a game-changer. Initiated in 2003, this project aims to connect the port in Mumbai to the Iranian ports of Chabahar and Bandar Abbas through maritime transport, and then develop road and rail networks linking these two ports with Afghanistan and other Central Asian Republics (Mukherjee 2015: 21)

India has come up with a "Connect Central Asia policy" (2012), which includes elements such as high level visits, strategic partnerships, comprehensive economic engagement, partnership in the development of energy and natural resources. Development of potential in medical field, education, e-networks, land connectivity etc. This policy was declared in 2012. The implementation of the policy needs to be speeded up. This will require allocation of definite resource for the implementation of the policy. Second, there must be an institutional mechanism for implementation. (Arvind Gupta 2013, IDSA)

Secondly, to get access to energy market of CAR, India already has engaged with CAR, Iran and Afghanistan through

many infrastructure projects in border areas of the region, Afghanistan Iran CAR with India. It is helping the CAR region too since it is mostly dependent on Russia and China route for transit. It will help CAR to diversify their trade route not only through land but will mitigate the long search on their warm water port. India's assistance for the development of Chabahar port and the proximity of CAR and Afghanistan to the port is important to mention. Moreover, as the country's energy demands continue to grow, New Delhi has no choice but to tap into other sources. In this context, energy-rich and proximate Central Asia is best positioned to become India's next big oil and gas supplier.

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TREADING THE PATH TO EMPOWERMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF THE STATUS OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN KERALA

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Abstract

Muslim women of Kerala form a heterogeneous group with its own cultural diversities in the multi cultural and pluralistic society of this state. The religion Islam accords special status to women but in practice the challenges they face when they try to empower themselves and to bring them up within the main stream of social life are double fold when compared to the efforts of their sisters in other communities. Even after 68 years of independence, women in Kerala, in spite of their highest literacy rates and educational achievements, failed to produce strong women political leaders, competent entrepreneurs, acclaimed social reformers or distinguished personalities of power except a few. But, this cannot be attributed to the dearth of talents; perhaps it maybe due to the attitude of the patriarchic society. Muslim women stand themselves as a separate group within the general population who are destined to fight within the society as well as their own community to come up against the main stream social life. This paper attempts to observe the current status of Muslim women, and the challenges they face on this path

Muslim women of Kerala form a heterogeneous group with its own cultural diversities in the multi cultural and pluralistic society of this state. Though the Human Development Indices of the state in general are at par with most developed countries, the real status of women in general is far from truth. Historical analysis of the status of these women in Kerala reveals horrifying details of oppression and male domination. In Kerala, the Muslim women, though religiously entitled to enjoy certain amount of freedom, were never given the same in the

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general atmosphere of oppression and male chauvinism. Thanks to the freedom struggles, social reformation movements and political Independence, the status of women in Kerala witnessed revolutionary changes, but owing to the community's callous approach to English education, and reluctance to acceptance of women's social outgoing, the changes in society at large did not have any impact on Muslim women. They had to be contended with the Arabic Malayalam scriptures for entertainment, communication and education. It was later with the strenuous efforts of Muslim reformation leaders like Vakkom Moulavi and other pioneers that the Kerala Muslim community as such, and Muslim women started benefiting from English education and independence.

Even after 68 years of independence, women in Kerala, exalted for higher literacy rates and educational achievements could not produce strong women political leaders, competent entrepreneurs, acclaimed social reformers or distinguished personalities of power except a few. This cannot be attributed to the dearth of talent, but maybe owing to the unsympathetic attitude of the patriarchic society. Muslim women stand a part as a separate group in the general population who are destined not only to stand apart to fight with the general society but also within their own community to come up against injustices in the mainstream social life. This makes the study of the Muslim women of Kerala and their struggles to empowerment interesting and meaningful. This paper attempts to conceptually analyse the rights of women in Islam, current status of Muslim women in Kerala and the issues they face in the struggle for empowerment.

Islam and Women

Islam accords an equal status to women compared to men. The Holy Quraan which is the text for Islamic principles addresses mankind as a whole. "Allah created you from a single soul, and created from it its mate" (Holy Qura'an 4:1)

Islam is a religion, with unalterable text and directions for every activity in human life and relations. Men and women as explained in the earlier verse were created from a single soul and the relation to each other is clearly defined in Islam through the various Qura'anic verses and teachings of the prophet Muhammed. The religion of Islam teaches and believes in rebirth, where all souls will have to meet his lord, the creator, and receive rewards for his/her deeds in this world. "Every soul will be held in pledge for its deeds" Holy Qura'an [74: 38]. These two verses help define the position of the two sexes in the Islamic world.

Qura'an says that men and women were created for one another. The Qura'an says, "O mankind, we created you all from a male and female, and made you into races and tribes, that you may know one another. Surely the noblest among you in the sight of God is the most God fearing of you". Holy Qur'an(49:13)

Furthermore, Qura'an says, "Their Lord answers them, saying : 'I will deny no man or woman among you the reward of their labours. You are the off-spring of one another". (Holy Qur'an 3:195). "For Muslim men and women, for believing men and women, for devout men and women, for men and women who are patient, for men and women who humble themselves, for men and women who give charity, for men and women who fast, for men and women who guard their chastity, for

men and women who remember Allah much for them all has God prepared forgiveness and a great reward" (Holy Qura'an 33:35).

Thus reads numerous verses in Qura'an, each quoting and stressing that before God, there is no distinction between man and woman, except for their deeds. So it can be concluded that before God Almighty men and women are equal.

Among Men and Women Islam ranks Men as superior to women, but with rights to women over men. "Your wives are your garments and you are a garment for them" (Holy Qura'an 2: 187). Again the Holy Qura'an (2:228) Says, ' "It is but fair that women should have rights over men even as men have rights over women, albeit men rank a degree above them". "Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, for God has given the one more (strength) than the other and because they support them" (Holy Qura'an 4:34). Thus Islamic text Qura'an gives a dignifying position to women.

The Teachings of the Prophet

The Prophet described women as "the twin halves of men" which emphasized the idea that their role in society is complementary to that of men. He declared that "the most valuable thing in the world is a virtuous woman". He taught his followers that it is God's commandment to treat women with gentleness and affection because, he said, "they are your mothers, daughters, aunts" (Abbassi, 1992)

In Islam, a woman is a completely independent personality. She can make any contract or bequest in her own name. She is entitled to inherit in her position as mother, as wife, as sister and as daughter. She has perfect liberty to choose her husband.

(Sarsarabi, 2015) The prophet's followers accepted his teachings and brought about a revolution in their social attitude towards women. They no longer considered women as mere chattels, but as an integral part of society. For the first time women were given the right to have a share in inheritance. In the new social climate, women rediscovered themselves and became highly active members of society rendering useful service during the wars, which the pagan Arabs forced on the emerging Muslim community. (Ahmed, 2011). They carried provisions for the soldiers, nursed them, and even fought alongside them if it was necessary. It became a common sight to see women helping their husbands in the fields, carrying on trade and business independently, and going out of their homes to satisfy their needs. (Rahman, 1988)

The predominant idea in the teachings of Islam with regard to men and women is that a husband and wife should be full-fledged partners in making their home a happy and prosperous place. A man is enjoined to educate the women in his care so that they cultivate the qualities in which they, by their very nature, excel. The prophet presented the best example in instructing the Muslim women to learn and teach. Women and men attended classes together taught by the prophet where women asked the prophet questions and had the opportunity to interact and educate themselves (Ashrof, 2005). Historians also mention that the female lecturers during the Umayyad caliphate reached to being about eighty in number and that some of them taught medicine and other sciences. (Islam web.net).

In the Madinah society, after the emigration of Muslims from Mecca, established by the prophet, women were guaranteed personal respect, the right to education, the right to enter

into legal contracts, and the political right to express their views concerning public affairs. (Bessell, 2002). They were also given the right to choose a husband of their liking and to reject a marriage they did not like. (Hasan, 2004) Indeed, the prophet allowed women to engage in suitable work for earning an income like men, so long as such jobs did not infringe on their dignity.

Women Empowerment

Empowering women does not mean giving power to women to dominate or be superior to others. Through empowerment, women develop a self confidence, self respect and will be capable to confront any circumstances that may come her way. Her empowerment leads to her increased influence in decision making, especially in matters that have a direct bearing on her life or her close associates. Also an empowered woman would be informed of her state as an individual, her legal rights as an equal citizen and ways and means to achieve her status in case of a conflict. Thus, she would be in a position, to support and guide, protect her fellow beings, and thus assume roles of leadership. Thus, empowerment is a process that happens with a conscious effort at individual level further developing into a collective movement. Empowerment is achieved through knowledge of one's rights, duties and responsibilities. Its objective is realized only through a support system that guides, mentors and supports the empowering process.

The report on human development in South Asia states that empowerment of women should be on an individualistic level, reflecting change in external and internal qualities. It states empowerment as a change in the context of a woman's life, which enables her increased capacity for leading a fulfilling human life. It gets reflected in external qualities such as health,

mobility, education and awareness, status in the family, participation in decision making, and also at the level of material security. It also includes internal qualities such as self-awareness and self confidence (Mathew, 2003).

Empowerment is a multidimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power (that is, the capacity to implement) in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their own societies, by acting on issues that they define as important. (Page 1999) Empowerment is a process which generates changes in our ideas and perceptions and creates awareness about one's rights and opportunities for self-development in all important spheres of life (Das & Mishra, 2001).

Status of Muslim Women in Kerala

Gone are the days when women were confined /restricted within four walls of her house. Today the social culture of Kerala has unimaginably changed over the last century. The position and status of women has achieved considerable standard, with women occupying several administrative positions in various offices. Realizing her potentials, she is gearing up her rights as individual and as a citizen. Women are seen all around Kerala, with increased mobility and social interaction. Women driving four wheelers and two wheelers, women managing retail shops, women as police constable, bus conductor and senior government officials are common sights. Large number of girls and women enjoy the freedom of education irrespective of caste, economic status or religion across Kerala. It is common right in Kerala women in large number go to movie theatres and market places.

Kerala women stand apart in lofty level from the Indian society in their status, culture, beliefs, practices, education and employment. The gender indices of Kerala women are at par with that of the most developed nations like Norway and Netherland (Mukhopadhyay, 2007). But the true picture of Kerala women is very different from what one visibly sees in statistical measures.

Kerala has been a predominantly male and caste dominated society. It is through education and social reformation that Kerala society moved further. But the society is still not free from its shackles. The preference for male child is a known factor in most households, as he is seen as the one who carries the generation forward where as the females are considered responsible holding together the family and is entrusted with child rearing and Kitchen work. Even if she is professionally employed, she is naturally expected to manage the dual roles of home management and professional responsibilities. Her option for higher studies and career development are contained and limited when it comes to mobility and monetary factors associated with it. She is totally dependent on family support for fulfilling her ambition as she is solely held responsible for the future of her children. Women in Kerala are still far away from the corridor of power. It is a fact that we have not developed strong women personalities is our society who are powerful enough to demand their rightful position in society. Media support to women empowerment is also not satisfactory and we see no conscious effort on any front towards this objective. Women are just consumers of reservation benefits, be it in police, politics or business. It is common in Kerala society where girls excel in studies in schools, and colleges, but boys prove better in professional and powerful position.

The presence of women in literary scene is comparatively to lower to men and the same is the case in Arts, and cultural arena. The female mentality of sub-ordination to men is strong, but a slick change over is seen in favour of women in the certain professions like teaching, nursing and secretarial jobs.

The practice of dowry system, a social evil which is prevalent widely among all communities in Kerala. Accordingly the bride's educational and occupational levels demand higher dowry. The higher the social status of the bridegroom, the higher will be demand for dowry.

It is commonly observed that the girls enjoy higher freedom before their marriage. The parents today are educated and become ambitious for the future of their daughters. The marriages of Muslim girls compulsorily followed, after custom bound rituals and religious practices. This puts a social pressure on parents to marry of their young daughters on or before the completion of their education. It is interesting to note that the very women who once got trapped by this evil social custom show extra vigour and ambition in the demand of dowry for their sons when they marry. This brings back the ambitious women to the conventional family structure, and getting blind followers of unwritten laws and practices. A married women's life revolves around her children and family. Her later efforts to push forward in professional life depend on her will power to struggle for getting family support to fulfil her ambitions. But as there is no policy procedure or social system familial or otherwise to support such a comeback of women after completing their parental responsibilities, these dreams remain dreams forever. Thus goes the life of common Kerala women across all communities. (Observation, 2015) .

Educational Status

Education levels of Muslim women now are comparatively higher when compared to the position in 4 to 5 decades ago. The community has finally accepted the importance of modern education and got the letters of the aversion for women education considerably. Muslim women today are proving their competency in society by scoring higher ranks and distinctions in academic studies. Today education up to 12th standard has become the usual norm of most households, except exceptional incidents. Today the question of educational empowerment of women does not arise as almost all are well educated. It is now the question of boys education and empowerment. (quotes. Gafoor 2015).

Education of girls is now an accepted norm in Islam, most of them pursue education up to graduation and above through various distance education modes as their accessibilities permit (Ali, 2015). Muslim women do take up profession in the male dominated fields like journalism too (Abdurahiman, 2015).

Professional Status

Teaching, Medicine, Dentistry, Advocacy and office works are the most preferred areas of Muslim women. They are confined mostly to those areas as they don't disturb their familial responsibilities. It is rare to find Muslim women in active politics, technical field, civil service, entrepreneurship, Police, Army, commanding government posts and the like. Though professionally qualified, many of them are not interested in these career path (Gafoor, 2015) (Kunjali, 2015). They are contented with their social networking, and hassle free life. Most women doctors, after tedious studies of MBBS curriculum, get married off and do not pursue further studies or clinical practice for

long. This is an unhealthy trend. The payment seats for MBBS are mostly filled for Muslim girls and they go useless for the society (Gafoor, 2015). The transformation of education to career probably does not happen in North Kerala women compared to South Kerala women due to their non-ambitious attitude. This probably may be due to the environmental influence as stated, more ambitious, South Kerala women professing towards career (Anwar, 2015). The new generation though educated does not find the need for a career path; probably because of their economical support of family and comfort at home (Abdurahiman, 2015). The Muslim women are religiously bound by their familial responsibilities and patriarchal dominance that their individualism and ambitions are subconsciously suppressed (Karassery, 2015).

It can be seen across Kerala, that Muslim women, though highly qualified, are mostly confined to women-friendly jobs more than their interests towards gender equality. Marriage defines her career prospects and future social life.

Social Status

The social life of Muslim women of Kerala has definitely and visibly changed since last few decades. The Gulf boom of 1970's posed challenges to Muslim women as they were left without their husbands' support. Education in later periods opened up avenues for their confident social interactions. Resources for increased mobility and communication revolution accelerated their socializing process. Mobility is not an issue today. Throughout Kerala one can see Muslim women comfortably shopping, driving and traveling around. (Rasheed, 2015). But places like cinema halls, hotels, clubs, and parties are not frequented by many Muslim women.

Purdah is a gown like dress that came into Kerala as a fashion or a covering dress as a byproduct of the Gulf boom. Probably the absence of their husbands prompted women to move outside the house for many a tasks, the husbands would have suggested Purdah as a safe dress to move around. (Muhammed, 2010) Anyhow, Purdah today is associated with religiosity to an extent that women are brainwashed to show just only their eyes outside while they are in public. This so called 'imposed or creative religious practice' has secluded her from the general community and creates health issues as this black gown does not suit Kerala atmosphere (Karassery, 2015). Covering the head and dressing modestly is the Islamic code of dressing which has been transcribed as Purdah is the Islamic dress code by certain orthodox groups (Amal, 2015).

Social media has opened up avenues for Muslim women to be engaged in creative, communicative and participative issues in social, politics, cultural affairs (mostly among the new generation). Social empowerment has resulted in decreasing moral values in society even among moderately educated middle aged women. Divorce cases demanded by women, cases where women as accused of and crimes committed by women are seen on the rise in Malabar and Calicut areas (Rasheed, 2015). Women have now started to voice their problems, and have started demanding justice in family issues compared to earlier times. She is not a representative of ignorant generation who used to silently suffer her fate (Anwar, 2015).

Education revolutionized the arena for Muslim women's thinking and understanding. Social media and Religious organisations along with Gulf circumstance of household responsibility made her capable of practical lessons in life. Handling of

money at home became her responsibility in the absence of her husband, which gave her greater autonomy in decision making at home. Moreover her involvement in social affairs as head of the household helped her make informed decisions. This when supplemented by her acquired knowledge of education gave her the courage to involve in social affairs and advice the needy, (Ruba, 2015).

Conducting classes, awareness programmes, entrepreneurship building, conducting organized activities among women for societal upliftments, team centered interactions are common among student groups around Malabar, Calicut region and central Kerala and women are interestingly participating and involving in such activities (Anwar, 2011).

The training camps, awareness program, entrepreneurial development classes, religion education, premarital counseling, career consultations etc conducted by women organizations like MGM and GIO are empowering Muslims women to a great extent (Anwar, 2015).

Creating awareness of active social participation in social and environmental affairs, rallies, pamphlets, counseling, published articles, dedicates magazines are all tools by various Islamic women based organization to improve their leadership capabilities at home and in the women involvement in society (Nargis, 2015).

Opportunities for women journalists, and opportunities through women run magazine Aaraamam of Jamal-at-e-Islam has provided a platform for women to develop their leadership capabilities and to inspire the Muslim women to awake and arise to be of service to society (Ali, 2015).

The Muslim organizations have been working to provide all rights of equality that Islam provides to women, to be social leaders, Today they have women representatives in Wakf Board and active promotion is given to develop leaders at Mahall level, which is the lowest unit of organization in a residential set up (Kinaloor, 2015).

Economic Status

Educational empowerment has not fully converted into economical empowerment among Muslim women. They get educated, but those who work professionally are much less compared to the women community at large. The economic independence among those who work after marriage needs further analysis.

Kudumbasree is a project of the Government of Kerala, to eradicate poverty and to empower women economically through a network of neighbourhoods (Ayalkoottams). This initiative was successful and generated crores of income to Women who were economically and socially weak. It has helped them to empower themselves though they are minimally educated. Kudumbasree provided opportunities for Muslim women in Muslim populated areas in Malabar. The present day economic status of the majority of women in Kerala is certainly very poor as they earn very low.

Political Status

The position of Muslim Women in political front is a serious topic. The political consciousness of Muslim women was there traditionally which can be seen from their active political participation and moral support during the Malabar revolt. The polling turn out in Muslim dominated areas have consist-

ently been high. The fifty percent reservation for women in Panchayati Raj gave unprecedented opportunities for women to seriously enter and flourish in active politics. The acceptance of Muslim league as a prominent secularist party supporting the cause of Muslims and their active women's wing have resulted in many able Muslim women performing responsible positions of power including Deputy Speaker of Kerala Legislative Assembly, Chair persons and Directors of Kerala State Women's Development Corporation, Member of Kerala State Women's commission, Member of Wakf board, Pro-Vice chancellor of MG University, and in various other posts. (Rasheed, 2015)

Though there had been advancements in all levels for empowering women from all walks of the community the hesitance to hand over power to women is visible in the society. Two Muslim women had occupied the seat of political power as deputy speakers in congress and communist ministries in earlier times. Muslim women had occupied reputable posts as Supreme Court Chief Justice, but there are no sufficient achievements to claim even after 30 years of such glorious past. (Gafoor, 2015)

Though Muslim league had come to power many times in Kerala Legislative Assembly and enjoyed key roles in power politics, never did they condescend to concede a position of active power to any of its capable women members. Any woman member who questioned the status - quo was sidelined by the male dominated party and its supporting religious leaders. Today we can see the political awareness, knowledge, and enthusiasm among young Muslim girls who quite actively participate in processions and political protests. It is commonly seen from interactions that they follow Islamic dress code and principles and at the same time discuss and debate political issues without

shying away. This ought to be reflected in positions of political power by merit, which one can hope for happen in near future.

Major Challenges

Today Muslim women of Kerala beyond doubt have improved in their literacy status. Their Primary level educational empowerment has also significantly improved. Most girls complete their higher secondary education, though there are records about drop-outs participation in professional education is seen only in limited numbers when compared to general women population. Professional education is highly confined to medicine, engineering and legal studies and among them it is limited to the traditionally 'reserved for women' seats As discussed earlier, the presence of Muslim woman in the main streams of life remain considerably neglected or negligible. Therefore it is a challenge to convert the higher educational status of Muslim women in Kerala into appropriate positions of power in social life.

The attitude of the society poses a major challenge to women empowerment. Society includes both men and women. Traditionally certain professions have been earmarked for women and like Gynecology, school teaching, nursing of elderly people etc. (Very few are seen in Government jobs or other professions.) The attitude of parents and their upbringing should change to allow fresh thinking choice of careers for young muslim girls and to prepare them to take up challenging career opportunities. Parents should identify talents of their children at young ages and, encourage and support them to take up careers in their areas of interest without inhibitions of societal acceptance. Thus fashion designing, hotel management, software and hard ware engineering, surgical specializations in medicines

counselling, business, management and similar areas of subjects having immense potential for women to establish their careers should be explored.

Early marriage of girl child is another hindrance to Muslim women's empowerment. Muslim community prefers early marriages; the problem is not with early marriage but life after marriage. Marriage should be to increase the strength of women and not to pull down her capabilities. With marriage she assumes the role of a typical house wife. If the family supports higher studies and professional stability along with her familial responsibilities, this challenge can be easily overcome.

Lack of Governmental support and policy reforms to accommodate women in general and Muslim women in particular slows down the process of empowerment. Policies should be introduced to attract women to government jobs and private sector jobs for ages 30 to 40 so that women are hopeful of their career prospects even after their young age. Thus, they will be motivated to continue their education even under trying circumstances. The security and status of a job once experienced will be passed on to the next generation by working parents.

Fundamentalist leaders and conventional attitude of the community are a major challenge to women empowerment. The traditionally Islamic belief is that the male member is the bread winner of the family and there is no need for women to work. But the religion also gives woman permission to pursue any area of interest of that doesn't affect her morality and religious conduct.

The dual responsibility at home and work demands lot of effort that makes professional empowerment a hard challenge to Muslim women. Though this applies to women across the

country, it is very much applicable to women of Muslim community. Without external support from either parents or in laws it is practically impossible for Muslim women to pursue education, career or recreation.

In the area of political empowerment Muslim women has a long way to go. It is only because of reservation in panchayat elections that Muslim women get opportunities in the socio political arena. It is during the time of political election, the trace colour of Muslim male chauvinists and political leaders come to expose. Earlier the corridors of power is entirely set for these people. When the laws for women reservation in local body in elections passed, the women were forcefully pushed to the arena of election by those who had been opposing it earlier. Though it has been criticised as a kind of proxy ruling in many panchayats, it provides a window for future women leader from the community. The attitude of Muslim political leadership towards their women's leaders confining them only to certain 'dignified' positions and keeping them away from corridors of power, define the status of Muslim women in Kerala. Women's have to gear up and challenge the status quo and rise from mere social workers and election campaigners to policy makers of women's welfare.

Mere employment is not empowerment, education and knowledge leads to empowerment. Having discussed the major challenges of empowerment of women it can be concluded that education is the key to empowerment. It is only through education can one realize the rights and wrongs of ones beliefs and practices and challenge status quo. Education and knowledge motivate rational thinking and allow interference in society and alter women's social position and status. And this view holds true especially for Muslim women in Kerala.

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THE IMPACT OF POSTMODERNISM ON PHILOSOPHICAL HERMENEUTICS: AN EXPLORATION

Jayaraj. K.*

Abstract

Philosophical hermeneutics is considered as the discipline which strives to interpret the philosophical texts. Traditionally, hermeneutics accepted the authorial meaning as the original meaning of the text. But the emergence of postmodernism has reinterpreted all things under the sun including the interpretation of texts. As a result, this historical foundation of decoding the textual meaning from the author is challenged, his role of bringing a document is degraded and the historical context which caused for the composition is dismantled. There are debates came up on a question where is meaning created. Some would argue that meaning is created behind the text that is in the author, others would argue that the meaning is created in the text or text oriented meaning, and postmodernist would argue that meaning is in front of the text or reader oriented meaning. Arguments between two stanch hermeneuticians are brought to defend author and reader, through whom one may understand the postmodern debate. A conclusion is drawn based on the argument in favour the textual context.

Key Words: Post modernism, Hermeneutics, Deconstruction, Reader-Response Theory.

Hermeneutics is considered to be the art and science of interpretation, the theory which helps the reader or hearer to perceive the meaning of text, verbal or non verbal communications. In some extent, this is a science which delineates principles or methods for interpreting an individual author's meaning. The history of hermeneutics goes back to the ancient Greece where Hermes, a Greek mythological god received the information

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from his father Zeus and communicated to the fortunate or unfortunate recipients. Traditionally scholars considered that the author being the sole authority to determine the meaning of any text. However, this idea is being challenged, and developed a tendency to anchor meaning in the text itself rather than its original intention with which an author documented. The impact of postmodernism directed the scholars to have their own subjective perspectives. As a matter of fact, the text was viewed from multiple perspectives which resulted in numerous outcomes. This new focus on hermeneutics occurred especially in Germany. Later years, the history has witnessed several developments in the area of hermeneutics. In this article, the researcher would like to highlight the aspect that what extent postmodernism influenced philosophic hermeneutics to come to the postmodern way of reading the text. The Primary focus is given to those philosophical hermeneuticians, their debates and interpretations of texts during the postmodern periods. In the development of the argument, an epistemological explanation is done to evaluate the postmodern hermeneutics to show how far this method can help the reader to perceive the originality of the textual meaning.

Rise of Postmodernism

The term postmodern is referred to a complex set of reactions to modern philosophical systems and their presuppositions. It was actually an opposed agreement on substantive doctrines or philosophical questions often come in contact within the philosophical movement. There is not much relation on precisely what the presuppositions of modern philosophy are, but postmodern philosophy vehemently stands against foundationalism, essentialism, and realism. Jean Francois Lyotard is

considered to be the beginning point of postmodernism with his publication of books on postmodernism. Postmodern philosophy in its very outlook is measured to be a complex cluster concept which includes many significant factors. This system of thought also “has an anti-epistemological standpoint, anti-essentialism, antirealism, anti-foundationalism, opposition to transcendental arguments and transcendental standpoints; rejection of the picture of knowledge as accurate representation; rejection of truth as correspondence to reality; rejection of the very idea of canonical descriptions; rejection of final vocabularies, i.e., rejection of principles, distinctions, and descriptions that are thought to be unconditionally binding for all times, persons, and places; and a suspicion of grand narratives, metanarratives of the sort perhaps best illustrated by dialectical materialism” (-Magnus, 1999, p. 726).

Having seen these features of postmodern philosophy, it also supports relativism, scepticism or nihilism and in a great extent it tries to eradicate the traditional explanatory system of metaphysics of presence. One of the most significant and notable factors is the sceptical attitude which postmodernism developed to critique whatever it has confronted. This sceptical attitude attacked all claims and monopoly of knowledge ultimately all totalising explanations. The publication of ‘The Postmodern Condition A Report on Knowledge’ by Lyotard in 1979 became the need of the hour which paved the way for people to develop a critical attitude on ideas and things. Lyotard was criticising two major ideas like the progressive emancipation of humanity from Christian redemption to Marxist Utopia – and also that of the triumph of science. Therefore, he wanted to liberate man from these kinds of manmade snares. Postmodernism is considered to be a historical term which redefined all the principles

and practices of modernism, primarily a more broadly a cultural phenomenon (Ermarth, 2001).

The role of language has played another significant part in the postmodern thought. As Jacques Derrida, the representative of one of the postmodern theories called Deconstruction has rightly said, “when language invaded the universal problematic; this is the moment when it becomes clear that everything operates by such codes, that everything behaves like language. Body language, garment language, the silent expression of gesture, the layout of a city or a fashion magazine or a university: all these are complex, coded systems of meaning and value in which we function simultaneously in several, even many, at once. Even in humdrum activities we are expert well beyond our conscious measures. Language thus conceived is a model of organization that is both powerful and finite”(Ermarth, 2001, p. 6743). The two rational ideas like episteme and discourse have emerged as useful terms describing the function of language. Episteme suggests the systemic nature of all knowledge the one can speak of the western episteme; and discourse suggests the systemic nature of all practices like moral, social, domestic, political, reproductive, economic, and intellectual. These terms and their investigation of meanings would help a reader to come to a firm ground of reality.

All the above mentioned features have reflected in the interpretation of postmodern time. They did not give any credibility to the writer or context rather only text which is placed publicly. For them text is in front of us, the reader has all the authority to handle it the way he likes. Man and his rational powers were highlighted and also post modernists believed that nothing would be accepted without sufficient evidences. All these presuppositions enthroned the postmodern reader to dic-

tate meaning for everything. He is considered to be the measure of all things without him nothing is made what is made.

The Postmodern Emergence of Cultural Studies

The postmodern thinkers have espoused the cultural studies very seriously. This cultural studies have two kinds of separate origins. The first and foremost one has come from French Structuralism of the 1960s which treated culture and literature as a series of conventional practices. This type of influence is found in the writings of the greatest French theorist Roland Barthes. "Barthes is especially interested in demystifying what in culture comes to seem natural by showing that it is based on contingent, historical constructions. In analysing cultural practices, he identifies the underlying conventions and their social implications" (Jonathan and Culler, 2000, p. 43). One of the sources of contemporary cultural studies is based on the Marxist literary theory which sought to uncover and bring into lime-light the popular working class culture. This theory tried to explore the lost voices of the downtrodden, marginalised and side tracked people and also trying to see things from below with the flavour of mass culture. Frankly speaking, cultural studies dwell in the tension between the analyst's desire to analyse culture as a set of codes and practices that alienates people from their interests and creates the desires that they come to have and, on the other hand, the analyst's wish to find in popular culture an authentic expression of value (Jonathan & Culler, 2000). In reality, culture in itself is said to be a shifting ideological construction in the waves of postmodernism. There are plenty of changes happened in the cultural development during the post-modern era which directly have influenced hermeneutics. As a result of the cultural studies, the monopoly of any claim of one ideology is challenged and multiple cultural constructions were

accepted which ultimately became the foundational premise for even postmodern philosophical hermeneutics.

The Influence of Postmodernism on Philosophical Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics is considered to be both a science and an art. As a science, enunciates (articulates) principles, investigates the laws of thought and language, and classifies its facts and results. As an art, it teaches what application these principles should have, and establishes their soundness of showing their practical value in the elucidation of the more difficult texts. The hermeneutical art thus cultivates and establishes a valid exegetical procedure. It simply means Hermeneutics is a science that determines certain principles of discovering the meaning of a document which involves the skills of an interpreter (Terry, 1991). In postmodern climate, readers and interpreters can find and create meaning for the text based on their contextual needs and pre-understandings. Therefore, the interpreter or the reader is expected to play a vital role in determining the meaning of a particular text. For some scholars, it is unnecessary to limit the meaning to the text. McKnight observes that people have used different texts throughout history to discover and create meaning for themselves. Those who locate the meaning in readers should also take into consideration the realities behind the text in order to understand the text as a pattern of meaning that continues to have an effect on readers (McKnight, 1988).

Having thus explained the postmodern function of the reader, one can surely come to a conclusion that in a reader-oriented approach the full attention is focused on the modern reader as the sole authority to handle the text. "Exegesis is in part of a creative construction of the reader, a construction of cause,

which is a result of the effect of the text in the first place. The original causes behind a text are relativized and placed in balance with what modern readers do with the text to create meaning” (McKnight, 1988, p. 171). Instead of trying to find the actual textual facts and meaning for forming a philosophical interpretative system, the postmodern reader attempts to view the text in the light of their integrity as linguistic and literary creations. This comes out as an examination of the world disclosed in the texts and the world of values and meanings presupposed by the world of text. According to the postmodernists the reader can create an answer from the given text. The postmodern climate favours the modern reader to come out with his own way of thought as the actual meaning of the text. In other words in the process of interpretation, he himself is redefined.

Even though part of this agenda depicts or seems to be a worthy goal, which is part of the hermeneutical spiral that is in hermeneutics widely accepted, one should register a pointed caution when he receives the meaning. Though, as a result of postmodern interpretation we get multiple kinds of reader response perspectives, they may be irrelevant and inappropriate with regard to actual authentic meaning. One important factor should be noted seriously, only the textual meaning not reader’s response, has the legitimate monopoly to the description. The logical and methodological tools that an interpreter can use to bring the meaning which would have made sense to the primary audience and that should be the primary goal of an interpreter. If anybody deviates from this primary goal, then he is in danger of bringing the subjective and susceptible meaning to the whim of the interpreter. “We have no desire to deny a legitimate place for a literary study of the text that may transcend historical approaches. One should agree that rather than

seeking the propositional meaning or content of the text interpreters may want to study and appreciate the literary dimensions of the text. Various literary theories and methods contribute immensely to our understanding and appreciation of texts” (McKnight, 1988, p. 175). Morgan and Barton also mention that “One mark of great literature is its capacity to illuminate and enlarge the experience of successive readers in new social contexts” (Morgan and Barton, 1988, p. 182). One would read any text or piece of information to understand the information it has or someone may read for some other purpose like inspiration, enjoyment, courage which would sometimes go beyond the surface level of the textual meaning. In either case the fact of knowing the intentionality remains open to all readers.

In the postmodern climate, the reader-centered approach takes seriously what actually the readers bring into the texts. In fact, they most often unapologetically and quite often intentionally to produce meaning from their unique reading of the text which is sometimes interest to hear may not be the actual meaning of the text. Definitely one may ‘use’ the text beyond its original intentions or meanings, but the hermeneutician should be very careful in doing that. Sometimes ‘the text as literature’ may go well beyond the original meaning of the text, its author and the original readers who read at the time of its composition or to whom that piece of literature was written. Sadly, the postmodern readers using their modern criteria trying to see a text composed from a different context and their modern perception govern that foreign text which cannot be hermeneutically accepted. In reality, this postmodern attempt is actually subverting the real purpose the text.

A hermeneutician who wants to do justice to the text must study the literary genre and parallel forms of literature of ancient or modern times which will throw light on the original meaning or the actual intention of the text. If the hermeneuticians seek the historical meaning or the contextual meaning of the text, then they will have to consider all the possible ways of information available concerning the world in which the text is composed, to gain insight about the actual production of the text. Literary criticism subdivides all these things into three major areas: (1) focus on the author's intent in composing the text, (2) the conventions of the text that reflect that intent, and (3) the readers' response to the text (Klein, Blomberg, and Hubbard, 2004, p. 190).

Postmodernism has heavily influenced philosophical hermeneutics from top to bottom which is reflected in the very outcome of interpretation. The Reader Response Theory is the product of this subjective methodology. The postmodern treatment of text has absolutely dismantled the context and the historical concerns of the texts were also fully abandoned.

Postmodern Hermeneutical Debate on Textual Meaning

Post-modern era has witnessed unprecedented forms of interpretations in every area including hermeneutics. The scholars of the postmodern time have reinterpreted all the traditional theories and conventions. Postmodernism has heavily influenced hermeneutics in determining the meaning of a piece of literature. Many dimensions of textual meaning derived during this time among which reader response theory became prominent. The question which postmodernism raised was, is there a meaning in this text. The postmodern scholars come out with diverse opinions that a text has more than one

possible meanings or the text may have an infinite number of meanings. The legitimate question that they have raised at this juncture is, whether meaning precedes the interpretation or meaning proceeds the interpretation. The postmodern hermeneutical debate started from this platform of such a thinking. Primarily, there are two categories of scholars who debated each other in the form of placing their own arguments logically about where the meaning is created. E. D. Hirsch argues for authorial intention and comes out with a conclusion that meaning is created in author. Then the other category is the postmodern interpretation where we have two great scholars come out with their critique to the traditional understanding. They are Roland Barthes and Stanley Fish, according to whom the meaning is a function of readers not authors, any text's meaning depends on the readers' perception on it (Osborne, 1991). They vehemently asserted that the meaning does not reside within the text just because the author put it there; rather for them, the readers bring the meaning to a text. This is the postmodern hermeneutical debate which is further highlighted under the following descriptions.

E. D. Hirsh – The Defender of Intentionality

Eric Donald Hirsch Jr. is said to be an American educator and academic literary critic of twentieth century. Hirsch has published two significant works which centered on the questions of literary interpretation and also hermeneutics. His books are *Validity in Interpretation* (1967) and *The Aims of Interpretation* (1976) through which he argued that the author's intention must be the ultimate determiner of meaning. During his university education he met the exponents of authorial intention like Cleanth Brooks and W.K. Wimsatt who are the advocates of New Criticism which rampant in all most all the academic

circle at that point of time. They emphasized that a text should be viewed as an autonomous objects that itself is able to explain to the reader without the presence of the author. He also has taken up the issues of the hermeneutical understanding of Gadamer, Martin Heidegger, the death of the author by Roland Barthes and Deconstruction of Derrida. Hirsch has assimilated many ideas from German philosophy especially from Frederick Schleiermacher, William Dilthey, and Edmond Husserl. Hirsch has very much popularized the distinction between "meaning" which is intended by the author and "significance" which is perceived by a reader or critic. One of the areas he argued was, the possibility of objective knowledge in the humanities and social sciences. He is considered to be an outstanding personality who emphasized and advocated for the author oriented meaning.

Hirsch describes the distinction between meaning and significance from a historical perspective. For him, the meaning is represented by the text that is what the author meant by his use of particular sign sequence. That special sign has a contextual relevance and meaning for a particular community. On the other hand, significance names a relationship between that meaning and a person, or a conception, or a situation, or indeed anything imaginable. "Significance can change, can widen indefinitely, while meaning is a fixed point, the unmoved mover, as it were. Meaning and significance are the two aspects of what we call literary meaning; the one centripetal, the other centrifugal. This distinction faithfully describes our literary experience, especially when we feel a particular work to be 'suggestive'" (Nagao, 1991, p. 172).

Hirsch was an outstanding defender of determinate meaning and authority of the author against those who have attacked the relevance of the authorial meaning. Hirsch is considered

to be the preeminent champion of the author and of the objectivity in interpretation. He has defended the sensible view that a text means what its author meant. Emphasizing further that the authors' intention is the only practical norm for distinguishing the right and wrong in the process of interpretations. For Hirsch author's intention alone determines which of the possible verbal meanings a sentence or text actually bears (Van-hoozer, 2005). Hirsch has built his ideas of intentionality on Edmond Husserl's phenomenology emphasizing intentionality as the essential characteristics of consciousness. If someone had an 'intent' simply means, he has to direct his consciousness in a particular way toward a particular mental content. Understanding is an intentional act directed at an intentional object and consequently meaning is what understanding grasps or is about. He also asserts that the time when an author banishes from the interpretive process then subjectivity and relativism become prevalent. As a matter of fact, no adequate principle will function for judging the validity of an interpretation. He, therefore, calls for the resurrection of the author's meaning "on the fact that it is the only kind of interpretation with a determinate object, and thus the only kind that can lay claim to validity in any straightforward and practical sense of the term" (Hirsch, 1967, p. 5).

One of the critics of Hirsch, Raju Kunjummen mentions that Hirsch is an important person defending for the authorial intent and determinate meaning. He notes that his distinction between the meaning and significance, his difference between meaning and implication, and his discussion of intrinsic genre are his positive contributions to the field of hermeneutics. The defence of authorial intent and his distinction between textual meaning and its particular significance in the way of interpreta-

tion are to be appreciated. Another merit of Hirsch's interpretation is that his discussion of intrinsic genre and its significance in identifying the actual legitimacy of an interpretation which highlights the necessity of hermeneuticians to give rightful attention to the literary features of particular textual genre in their search for authorial meaning (Kunjummen, 1986).

One of the notable factors is the development of humanism which has provided foundation for scholars to think and exercise their own intellectual freedom. This freedom of thought and expression paved way for multiple meanings to be generated. The intellectual climate of postmodernism contributed to the lavish support for the reader as the sole authority in determining the meaning of a text or any piece of literature. In the midst of this confused climate Hirsch tried his level best to establish the authors meaning. He says that "if any theory of semantic mutability were true, it would legitimately banish the author's meaning as a normative principle in interpretation. Meaning is that which is represented by a text; it is what the author meant by his use of a particular sign sequence; it is what the signs represent. Significance, on the other hand, names a relationship between that meaning and a person, or a conception, or a situation or indeed anything imaginable" (Blue, 2001, p. 255). Hirsch points the significant role that the intrinsic genre is playing the process of interpretation. He is of the opinion that sense of the whole by means of which an interpreter can correctly understand any part in its determinacy and for him intrinsic genre plays a vital role in determining the validity of an interpretation, in particular whether an interpretation is implied in a meaning. He highlights that the implications, unlike significances, are found within meanings and therefore, they are part of the whole of the willed type of the author. By using this

perspective, an interpreter is able to understand the intention with which an author has written down a text or any piece of literature.

Stanley Fish— The Defender of the Reader-Response Theory

Stanley Eugene Fish is considered to be an American literary theorist, legal scholar, author and public intellectual who has made immense contribution in the field of postmodern interpretation. He is said to be an outstanding figure who became an instrumental in bringing and developing the reader-response theory.

As far as Fish is concerned, he uses two kinds of reader response criticisms. The first is phenomenological approach and the second one is epistemological theory. His earlier works demonstrate his use of phenomenological approach and much of his later works demonstrate the characteristics of epistemological theory. The phenomenological method has much to commend itself to us as it focuses on what happens in the reader's mind as he or she reads. Fish started his postmodern way of interpretation with the publication of one of his early works "Surprised by Sin: The Reader in Paradise Lost". In this work, he uses Milton's use of various literary techniques which shows his intentionality to lead the reader into a kind of false security. According Stanley Fish, the reason why Milton is using all these metaphors to evoke some change in the minds of the readers so that he will be able to understand his own sinfulness in a new light and be forced back to God's grace. Fish is ingeniously using Milton's leading or misleading of the reader.

The concern of Stanley Fish is to see what is happening in the act of reading and is seen in his many essays. "Fish defines his own phenomenological approach as an analysis of the

developing responses of the reader in relation to the words as they succeed one another in time. His concern is with what the text does as opposed to what it means” (Markham, 2000, p. 1). This attitude of Stanley Fish prompted him to develop a kind of criticism that completely abandons the intentionality of the author and enthrones reader as the one who determines the meaning of a text. Therefore, his theory may be sometimes called “reception aesthetics” or “affective stylistics.” According to Fish the interpretative community is the one which determines and creates the meaning. It is the reader who investigates the meaning with his life and thus his meaning will be a valid one. For Fish, those who claim that meaning is to be found in some external and eternal superstructure or substructure of reality he labels them as “foundationalists.”

‘The reader creates the meaning’ is the watch word of Stanley Fish. This hermeneutical thought of Fish is considered to be the most radical and also controversial in nature. He attributes the meaning not in the text but in the reader or in other words the community which is reading the text. Fish notes that “the reader's activities are at the centre of attention, where they are regarded not as leading to meaning but as having meaning” (Markham, 2000, p. 5). He holds this because of the opinion that there is no stable source for meaning. For him, there are no accurate interpretation which can be true always in all sense. He asserts that the meaning does not exist outside of the reader but exists within the reader himself. What a text means is the experience which the reader brings and produces for the text. Fish mentions that when a reader interacts with the text which is considered to be an experience that automatically occurs, it makes us to do something. When a reader confronts the text, there is spontaneously generated a meaning in the hearts

of the reader. He, as an interpreter of the text is consciously or unconsciously able to make a decision on what he reads. Fish takes off all the formalist guidelines of the past which stood against his interpretative agenda. Liberation from the yoke of such predominant past need to have time to completely come out. However, the interpretive method of Fish will eventually lead someone from impartial objectivity to full blown partial subjectivity. In the concept of Fish, what one needs is the active and activating consciousness of the reader. Fish like any other postmodern hermeneuticians wanted to have a dialogue between the text and the reader or a free play between the governing structures of the text and the creative imagination of the reader (Tate, 2006, p. 311).

One of the important peculiarities of Fish is that he denies the objectivity of the text. He notes that the objectivity of the text is an illusion and, moreover, a dangerous illusion, because it is so physically convincing. When one is reading a statement, not necessarily that he should understand, but he has to give the meaning to the text that he is reading. But he does deny the text's independence as a repository of meaning. According to Fish the text does not contain any inherent meaning: despite being written upon, it is a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate onto which the reader, in reading, actually writes the text (Markham, 2000). He admits the fact that a reader is always reading a text with the preunderstandings or preconceived notions and therefore there is no way to get the objective or authorial meaning from the text. He comes out with a very subjective statement saying, "success is inevitable, the methods with which one approaches the text have already determined the outcome, and one's presuppositions actuate the product. A text is only a Rorschach blot onto which the reader projects his/her self-understanding

or, as we shall see, his/her culturally determined assumptions. The text contains nothing in itself, rather the content is supplied by the reader. It is the reader that determines the shape of text, its form, and it's content." This is how Fish can claim that the reader's write texts. The text can only function as a mirror that provides a reflection of its reader (Fish, 1972, p. 8).

Fish dismantles the idea of intentionality of the author which is considered to be a guiding principle in the way of interpretation. According to him the reader did not see anything which the hermeneutical principles did not permit him to see and he has attributed what he could see in the text as the meaning of the particular text. "What I am suggesting is that formal units are always a function of the interpretive model one brings to bear; they are not 'in' the text, and I would make the same argument for intentions. To claim that the author intended to say or do such and such is really a declaration regarding the interpreter" (Markham, 2000, p. 9). As far as his understanding is concerned, different authors would bring diverse meanings to the text and also divergent intentions because they are the creation of the readers not the authors. His epistemic beliefs prompt him to conclude that nothing one sees, perceives or think is un-interpreted. Any attempt to understand the intention of the author is a sign of immaturity just because nobody can get access to anyone's heart. By saying such a statement, Fish completely disregards intentionality of the author as well as historical interpretation. He comments that it is unimportant to get accessed to the original historical context to understand the meaning. The postmodern wave forces him to believe the fact that the interpreters are cut off from the past worlds or the cultures and therefore they are without commonality which leads them to be a complete disjuncture. He concludes by saying

that the reader and the author belong to two different worlds and consequently they have no relation. Therefore reader should take the liberty to exercise his imagination to decode the textual meaning (Bridgman, 1959).

Conclusion

Postmodernism has heavily impacted the philosophical hermeneutics in handling the textual interpretation. It has changed the very outlook of the way of reading a text. The intellectual heights made readers to think that he is the master of what he does. As postmodernism influenced all the areas of study, so also influenced the philosophical hermeneutics. Postmodernism enthroned the reader in the throne as the sole dictator of meaning which has made grave damages in the process of interpretation. Intellectual creative thought can be appreciated, however, removing the background of an utterance disprove the originality and authenticity of any textual meaning. The debate between Hirsch and Fish also reveals the fact. The advantage of Hirsch's argument is that without taking the authors' intention into account, one will never be able to understand what actually the text wanted to communicate to the readers. The disastrous results of postmodernism are, the historical context which caused the text to be formed is totally removed, the contextual factors which influenced the language of composition is ignored and the world behind text is abandoned. Instead of this, subjectivity intruded into action, multiple ways of thinking became right, eventually all who interpret became correct and ultimately nobody is wrong. This mode of thought transcended all boundaries placed by traditional conceptions of hermeneutics. Authors of texts were buried, their desires of communicating ideas were shattered and the unique world of information was concealed. In this way, postmodernism influenced the philosophical her-

meneutics very much in determining the meaning of a piece of literature.

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EMPLOYMENT PATTERN IN THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA SECTOR

Abin T Mathews*

Abstract

In India, post liberalization era witnessed the emergence of new technology sectors like electronic media. Media market expanded and the competition between various segments including channels intensified for its share. The sector makes up ₹ 329 billion in 2011 and there exists unexploited potentials which can lead the way forward. Growth of the electronic media generates direct and indirect employment opportunities at different levels. This necessitates concerns on various quantitative dimensions of its employment. The present study using National Sample Survey's 68th Round Results on Employment and Unemployment in India 2011-12, examines the pattern and concentration of employment in electronic media sector. The study brings about some significant findings with regard to gender, age, education, social representation and concentration.

Key words: Electronic Media, Television, Employment Pattern

Structural transformation models explained by Fisher (1939, 1946) and Clark (1957) envisage an economic development which advances through different stages. There will be a gradual shift in sectoral output shares from primary to industrial and ultimately to service sectors. Indian economy too witnessed a transformation bypassing the second one. Service sector has emerged as the most dominant sector in terms of GDP contribution. Though the employment elasticity of the sector is debatable, the share of services in total employment increased from 19.70 percent in 1993-94 to 25.30 percent in 2009-10. This should be analysed in the context of emergence of new technology sectors including entertainment and media sector mainly symbolized by electronic media. Electronic media witnessed

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impressive growth during the last few years and it makes Rs 329 billion in 2011. Growth of the electronic media generates direct and indirect employment opportunities at different levels. This necessitates concerns on various quantitative dimensions of its employment. The present study using National Sample Survey's 68th round results on Employment and Unemployment in India 2011-12 examines the pattern and concentration of employment in electronic media sector. By applying relevant multipliers to samples of usual principal status of employees, employment pattern is found. Location quotient is used for finding out the concentration of employment.

Electronic media is unexplored area in India and hence previous studies are limited. Though one can't find a clear cut definition of electronic media employment, the researcher identified five areas from National Industrial Classification 2008 which can be considered as electronic media sector activities. The areas are 1) 59113: production of television programmes or television commercials 2) 59122: post production activities of television programmes or television commercials 3) 59133: distribution of television programme 4) 60200: television programming and broadcasting activities 5) 61103: activities of the cable operators. The employees engaged in above mentioned activities are clubbed to find the total number of employees in electronic media.

Gender-Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector

The proportion of male employees in the Electronic Media Sector is greater than that of in either Service or Information and Communication sector⁴. 248157 males and 13565 females are working in this sector. They are in the proportion of 95:5

(see table 1). In India, men are more technically educated. Being a sector oiled by technology one can normally expect a concentration towards male group.

Table 1		
Gender Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Gender	Labour Composition	Share
Male	248157	94.82
Female	13565	5.18
Total	261721	100.00
Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68 th round)		

Age-Wise Distributions of Employees in Electronic Media Sector

Almost 64 percent of the employees in the Electronic Media Sector are in the age group of below 39. Their number comes to about 166658. This is shown in table 2. A large number of skilled youths find employment in this sector. This pattern is similar to the pattern that we have noticed in the case of Information and Communication sector employees. Most of the employees in the upper age group are those belong to public sector electronic media which have a much more history of existence in India.

Table 2		
Age Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Age	Labour Composition	Share
Below 25	32632	12.47
25-29	56951	21.76
30-34	56015	21.40
35-39	21060	8.05
40-44	38521	14.72

45 & above	56543	21.60
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NS SO data (68th round)</i>		

Education Wise Distributions of Employees in Electronic Media Sector

Education wise distribution of employees in Electronic Media Sector is given in table 3. Large number of employees (85%) has education of only higher secondary or below. About 223524 employees belong to this category. Electronic Media Sector requires skilled employees but skills need not be at higher levels. Most of the activities can be performed by an average individual. That is why a large number of employees with average level of skill profile finds place in Electronic Media Sector. Another notable feature is that only 6 percent employees bear diploma certificates.

Table 3		
Education Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Education Level	Labour Composition	Share
Below Secondary	64501	24.64
Secondary	91427	34.93
Higher Secondary	52779	20.17
Certificate /Diploma Courses	14817	5.66
Under Graduation	31378	11.99
Post Graduation	6819	2.61
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>		

tronic Media Sector

Eighty three percent that means 217323 employees are working in proprietary ventures. In public and private limited companies 7 percent are employed (see table 4). Except broadcasting, almost all the other activities like production, distributions etc are running under proprietary mode. Hence a large proportion is concentrated there.

Table 4		
Enterprise Type Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Enterprise Type	Labour Composition	Share
Govt/Public Sector	5653	2.16
Public/Private Ltd co	18537	7.08
Proprietary	217323	83.04
Partnership	17815	6.81
Others	2394	0.91
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>		

Religion Wise Distributions of Employees in Electronic Media Sector

With regard to religion wise distribution, Electronic Media Sector follow almost similar pattern like that in Information and Communication sector. A good majority (89%) of employees belongs to Hindu religion. Their number comes to about 232101. The number of employees in other religions is far less than the numbers in Hindu religion. This is shown in table 5

Table 5 Religion Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Religion	Labour Composition	Share
Hindus	232101	88.68
Christians	12077	4.61
Muslims	14173	5.42
Others	3370	1.29
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>		

Social Group Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector

Social group wise distribution depicted in the table 6 reveals that majority (56%) belongs to the category of 'Other Backward Castes'. Total number of employees in Schedule Tribe and Schedule Caste are comparatively too small.

Table 6		
Social Group Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Social Group	Labour Composition	Share
Schedule Tribe	346	0.13
Schedule Caste	28038	10.71
Other Backward Caste	146174	55.85
Others	87164	33.30
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>		

Sector Wise Distributions of Employees in Electronic Me-

dia Sector

Out of the total 261721 employees in the electronic media 166356 are employed in urban areas (see table 7). They constitute 64 percent. Even though the majority in Information and Communication sector are also working in urban centers, there is variation in the proportion. More proportion of Information and Communication employees are in urban areas⁴. In the case of Electronic Media activities there are comparatively more number of activities which are rural based. Hence one can expect good number of employees in rural areas also.

Table 7		
Area wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Sector	Labour Composition	Share
Rural	95365	36.44
Urban	166356	63.56
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>		

State Wise Distributions of Employees in Electronic Media Sector

Almost 63 percent of employees in Electronic Media Sector are in the Southern states of India. To a large extent the employees are concentrated in the states of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Kerala is a leading state behind them. West Bengal has a proportion of 13 percent employees. Electronic media are ubiquitous in most of these states and hence normally we can expect a good proportion of people in these states. This is shown in table 8

Table 8		
State Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
State	Labour Composition	Share
Jammu & Kashmir	2295	0.88
Himachal Pradesh	532	0.20
Punjab	1663	0.64
Uttaranchal	168	0.06
Delhi	9158	3.50
Rajasthan	1831	0.70
Uttar Pradesh	8802	3.36
Bihar	2860	1.09
Manipur	11	0.004
Mizoram	32	0.01
Tripura	1691	0.65
Assam	1805	0.69
West Bengal	33376	12.75
Jharkhand	9013	3.44
Orissa	16534	6.32
Madhya Pradesh	3633	1.39
Gujarat	2908	1.11
Maharashtra	40116	15.33
Andhra Pradesh	85035	32.49
Karnataka	287	0.11
Kerala	21256	8.12
Tamil Nadu	17988	6.87
Andaman & Nicobar Island	728	0.28
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>		

Regional Pattern of Employment in Electronic Media Sector

There is no uniformity in the levels of development between different states in India (Mazumdar 2002). Disparity may be natural or manmade. It may be natural because of unequal distribution of resources or man made for the reason that some regions are neglected. In India, historical factors too played an important role. Wide disparity is evident in different spheres of economic activity and employment scenario is a fine specimen. It is worthwhile to look at the regional pattern of employment. This section examines concentration of electronic media sector employment in different states of India.

Location Quotient is the most popularly known method to study the concentration of a particular industry in any region. It compares the local economy to the reference economy. It also identifies specializations in the local economy.

Electronic media sector employment in India is not evenly distributed. In terms of concentration one can see very glaring variations across states. Location quotient calculated for Indian states have been explained in table 9

Table 9	
Location Quotient of Electronic Media Sector Employment in Indian States	
State	Location Quotient
Jammu & Kashmir	1.17
Himachal Pradesh	0.26
Punjab	0.29
Uttaranchal	0.08
Delhi	3.14
Rajasthan	0.13

Uttar Pradesh	0.25
Bihar	0.18
Manipur	0.02
Mizoram	0.13
Tripura	2.17
Assam	0.31
West Bengal	1.67
Jharkhand	1.63
Orissa	1.77
Madhya Pradesh	0.23
Gujarat	0.19
Maharashtra	1.42
Andhra Pradesh	3.46
Karnataka	0.02
Kerala	2.95
Tamil Nadu	0.96
Andaman & Nicobar Island	8.26
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>	

Location quotient seems to be high in southern states. Conducive socio economic infrastructure and demand stimulating factors contribute to a greater concentration in these states. However the states like Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, where information technology and information technology enabled services made outstanding performance, electronic media sector is not so significant in terms of concentration. Even though the location quotient in Andaman & Nicobar Island and Tripura are high, the industry is not vital to that region's economy, since the total number of employment is very low. Very few states have both high location quotient and large number of employees simultaneously and Kerala is one among such few.

Conclusions

New technology sectors provide large number of opportunities at various levels. Job seekers with technical and managerial skills are in great demand. However women participation remains at low level. This should be examined seriously since the indicators of work participation of women in information and communication sector as a whole is comparatively good. Low participation rate of people belonging to the group of Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes are also needed to be studied. Even though our state controlled education system gives special considerations, something prevents these people from taking up employment in electronic media.

Last three decades witnessed the emergence of new media culture and there exists tight competition between channels for expanding the market share. Electronic media hence gives preferences to vibrant and dynamic youngsters who can think and act beyond a predetermined frame. Majority of employees are in their twenties and thirties. Even though the sector requires people with technical and managerial skills, the skills needn't be at high level. This again attracts youths, for they can join their dream career at an early stage. However this trend with regard to qualification doesn't have a nationwide application since one can see considerable differences in states like Kerala where concentration is more and competition is intense.

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STAGNANT PUBLIC FUNDING ON EDUCATION IN INDIA: THE INDISPENSABILITY OF PRIVATE INVESTMENT- CONCERNS AND ALTERNATIVES

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Abstract

India could actually spend only less than 4 per cent of its GDP on education. The difficulty of achieving high per capita expenditure on education during the early and recent decades has been reflected in achieving the national educational goals and resolving the major challenges in education. More investment via private participation is highly influential in dealing with these issues. But the entry of private players and global competitive players into the Indian education scenario has caused serious concern on social justice and basic access to minimum rights of education. Limitations of the government to allocate more funds to education may enable us to think of strategies that provide qualitative education to all without any discrimination. The stagnant nature of public funding on education in India, the issues associated with mounting private participation and the need to think for an alternative strategy are the matter of discussion of this paper.

Key words: Public Funding, Private Investment, Social Choice, Right to Education, Marginalisation

Introduction

The role of education in national development and social transformation makes it essential that educational programmes keep continuously renewing in order to maintain its relevance to the changing public needs, individual needs of learner and to the emerging national development priorities. Given the crucial importance that education plays in the development of a society and the economy, education has been assigned a high

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priority in the development policy objectives in India. Provision of education both for its coverage as well as the quality requires significant amount of financial resources. The funds for education in India come mainly from the government sources: the central and state governments are the major partners in financing education in India. However, the expansion of education has been remarkably slow in India as compared to some of the other Asian Countries. India could spend marginally on education which would insist the country to rely on more private investment in education. It is asserted that India has neglected education, investing too little in the early post-independence decades. The difficulty of achieving high per capita expenditure on education during the early decades has been also reflected in the present decades. So far India could not have mobilized resource for education sufficient to achieve the national educational goals. The growing reliance on private investment in education requires logical and ideological explanations as education is being treated as a private meritorious good rather than a public good. The stagnant nature of public funding on education in India, the issues associated with mounting private participation and the need to think for an alternative strategy are the matter of discussion of this paper.

Discussion has been organised in four sections. The first section discusses on the share of public expenditure on education in India. The broad challenges ahead of the Indian education with a stagnant public spending makes private spending crucial is the matter of discussion in the second section. The third section focuses on the rising participation of private players in education, concerns on it and the need for thinking

of an alternative strategy. Final section concludes and summarizes the discussion.

Section 1: Public Funding on Education in India

Public expenditure on education as percentage of GDP is the total public expenditure (current and capital) on education expressed as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product in a given year. Public expenditure on education includes government spending on educational institutions (both public and private), education administration, and transfers/subsidies for private entities (students/households and other private entities). International Comparison of Public Expenditure on Education as percentage of GDP during 2008-2012 is given in Table 1. It is seen that India could actually spent only less than 4 per cent of its GDP on education. This is perhaps lower when compared with other countries except Pakistan and Mauritius. In view of the low per capita income and slow growth, India could spend, at best, marginally on education during the earlier decades. It has been asserted that India neglected education, especially at the elementary level, investing too little to it in the early post-Independence decades (Aravind Panagariya, 2013). But it is significant that even at higher achievement of per capita GDP during the recent past India could spend only marginally on education (See Table 2). In India high fiscal deficits and competing demands for public expenditure on other strategically selected areas may force the government to consider education sector as a residue.

Table 1: International Comparison of Public Expenditure on

Education as per centage of GDP 2008-2012

Countries	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Australia	4.6	5.1	5.6	5.1	NA
Brazil	5.4	5.6	5.8	NA	NA
Germany	4.6	5.1	5.1	NA	NA
India	3.8	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.9
Japan	3.4	NA	3.8	3.8	3.9
Mauritius	3.2	3.2	3.7	3.4	3.5
Netherlands	5.5	5.9	6.0	5.9	5.9
New Zealand	5.6	6.4	7.2	7.1	7.4
Pakistan	2.7	2.6	2.3	2.2	2.1
South Africa	5.1	5.5	6.0	6.2	6.6
Switzerland	5.1	5.4	5.2	5.3	
Thailand	3.8	4.1	3.8	5.8	7.6

Source: - World Bank, Data Series

Table 2: GDP per capita Growth in India and Public Spending on Education During 2003-2012

Year	GDP Per Capita Growth (in %)	Public Expenditure on Education(as % of GDP)
2003	6.2	3.4
2004	6.3	3.3
2005	7.7	3.1
2006	7.7	3.1
2007	8.3	3.2
2008	2.5	3.8
2009	7.1	3.2

2010	8.8	3.3
2011	5.3	3.8
2012	3.4	3.9

Source: - World Bank, Data Series.

The current level of expenditure is highly insufficient to achieve the national educational goals. It is not only that the expansion of literacy and education has been far too slow, but also that educational provision itself remains highly differentiated in both quantitative and qualitative terms. The current literacy rate in India suggests that India has to set out further steps to attain comparable rates globally. Literacy rate in India stands only at 69.3 per cent as against the world literacy rate of 84.1 per cent (See Table 3).

Table 3: Literacy rates of the countries of the World

Country	Australia	Brazil	Germany	Russia	Japan	Mauritius	Netherlands
Literacy rate	99.0	90.4	99.0	99.7	99.0	88.8	99.0
Country	New Zealand	Pakistan	South-Africa	Switzerland	Thailand	India	World
Literacy rate	99.0	52.8	93.0	99.0	93.5	69.3	84.1

Source: - CIA, World Fact Book.

To provide universal access to quality schooling and ensure equal access to higher education among all socio-economic groups, gender and region indicate significant failures of development project in the country during more than six decades after Independence. The Annual Status of Education Report (ASER), 2014, says only an average 48.1 per cent of class V children throughout India can read a class II-level textbook.

The basic reading in early grades shows a more pitiable situation by the Report. It is seen that the percentage of children in Std II who cannot even recognize letters as yet is only 32.5 Per cent. (See Table 4). But by the end of Std II children should be able to read simple sentences easily. Hence Indian educational system is to be supported by massive programmes to achieve the basic educational goals which require more investment.

Table 4: Basic Reading in Early Grade

Year	Percentage of children in Std II who cannot even recognize letters as yet
2010	13.4
2011	19.9
2012	24.8
2013	28.5
2014	32.5

Source: ASER, 2010-2014

Thus India's public expenditure on education remains stagnant during the past and present decades. It is to be increased if it were to come at par with the expenditure incurred by the developed economies. The pattern of expenditure on a particular sector reflects the priority for the sector in public policies. In this regard, the recommendations of the Education Commission (1964-66), popularly known as the Kothari Commission, on the issue of government financing of education are considered as important. The commission estimated the financial requirements of the educational system in India up to 1985-86, and recommended that "if education is to develop adequately, the proportion of GNP allocated to education will rise to 6.0 per cent in 1985-86" (Kothari Commission, 1964-66). Of the sev-

eral recommendations made by the Kothari Commission, this 6 per cent of GNP had been accepted and resolved by the Government of India in the National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1968. However, it can be argued now that the Commission's estimate was made long ago and based on somewhat austere estimates of growth in enrolments, per student expenditure and other parameters. But this benchmark remains unaccomplished so far. Hence it is high time to move towards a long term, substantive commitment for more investment on education in the country.

Section II: Broad Challenges to Indian Education-Requisite for Private Investment

India's higher education system is the world's third largest with respect to student enrollment. It comes next to China and the USA. But while positive trends augur well for the various sectors, Indian education is faced with the following challenges.

i) Demand-Supply Gap

There remains a glaring mismatch in demand and supply, particularly in higher education and in high quality institutions. There is enormous unmet demand for higher education India. Enrolment in higher education is only at 18 per cent, compared with 26 per cent in China and 36 per cent in Brazil. With regard to the Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) in India, it is significantly lower compared to the world average. The government has therefore set target of 30 per cent GER by 2020, which seems difficult at the current pace of development. In high quality educational institutions, for example only one out of approximately 150 applicants gets admission into the elite Indian Institute of Management (IIMs). An industry chamber has recently reported that 450, 000 Indian students spend over USD 13 billion

each year in acquiring higher education overseas. To reduce the demand supply gap in school education, it has been proposed in the 12th FYP (2012-17) to set up 6,000 schools at block level as model schools to benchmark excellence. Of these, 2500 will be set up under Public Private Partnership. The unfilled demand supply gap will result in infrastructure and investment deficit, promoting entry and opportunity for private players.

ii) The low quality of teaching and learning

The Indian education system is beset with issues of quality in many of its institutions: a chronic shortage of faculty, poor quality teaching, outdated and rigid curricula and pedagogy, lack of accountability and quality assurance and separation of research and teaching. Indian schools, at Public schools, the kids do not really attain knowledge and skills commensurate with their age. Some of the reasons that contribute are: - a) the pedagogy does not have applicability and depends so much on being learning by rote. b) evaluations are made on the basis of what a child learnt by heart c) most of the students coming from poor households do not have the atmosphere at home to get learning and d) the curriculum is designed to leave the kid with no skills or perspectives to be able to build a working life.

iii) Constraints on research capacity and innovation

India's research output is declining both in terms of volume and quality. Its research output was only 3.5 per cent of global research output in 2010. In our country, the allocation for research is only about \$8 million in comparison to about \$250 billion in the US and \$60 billion in China. India awards only 5,000 PhD degrees in science subjects a year, when there is the need for more than 25,000 degrees holders whereas, China is producing more than 15,000 Ph D degree holders a year. India

has 119 researchers per million of the population, compared to 1,564 in China, 2,706 in the UK, 4,605 in the US and 6,807 in Iceland. Even in terms of the number of researchers per 1,000 people employed, India, with 24 researchers, ranks below China (115), Japan (131), the European Union (231) and the US (324). With a very low level of enrolment in research, India does not have enough premium quality researchers. There are few opportunities for interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research works, lack of research experience, a weak ecosystem for innovation, and low levels of industry engagement. India as a developing nation needs large volume of higher quality research that can fuel growth in various sectors.

iv) Unequal access to opportunity to education

Socially, India remains highly divided; access to higher education is uneven with multidimensional inequalities in enrolment across population groups and geographies. One key indicator of the current state of access to education is the net attendance ratio (NAR). It is the number of students attending a particular section, divided by the total number of kids of the same age group. (For example, for Classes I to V, NAR is the number of children aged 6-10 years currently attending Classes I-V, divided by estimated population in the age group 6-10 years which is expressed as a percentage)

A recent survey on education by the National Sample Survey Organization shows that 89 per cent of the kids attending primary schools are from the richest fifth of the population both in the rural and urban areas, while that proportion drops to 79 per cent for kids in the poorest fifth of the population in rural areas and 78 per cent in urban areas. That is not too bad. But, NAR drops sharply when it comes to secondary school

and becomes worse at the higher secondary level. Also, the difference between the richest fifth and the poorest fifth in enrolment widens sharply from the primary section to the secondary and higher educational levels (NSSO, 71st round, July 2014).

While basic literacy is increasingly available to all, the gulf between the poor and the rich widens as you go up the educational ladder. Only 6 per cent of young from the bottom fifth of the population attend educational levels above higher secondary in urban India, their proportion is five times higher, (31 per cent) for the richest fifth of the population. It is important to see that that NAR for urban kids studying above higher secondary levels from the middle fifth of the population is 15 per cent (half that of the top fifth). So the real middle class is also substantially disadvantaged when it comes to higher education. The situation is considerably worse in rural India (NSSO, 71st round, July 2014).

With regard to access for castes, the difference between scheduled castes and tribes and other categories widens at higher levels of education. It is particularly high among urban girls belonging to scheduled tribes at the secondary and higher secondary levels. Among religious identities, enrolment of Muslims is lower than that of other religions.

Inadequate public funding on education in India cannot resolve the above said challenges. Hence more investment via private participation is highly influential in dealing with these issues. The private higher education sector in countries such as the United States, Japan, and Malaysia has been instrumental in tackling these challenges. But in an economy working completely on democratic setup, more entry of private players should be permitted with much caution.

Section III: Opportunity for Private Participation: Concerns and Alternatives

3.1 Increasing private participation in Education

Inadequacy of public funding on education has put opportunities for the private players and global competitive players to enter more into the scenario of education in India. The entry of the private sector in education came in primary and secondary, and higher and professional education. However, it was initially in the context of professional education courses such as, medicine, dentistry, engineering, pharmacy, etc.

There has been a significant increase in the number of institutions and enrollment in higher education over the last few years. Now in India there are 757 Universities, 38056 Colleges and 11922 Stand Alone Institutions. Total Enrolment in Higher Education has been estimated to be 33.3 million with 17.9 million boys and 15.4 million girls. Girls constitute 46 per cent of the total enrolment. Significant growth in higher education has been achieved through increased private participation. The share of unaided private institutions in the higher education sector has increased considerably over the last few years. There has also been a rapid growth in the percentage of students enrolled in unaided private higher education institutions. As per the estimate of the All India Survey on Higher Education (AISHE 2014-15) 76 per cent Colleges are privately managed; 61 per cent Private-Unaided and 15 per cent Private Aided. During the period between 2011-12 and 2014-15 enrollment in private colleges (both aided and unaided) has increased by 60.7 percent, out of which growth of enrollment in private unaided colleges alone constitutes 69 per cent. According to an estimate with regard to enrollment in private schools, 29 per cent of children in India

are privately educated. With more than 50 per cent children enrolling in private schools in urban areas, the balance has already tilted towards private schooling in cities; and, even in rural areas, nearly 30.8 per cent of the children were enrolled in private schools. (ASER, 2014).

There has been a phenomenal growth in private spending also. The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) survey report has revealed that the spending on education has jumped up by 378 per cent in rural areas and 345 per cent in urban areas of India. Even after correcting for inflation the expenditure on education has increased by 162 per cent in rural areas and 148 per cent in urban areas during the decade, despite of inflation. This is in sharp contrast to the overall household expenditure on all items, which increased by a mere 8 per cent in rural areas and 20 per cent in urban areas after adjusting for inflation (66th round of NSSO's survey 2009-10). Thus, however, the private sector provides a greater share of education services in India. In the long run it is anticipated that the proportion of private sector in school and higher education will be much larger than at present.

3.2 Concerns on Private participation

In India generally all activities which include more private investment are watched suspiciously. Once the governing orderings shifts to private agencies and to global competitive players, the issues of social justice will be challenging and wearisome, especially of higher learning. Private sector educational institutions provide education to those who could afford the cost of education. Educational institutions funded by the government have been strictly not-for-profit while private sector educational institutions are definitely not so. Education is a key

strategy for bringing about the changes necessary to ensure socio-cultural-economic development as well as environmental protection in terms of society's prospective. The right to education is universal and does not allow any form of exclusion or discrimination. However, India faces challenges in guaranteeing equal opportunities to all in accessing education. According to World Bank's revised methodology for poverty calculation, the world had 872.3 million people below the poverty line, of which 179.6 million people living in India. In other words, India with 17.5 per cent of total world's population had 20.6 per cent share of world's poorest in 2011. As on 2014, 58 per cent of the total population was living on less than \$3.10 per day. In this circumstance a large number of children in India are still excluded from the educational system and hence cannot participate meaningfully in the economic, social, political and cultural life of their communities. It appears that current educational programmes might have failed to address the needs of children who are vulnerable to marginalisation and exclusion. Marginalised groups are often left behind by national educational policies, denying many people their right to education.

3.3 Need for an alternative strategy

However, the fact that the private sector provides a greater share of education services does not eliminate the need for the government to play a stewardship role to ensure that all children have access to a quality education. The government's role in setting up an effective regulatory environment is paramount. But its limitations to allocate more funds on education may enable us to think for strategies to provide qualitative education to all without any discrimination.

The first strategy in this respect is the 'School Choice' made

on Milton Friedman's idea that administration and financing of education are separable functions of the government. It is an active topic of discussion among educationalist and think tanks. Its goal is to provide education system in which all parents, regardless of race, origin, or family income, are free to choose a learning environment—public or private, near or far, religious or secular (Milton and Rose Friedman, 1996). It would allow children from the marginalized and disadvantaged group to access education according to their preference. Friedman proposed that the government establish minimum levels of schooling and finance it by “giving parents vouchers redeemable for a specified maximum sum per child per year if spent on ‘approved’ educational services”. Parents could use this voucher with any additional sum on their account for “purchasing educational services from an approved institution of their choice” The service providers could be any private school run either on profit or not. But the feasibility of implementing school choice in India should be well studied and discussed. A major question before us is that which sort of voucher model would best serve India. At present, the Government directly provides grants to educational institutions. However, to realise the aim of voucher system, it is essential that financial support is provided to the pupils or parents, instead of to the educational institutions.

Secondly Government can promote private players to play a key role. They include a range of educational operators including faith-based organisations, local communities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In several developing countries, governments subsidise private schools, mostly operated by faith-based nonprofit organizations, by financing either school inputs, such as teacher salaries and textbooks, or per pupil grants. But the curriculum and syllabus are framed by the

state. Hence when these private players are promoted, ensure that learning in these institutions is in strict adherence with the approved curriculum.

A revamping of policies in education through a 'right based' approach can also provide accessibility to the marginalised to a great extent. Basic access to minimum rights of education should become the corner stone of governance (Suresh Kumar, 2016) The Right to Education Act reserves 25 per cent of seats for children belonging to weaker sections and disadvantaged groups in unaided schools in their neighborhood. Strict monitoring should be made to ensure that it is properly implemented.

Section IV: Summary and Conclusions

India could spend only marginally on education. The current level of expenditure is highly insufficient to achieve the national educational goals. The failure of the Indian state more than six decades after Independence to provide universal access to quality schooling and to ensure equal access to higher education among all socio-economic groups and across gender and region indicates significant failures of development project in the country. While positive trends augur well for the various sectors, Indian education is faced with various challenges such as

- i) demand-supply gap
- ii) low quality of teaching and learning
- iii) Constraints on research capacity and innovation and
- iv) unequal access to opportunity of education. More investment via private participation is highly influential in dealing with these issues.

The entry of the private sector in education came in primary and secondary and higher and professional education. There has been a significant increase in the number of institutions and enrollment in higher education over the last few years. Private spending on education has also witnessed a phenomenal growth. However when private agencies and global competitive players provide education, the issues of social justice will be challenging and wearisome, especially of higher learning. A large number of children in India are still excluded from the educational system and hence cannot participate meaningfully in the economic, social, political and cultural life of their communities. Marginalised groups are often left behind by national educational policies, denying many people their right to education. The above situation may enable us to think about effective alternative strategies to provide qualitative education to all sections of the society. Experiencing 'school choice', ensure its feasibility in the Indian context, promotions of private players including faith-based organisations, local communities, non-governmental organizations etc in providing education strictly in adherence with the syllabus framed by the state and a 'right based approach' to ensure minimum basic access are the alternative strategies suggested.

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DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVES OF FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT

Sreekala. M*

The importance of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has grown significantly in Indian economy especially after liberalization. FDI makes domestic country proficient in using technology. The capacity of FDI to impart knowledge in terms of technology, platform- that received by domestic firms to watch technological advancement, innovations and the resultant competition is called the spillover-effect of FDI. The value of Karl Pearson correlation is found to be +0.89 means a high degree correlation between FDI and economic development. A significant body of theory has been developed by economists on knowledge spillover from the late 1970s. This paper tries to observe the methods by which it can be effectively surveyed.

The dependency school theory views foreign investment from the developed countries who form the core of the world economic system harmful to the long-term economic growth of developing nations who are already out in the periphery. It views that the penetration in to the peripheral economies of weaker nations by large companies would result in the ultimate control of their resources that might otherwise have been used for national development. It asserts that the First World nations got wealthy by way of extracting labor and material resources from the Third World countries. This type of capitalism perpetuates a kind of global division of labor that causes distortion, hinders to growth, and rises income inequality in developing economies. The dependency theorists argue that developing countries are inadequately compensated for the exploitation of their natural resources and are thereby they have been sentenced to conditions of continuing poverty. Countries who have been

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on the economic periphery cannot become fully modernized so long as they remain with the capitalist world system. To get out of this economically debilitating relationship, the Third World nations must strive hard to attain development independent of foreign capital and goods.

FDI is a process of production apart from just a capital inflow (Hymer, 1976). It is the transfer of a package of capital, management, technology. The previous theories have not taken into consideration these matters as the spillover¹ of FDI. Culturally and physically different countries are involved in the process of FDI when we consider foreign and host countries. If and only if there is technological superiority or superior techniques at the disposal of the investing country in terms of not only capital but managerial, distributional, marketing, commercial ways, an investing country can make fruitful results. FDI involves a transfer of intangible assets such as technological skills across nations (Caves and Kindleberger, 1984). But as the previous theorists have committed, the neglect of the technological aspect can lead to a serious underestimation of the role of foreign-owned capital in the recipient country. Koizumi and Kopecky (1977) used a partial equilibrium analysis to show the spillover of FDI and the resultant technology transfer. According to them, the rate of technology transfer is positively related to the volume of capital owned by foreign firm in the FDI relationship. As the more savings ratio and capacity of the host country increases, the less capital will be transferred from the foreign country. With similar production functions, the technological transfer can help both the countries to attain steady state of growth. They considered technology as a public good. Findlay (1978) analyses the spillover through a different hypothesis. He uses Gerschenkron's hypothesis that "greater

the difference between the foreign and host countries in terms of development faster will be the catch up rate". He provides two main factors which influences the rate of technological progress. First, the rate of spillover is an increasing function of the difference between the countries with respect to technology. Second, following Arrow's theorem, the technological transfer is analogous to contagious diseases. Therefore, technological innovations are most efficiently diffused when there is personal contact between those with the knowledge of the innovation and those who adopt it.

Das (1987) utilized a price-leadership model from oligopoly theory to analyze the transfer of technology from the parent firm to its subsidiary abroad. This analysis recognized that domestic firms learn from MNCs and become more efficient. This increase in efficiency among domestic firms is assumed to be exogenous, and therefore costless to them. It is also assumed that the rate of increase in efficiency of the native firm is positively related to the level of activities of the MNC's subsidiary. The larger the scale of operation, the greater the opportunity for the native firm to learn from it. He then models the problem of choice the MNC faces due to the cost imposed by the "learning from watching" (imitating) benefits flowing to the native firm. Along the optimal path, he concludes that the MNC benefits from the technology transfer from its parent company in spite of the leakage of knowledge in the host country, and the host country benefits unambiguously.

Wang and Blomstrom (1992) also follows Findlay's hypothesis that a positive relationship between the technological gap and technology transfer. By solving a dynamic optimization problem, they found that:

- (i) Technology transfer from a parent company to a subsidiary is positively related to the level and cost efficiency of a domestic firm's learning investment.
- (ii) The lower the subsidiary's discount rate, the more rapid

the technology transfers. The higher the operation risks—for example, political instability or low potential economic growth—the more reluctant foreign firms will be to transfer technology.

- (iii) Some technology transfer proportional to the size of the technology gap always takes place irrespective of the subsidiary's active learning effort. The less costly the technology spillovers from the parent to subsidiary firms, the faster the technology transfer.
- (iv) According to Solow (1956), with diminishing returns to physical capital, and technological change being exogenous, FDI cannot affect the long-run growth rate. Also, long-run equilibrium is characterized by the identical equalization of capital labor ratios and factor prices. According to him, as diminishing returns would affect both domestic and foreign investments, only the foreign investment can offset this limit if it includes the transfer of new technological knowledge in the form of new goods, new markets or new processes. When we attract foreign investment we must take into consideration whether they include incentives to encourage innovation. Foreign investment through knowledge transfer can generate growth and increasing returns as the exogenous growth theory concerned.
- (v) Lucas(1998) analyses the spillover in a different way, i.e., if individual firm possesses knowledge about the ability to transfer tacit knowledge from the parent firm to the subsidiary firm for the right to use this knowledge, then human capital is a rival good that can spill over as a result of a contractual arrangement between the individual and the firm or organization.

- (vi) Romer (1990) suggests that growth rates differ because the positive feedback generated by technological learning external to the firm may exceed the native feedback engendered by diminishing marginal return internal to the firm. He developed a model to generate growth through learning by doing and knowledge spillovers.
- (vii) With capital already moving internationally, the model developed by Wang (1990) predicts that the steady-state income gap is narrowed by an increase in the growth rate of human capital and the technology diffusion rate in the less developed country (LDC). One of the messages emerging from the analysis is that opening to FDI from more advanced countries has important beneficial implications for a developing country. Foreign investment facilitates domestic technological change, and hence increases the rate of income growth.
- (viii) Grossman and Helpman(1991) generate growth in a similar way as Romer but consider technological progress as an improvement in the quality of existing producer products. Old technology becomes obsolete through the introduction of new technology. Also, firms obtain monopoly profits from the introduction of new producer goods that force lower quality goods to exit the market. Overtime, the country with high technological capabilities may become a net importer of high-tech products, as the affiliates export their finished products home, but also receive additional income from increased license fees when the inclusion of foreign investment and technology licensing is introduced.
- (ix) Walz(1997: 5) incorporates FDI into an endogenous growth framework where MNCs play a critical role with respect

to growth and specialization patterns. He extracts the idea of trade-related international knowledge spillovers and applies them to FDI. Production activities of MNCs in the low-wage country improve the efficiency of potential innovations there. The knowledge spillover of MNCs' activities makes innovation in the low-wage country profitable. Allowing for imitation in the less developed country, the indirect transfer of technology through FDI provides the stimulus for active R&D and growth. Therefore, he predicts that policies promoting FDI will lead to faster growth.

While many questions relating to the impact of TNCs on development have remained controversial, the focus now is more on how to maximize the positive effects of FDI. India adopted a regime that was perceived to be restrictive towards FDI. Explicit curbs on foreign investment were imposed through the introduction of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA) in 1973 by restricting foreign ownership of shares in enterprises incorporated in India. At the same time, foreign firms operating in India were subjected to "local content" (domestic ownership shares) and "foreign exchange balancing" rules that curbed their freedom of operation. The Industrial Licensing System under the Industries Development and Regulation Act, 1951 and the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969 sought to channelize their activities into high technology and export-oriented production. The limits on foreign shares fostered joint ventures with Indian entrepreneurs. These policies continued until the policy of creeping liberalization of the Indian economy was initiated in the 1980s. The fast-tracked liberalization of the Indian economy introduced in 1991 brought with it a radical shift in the policy towards FDI. In fact, FDI policy reform formed part of the first package of industrial reforms in July 1991 and was reflected in the Industrial Policy announced in

1991: Foreign investment would bring attendant advantages of technology transfer, marketing expertise, introduction of modern managerial techniques and new possibilities for promotion of exports. The government will therefore welcome foreign investment which is in the interest of the country's industrial development. More recently, the Economic Survey 2008-09 reiterated that: FDI is considered to be the most attractive type of capital flow for emerging economies as it is expected to bring latest technology and enhance production capabilities of the economy. And the National Manufacturing Competitiveness Council (NMCC) opined that: Foreign investments mean both foreign portfolio investments and foreign direct investments (FDI). FDI brings better technology and management, access to marketing networks and offers competition, the latter helping Indian companies improve, quite apart from being good for consumers. This efficiency contribution of FDI is much more important. The change in the sentiments towards FDI were given effect to in the form of a series of changes in the policies. These included removing the ceilings on foreign equity imposed by the FERA, lifting of restrictions on the use of foreign brand names in the domestic market, removing restrictions on entry and expansion of foreign direct investment into consumer goods, abandoning the "local content" and "foreign exchange balancing" rules, among others.

The parallel process of virtual withdrawal of the Industrial Licensing System and the retreating from the primacy given to public sector also enhanced the scope for FDI participation in India. Alongside liberalizing the FDI regime, steps were taken to allow foreign portfolio investments into the Indian stock market through the mechanism of foreign institutional investors. The objective was not only to facilitate non-debt creat-

ing foreign capital inflows but also to develop the stock market in India, lower the cost of capital for Indian enterprises and indirectly improve corporate governance structures. On their part, large Indian companies have been allowed to raise capital directly from international capital markets through commercial borrowings and depository receipts having underlying Indian equity. Thus, the country adopted a two-pronged strategy: one to attract FDI and two to encourage portfolio capital flows which ease the financing constraints of Indian enterprises. As a result of the aforementioned policy changes, India now follows an FDI-friendly regime that is quite comparable to that adopted by most countries. Much of the foreign investment can now take advantage of the automatic approval route without seeking prior permission of the Central Government. Caps on FDI shareholding are now applied to only a few sectors, mainly in the services sector. Concomitant steps have also been taken to remove the hurdles in the path of foreign investors both at the stage of entry and later in the process of establishing the venture. The policy changes were thus aimed at improving India's record in attracting FDI inflows, which was seen to be below its potential, particularly when compared with the massive inflows reported by China.

The progressive liberalization of the foreign investment policy as well as the steps to improve the investment climate could thus be seen as attempts to overcome this perceived failure to match initial expectations and also in comparison with China. Perceptions of foreign investors towards India changed quite distinctly as a result of the change in the policy regime. Inflows of FDI have increased substantially compared to the earlier regime in which the scope for FDI was quite restricted. From a less than \$ 1 billion in the early 1990s, FDI inflows

more than doubled to exceed \$ 2 billion in 1995. In the early years of the previous decade, FDI inflows were pegged between \$ 5-7 billion. But after 2005, the reported statistics show a steep increase in inflows: from \$ 20 billion in 2006 to nearly \$ 35 billion in 2009. The resultant increase in the stock of FDI was staggering: from \$1.7 billion at the end of 1990, FDI stock went up to \$17.5 billion by the end of 2000 and further to a little above \$164 billion by the end of 2009(UNCTAD 2009).

This increase in FDI inflows will have to be read in the light of the fact that since 2000-01 an important change was introduced in the way FDI statistics are compiled which has made strict comparison of inflows overtime inapt. Though this did contribute to the observed increase in the reported FDI inflows, there is no denying the fact of the sharp increase in the inflows especially during the last few years. Several studies suggested that private equity inflows could have contributed substantially to the large increase in FDI in India. Global foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows fell by 16 per cent in 2014 to \$1.23 trillion (World Investment Report 2015), down from \$1.47 trillion in 2013.¹ The decline in FDI flows was influenced mainly by the fragility of the global economy, policy uncertainty for investors and elevated geopolitical risks. New investments were also offset by some large divestments. The decline in FDI flows was in contrast to growth in GDP, trade, gross fixed capital formation and employment.

UNCTAD forecasts an upturn in FDI flows (\$1.5 trillion in 2016 and \$1.7 trillion in 2017) due to growth prospects in the United States, the demand-stimulating effects of lower oil prices and accommodating monetary policy, and continued investment liberalization and promotion measures. Macroeconomic fundamentals and continued high levels of profitability

and cash reserves among multinational enterprises (MNEs) support the expectation of higher FDI flows. However, a number of economic and political risks, including ongoing uncertainties in the Eurozone, potential spillovers from geopolitical tensions, and persistent vulnerabilities in emerging economies, may disrupt the projected recovery. Inflows to transition economies declined by 52 per cent to \$48 billion, as regional conflict and sanctions deterred new foreign investors. FDI flows to the Russian Federation fell by 70 per cent to \$21 billion, in part an adjustment from the level reached in 2013 (WIR14).

FDI flows to developing economies increased by 2 per cent to a historically high level in 2014, reaching \$681 billion. Developing Asia drove the increase while flows to Latin America and the Caribbean declined and those to Africa remained flat. FDI flows to Asia grew by 9 per cent to \$465 billion in 2014. East Asia, South-East Asia and South Asia all saw increased inflows. FDI in China amounted to \$129 billion, up 4 per cent from 2013, mainly because of an increase in FDI in the services sector. FDI inflows also rose in Hong Kong (China) and Singapore. India experienced a significant increase of 22 per cent to \$34 billion. However, FDI flows to West Asia continued their downward trend in 2014 for the sixth consecutive year, decreasing by 4 per cent to \$43 billion, owing to the security situation in the region.

Developing Asia became the world's largest investor region. In 2014, MNEs from developing economies alone invested \$468 billion abroad, a 23 per cent increase from the previous year. Their share in global FDI reached a record 35 per cent, up from 13 per cent in 2007. Developing-country MNEs have expanded foreign operations through greenfield³ investments as well as cross-border M&As⁴. More than half of FDI outflows

by developing-economy MNEs were in equity, while developed-country MNEs continued to rely on reinvested earnings, the share of which increased to a record 81 per cent of their FDI outflows. Equity-financed flows are more likely to result in new investments and capital expenditures than are reinvested earnings, which may translate into further accumulation of cash reserves in foreign affiliates. Among developing economies, MNEs from Asia increased their investment abroad, while outflows from Latin America and the Caribbean, and Africa fell. For the first time, MNEs from developing Asia became the world's largest investing group, accounting for almost one third of the total. Nine of the 20 largest home economies were developing or transition economies, namely Hong Kong (China), China, the Russian Federation, Singapore, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Kuwait, Chile and Taiwan Province of China. Outward investments by MNEs based in developing Asia increased by 29 per cent to \$432 billion in 2014. The growth was widespread, including all the major Asian economies and sub regions. In East Asia, investment by MNEs from Hong Kong (China) jumped to a historic high of \$143 billion, making the economy the second largest investor after the United States. The remarkable growth was mainly due to booming cross-border M&A activity. Investment by Chinese MNEs grew faster than inflows into the country, reaching a new high of \$116 billion.

In South-East Asia, the increase was principally the result of growing outflows from Singapore, to \$41 billion in 2014. In South Asia, FDI outflows from India reversed the slide of 2013, increasing fivefold to \$10 billion in 2014, as large Indian MNEs resumed their international expansion. Investments by West Asian MNEs declined by 6 per cent in 2014, owing to decreased flows from Kuwait, the region's largest overseas inves-

tor, with flows of \$13 billion. Investments by Turkish MNEs almost doubled to \$7 billion. MNEs from Latin America and the Caribbean, excluding offshore financial centres, decreased their investment in 2014 by 18 per cent to \$23 billion. Developing-economy MNEs continued attracting developed-country MNE assets in developing economies. MNEs from developing and transition economies are consolidating their role as investors in cross-border M&A⁴ operations. The share of these MNEs in the total (net) value of cross-border M&As rose from about 10 per cent in 2003 to almost 40 per cent in 2012 and has remained stable since then.

The bulk of acquisitions by MNEs from developing economies (about 70 per cent) are in other developing economies (including intraregional transactions). A sizable share (about 50 per cent) of their M&A activity in developing economies represents the acquisition of assets from developed-economy MNEs (WIR14). In 2014, MNEs continued to acquire firms and other assets owned by developed-country MNEs in host developing economies. MNEs from developing economies are becoming more active directly in developed economies as well. In 2014, some 32 per cent of M&A acquisitions by these MNEs targeted developed economies, more than in 2013 (at 28 per cent); in the first three months of 2015, acquisitions by these MNEs in developed economies rose to 47 per cent of their total M&A purchases. A number of sizable deals involved MNEs from China, Hong Kong (China) and Singapore, targeting companies in the United States and the United Kingdom in particular. For example GIC, Singapore's sovereign wealth fund, acquired IndCor Properties (United States) for \$8.1 billion. In greenfield projects, developing economies dominate. At the global level, announced greenfield FDI projects declined slightly in 2014.

This decline is similar in both developed and developing economies. Greenfield³ projects in developing economies increased in 2013 and remained high in 2014, while the trend in developed economies remained stable.

A similar trend is observable on the investor side. Over the last 10 years, the announced value of greenfield projects from developed-economy MNEs has been essentially flat, with a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of –1 per cent, while the same value for developing economies has increased steadily despite the financial crisis (at a CAGR of 5 per cent).

FDI by sector and industry

FDI stock data by sector highlight the prominent role of services in global FDI. In 2012, services accounted for 63 per cent of global FDI stock, more than twice the share of manufacturing, at 26 per cent. The primary sector contributed less than 10 per cent to global FDI stock. The importance of services in the international investment landscape is the result of a long-term structural trend. In the period 2001–2012, the share of services in global FDI increased by 5 per cent (to 63 per cent), offset by a comparable decrease in the share of manufacturing. Overall, since 1990, the share of services in world FDI stock has gained 14 percentage points (from 49 per cent to 63 per cent) with a corresponding decrease in manufacturing (from 41 per cent to 26 per cent), while the share of the primary sector has been stable (at about 7 per cent). The ongoing shift in the sectoral composition of FDI from manufacturing to services reflects an analogous trend in the distribution of global GDP, but it is also the result of increasing liberalization in the sector, enabling large FDI inflows, particularly in industries traditionally closed to foreign investment such as finance and telecom-

munications.

This shift has occurred in both developed and developing economies. Among developing regions, Asia and Oceania has been the growth engine for services FDI, with services stock in the region increasing from about \$800 billion in 2001 to \$3.5 trillion in 2012, corresponding to roughly 80 per cent of the total growth of services FDI in the developing economies. This sector is also the largest in Africa. Between developing regions, pronounced differences emerge in terms of industry distribution.

Recent trends in FDI by sector and industry.

The most recent data on announced greenfield FDI projects and cross-border M&As reveal various sectoral trends. Globally in 2014, the primary sector recorded high growth in the value of greenfield projects (up 42 per cent from 2013), in the face of a decrease in the value of cross-border M&As (–2 per cent). The pattern ran the other way in the services sector, with a decrease in the value of greenfield projects (–15 per cent) and a strong increase in cross-border M&As (37 per cent). In manufacturing, the picture is consistent across the two modes of entry, with an increase of 14 per cent in greenfield projects and 25 per cent in cross-border M&As. Developed and developing economies display opposite trends in M&A⁴ activity in manufacturing. In 2014, there was a considerable increase in M&As in developed economies, with the total net value of deals rising from \$85 billion to \$152 billion (79 per cent). The growth was most marked in electrical and electronic equipment (125 per cent) and in food, beverages and tobacco (55 per cent). There was a sharp decrease in M&As in developing economies (from \$45 billion to \$16 billion); the decline occurred across most industries,

particularly in food, beverages and tobacco, where the value of cross-border M&As plummeted to \$4 billion after peaking in 2013 at a historically high \$32 billion. Services saw contrasting trends in Greenfield FDI projects and cross-border M&As. While the total value of Greenfield projects decreased (– 15 per cent compared with 2013), the value of cross-border M&As registered a significant increase, from \$155 billion to \$213 billion (37 per cent).

The value of Greenfield projects in developing economies decreased (from \$259 billion in 2013 to \$211 billion in 2014), but with differentiated dynamics at the industry level. Construction jumped from \$22 billion to \$42 billion and became the second largest service industry in developing economies, overtaking industries that traditionally receive large amounts of FDI, such as finance and business services. By contrast, business services and electricity, gas and water ,after strong expansion in 2013 (at \$76 billion and \$63 billion) , fell by 52 per cent and 27 per cent, respectively. Contraction in business services was particularly critical in Latin America and the Caribbean (– 88 per cent), while electricity, gas and water declined in both Latin America and the Caribbean (– 22 per cent) and West Asia (– 77 per cent).

In developing economies, the growth engine of cross-border M&As in services was the increase in finance (from \$18 billion to \$61 billion), in particular in East and South-East Asia. For developed economies, the picture is multifaceted. While the traditionally largest FDI industries, business services and finance, saw a considerable increase, from \$36 billion to \$66 billion and from \$9 billion to \$30 billion respectively, the value of information and communication took a sharp downturn to a negative value (– \$73 billion against \$29 billion in 2013) because of the Vodafone divestment.

Future Prospects

Global FDI Flows are expected to increase to \$1.5 trillion and \$1.7 trillion in 2016 and 2017, respectively. These expectations are based on current forecasts for a number of macro-economic indicators, the findings of an UNCTAD business survey carried out jointly with McKinsey & Company, UNCTAD's econometric forecasting model for FDI inflows, and data for the first four months of 2015 for cross-border M&As and green-field investment projects.

Macroeconomic factors⁶ and firm-level factors⁷ are expected to influence flows positively. Indeed, the gradual improvement of macroeconomic conditions, especially in North America, and accommodating monetary policy, coupled with increased investment liberalization and promotion measures, are likely to improve the investment appetite of MNEs in 2015 and beyond. Global economic growth and gross fixed capital formation⁵ are expected to grow faster and 2016

However, the FDI growth scenario could be upended by a multitude of economic and political risks, including ongoing uncertainties in the Eurozone, potential spillovers from geopolitical tensions, and persistent vulnerabilities in emerging economies.

Notes

1. A transfer of managerial practices, production methods, marketing techniques or another knowledge embodied in a product or service
2. FDI flows constitute capital provided by foreign investors, directly or indirectly to enterprises in another economy with an expectation of obtaining profits derived from the capital participation in the management of the enterprise in which they invest. The foreign investors acquire own-

ership of assets in the host country firms in proportion to their equity holdings. FDI by definition is supposed to reflect a long-term commitment as it involves normally a stake of 10% or more in a host country enterprise, together with managerial control.

3. Examples of Greenfield projects are new factories, power plants, airports which are built from scratch on Greenfield land.
4. Mergers and Acquisitions
5. GFCF is a flow value. It is measured by the total value of a producer's acquisitions, less disposals of fixed assets during the accounting period plus certain additions to the value of non-produced assets realized by the productive activity of institutional units. In this way GFCF is a measure of gross net investment (acquisitions less disposals) in fixed capital assets by enterprises, government and households within the domestic economy, during an accounting period such as a quarter or a year: GFCF is a flow value. It is measured by the total value of a producer's acquisitions, less disposals of fixed assets during the accounting period plus certain additions to the value of non-produced assets (such as subsoil assets or major improvements in the quantity, quality or productivity of land) realized by the productive activity of institutional units. In this way GFCF is a measure of gross net investment (acquisitions less disposals) in fixed capital assets by enterprises, government and households within the domestic economy, during an accounting period such as a quarter or a year.
6. Macroeconomic factors include Government policy, Economic freedom, IPR Regulations, financial freedom etc.
7. Firm level factors include technological standards, the labour efficiency, pricing structure etc.

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ROOTS OF AGRARIAN DISTRESS IN GLOBALISED INDIA

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Abstract

The economic development process in India since the early 1990's guided by the market driven parameters has changed the overall agricultural scenario of the country with devastating consequences for its social life. The globalised era witnessed total neglect of agriculture and thus farming in India has become non-viable with little government support and subsidies, and farmer's suicides have become very common. The globalisation experience in the last 25 years in India reveals that agriculture is the most adversely affected sector and as a result, the decline in agricultural growth. The irony is that like the previous Congress governments, the Narendra Modi led NDA government is also riding with the promise of pro-farmer and pro-poor policies, but many such promises have not yet been translated into actions on the ground.

Key words: Globalization, Agrarian crisis, Accha Din Green Revolution, Marginalisation, subsidies and Farm credit.

In any scheme of economic development and social well-being of a country, agriculture holds a position of vital significance. This is more so in a country like India where agriculture still remains the direct life-line of more than half of the population and thus becomes the predominant component of the national economy and the principal means of livelihood. It is the backbone of Indian economy as it constitutes the largest share of the country's national income and provides direct employment to majority of the work force. Thus development of agriculture is the key to ensuring food security, eliminating hunger, eradicating poverty, generating demands for industrial goods and promoting overall development. Besides the above

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contributions, the expansion of agricultural output and productivity will tend to raise the demand for manufactured goods and to extend the size of the market thereby making the growth process sustainable (Almar, 2008,p. 132). In this regard, Gunner Myrdal in his monumental study on Asian countries, observes, 'it is in the agricultural sector that the battle for long term economic development in South Asia will be won or lost' ([Myrdal, 1988,p.1241). To India, therefore, agriculture is not just a question of economics, production and trade but one of dignity and survival.

The agrarian crisis and farmers distress in Indian agriculture is not a new phenomenon that has erupted suddenly. The genesis of this issue go back to the planning era and since then there are constant attempts of correction. When economic planning was initiated in independent India, the major task undertaken by the state was to undo the colonial legacy and establish a firm basis for sustainable economic development, primarily through agriculture. It was in this scenario that the first Five Year Plan of 1951 devoted more resources to the agricultural sector. In the early phase of planning, emphasis was on institutional change including abolition of intermediaries and from the mid -1960s, it was on the development of new farm technology in the form of high-yielding variety of seeds, chemical fertilisers, pesticides, tools and implements (Reddy,200,p.286). The planners visualised a prosperous agriculture with the presumption that income of the vast majority improves and consequently the purchasing capacity of the rural people would increase, thereby creating market for individual products. But after the first plan, priority and efforts for economic development shifted to the development of large scale industries with reduced financial allocation and low priority to agriculture. This made the condition of the

majority of rural cultivators and labourers miserable. It was in this scenario that the Government of India decided to introduce 'Green Revolution'. Though the policy helped India, to a large extent, in its efforts to achieve self-sufficiency in food grain production, its achievement has certain limitations. But at the same time this policy in Indian agriculture refers a marked improvement in a short period and a higher level of agricultural production over a fairly long period.

The latest reason of the on-going agrarian crisis and farmers' distress in India are largely the outcome of a series of economic reforms in India. In fact, this has tremendous impact in the agricultural sector of the country and has far reaching consequences in the country from the perspective of economic growth and income generation, poverty alleviation, food security, employment generation, balance of payments problem etc. In fact this policy reform introduced as part of globalisation is also marked a steady break from the past policy regime of India which is highly fatal to the destiny of India in general and agriculture in particular. The impact of economic globalisation on agriculture has to be assessed against this background. Although no direct reference was made to agriculture in the initial phase of this reform, Indian agriculture was opened up in a big way particularly since the first half of the same decade. As a result of the reduced role of state and the changing institutional setting as part of the structural adjustment policies, agriculture and the livelihood of rural farmers were affected adversely. Not only that globalisation policy did not have any favourable impact on the growth of agricultural sector, but there is clear evidence of sharp deceleration in agriculture both at the national and state levels (Balakrishnan, 201,p. 22).

Actually the GATT accord signed by the country in April
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1994 was a turning point not only to India's agricultural trade and commerce but also to the entire production and output in agriculture. The production of rice, cereals and pulses witnessed a sharp decline in the post globalisation period. This deceleration of production is to be related to the various policies the country has been compelled to execute as a signatory of the GATT. These included the commitments on market access, conditions on domestic support, export subsidies, the agreement on trade related intellectual property rights, the agreement on sanitary and phytosanitary measures (Gulati, 2001, p.43). However, the most controversial aspect in the process of liberalising Indian agriculture is the Dunkel Draft and this can be broadly divided into two:¹ measures in relation to fiscal and trading matters and measures in relation to Intellectual Property Rights. All these pushed the country back from the path of food self-sufficiency towards food insecurity which has tremendous impact on the life and income of the country's farmers. As a result, contrary to the expectations of the government, the plight of millions of Indian farmers worsened and the entire reform introduced in agriculture since 1990 came under sharp criticism.

The Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) as part of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations of WTO which attempted at slashing of agricultural subsidies and supports in the name of correcting huge public debt, fiscal imbalance, recession and financial instability, which ultimately resulted in drastic increase in cost of cultivation, price rise, food shortage, crop shift and finally towards farmers' distrust and suicide. The AoA conditions are also discriminatory towards developing and under developed countries. For instance when AoA hardly provides any subsidies for a country like India, very huge subsidies are offered to developed countries. And it is only a matter

of common sense that in a country like India where majority of cultivators are of small and medium holding category with limited resource and income could not exist without proper government support and subsidies. Added to this, is the consequence of Intellectual Property Right (IPR) in agriculture,² particularly in areas where knowledge has been traditionally handed down the generation. As per this, countries have to make their national IPR system in tandem with the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS)³ of GATT. This restricts farmers from using their own produce from patented seeds or plant varieties for further production or to sell or exchange in non-commercial market.

In order to face the severe backlash in agriculture in the post-globalisation decade, the Government of India announced the National Agricultural Policy (NAP) in July, 2000 with the presumption that rapid growth of agriculture is essential not only to achieve self-reliance at national level but also for household food security and to bring about equity in distribution of income and wealth resulting in rapid reduction in poverty levels. It is a fact that NAP have had many positive targets and also succeeded in creating high expectations and hope among the farmers. However, in actual practice all these expectations proved wrong due to many inherent contradictions including ineffective implementation, poor planning and management, unregulated privatisation as part of the second generation economic reforms since 2000, inability of government to regulate corporates, liberalisation of import restrictions, privatisation in areas like agricultural research and inappropriate institutional framework. AsokGulati correctly points out that 'the policy paths and measures enumerated are mere 'intentions'. Nowhere does the document specify 'how' these intentions are going to

be converted in to reality' (Gulati, 2001,p.3). Thus culpable inattention and disregard shown towards the problems faced by the marginal and middle class farmers by the policy makers in the last two decades has changed the green fertile farm lands of prosperity to the grey barren fields of despair and tears. The following are to be listed as the major causes of this despair in terms of their occupation, income, indebtedness, poverty, cropping pattern, food security, public support, farm credit, displacement and overall livelihood.

1. Market Centric Strategies and Changing State System

The market-centric strategy of globalisation argues that unregulated market will ensure prosperity, liberty, democracy and eventually peace to society. The thinking is that the only way ahead to guarantee peace, efficiency, economic growth and stability is nothing but a liberal blend of state, market and democratic institutions (Kothari, 1995: 149). This has now become an ideology or rather a mind- set of global capitalism that is being projected as the only way out of all political economy problems and crisis, including that of governance crisis, particularly in third world societies like India. It advocates the abolition of state imposed limitations on movements of goods, service and capital across nation-states. This resulted in the gradual retreat of state in favour of market and this became a severe blow to the entire farming community of India particularly to the marginal and middle class farmers who cannot continue in their profession without strong support of the Government. The international level treaty obligations of Government of India towards World Bank, IMF and WTO have changed government's approach, attitude and accountability towards society, resulting in slashing of agricultural subsidies, minimising farm credit, promoting disinvestment, minimising public investment

in agriculture, promoting privatisation and de-regulation etc. It is only a matter of common sense that in a country like India where majority of cultivators are of small and medium holding category with limited resources and agricultural income could not exist without adequate government supports and subsidies.

2. Declining Public Investment and poor Infrastructure.

The fall in government investment in agriculture has another major issue and it is noticeable in areas like irrigation, fertiliser, tools and implements, procurement price, credit subsidies and PDS. This has the effect of compressing the infrastructural facilities making the poor farmers still more vulnerable. Needless to say in a country like India, public investment is vital especially for agriculture. But as a result of policy change this has been grossly neglected. Statistics reveals a drastic decline in aggregate capital formation throughout the 1990s. The level of public investment in 2004-05 is 20 per cent less than that of 1980-81. However, a clear change in the reverse direction is discernible in the case of private capital which showed a tendency to rise since the mid-1990s. The doubling of agricultural capital formation in private sector and the sharp decline in the rate of growth of agricultural output was alarming to the country where public capital is more in the nature of public goods that are unlikely to be provided by the private sector and the economic role of which cannot be replaced by private capital (Balakrishnan 2008: 23-24). Interestingly, while all these were taking place there was not much improvement in agricultural growth and output. If anything, it only helped the corporate forces to penetrate the Indian country side to foster their political and economic interest (Reddy, 2001: 309). It is another thing that consequent on these; individual farmers were deprived entrepreneurial opportunities leading to poor farm income and

food insecurity driving them to a state of occupational stalemate.

3. Challenges in Getting Reasonable Farm Credit

The non-institutional credit by private money lenders and traders has increased about 39 per cent in 2002 from the 33.7 per cent in 1991. But the institutional credit by public agencies, cooperatives and commercial banks decreased to 61.1 per cent in 2002 from 66.3 per cent in 1991. This situation was the outcome of un-reasonable credit policies of public sector banks which never provides adequate credit to the needy due to reduction in rural banking, increasing complication in processing procedures and high rate of interest. On the obverse side, even while the farmers are facing credit squeeze, it is interesting to note that the Government is not coming forth to implement the recommendations of Dr. M.S. Swaminathan Commission, appointed by it, which stressed the need for considerable improvements in micro level agricultural credit to marginal and middle level farmers on land collaterals at a rate of interest of less than 4 per cent (Dharia, 2010:8). Starved of credit, peasants turn to money lenders and other informal sources that provide money at a high rate of interest. In many cases the money lenders raise this money from the farm loan schemes on gold collaterals as the poor peasants has no gold to pledge. For example, in 2008 almost half of the total agricultural credit in the state of Maharashtra was disbursed by the urban branches of Mumbai, the capital city of corporates and industrialists rather than the rural branches (Dharia, 2010,p.30). This shows the extent to which agricultural loans, especially gold loans, are misused by rich industrialists and large farm owners to the detriment of the poor peasants. The culminate impact of all these is that the risk and instability factor in agriculture has increased manifold dur-

ing the globalisation period; agriculture as an occupation has become unattractive and therefore, migration to other profession is on the rise.

4. High Occupational Dependence Versus Low Income

A surprising fact is that even in this state of stagnation, agriculture provides 52 per cent of the total work force of the country, contributing a disproportionately low share-18.5 per cent to the GDP (GOI, 2007-08). It reflects the low productivity of ordinary peasants. The irony is that the total workforce in agriculture has continued to grow even during the period of deceleration and distress, rising from 191 million in 1993-94 to 257 million in 2004-05. In recent years, the land per worker in agriculture has declined, and as such, per hectare yield has stagnated, and the terms of trade have deteriorated. Despite decline in income, the agriculture sector is overcrowded as there is little alternative avenues for unskilled farmers of marginal and middle class category. Thus, peasants are trapped on their land without any alternative opportunity for employment. These farmers were driven to this by circumstances which were neither entirely of their own making nor within their control. Any way it appears that the adversities of globalisation policies are more dangerous than natural challenges like droughts or floods.

5. Deficit of Democracy, Migration and Crop Shift

In the context of new economic policies in agriculture, the concept of development and democracy has lost its human content and orientation. While the Constitution of India had given to people an impressive package of democratic rights that have been widely acclaimed, the working of democracy in the country was only a caricature of what it ideally should be. It could also be seen that government policies benefited only those who

have easy access to capital, technology, information and knowledge. The poor farmers of rural India neither got access to any of these factors, nor do they find their occupation remunerative and their profession attractive. Therefore, they opted for remunerative employment in cities and others left their farms as barren lands or diversified crops by shifting the subsistence based food crops to commercial cash crops. In many states, all able-bodied male members are migrating to other works including construction work, work in factories, services and industrial estates in big cities. As a result, rural farming today is left to care of old people, women and children who have little efficiency, skill and ability. Between 1991 and 2001, the number of male cultivators declined by 4.24 million while that of woman cultivators increased by 5.71 million. [Bardhan, 2011: 160]. The privatisation of public assets and the grabbing of farm lands in the name of creating Special Economic Zones (SEZs)⁴ for Multi-National Companies help only private corporate players (Patnaik, 2010:79).

6. Politics of Liberalisation and Changing Parties

The level of subordination of political parties, public institutions and governments in India towards the philosophy of global capitalism of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) has fundamentally transformed the political nature, development attitude and social approach of major political parties and public institutions. Looking back to the political policies of major parties on neo-liberalism, the liberalisation initiative of Congress Party was vehemently criticised by the main opposition-BJP and as an alternative they advocated 'Swadeshi' (economic nationalism). But contrary to popular expectations, when BJP headed coalition (National Democratic Alliance-NDA) assumed power at the centre in 2001, the party pursued an aggres-

sive policy of economic liberalisation through the formation of a separate department for disinvestment and de-control. The position of the Left parties also was not free from controversy. From the very beginning Left Democratic Front (LDF) under the leadership of Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) opposed the liberalisation move by virtue of being the supporters of maximum state intervention and social spending by the government. In the early 1990s, the Left in India had a strong base in certain Indian states and led the left front as the platform of anti-globalisation protest in India. But, going by the experience since 1990s, the CPM- led Left Front could not mount significant resistance against the liberalisation politics. They are even caught up in confusion regarding an effective alternative to economic globalisation policies in India. The party has also not succeeded in presenting its own alternative model of farmer friendly sustainable development, which its leadership attributes to the constitutional and legal limitations of Indian federal system. On this, eminent scholar Rajan Gurukkal states:

There is perceptible withdrawal of the mainstream Communist Parties from the constituencies of the oppressed. Busy with the workers trade union and middle level peasants, they were not able to enter the realm of the most marginalised groups. We do not find the mainstream Communist Parties to have played much role in the tribal people's struggle for land and land-rights. Naturally, the tribal people and poor peasants under acute crisis have no alternative other than launching unending struggle for survival. Even with the support of organised militancy of Marxist –Leninist revolutionaries, struggle led by environmental activist, joint movements for people's rights to spontaneous outbreak of the victims of development. In the recent years, the people under threats of displacement, relocation,

habitat destruction, livelihood loss and denial of subsistence have successfully led mass struggle against corporate or state. (Gurukkal, 2015,p.198).

7. Marginalisation and Indebtedness

Many political parties and policy makers are not much interested in the case of farmers as they hardly constitute a vote bank, and are disunited and scattered. Major national parties, as the stake holders of state, are also obliged towards globalisation policies, though they pay lip services against the vagaries of globalisation. The data from a recently held nationwide survey have repeatedly shown that Indians increasingly view their elected representatives and political leadership as uncaring, unreachable, unresponsive, untrustworthy and unrepresentative. This overarching anger against the functioning of public institutions, political parties and elected representatives has led to massive protest by citizen and civil society activists in the last few years. These protests signal a wide spread consensus among all segments of society that the “rule of the game” of conducting politics in India need to change (Vasundhara, 2014,p. 22). This trend may lead to the genesis of new social tendencies such as decreasing reliance on legal system, non-political mobilisation, political apathy, mobilisations based on caste, community or region, sub-national upsurge, political alienation and violent means of agitations. The social repercussions of these reactionary movements are difficult to predict.

The experience of India in the last quarter century reveals that there is no difference on economic policies between the two alliances – NDA and UPA. The tendency of both fronts is to justify everything in the name of economic growth. Under the present NDA Government also the decline in agriculture is intensifying. The present Government of 2014 having a thump-

ing majority in the Lok Sabha began with immense enthusiasm along with the promise of 'Acche Din' to all Indians, particularly to the farmers. Participating in the annual budget session of 2016, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and his Finance Minister promised to double the income of farmers within five years by achieving an average annual growth rate of about 14 percent. Elaborate budgetary allocations are also provided to improve smooth credit flow, insurance against crop failure and marketing facilities. But the fact is that the annual growth rate of agricultural output in India during any five-year period has not touched even half this level. On this, eminent economist Bhasker Dutta comments "what magic wand does the Finance Minister have to achieve this miraculous feat? (Bhasker, 2016,p.8).

As far as the various pieces of legislation of this government is also contradicting its claims of being pro-farmer and pro-poor. Most of the ordinance and Legislations of the Government do not match the promises. The best example is the proposed Land Acquisition Bill. This bill effectively eliminates the main features of the existing Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (LARR) that proposed rural people some protection from arbitrary disposition and unjust compensation. The new order of Government restores the right of the governments to acquire land for any private purpose it likes with no need to win the support of the affected farmers. The most troublesome and fundamental question here is why should a democratic government forcibly take land from farmers and give it to private companies without proper compensation and resettlement.

Viewed from the above perspective, the worst sufferers of the new economic reforms are the ordinary farmers. They foresee a life of poverty and wish to escape from this condition even

by killing themselves. In this bleak context, agriculture as a profession does not attract new comers and youngsters to this field. Needless to say, without strong political will, governments or parties would not be able to implement policies that can tackle increasing farmers' distress, rich-poor divide and subsequent social unrest. Effective social security measures which are being initiated by an interventionist government are essential for a successful democracy, especially for countries like India. It is very unfortunate to a country like India which claims to be emerging as one of the fastest growing economies.

Notes

1. Under Dunkel Draft conditionality, India has to accept liberalisation measures in agriculture particularly through fiscal and trading issues and Intellectual Property Rights. The measures concerning fiscal and trading matters include: reduction of agricultural subsidies; conversion of all barriers on agricultural imports; guarantee minimum access for farm imports of between 3 to 5 per cent of consumption; reduction of PDS and limitation in providing subsidised food supply; phasing out Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) which imposes discriminatory restrictions on textile imports; removal of trade restrictive and destroying investment measures and extension of equal national treatment to MNCs; and treatment of Foreign Service enterprises on an equal national footing with domestic service enterprises.

2. In Intellectual Property, patents are given to any agricultural invention whether product or process. Patent right is enjoyable without discrimination to the place of invention, the field of technology and whether products are imported or locally produced. These patents are known as living patents for 20

years for living organism and for plant varieties.

3. Among various Intellectual Property domains on agriculture covered by the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) of WTO, the most important is the IPR which controls the entire patent system. In fact the new patent system is in substantial variance at the Indian Intellectual Property Act of 1970 and therefore has given rise to lot of controversies in the country. As per the Indian law, agricultural products including seeds and patents, animals and all life forms including micro organisms and micro biological processes are not patentable. But as per the TRIPs, all agricultural products and even processes are patentable.

4. SEZ may be defined as an industrial geographical region within the state that has some privileges in its economic and other social activities with a view to enhancing efficiency and competitiveness in export led growth. It is a specific area for business activities of a firm and it is highly exempted from the operations of national law.

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CUSTOMER SATISFACTION TOWARDS FINANCIAL INCLUSION – A STUDY AMONG THE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN MALAPPURAM DISTRICT

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Abstract

Universally, it is accepted that the objective of financial inclusion is to extend the scope of activities of the organized financial system to include within its ambit the people with low incomes. In India, there is a need for coordinated action amongst the banks, the government and related agencies to facilitate access to bank accounts and make satisfaction to the financially excluded. By expanding financial inclusion, inclusive growth can be attained through achieving equity. The policy makers have already initiated some positive measures aimed at expanding financial inclusion. In this situation it is quite relevant to examine the satisfaction level of customers towards Financial Inclusion. The present study has been conducted among the selected Agricultural and Industrial Workers in Malappuram District of Kerala. The study concludes that the industrial workers are more satisfied than Agricultural Workers in the area on Financial Inclusion measures.

Keywords: Financial Inclusion, Satisfaction Level, Agricultural workers, Industrial Workers

Among the series of experiments undertaken for the sake of rural development and thereby an effort to uplift the down trodden strata and more particularly after the nationalization of commercial banks in July 1969, the recent being the Financial Inclusion. Financial Inclusion is a crucial factor for the inclusive growth in the most interior rural areas. The whole approach

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seems to be bit different from the earlier approaches adopted and implemented to achieve the desired results. This can be explained in terms of comprehensive approach which focuses on financial services, financial savings and social security by providing pension funds and insurance products

Financial services are meant to provide required financial assistance from institutional arrangements for sustainable projects and regular incomes to the poor while financial savings are to be generated by the people through developing the savings habits. The focuses remains unchanged and very much matches with the earlier approaches adopted for the upliftment of the poor and downtrodden. However, there seems to be a shift in the implementation approach.

Inclusive growth basically means an all round growth of the masses or growth with equity. In refers to the broad based or balanced growth which will benefit the poor and the underprivileged. It decreases the rapid growth rate of poverty in a country and increases the involvement of people into the growth process of the country. Inclusive growth by its very definition implies an equitable allocation of resources or providing equitable opportunities to all in accessing resources such that it benefits the society at large. Here the authors emphasize the idea of equality of opportunities in terms of access to markets and resources, an unbiased regulatory environment for, employment, standard of living etc. Inclusive growth should ideally ensure the economic and financial progress permeating through the cross sections of the society resulting in balanced, democratically sustainable and optimal growth.

Before assessing the level of satisfaction on Financial Inclusion, it is imperative to have a relook over the series of pro-

grammes launched through banking system for attaining objectives of Financial Inclusion. The major schemes are briefly given below,

1. The lead banking schemes was implemented immediately after Bank's nationalization in 1969 with a view to expand banking services to the hitherto neglected banking area and extend credit to the needy.

2. The RBI identified priority sectors where banks were required to finance liberally and on priority basis. At present 40 percent of bank's credit need to be extended under this. This limit was fixed in 1985 and all the banks achieved this target.

3. Twenty Point Economic Programme was implemented to finance economically weaker section of the society under different activities. The activities/vocations were identified particularly to benefit people below poverty line.

4. Integrated Rural Development Programme was implemented to assist low income groups and encourage them to take up productive activities for sustainable growth. This was a comprehensive programme with added advantage of financial subsidy to the beneficiary.

5. Antyodaya yojana was also implemented particularly to benefit the poorest among the poor. This programme was highly subsidized to minimize the debt burden to the poor.

6. The RBI also introduced Differential Rate of Interest (DRI) Scheme as back in 1971 which is still the vogue. Under this scheme all public sector banks are required to lend at least 1 % of their outstanding advances of previous year to the people living below poverty line at highly subsidized interest rate of 4%.

7. A concept of Self Help Groups (SHGs) was also imple-

mented to develop savings habit through thrift and to undertake group productive activities. To have wider reach to financial assistance, these groups were linked to banks.

8. Besides the above programme which basically aimed to the mass and particularly to the poor and downtrodden, there were good number of credit schemes implemented for providing self employment to the educated and uneducated youth.

9. The Regional Rural Banks were setup in 1975 with an exclusive aim to provide low cost credit and easy access to the poor by these bans which operate in a limited area and work in the local environment.

10. The RBI created another banking tier viz Local Area Bank just to extend financial help to micro entrepreneurs.

The Problem

In India, most of the studies on poverty, centered on the rural poor and urban poor have received least attention of the policy makers. It is a significant point to mention that even a good number of population in urban areas are still deprived of various financial services, those are available under different government schemes. Government has launched time and again, different economic uplifting programmes. But unfortunately, almost nothing has been done to uplift the economy of the identified workers from industrial and agricultural sectors. On the contrary these workers play a significant role on the infrastructure development of the society. But they still are being deprived of the ambit of the financial inclusionary measures taken by the department of financial services under the Ministry of finance and reserve bank of India. All this measures taken by authorities fails to provide better satisfaction for all excluded people in this area. In this regard, the authors have

made an attempt to assess the satisfaction level of Agricultural and Industrial workers in the district of Malappuram in Kerala. The present paper attempts to fulfill this.

The main objectives of the paper are-

1. To assess the level of satisfaction among the industrial and agricultural workers on financial inclusion and
2. To suggest suitable measures for improving satisfaction based on the findings.

It is hypothesized that, there is no significant difference between Agricultural and industrial workers in respect of their level of satisfaction on Financial Inclusion.

Method

The present study is a descriptive nature mainly based on Survey Method. Both the secondary and primary data were collected and used for the study. The secondary data were collected from published and unpublished reports on Financial Inclusive services, books, periodicals, research dissertations, theses, articles and websites. The primary data have been collected from the Industrial and Agricultural Workers in Malappuram District with the help of a structured interview schedule. The sample selected consists of 200 workers selected from the four Taluks namely Ponnani, Thirurangady, Perinthalmanna and Nilambur in Malappuram District. Special care has been taken to select Public and Private sector Industrial workers and Permanent and Seasonal workers from the Agricultural Sector. Simple Random Sampling Method was employed for the selection of both Industrial and Agricultural Workers. The collected data were analysed by employing suitable mathematical and statistical tools like percentage and Chi square test.

Variables Identified for the Analysis

The following variables were used for the assessment of level of Satisfaction among the selected workers.

1. Purpose for which assistance seeking
2. Attitude of the bank officials at first approach
3. Assistance for filling application
4. Time lag between application and sanctioning
5. Response of employees for explaining various financial products
6. Availing of different products and services
7. Difficulties experiencing in banking transactions
8. General co-operation of the employees.

Results of the Analysis of Primary data

The results of the analysis based on the above stated variables are explained below.

1. Purpose for which assistance seeking

The response on the sample workers on their satisfaction on Purpose for which assistance seeking is given in Table 1.

Table -1 Satisfaction on Purpose for which assistance seeking

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of freedom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	20	20	17	17	3.578	4	0.466
Satisfied	42	42	41	41			
Neutral	17	17	27	27			
Dissatisfied	12	12	8	8			
Highly dissatisfied	9	9	7	7			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

It is found that 62% of the sample Industrial workers responded that they are highly satisfied (20%) and satisfied (42%). However, the percentage share in this respect is 58 among Agricultural workers. However the application of chi square test shows that this difference is not significant.

2. Attitude of the bank official at first approach

The opinion of the sample workers about their satisfaction on Attitude of the bank official at first approach is given in Table 2.

Table 2- Satisfaction on Attitude of the bank official at first approach

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of freedom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	19	19	6	6	12.889	4	0.012
Satisfied	39	39	32	32			
Neutral	25	25	29	29			
Dissatisfied	12	12	24	24			
Highly dissatisfied	5	5	9	9			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

The table shows that 58% of the Industrial workers are rated as highly satisfied (19%) or satisfied (39%) on attitude of bank official at first approach. However, the percentage share in this respect among Agricultural workers is only 38. This difference is found statistically significant (Chi Square test).

3. Due assistance for filling application

The data on the response of the sample workers in this respect is shown in Table 4

Table-3 Satisfaction on Due assistance for filling application

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of freedom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	16	16	10	10	10.187	4	0.037
Satisfied	34	34	22	22			
Neutral	18	18	15	15			
Dissatisfied	23	23	33	33			
Highly dissatisfied	9	9	20	20			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

It is clear that level of satisfaction on Due assistance for filling application shows that 50% of Industrial workers are rated it as either highly satisfied (16%) or satisfied (22%). But in the case of Agricultural workers it is seen that only 32% are satisfied with this. This difference is statistically significant at 5% level (Chi square test).

3. Time lag between application and sanctioning

The response of the sample customers about their satisfaction on time lag between application and sanctioning of loan is given in Table 4.

Table 4- Satisfaction on Time lag between application and sanctioning of loan

Re- sponse	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Num- ber	Per- cent- age	Num- ber	Per- cent- age	Chi- Square Value	Degrees of free- dom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	13	13	7	7	14.826	4	0.005
Satisfied	21	21	13	13			
Neutral	36	36	25	25			
Dissatis- fied	24	24	36	36			
Highly dissatis- fied	6	6	19	19			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

The table 4 indicates that majority of the industrial Workers (80%) opined that they are highly dissatisfied (19%), dissatisfied (36%) or neutral (25%). This means that only 20% of the beneficiary Agricultural workers are satisfied with time lag between application and sanctioning of loan. On the other hand 34% of the Industrial Workers opined that they are either satisfied (21%) or highly satisfied (13%). The Chi Square test shows that this difference is significant.

3. Response of employees for explaining various financial products

The awareness on this variable among sample customers is given in the following table.

Table 5- Satisfaction on Response of employees for explaining various financial products

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of freedom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	10	10	7	7	11.060	4	0.026
Satisfied	41	41	25	25			
Neutral	24	24	24	24			
Dissatisfied	19	19	27	27			
Highly dissatisfied	6	6	17	17			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

It is clear that 51% of the sample Industrial Workers responded that they are either satisfied (41%) or highly satisfied (10%). On the other hand in the case of Agricultural Workers 68% of the them rated this variable as dissatisfied 27%, highly dissatisfied 17% or neutral 24%. The application of Ch Square test shows that this difference is statistically significant.

4. Availing of different products and services

Table 6 depicts the response of the sample customers on Satisfaction on Availing of different products and services.

Table-6 Satisfaction on Availing of different products and services.

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Num-ber	Per-cent-age	Num-ber	Per-cent-age	Chi-Square Value	De-grees of free-dom	Sig-nificance level
Highly Satisfied	17	17	8	8	10.633	4	0.031
Satisfied	33	33	25	25			
Neutral	24	24	26	26			
Dissatis-fied	20	20	23	23			
Highly dissatisfied	6	6	18	18			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

The table shows that 50% of the Industrial Workers are rated this variable as either satisfied (33%) or highly satisfied (17%). On the other hand 67% of the Agricultural Workers responded that they are dissatisfied 23%, highly dissatisfied (18%) or neutral 26%. The chi Square Test proves that the difference is significant.

5. Difficulties experiencing in banking transactions

The response on the sample workers about their satisfaction on Difficulties experiencing in banking transactions is exhibited in Table 7.

Table-7 Satisfaction on Difficulties experiencing in banking transactions

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of freedom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	8	8	7	7	13.773	4	0.008
Satisfied	35	35	15	15			
Neutral	29	29	33	33			
Dissatisfied	23	23	31	31			
Highly dissatisfied	5	5	14	14			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

It is seen that majority of the workers from both industrial and Agricultural Sectors experiencing difficulties in dealing the banking transaction. The survey data shows that only 22% of Industrial Workers are satisfied in this respect. The percentage share in this respect among the Industrial Workers is 43. This difference is found statistically significant (Chi Square test)

6. General co-operation of the employees.

The following table present the satisfaction level of sample workers on General co-operation of the bank employees.

Table -8 Satisfaction on General co-operation of the employees.

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of freedom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	16	16	6	6	11.954	4	0.018
Satisfied	23	23	23	23			
Neutral	29	29	34	34			
Dissatisfied	19	19	20	20			
Highly dissatisfied	13	13	17	17			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

In the case of satisfaction on general co-operation on employees also, both the employees are not satisfied. It is found that only 39% of sample industrial workers are satisfied. Similarly only 29% of agricultural Workers responded that they are satisfied. The Chi Square Test proves that this difference is statistically significant.

Conclusion and Implications

In order to examine the level of Satisfaction Level on Financial Inclusion among the Industrial and Agricultural Workers in Malappuram District, a total of 8 variables have been examined. The analysis reveals that in the case of all the 8 variables the percentage share of Satisfaction among the Industrial workers is found more compared to that of Agricultural workers. Moreover, statistically significant difference is witnessed in the case of 7 variables. Thus it is clear that the level of Satisfaction on Banking Inclusion is more among Industrial Workers. Hence, the discussion on the level of Satisfaction among Industrial and Agricultural workers can be concluded by rejecting the hypothesis that there is no significant difference between Agricultural and industrial workers in respect of their level of Satisfaction on Financial Inclusion.

The following Implications are offered for improving the present situation.

Bank employees should show a positive attitude towards agricultural workers when they contact the bank authorities for various services. The existing banking working hours is not comfortable for agricultural workers. Steps may be taken by the banking authorities to operate the activities according to the convenience of agricultural workers in rural areas. The existing cumbersome formalities to be fulfilled by the agricultural workers for getting financial assistance from banks may be simplified to the extent possible. Public sector banks can follow the system of dealing application forms and other papers in vernacular language. So that the poor workers can comfortably transact with banks.

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REDUCING ECONOMIC VULNERABILITY THROUGH MICROENTERPRISES: A STUDY OF THREE DISTRICTS IN KERALA

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Abstract

The main feature of microfinance is that it helps the poor to create productive capital and to protect the capital they have to deal with and the risk associated with it. In addition, the expansion of economic opportunities reduces gender disparities among the poor. In Kerala, the system of Microfinance had received a wide spread popularity and acceptance through the Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs) of Kudumbashree. Kudumbashree today acts as a multi faceted women based participatory poverty eradication programme. The core activity of the programme is women empowerment through microfinance, micro enterprise and convergent community action. The present paper focuses on the effectiveness of Kudumbashree in reducing economic vulnerability of socially disadvantaged women based on empirical observation of the functioning of the programme in three districts of Kerala - Malappuram, Wayanad and Thiruvananthapuram.

Key words: vulnerability, micro enterprise, women empowerment, kudumbasree

Economic vulnerability implies increased sensitivity to shocks, and relatively greater susceptibility to shocks of an adverse nature. The concept of economic vulnerability can be incorporated in a neo-classical growth model by considering the physical capital stock and consumption possibilities as being subject to stochastic shocks within concave production and

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utility functions (Gordon 2004). Vulnerability is not necessarily captured by income or consumption measures, though poor people according to these measures are likely to have fewer buffers against shocks. Responses to shocks and the ability to cope with vulnerability are very much dependent on assets and the possession of access to liquid assets is particularly important to avoid impoverishment (Guillaumont 1999). Efforts to measure economic vulnerability paved the way to develop Economic Vulnerability Index (EcVI) which tried to explain contraction that a country can be economically vulnerable and yet register relatively high GDP per capita. Many versions of the index were produced principally by Briguglio (1992, 1993, 1995, 1997), Commonwealth Secretariat. (Crowds 1998 and 1999).

In Kerala, a large number of NGOs and other agencies are engaged in micro-financing and micro enterprising activities where most of them help in the promotion as well as financing Self Help Groups (SHGs). The most prominent in Kerala milieu is the neighbourhood groups (NHGs) formed under Kudumbashree, a woman-based participatory poverty eradication programme launched by the State Government. It is in this context, the present paper traces how microenterprises initiated under the aegis of Kudumbashree helped in reducing economic vulnerability of socially disadvantaged women in three districts in Kerala - Malappuram, Wayanad and Thiruvananthapuram. This paper is divided into five sections. The first section is Methodology Data Sources, while the second section is deals with Kudumbashree: A Ray of Hope for Women. In the third section, Microenterprises can explain how The to reduce economic vulnerability are explained the fourth section deals with the Result and Findings and Final section deals with Conclusion.

Method

For the purpose of the present study, both primary and secondary sources of data were used. The secondary data were collected from the annual reports of Kudumbashree Mission. For the purpose of collection of primary data, microenterprises initiated by Kudumbashree were selected. Of the fourteen districts in Kerala, for the present study, three districts were selected - Malappuram, Wayanad and Thiruvananthapuram. The selection of these districts is made on the basis of the concentration of three socially disadvantaged communities in Kerala they represent the tribal population (Wayanad), the urban poor (Thiruvananthapuram), and the Muslim population (Malappuram). Two panchayats each from three districts were selected in the first stage, where the respective identified social group is concentrated. At the second stage, details of 60 Neighbourhood groups (NHGs) functioning in the six panchayats were collected. A detailed questionnaire based survey was conducted among the entrepreneurs initiated by the NHGs in the three districts under study.

Kudumbashree: A Ray of Hope for Poor Women:

The Kudumbashree programme launched by the Government of Kerala in 1998 for wiping out absolute poverty from the state through concerted community action under the leadership of Local self -Governments: Kudumbashree is today one of the largest women-empowering projects in the country. The programme has 41 lakh members and covers more than 50 percent of the households in Kerala. Built around three critical components, viz microcredit, microenterprises, entrepreneurship and empowerment initiatives, Kudumbashree has today succeeded in addressing the basic needs of the less privileged women,

thus providing them a more dignified life and a better future. Kudumbashree has been continuously evolving and today it has moved on from microfinance to local economic development. From seeking to provide welfare to the poor, the mission is now enabling the poor to claim entitlements. The search has also been one of transforming participation to citizenship.

Table 1 Number of CDS, ADS, NHGs in Kudumbashree up to 2015

Sl No	District	CDS	ADS	NHGs
1	Alappuzha	80	1371	18698
2	Ernakulam	101	1791	20373
3	Idukki	53	826	11730
4	Kannur	88	1586	18695
5	Kasargode	42	777	10242
6	Kollam	75	1428	20166
7	Kottayam	78	1319	14894
8	Kozhikode	84	1504	26598
9	Malappuram	112	2185	23598
10	Palakkad	96	1683	19566
11	Pathanamthitta	58	909	9318
12	Thiruvananthapuram	84	1548	28081
13	Thrissur	103	1784	22668
14	Wayanad	26	486	8796
Total		1080	19197	253414

Source: Kudumbashree Mission 2016

A total of 1080 Community Development Societies (CDSs) are functioning in both urban and rural areas (Table 1) under Kudumbashree in Kerala up to 2016. The highest numbers of

units are operating in Malappuram district and the lowest is in Wayanad District. From the data, it can be observed that a total number of 19,197 Area Development Societies (ADSs) are functioning both in urban and rural areas in Kerala. It can be seen that 2,53,414 Neighborhood Groups (NHGs) are functioning in both urban and rural areas in Kerala during the year 2016.

Kudumbashree, right from its inception, identified livelihood development as a major objective as it was to promote economic empowerment. Thrift and credit operations, the foundation of Kudumbashree, helped to meet the working capital needs of poor women who desired to start new enterprises as well as carrying out economic activities on a smaller scale, alongside encouraging the habit of saving among poor women to enable them meet their social and personal needs. Even though the concept of microenterprises or small scale enterprises is not new to self help groups (SHG) movements, Kudumbashree gave microenterprises a new definition and developed a unique strategy for setting them up. The strategy followed by Kudumbashree is that entrepreneurship should increase the per capita income of beneficiaries so that it leads an improvement in the living standard. Kudumbashree initiated an innovative enterprise namely, "Clean Kerala Units". Under this enterprise, women from the poor families who are the members of the Community based Organisations (CBOs) of Kudumbashree are engaged in door to door household waste collection and transport it to the transit points fixed by the Urban Local Bodies.

Another programme, Yuvashree was launched with an objective to provide opportunity to unemployed youth, both men and women in the age group of 18-40 from family members of Kudumbashree to start enterprises. Support is provided to iden-

tify business ideas, implementation, training, loan facility and getting subsidies for the project.

Microenterprises to reduce economic vulnerability:

Microenterprises play a major role in reducing economic vulnerability among marginalised sections of the society. Microenterprises help the poor to mobilise and pool their meager savings and to use them as a major source to cushion the economic shocks. Microenterprises are initiated by the poor for production and thereby enhance consumption. The microfinance institutions provide microcredit for starting a new business or for improving the existing business. In other words, microfinance is the first step for launching microenterprise through which vulnerability to economic shocks backward people especially poor women can be reduced. The enterprise may be either individual or group-based. The basic approach of the microfinance organization is to address the economic problems first then move to the other issues in the locality and society.

Rural Micro enterprises (RME)

Since 2002-03 onwards a separate component was provided in the budget of Kudumbashree for setting up microenterprises in rural areas. The microenterprise groups set up would be given a subsidy of Rs.10000 per member or 50 percent of total project cost, whichever is less. The number of members in this group is 5-10 up to 2006, 1409 units were set up. Individual units have investment up to Rs. 50000. The scheme of Kudumbashree envisages providing subsidy Rs. 7500 per member or 30 percent of the total project cost whichever is less. Up to 2006, 802 units were set up.

Table 2-Microenterprises initiated under Kudumbashree from 2010 to 2016

SI No	District	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
1	Alappuzha	211	32	54	61	13	--
2	Ernakulam	179	30	82	344	105	12
3	Idukki	101	67	75	257	58	22
4	Kannur	173	32	88	120	7	2
5	Kasargode	23	22	50	61	57	10
6	Kollam	178	84	32	103	46	34
7	Kottayam	249	79	61	250	132	118
8	Kozhikkode	274	61	16	11	27	11
9	Malappuram	240	107	35	70	73	38
10	Palakkad	652	190	59	163	32	14
11	Pathanamthitta	118	38	37	84	44	9
12	Thiruvananthapuram	207	80	98	114	30	31
13	Thrissur	203	114	44	190	66	20
14	Wayanad	74	54	53	65	47	5
	Total	2882	990	784	1893	737	326

Source: Kudumbashree Mission 2016

The microenterprises operated (Table 2) under Kudumbashree programme in the year 2010-11 are found to be 2882. During the years of 2011 to 2013, the total number of microenterprises shows a declining trend. The number of microenterprises during the year 2013-2014 is slightly increasing, but afterwards it shows a declining trend. The district wise data also illustrate the same trend.

Table 3 Details of members in Microenterprises in Districts of Kerala

Sl No	District	Members	Subsidy (in Rs)
1	Alappuzha	4329	24467500
2	Ernakulam	6149	72023400
3	Idukki	3395	38540200
4	Kannur	3345	23716250
5	Kasargode	1930	16657800
6	Kollam	3066	6647500
7	Kottayam	1951	7780000
8	Kozhikkode	2250	16215750
9	Malappuram	3340	34462500
10	Palakkad	4969	26043000
11	Pathanamthitta	2064	4750000
12	Thiruvananthapuram	5601	42695250
13	Thrissur	5287	11029350
14	Wayanad	1423	6775000
	Total	49099	331803500

Source: Kudumbashree Mission 2016

The data reveal the number of members operated in microenterprises and the subsidies provided to them at present. In total there are 49099 members in all fourteen districts up to 2016. It is also seen that Rs. 33, 18, 03,500 was provided as subsidies to the members (Table 3).

Result and Findings

Type of enterprise

More than 50.2 percent of the entrepreneurs operate in service-based enterprises. While another 40.7 percent operate in production based enterprises, only a very few (8.1%) operate in a mixture of production and service as well as production and trade based enterprise. In district wise analysis it was found that, more than half of the entrepreneurs in Thiruvananthapuram district were operating service-based enterprises. In Wayanad district, 68.6 percent of the beneficiaries were operating in production-based enterprises. However, in Malappuram district, only 8.6 percent of the beneficiaries were operating production-based enterprises (Table 4).

Table 4 Type of enterprise

Type of enterprise	Malappu- ram	Thiruvanan- thapuram	Wayanad	Total
Production only	3 (8.6)	8 (22.9)	24 (68.6)	35 (40.7)
Service only	0	40 (90.9)	4 (9.1)	44 (51.2)
Production and Service Production and Trade	0	7 (100)	0	7 (8.1)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp.sig.(2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	43.699 ^a	4	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	48.873	4	.000	
a. 5 cells (55.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .17.				
<i>Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)</i>				

4.2 Ownership Structure

While take into account of type of ownership structure of the enterprises (Table 5) the study found that the majority (59.3 percent) of the enterprises were run as sole proprietorship, in where the beneficiaries are entrepreneurs themselves. About 34.9 percent of the enterprises are group enterprises and only 5.8 percent of the enterprises are non-family partnership based enterprises. It is evident in the case of Kudumbashree that they have initiated a large number of group enterprises under various state and centrally sponsored schemes such as SGSY, SJSRY, RMK, etc. Many group enterprises are found to be established in Wayanad about (89.3) percent of the microenterprises. But the number of group enterprises formed in places like Thiruvananthapuram and Malappuram is comparatively low.

Table 5 Ownership structure of the enterprise

Ownership structure	Malappuram	Thiruvananthapuram	Wayanad	Total
Proprietorship	0	51 (100)	0	51 (59.3)
Non Family partnership	1 (20)	1 (20)	3 (60)	5 (5.8)
Cooperative/Group	2 (6.7)	3 (10)	25 (83.3)	30 (34.9)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	73.599 ^a	4	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	88.879	4	.000	
a. 5 cells (55.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .17.				
<i>Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)</i>				

Year of Establishment

The (Table 6) shows the year of establishment of microenterprises. Seventy-three percent of the enterprises started within less than five years. About seventeen percent have started between five to ten years. This shows that the microfinance organization helped them to gain confidence to initiate an economic activity. Less than four percent of the enterprises had been started even before the MFI started functioning in the respective areas. However, those who are engaged in economic activities for a long period show more confidence and consistency in business than others. This shows that experience in doing economic activity is very important.

Table 6 Year of establishment of enterprise

Years	Malappuram	Thiruvananthapuram	Wayanad	Total
0-5	3 (4.8)	32 (50.8)	28 (44.4)	63 (73.3)
5-10	0	15 (100)	0	15 (17.4)
10-15	0	4 (100)	0	4 (4.7)
15-20	0	1 (100)	0	1 (1.2)
20-25	0	1 (100)	0	1 (1.2)
25-30	0	2 (100)	0	2 (2.3)
Total	3(3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	17.696 ^a	10	.060	

Likelihood Ratio	25.113	10	.005
a. 15 cells (83.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .03.			
<i>Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)</i>			

The district wise data found that the number of enterprises started during the recent periods is found to be more in Thiruvananthapuram and Wayanad. In Malappuram district only less than five years to started their business. On the other hand, Thiruvananthapuram as the sample area is near a famous tourist spot (Shangumugham beach) in the city, some of them have started the enterprises beforehand itself. For the people living in the slums of the city, Kudumbashree has offered an opportunity to make a living out of the situation opened up by the tourism industry. The women in the locality have set up trading businesses, especially small eateries (both moveable and non moveable) in and around the tourist spot.

Type of Business

The (Table 7) shows that what type of business enterprises has operated 43 percent of the enterprises are without fixed based enterprises. About 33.7 of the women enterprises are operated fixed premise their business. Remaining 23.3 percent of the women enterprises are mixed type of business they do. Those women, who are not having an outlet infrastructure, walked all the way carrying their wares on their heads or in handbags searching for customers to buy their products.

Table.7 Type of Business

Type of Business	Malappuram	Thiruvananthapuram	Wayanad	Total
With Fixed Premises	0	28 (96.6)	1 (3.4)	29 (33.7)
Without Fixed	3 (8.1)	7 (18.9)	27 (73)	37 (43)
Mixed	0	20 (100)	0	20 (23.3)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28(32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	57.210 ^a	4	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	68.048	4	.000	
a. 3 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .70.				
Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)				

Income generating activity

The survey showed that (Table 8) 41.9 percent of the entrepreneurs have self employment in productive enterprises another 32.6 percent of the entrepreneurs income generating activity other than activity of the microenterprise and only 25.6 percent of the women enterprises run by self employment in agriculture. The district wise data it was found that they were forced to take some kind of income generating activity for sustaining their families. On the other hand, for 46 percent of the

entrepreneurs, the enterprise is not the sole source of income. The overall data show that the entrepreneurs in Wayanad and Thiruvananthapuram are depending on the income generating activity more than the others.

Table.8 Presence of any income generating activity besides the enterprise

Income generating activity	Malappu- ram	Thiruvanan- thapuram	Wayanad	Total
Self-Employ- ment in Agricul- ture	3 (13.6)	0	19 (86.4)	22 (25.6)
Self Employ- ment In Produc- tive enterprises	0	30 (83.3)	6 (16.7)	36 (41.9)
Others	0	25 (89.3)	3 (10.7)	28 (32.6)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sid- ed)	
Pearson Chi- Square	54.179 ^a	4	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	63.112	4	.000	
a. 3 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expect- ed count is .77.				

Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)

4.6 Main Source of Income

The (Table 9) data reveals that enterprise was the main source of income for about 64 percent of the entrepreneurs.

They have been depending on enterprises profit for their livelihood. About only 32.6 percent of the women enterprises are assisted to main source of income for loan repayment. The district wise overall data show that the entrepreneurs in Wayanad are depending on the entrepreneurs in the state assisted enterprise is the main source of Income.

Table.9 Main Source of Income

Name of the District	Is Loan assisted enterprise main source of Income?		Total
	Yes	No	
Malappuram	0	3 (100)	3 (3.5)
Thiruvananthapuram	5 (9.1)	50 (90.9)	55 (64)
Wayanad	27 (96.4)	1 (3.6)	28 (32.6)
Total	32 (37.2)	54 (62.8)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	62.418 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	71.392	2	.000
a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.12.			
<i>Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)</i>			

Source of funds

The enterprises started by women used various sources of funds as seed money for setting up their units. The amount of investment varies from one another depending on the nature and scale of activity. Nearly 37.2 percent of them availed loans from the Kudumbashree program while about 24.4 percent of the entrepreneurs managed to get loans from other source of in-

come and about 19.8 percent of them money lenders and (18.6) percent of the entrepreneurs managed to house hold savings (Table 10).

Table 10- Main source of start up funds

Main source of funds	Malappu- ram	Thiruvanan- thapuram	Wayanad	Total
Kudum- bashree Loan	2 (6.2)	3 (9.4)	27 (84.4)	32 (37.2)
Other Loan	0	21 (100)	0	21 (24.4)
Household Savings	1 (6.2)	14 (87.5)	1 (6.2)	16 (18.6)
Borrowing from Money lenders	0	17 (100)	0	17 (19.8)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi- Square	68.550 ^a	6	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	82.849	6	.000	
N of Valid Cases	86			
a. 4 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .56.				
<i>Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)</i>				

Average Hours Per days

About 61 percent of the enterprises spent about three to six hours of time for running and maintaining their respective enterprises, while another 27 percent of the entrepreneurs have more than six to nine hours of time in enterprises. Another 10 percent have found running less than three hours (Table 11). The district wise data it was found that about 27 and 25 percent of the enterprises in Thiruvananthapuram and Wayanad have three to six hours of time for running their enterprises. In Malappuram district entrepreneurs have only very few percent of the hours of time in enterprise.

Table 11 Average Hours Per day

Average Hours	Malappuram	Thiruvananthapuram	Wayanad	Total
0-3	0	9 (100)	0	9 (10.5)
3-6	1 (1.9)	27 (50.9)	25 (47.2)	53 (61.6)
6-9	2 (8.3)	19 (79.2)	3 (12.5)	24 (27.9)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	15.790 ^a	4	.003	
Likelihood Ratio	18.920	4	.001	
a. 4 cells (44.4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .31.				
Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)				

4.9 Cash flow per month

The (Table 12) reveals that cash flow per month in the enterprise. majority of the members (61.6%) have availed amounts ranging from Rs 1000 to 5000. Yet a small number of members (5.8%) could flow per month an amount of Rs 5000-10000. Another six percent of the members spend of Rs 10000 and more. On the other hand, about (19.8) percent of the entrepreneurs flow per month amount less than Rs 1000. The district wise data it was found that (67.3),(46.3) percent of the enterprises in Thiruvananthapuram and Wayanad district those who have cash flow per month amount ranging from Rs 1000 to 5000.

Table 12 Cash flow per month

Cash Flow (in Rs.)	Malappu- ram	Thiruvananthapu- ram	Wayanad	Total
0-1000	0	16 (94.1)	1 (5.9)	17 (19.8)
1000-5000	3 (5.7)	37 (69.8)	13 (24.5)	53 (61.6)
5000-10000	0	1 (20)	4 (80)	5 (5.8)
10000- 15000	0	1 (16.7)	5 (83.3)	6 (7)
15000- 20000	0	0	5 (100)	5 (5.8)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests				
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sid- ed)	
Pearson Chi-Square	31.335 ^a	8	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	33.766	8	.000	
a. 11 cells (73.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .17.				

Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)

Conclusion

The study clearly proved worldwide that, in order to reduce the level of economic vulnerability of the poor, microenterprise has been used as a liquidity tool. The study clearly proved that economically backward women engaged in microenterprise have definitely and clearly helped the other poor women to enhance their resource base by improving their income level. It has also helped them to develop banking habits, and income generating activities. The economic, political and social empowerment of women has enabled them to improve their overall capacity building. The microenterprises also play a major role of reducing vulnerability among economically marginalised sections of the society. A number of NHGs started group enterprises find it difficult to go ahead with the enterprises. It is observed that the many units who mobilised funds to start and income-generating activities are in dire straits as there is no support system for this kind of enterprises either at the organisation level or at the Panchayat level. The major drawback faced by these group enterprises is that most of them are not economically viable they are still marginalised and outlier communities in the Kerala society. Kudumbashree has improved participation in economic activities, namely microsavings, microcredit and microenterprise, surely improved the economic situation of vulnerable societies of the state. Increased mobility, enhanced confidence, improved decision making power and better position in family and society are some of the changes which occurred in the social life of the women in the field. In short, the economic empowerment of women indisputably has enhanced the political and social capabilities of the women in rural and backward regions of Kerala through the path of microenterprises activities.

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ENDURING DEPENDENCY: POVERTY AND NUCLEAR NON- DETERRENCE

Benny Thomas*

Among the several theories in International Relations; Deterrence Theory, the most popular theory in security Studies explanations that the horror created by the nuclear weapon will prevent the enemies from direct war. Therefore, the Deterrence theory predicts a situation of nil probability of war between nuclear powers. However, as we look into the Pakistan's misadventure in Kargil 1999 shows that it was a clear disregard to the existing theories of nuclear deterrence. This paper tries to develop a theory aimed to explain why and how Pakistan challenged the nuclear deterrence in Kargil Conflict. And also tries to find out the answer to a key question ; why some very poor states try to develop nuclear weapons at the cost of national development.

Keywords: Indo-Pak Relation, Theories of War, Growth without Development, Nuclear Deterrence

There has been a wide range of studies and theories on Kargil war. Most of these are still lack reliability, noticed Centre for Contemporary Conflicts (CCC), Naval PG School Monterey, California. A richer understanding of the true objectives and implications of this war would help in theory building, and ultimately, in developing policies aimed at avoiding the evils of conflicts.

Despite repeated encounters, settlement of the Pakistan-India conflicts lack practical solution. It clearly indicates limitations of the theories in analyzing the conflicts through the years. Competent theories of an inter-disciplinary nature would help to analyze these unique conflicts. This paper tried to give a theoretical explanation of the Pakistan- India conflicts especial-

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ly the Kargil Conflict 1999.

Among the several theories available in International Relations; Deterrence Theory, the most popular theory in Security studies explanations that the horror created by the nuclear weapon will prevents the enemies from direct war. Therefore, Deterrence Theory predicts nil probability of direct war between nuclear powers. Beaufre (1966) believed that deterrence would basically prevent the enemy from taking a decision in favour of war. Menon (2004) evaluated that deterrence is basically the exact opposite of war. However, as we look into the Pakistan's misadventure in Kargil 1999 shows that it was a clear disregard to the existing theories of nuclear deterrence. In short, Pakistan by initiating a war in Kargil, the nuclear scare has lost its deterrence effect. Therefore, developing a new theory in the context of Kargil war, aimed to answer why and how Pakistan challenged the nuclear deterrence. And also tries to find out the answer of why some very poor states try to develop nuclear weapons at the cost their own national development.

अतर्जीवनऋयत्वम्: दारतिदरयम एवं आणवायुधनरिभयत्वं च [Enduring Dependency: Poverty and Nuclear Non-deterrence (ED) developed by the author will be useful in answering these questions. Theory of ED supported by other theories can answer these questions. The answer to all questions can be summed up: nuclear weapons could not terrify poverty which is also the fundamental assumption in the theory of ED.

Definition

Enduring Dependency: Poverty and Nuclear Non-deterrence is a stage which is used to describe certain 'failed states', which retain 'enduring rivalry' with other states. In order to overcome this kind of state failure and development paradox, nations will continuously depend on donors and lenders, environment, and international conflicts. Ultimately it shows willingness to take the nuclear weapon risk even against other nuclear powers. Development paradox accounts for 'growth without development', deeper environmental instability, internal contradictions, dependency on donors and lenders and can become reasons for state failure. In short, domestic failure, ER, EC, external actors and non-apprehension of nuclear weapon risk are the fundamental principles in this concept.

Characteristics and Syndromes

Major six characteristics of ED are identified as: failed state shows higher dependency on lenders and donors; dependency and over-exploitation of environment; growth without development; social polarization; developing Weapons of Mass Destructions; willingness for nuclear misadventure. Several syndromes of ED can be found within these characteristics. More syndromes of this fatal progressive disease can be discovered through enhancing this concept.

The characteristics attached with syndromes of ED are:

1. State totally dependent on lenders and donors, who dictate the development strategies and priorities of the recipients.
2. Extensive dependency and over-exploitation of environment and natural resources for national survival; environmental conservation laws remain in statutes book.

3. Significant correlation between ‘Growth without Development’ and Human Development Index (HDI), Failed State Index (FSI) and Environmental Performance Index (EPI), and Resources Scarcity Index (RSI) owing to environmental degradation.

4. Social polarization and domestic conflict account domestic contradictions owing to development reasons and problems of governance. This situation compels the state to retain the conflict against its enduring rivals and vassal states (if any) using concealed objectives.

5. Maintains big army disproportionate with nation’s GDP, import of weapons in totally agreeing to the terms of suppliers in arms deals, developing Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and even nuclear threat has no deterrent effect.

6. State’s willingness to take any risk and give low respects to international agreements, etc.

Before reaching the extremely dangerous zone of ED, the state will travel through the dangerous zone of “political economy of growth without development”. Prior to these zones, there are at least two stages. Each stage and zone has its own specific features and syndromes; however, the difference is mainly in the degree of intensity of the features and syndromes, but not in its kind. Given below is a description of the different stages and zones depicting the evolution of ED. (Curable Dependency, Pro-type Dependency, and Enduring Dependency).

Evolution of Enduring Dependency

Stage-1 : When the domestic economy comes under the control of external forces in which investments are made by

the 'independent' / 'uncontrolled' sectors or which do not take into consideration the complementary effect on the other sectors. This pattern is not at all supportive to sustainable developments. The investors' interests, easy feasibility, immediate returns from short-term investments, political and economic lobbying, influence of the elite, fundamentalists, military, bureaucrats (particularly former international bureaucrats), etc. guide the economy. The strategy adopted for development is environmentally degrading. The political system may gradually show a tendency to travel towards ED. Though we find this pattern or stage in several developing countries, it need not necessarily pull all developing nations to ED.

Stage-2 : Problems of national sustainability due to negligence of human comfort and rural life; policy/priority; inconsistency due to constant regime change, emergence of new social issues like social unrest, sectarianism, and domestic conflicts in urban as well as rural areas; urban vs. rural; emergence of new power centers (fundamentalism); governments' withdrawal from rural investments; unsustainable growth; climatic changes; increasing population growth; human rights abuse ; absence of rule of law; low quality of life resulting in higher degree of social unrest; conflict increased migration; etc. The disease is curable in stage 2.

Danger Zone:

Danger Zone refers to the following factors, namely, critically increasing influence of lenders and donors, dependency on lenders and donors, conflicts between domestic elements and donors, regulatory /catalyst role of lenders in conflicts, reverse trend in GDP, and unconditional surrender to lenders' will thereby lead to the deterioration of the national economy. In

other words, economy becomes lighter in the lower level and heavier in the upper. The culmination of these factors slowly develops the condition of 'growth without development'. Political system becomes weak. The Danger Zone factors further lead to the creation of the 'Extremely Dangerous Zone'.

Extreme Dangerous Zone:

The Weak political system becomes fragile or fails. Sovereignty becomes nominal, surrender to lenders and donors, and GDP may plummet to below 0 percent. Resources scarcity / stress increase due to environmental reasons become further aggravated. Domestic violence and conflicts become uncontrolled, national integration disappears, and demand for independence of units become active. Political authority comes under the control of unofficial sources like extremists or the army. Economic exploitation over colonies becomes intense; ER does not terminate. Volunteers of international humanitarian organizations, gradually withdraw from their field operations. The state may resort to risk and nuclear weapon loses its ability to be a deterrent. Thus, the nation may reach ED.

A state before reaching the stage of ED has to cross the stage of 'political economy of growth without development'. The development and investment strategies of the nation will be determined by the investors, who themselves account for the 'high yield' projections and feasibility reports (ignoring rural or local development emergency). Low political will and de-legitimization of political institutions compel the regime to follow the directions of the investors, whose bureaucracy (particularly in international ex-bureaucracy) infiltrates into key policy making bodies of these nations. These multinational / international actors are always competent to act as powerful

catalysts in stimulus regulation of national development and international conflicts between rivals, through policy deliberations. The nation will not have development strategies under the influence of these actors whose interests will prevail over national interests.

Development paradox due to ‘Growth without Development’ (GwD) clouds further development and the economy shows vulnerability after the initial shoot. Investment remains concentrated on high profit and early returns. The development strategy will not regard whether the development in one particular sector /service / area or region or the like is complementary or has contradictory effects on others. It often appears as contradictory and unsustainable to stimulate overall growth. Development occurring in one sector /area or the like will immediately suffer due to insufficient horizontal and backup support for sustainability. Therefore, the economy and GDP will come down. It shows high flexibility due to the strategic and catalytic involvement of the lenders and donors. Sometimes, the economy shows signs of recovery and maintains highest growth. However, the country continues to show significant under-performance compared to other states at similar levels of national development. In other words, countries of similar impressive growth rate have corresponding impressive social and Human Development Index (HDI). Development economists like Easterly have described this development paradox as “growth without development”, (Easterly 2001, p 317-35).

Defective investment strategy for peoples’ choice and comfort level of living (Human development), particularly rural, and vital sectors like schooling, mortality, health, sanitation, drinking water, human rights, and the like, which are indica-

tors of social development and are decisive for human development will be disregarded. This particular situation has been considered as a specific model within the political economy literature of the 20th century. Easterly has made a significant case study on the political economy of Pakistan based on the development pattern. He found Pakistan's people have suffered one of development's most worrying cases of growth without development. From 1990, onwards no measurable progress has been made in reducing poverty. Pakistan remains among the worst countries in the world for a child particularly girls, says Birdsall,et.al (2005).

Critical areas like food, health, sanitation, settlement, gender equality, literacy, human rights, fraternity, social security, rule of law, decision making, etc are poor in Pakistan. "It lags well behind other countries with similarly low average income levels across almost all indicators of social and human development", evaluated (Birdsall, 2005, p.2). The World Bank (WB) testifies that Pakistan's success rate in these selective parameters is less than those of other countries having similar growth rate. The gap varies from 20 to 40 percent. In the face of a hostile social and political setting, repeated and apparently enlightened programmes of outside support for poverty reduction and social progress have failed, The WB said.

The elite feudal class, particularly the Punjab group, does not favour human capital investment for the common man .The whole society has been horizontally divided between large deprived mass and small superior elites. When the masses lose their faith in the political elite, the government also loses its legitimacy and thereby takes refuge under non- state actors. Elites no more remain as mere pressure groups. They become policy dictators. International actors, investors, and lenders and do-

nors co-operate with the elite in order to determine investment policy. From 1960 onwards, the Pakistani academic community has argued against lenders and donors, whose policy is used to promote their vested interest in business and foreign policy objectives through programmes.

Developed countries can exercise their financial muscles directly via their bilateral agreements as well as international financial institutions. People in Pakistan have lost their faith in lenders like the WB, which had allocated \$209 billion in loans from 1950 to 1999 to Pakistan, { \$58 billion in foreign aid (Easterly, 2001). However, there was no sustained development, and the nation is in permanent dependency on the WB and other lenders and donors.

While seeking development to satisfy the investors and the elite, development ethics like sustainable development, which must complementarily prop up invariably all other sectors, limited use of non-renewable resources, human face of development, etc. may disappear. Heavy tax on the environment may spoil the scope of sustainable development. The Environmental Performance Index remains at the bottom. Domestic conflicts and poverty will aggravate. Reasons like poor and discriminate public distribution system, scarcity in essential commodities, increasing gap between demand and supply, social polarization etc can take this conflicts in to an annihilating level. The political system is likely to reach in to state of worse on all major dimensions of governance. Non-state actors capture all the key domains in governance. It may appear as less government effectiveness, more graft, more political instability and violence, more regulatory burden, fewer rules of law, and less democrat-

ic voice and accountability as indicators/ dimensions of good governance proposed by Kaufman (1999). Or some negative standards identified by agencies like CIDA, (2008). Country may gradually come under the control of powerful warlords as explained Paul (2014). He also said, the state is likely to show the nature of a 'Garrison State'.

The state may shows some unusual syndromes as noticed below. When the crises become intensive, lenders and donors will assume the role of active catalysts to supervise the intensity of the domestic and international conflict. Maintaining a huge army even in disproportion to its GDP becomes necessary, developing WMD becomes inevitable to retain ER against neighbours. Nuclear weapons also lose their ability as a powerful deterrent. The national interests may totally surrender to the terms and conditions of arms dealers. The nation will have to consider concealed objectives to fight AW, depending on unethical strategies. In the ED, the failed state, as a last resort extends its dependency on lenders and donators, environmental exploitation, ER, WMD, dishonour to nuclear disaster etc. Poverty and human rights violation become wide spread. Pakistan by late 1990s reached the stage of ED. Figures 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 show the evolution of a state to ED with six major characteristics and some syndromes often found in its evolution. The arrow marks given in the each diagram differ in size. The length of the arrows shows the gravity or degree of the states, dependency on each characteristic for its survival in each stage. As mentioned earlier, each stage has its own specific features; however, the difference is mainly in the degree of intensity of the features and syndromes.

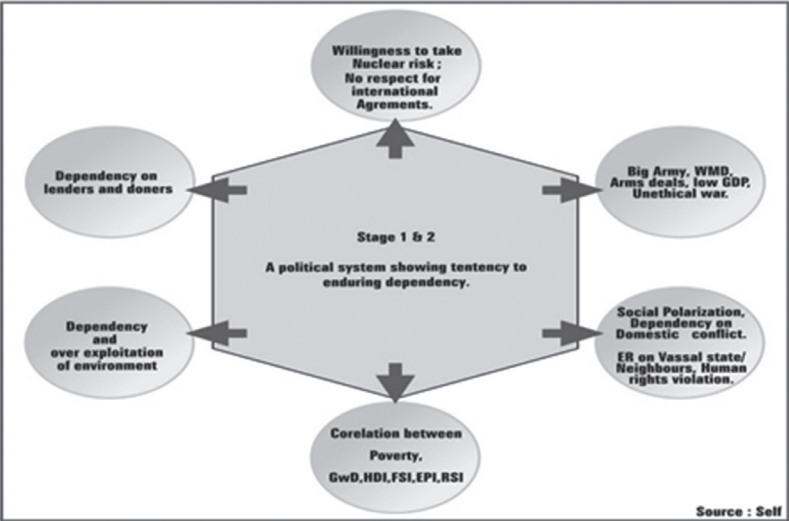


Figure-1.1. Political System : Curable Dependency

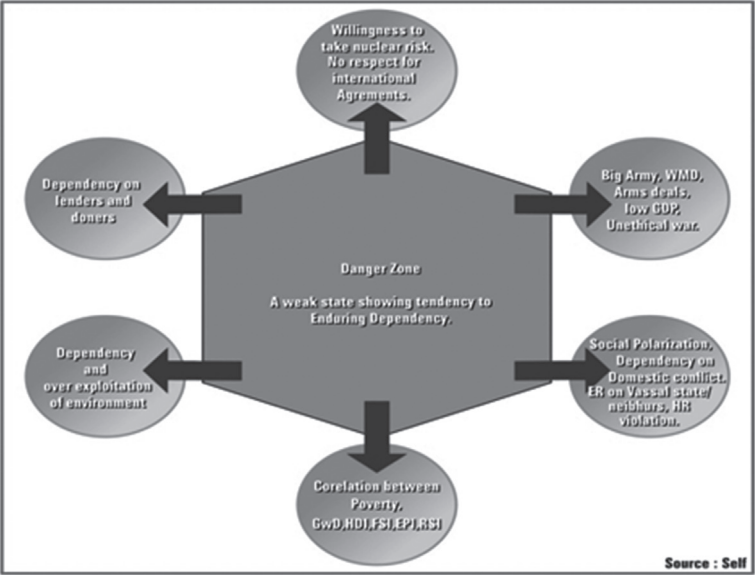
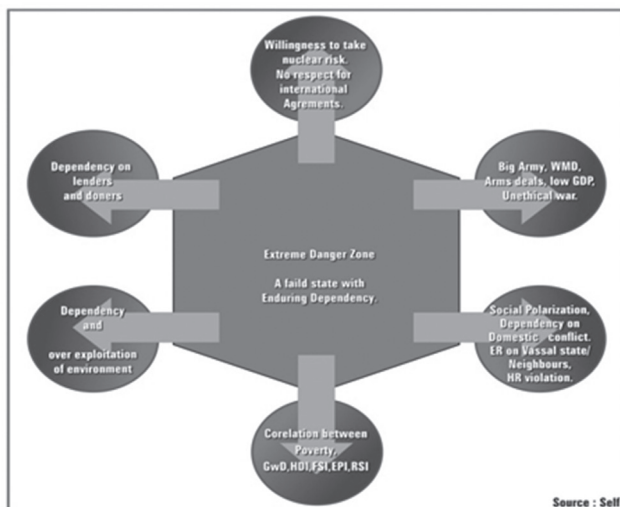


Fig 1.2: Weak State : Pro-type Enduring Dependency



*Figure-1.3: Enduring dependency:
Poverty and Nuclear Non-deterrence*

Conclusion

Analysis of Kargil war by theory of ED shows that, Pakistan at its state of ED prepared to take nuclear risk. Analysis shows that domestic issues of development paradox and environmental issues compelled a failed state like Pakistan to retain Enduring Rivalry and Asymmetric War against India. In short, poverty and misery will give courage to failed states in a state of ED to fight against nuclear weapons.

This theory can test its applications in disciplines like Development Economics, Capital Market, Environmental studies, Strategic studies and history. Coordinated efforts of scholarly contributions can enhance this theory to apply in situations differentiated by local conditions as well as low intensity syndrome of ED. Therefore, this theory is being presented for discourse.

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MARGINALIZATION OF MIGRANT LABOURERS IN KERALA

Smitha Pillai*

Abstract

Migration has a significant role in the overall development of a society. This paper discusses the social and theoretical issues due to the marginalization of migrant laborers in Kerala. They are denied voting rights in veil of a hidden 'sons of the soil theory'. Most of the issues pertaining to the domestic migrant laborers in Kerala, and those evolving, are due to the continuing negligence by the authorities and the civil society. Domestic migrants as well as the home society are not considering the current prevailing labor space in Kerala as permanent. It is high time to learn that the domestic migrant population of the state are similar to the Non Resident Keralites in the Gulf countries, in terms of contributions to the economy and work sector. With regard to the political rights, they must be counted as if the case of Mumbai or Delhi malayalees who never tolerate such a discrimination in their motherland.

Keywords: *internal migration, domestic migrant, marginalization, migrant labourers.*

The faces of the migrant workers are legion. They are marginalized people who can be seen everywhere in Kerala. These migrant workers are breathing life into the state's low graded sectors. They are destined to serve a state whose people, don't welcome them, They are treated as intruders and consider than as illegitimate citizens. They do all the menial works in the state, without them the wheel of Kerala's economy would not move. They are coming to fill almost all the occupational sectors in Kerala. They are now engaged as construction workers, casual labourers, agriculture and plantation workers, road workers, domestic workers, carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians

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etc. They are also employed in jewellery making, cashew processing units, plywood factories, flour mills, quarries, brick kilns, hotels, slaughter houses, petrol pumps etc. In spite of all these enormous contributions the migrants face a host of exclusionary attitudes both directly and indirectly. Migrants differ from non-migrants in mobility. They use to change locations in search of work and when they find one place unsuitable, they change places. This habit places them in disadvantaged and marginalised category. Their wage rates tend to be exploitative, illegal and uncertain, working hours long, and conditions of employment unhealthy and unsafe. Police and municipal authorities harass them and drive them away. Laws protect them in theory, but rarely in practice. They are often unable to easily access even elementary citizenship rights in the city. They are not entitled to vote in elections. They don't get ration cards to buy goods from public distribution shops. They find difficulties at the time of school admissions for their children. Their numbers are substantial; their economic contributions enormous; yet the migrants tend to remain in the periphery as marginalized. (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2008).

Marginalization: A Conceptual note

According to International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences "Marginalization comprises those processes by which individuals and groups are ignored or relegated to the sidelines of political debate, social negotiation, and economic bargaining—and kept there. Homelessness, age, language, employment status, skill, race, and religion are some criteria historically used to marginalize. Marginalized groups tend to overlap; groups excluded in one arena, say in political life, tend to be excluded in other arenas, say in economic status."

According to Dictionary of Sociology "Marginalization

is a process by which a group or individual is denied access to important positions and symbols of economic, religious, or political power within any society.” Both these definition points- Marginalization is a slippery and multi-layered concept. Whole societies can be marginalized at the global level while classes and communities can be marginalized from the dominant social order. Similarly, ethnic groups, families or individuals can be marginalized within localities. To a certain extent, marginalization is a shifting phenomenon, linked to social status. So, for example, individuals or groups might enjoy high social status at one point in time, but as social change takes place, they lose this status and become marginalized. Similarly, as life cycle stages change, so might people's marginalized position change. Here population of the migrants has been marginalized by the host society.

If we trace out the developmental scenario of Kerala which is high in health sector, literacy, education, gross domestic product etc, but there are some other areas we are totally excluded from the main stream. Among them the plight of migrant labourers in Kerala is a burning issue.

Migrant labourers in Kerala

Migration anywhere is a painful process. The agony of separation, the difficulties to adjusting to the climate and food habits of a strange place, and the challenges of a new work environment are factors that dissuade many people from migrating. (Srivastava, 2012) But the problems of migrants in the case of Kerala are different. Malayalees are famous for their migration to ‘gulf’. But now Kerala is becoming the gulf for the rest of India. Kerala is exporting its skilled labour, with around 2.5 million Keralites living abroad. The jobs which the expatriate

Keralites left behind and those who remain have little intention of doing, started to get filled in by migrant labourers from various parts of the country.

Table-1

Migrant labourers by State of Origin in Kerala (2013)

State	Percentage
West Bengal	47
Odisha	16
Assam	9
Uttar Pradesh	9
Bihar	9
Karnataka	9
Other	1

Source: Labour Commissionerate, Government of Kerala

From table-1 it is clear that large number of labourers come from West Bengal(47%) and Odisha (16%) Bihar, Assam, Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka have same share of 9% the rest are from Tamil Nadu and Bangladesh and they constitute 1 percentage. In the past they were mostly found in construction and plantation sectors, but now almost every restaurant, workshop and petrol pump in the state has at least one migrant worker. The actual shortage of manual labourers and semi-skilled workers, coupled with the Keralites reluctance to do manual, menial tasks, has led to the influx of young people from the North and Eastern States. According to a 2013 survey, there are over 25 lakh migrant labourers in Kerala today. Around 235000 new migrants arrive in the state every year; a vast majority of them are men

in the age group of 18 to 30 yrs. (Narayan and Venkiteswaran, 2013) They send over Rs.17500crores every year to their home states which led to the arrival of migrant workers on a massive scale.Kerala has the highest wage rate. Manual labourers get between Rs.450 to Rs.500 as in 2012 and Rs.100 to Rs.150 in many North Eastern States (Centre for Development Studies.)

On the whole the study found out that migrant labourers have entered almost all the sectors in Kerala however, in a state with a rapidly ageing population, the ratio of domestic migrant labour to the local male population in the working age group is high. This warns of ‘a very explosive demographic situation’ developing in Kerala where a big majority of the host population will belong to the older age groups the migrant population will dominate the other segment of the population that is young and working. The demand for these workers could rise as high as 4.8million in 10yrs. (Times of India, 2013)

Social issues:

Absence of legal registration and ID proof

Table-2 Identity card

Type of card	Number
No id Card	200
Voters Id	894
Pan card	102
Passport	6
Adhar	6
Driving Licence	4
Panchayat Certificate	48
School certificate	2
Total	1262

Source: GIFT, DML in Kerala, 2013

One of the major problems that these domestic labourers face is identity crisis. As most of them are on the move and are not permanent residents in a place; they find it difficult to register themselves under government projects, which is essential for any social welfare and other benefits offered by state and union government. (Janamaithri, 2013) Earlier this month, three members of a family in Parampuzha in Kerala's Kottayam district were allegedly killed by a migrant from Firozabad in Uttar Pradesh. With this murder, it has become clear that a large number of them go by fake names, false addresses. Job contractors, who take them around from one job site to another are equally ignorant of their identities. It is evident from the above table that most of them have voter's identification cards but many do not have any proof of job identification or other legal documents. Lack of reliable data of these migrant population is a major hindrance for the development, welfare and security of these people, this affect the overall socio-legal situation of the state, in general.

Religious Celebrations

Clustering of settlements of people from the same caste community could pose social problems of communal dimension. Like any group migrant labourers have their own socio economic political and cultural milieu of life. Among them religion is one of the prime factor that determine the situations of life completion. (Cohen and Sirkeci, 2011) Here in the case of Kerala, the migrants are often living with certain limited conditions. The different religious groups stay and work together without any secular disparities. At the same time, this religious concordance made lots of impacts in their own personal life and social life. In Kerala we have a strong dominant socio-cultural structure that appears as part of our tradition. That means, a

kind of socio-cultural implantation is happening between the people of Kerala and the migrants. Transmission of language, behavior, cultural values, religious practices etc. influences the two communities. (Mathew, Singh and Varkey, 2005) Not only that their participation or opportunities to participate in local festivals and celebrations are minimal. Some of their celebrations like holi and deepavali are seen as too noisy and riotous by local community.

Language

One of the major problems a migrant worker faces when he reaches & Kerala is related to the differences in the languages spoken by the migrant workers and that of the host society. Labourers are coming from different states having varied languages and their own different practices. (Moses and Rajan, 2012) The official languages of the country are Hindi and English. But Keralities speak Malayalam. This is different from the language spoken by people in West Bengal (Bengali), Odisha (Oriya), Bihar (Hindi) or Assam (Assamese). They face much difficulty in understanding the language of Kerala, but needs compelled the two communities to learn each other's language. (Prakash, 2011)

Health-aid

Labourers who migrate from the underdeveloped states to the more developed ones to find work to fight poverty and indebtedness. Health status of these migrant workers is associated with malnutrition, poor access to preventive and curative health services and higher mortality and morbidity rates. Migrant labourers are usually employed in the 3-D jobs which are dangerous, dirty, and degrading. These are jobs which the local population of the state would not take up and hence, labour is

bought in from outside for the same or less than wages. These jobs are invariably associated with more occupational hazards than other jobs. (Akinola, Krishna and Chetlapalli, 2014). Migrant labourers tend to live together in crowded tenements that often lack basic facilities and give rise to complaints from the local people about lack of hygiene and pollution of water sources.

A Study among migrant workers from Tamil Nadu found that nearly 1/3 of them usually approach a local chemist for treatment. Doctors of a Medical college in Kerala examined a group of 200 migrant labourers in a work site in 2011 found that the labour are showed a dangerous tendency to buy medicines of their choice from medical stores directly without consulting a doctor. (Surabhi and Kumar, 2007)

"A survey carried out by the health department of Kerala found that many migrant labourers are carriers of deadly diseases like HIV, malaria, dengue, hepatitis-B, hepatitis-C etc.... recent incidents prove that Kerala will have to pay abig price for the largesse it offers to migrant labourers. Kerala has accepted more migrant labourers than it can contain. Social scientists warn of grave consequences if the un controlled flow of these labourers is not kept under check." - Kalakoumudi August 13, 2012

Housing

Pattern of housing depend upon the sector of employment and level of wages and skill some live at worksites, in temporary shacks or sheds in common lands, in single room flats, one-room tenements, or one bed room houses. Many of them live in open spaces or common lands in huts made of plastics or tin sheets. The land in these case belonged to local people, for which they paid rent. They do not have any facilities such as kitchens, bathrooms and toilets. The hygiene in such areas

is pathetic. The settlement is littered with waste. In some units around 30-40 labourers live in a row of 6 rooms. Availability of water, access to drinking water and sewage facilities are common problems.

Table-3
Accommodation

	Total	Off.site %	Work site %
Construction	447	274(61.3)	173(38.7)
Casual Worker	365	267(73.2)	98(26.8)
Domestic Worker	362	142 (39.2)	220 (60.8)
Industry Workers	299	173(57.9)	126(42.1)
Self Employed	301	195(64.8)	106(35.2)
Gold	312	174(55.8)	138(44.2)
Total	2086	1225(58.7)	861(41.3)

Source: *CDS-ISMSK, 2012*

Table 3-describes the worker's reliance on employers for accommodation. On average, over 40 per cent of these workers live at their place of employment, which means they will have limited contact with the outside world. Not surprisingly, this figure is highest among domestic workers (60.8%), but it is fairly consistent across the other sectors (except the casuals, who are more likely (73.2%) to live off-site. This does not bode well for integration with the local community—as many workers have no reason to actually leave the worksite!

Domestic migrant worker are not interested in costly accommodation. What they are looking for is cheap accommodation that would permit them to save more. They live in utter poverty in their home states. This make them quite used to the

current lifestyle which helps to adjust with the circumstances.

Table-4

Living condition in room

Members in room	Percentage
1 or 2	5
3	8
4	13
5	12
6	13
7 or more	42
No response	7

Source: GIFT, DML in Kerala 2013

The table-4 shows that most of these labourers live together often on a sharing basis. In many cases, the houses/rooms are overcrowded, 5 to 8 percent live with 2 or 3 migrants in a room. This pattern is different from the usual pattern of accommodation of malayalee labourers in Kerala or outside. Migrants are forced to live in unauthorized slums, shanties, makeshift shelters, facing constant threats of displacement and ejection from government authorities.

Wages and Work Schedule

Migrants who are coming to Kerala to find some work are given low wages compared to the general wage rates in Kerala. But they are satisfied because it is much higher than the wages in their place of origin. The workers in Kerala who are well aware of their rights often resort to strikes for their rights. They work only for limited hours. But the migrants who come from other

state work the whole day and are satisfied with whatever they are given. (Saikia,2008)They work the whole weekend and will not go for any strike or form any union. They have been here just to earn money then why to go for strike or any problems. They work 9 to 10hrs almost without a break for 6to7 days a week for less than Rs500 day whereas Kerala labourers hardly work 6hrs with liberal intervals for 3-4days a week, for higher wages and enjoy protection from various social schemes.

Table 5
Sector wise working hours of the respondents

Sector	10-18 hours	9hours and below	Total
Construction	230(35)	432(65)	662(100)
Trade	28(40)	42(60)	70(100)
Manufacturing	250(61)	158(39)	408(100)
Agriculture	0	8(100)	8(100)
Hotel and Restaurants	32(76)	10(24)	42(100)
Others	24(33)	48(67)	72(100)
Total	564	698	1262

**Source: GIFT,DML in Kerala 2013*

Legal and Institutional Issues:

Political Exclusion

Migrants are a part of Kerala society. Malayalees have spent time outside working: in 1950's went to Assam for manual works. Now a large number of assamese work here. Later in 70's they left home for 'Bombay', and when gulf boom came along, they were the first to explore possibilities. Now things take a reverse mode: Kerala is flooded with migrants. We can't

in any way neglect them, because we do the same in the Gulf. The migrants are looked upon as 'outsiders' by the local administration. Their labour right are vehemently looked down upon by the law sectors (which aims to create vote banks in ethnic and linguistic lines.) This divides migrant communities on linguistic lines into those who belong to Kerala and those from other states. (Rajan, 2011) This attitude leads to the marginalization of the migrants in the decision-making process, which intensify their vulnerabilities. They are even denied their voting rights. At the same time Keralites are fighting for the voting rights of 'Pravasi Malayalees' in Gulf/ Europe. This is 'double standard'. Migrants who leave their state for work are under compulsion from the political parties to go back home to vote during election. A major concern is to keep their name alive on the electoral records as this is a crucial proof of identity. (Iyer, 2004) They have come to Kerala on contract basis so they are bound to stay here till the completion of the agreement, hence they are not able to vote, and fear of being excluded from the voters lists in the state of origin. In Kerala they hardly exercise any membership in governmental institutions, trade unions, political parties or in any other political organization.

Social Insularity

Despite the migrants are treated as unequals, they contribute their labour to sustain local economy and make possible infrastructure development, and their presence is gradually percolating into all the sectors of Kerala. In public discourses and media they are called 'anya-samsthanahozhilalikal' which though literally would mean 'workers from other states' or simply alien workers. (Venkateshwaran, 2013) They are not at all considered as a part of our society. On one hand, everyone is aware that the supply and labour of the migrants is absolutely

essential for the state's economy; but on the other, they are also not very willing to accept them as equals, as citizens with all the rights. This is one way or other against the spirit of our India feeling.

Crime and Prostitution

Kerala, which relies heavily on migrant workers, is jittery over a recent spike in the number of crimes committed by the migrants whose number makes up close to a tenth of the resident population. Earlier this month, three members of a family in Parampuzha in Kerala's Kottayam district were allegedly killed by a migrant from Firozabad in Uttar Pradesh. The three were stabbed, electrocuted and doused with acid before the suspect fled to his native village. The Kerala Police tracked him down and captured him. In yet another incident a migrant worker murdered his co-worker and dumped the body, wrapped in a gunny bag, by the wayside. The accused was also arrested. What has followed in the state's media after the tragic incident is a narrative that migrant labourers from other states in India are a danger to the state. Given that Kerala is a "money-order" economy surviving on foreign remittances, an irony just drank itself to death. In the past few days, Kerala's media has alarmingly reported that the increase in the crime rate in the state is directly proportional to the increase in number of migrant labourers. With such huge migration, social tension is obvious. There is no organization to protect them, so it is easy to blame them. (Rameez and Varma, 2014)

Migrants are being branded as 'unreliable outsiders' and criminals by some local people. (Kumar 2011) They are often considered as a potential source of social disorder and crime in Kerala. They are charged with many illegal practices like

theft, robbery, rape, murder etc. Migrants coming to Kerala are predominantly male and young leading a far from ideal life having emotional and sexual needs. Volunteers of Kerala State Aids Control Society says that “sudden influx of migrant male population into Kerala, who earn wages and has extra money to spend, has given a boost to local sex industry. Prostitution is rampant among them, but is carried out under veils of secrecy; moreover they also are careful not to invite the wrath of local moral policing. All this along with the total lack of knowledge about safe sex and the use of condoms, make them a section that is very vulnerable to fatal infections and diseases. A vast majority of them have not even heard of HIV or AIDS”. (Krishnakumar, 2013)

Exploitation from the Middlemen

Migrants completely are dependent of the middlemen. There is an elaborate chain of contractors and middlemen who perform the critical function of sourcing and recruiting workers. Their work lives are characterized by exploitive practices, such as manipulation in wage rates and work record, non payment or withholding of wages, long work hours, verbal and physical abuse. Accidents and deaths at workplaces are common in construction sector but ignorance and denial of right make their condition more vulnerable. The worker never comes in touch with the principal employer who is thus easily able to absolve himself of any responsibility with regard to the welfare of workers. This further weakens their bargaining power in terms of wages, benefits and working conditions. Neither the administration nor the job providers ensure that the regulations in the 1979 Interstate migrant Workman (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act are followed. Till date, there are no organisations to represent the migrants. As they are not

part of the vote bank, the extremely powerful labour union of Kerala do not consider it necessary to include them. (Iyer,2003)

Conclusion

In-Migrant labourers should be acknowledged as an integral part of Kerala. Government policies should not hinder but seek to facilitate labourers in Kerala. They should include and integrate migrants politically, economically, socially, culturally and spatially.

Migrants coming to Kerala are the backbone of Kerala's growing economy. We must develop a human right base approach towards the migrants in Kerala. Government and NGO's must ensure special initiative for their health concerns and devise social security schemes for them. A voluntary registration of the migrant labourers with all benefits should be provided. We must avoid a prejudiced, negative attitude of the local people towards the migrants. This is important to prevent social tensions in future. Government should ensure special consideration of social protection entitlements for migrant labourers in Kerala. We must also integrate mainstream internal migration into national development policy.

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EPISTEMOLOGY OF IGNORANCE: A COGNITIVE JOURNEY TOWARDS PEACE

Beena Isaac*

Abstract

Epistemology is the study of the nature of knowledge and justification. Knowledge is reinterpreted as justified true cognition. Cognition is an activity of a subject which is basic to our knowledge and appears to be an act when we consider the result it brings forth. The ignorance enveloping human consciousness is considered to be the seed of all evil. To fight ignorance with epistemology is a difficult task and requires tremendous effort and diligence. Epistemology of ignorance is essential for discovering the eternal behind the non-eternal things in the world. The epistemic activity is an expression of our consciousness and thereby true knowledge is determined by the process of cognition. This paper tries to submit that practical value of epistemic activity leads us to remove ignorance and helps us to make peaceful life.

Key words: Epistemology, Justified true belief, Cognition, Consciousness, Ignorance

Knowledge at the time of its origin is neither true nor false. It is merely a manifestation of object. The nature of knowledge is said to be manifested because it presents an object to a subject. Knowledge does not make or unmake an object but it merely reveals an object. This revelation is compared to a light which illumines an object. The illumination is the sole function of knowledge irrespective of truth or falsehood (Singh,1982,p.7). Thus the ignorance of the reality or truth is part of the knowledge.

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Man faces the good and evil alike in life and their knowledge is divided and diverged. The ignorance leads to evil but the final destination of good is true knowledge. "We must expand the horizons of our vision of the real, we must explore and expand the frontiers of knowledge, we must accept the crude fact that what we know is not enough, there are still left many more things to know about" (J. J Shukla, 1999, p.2). The wise man, pondering over them discriminates and chooses the good in preference to the pleasant. Others choose the pleasant for the sake of worldly well-being. The temptation of worldly glitter and sense enjoyments has proved to be too powerful and many find it difficult to remain unaffected by it.

An essential characteristic of knowledge is said to be cognitive. It is a cognitive phenomenon which is different from a creative one (Singh, 1982, p.6). In the course of involvement in worldly life, the pre-rational cognition is capable of giving us an awareness of bare identity. Human life becomes meaningful only when an individual probes one's true identity. To think of oneself as the body is the natural tendency in beings, to the extent of ignoring the welfare of the self that abides within it. Ignorance is slavery and one has to overcome it by wisdom which is the science of happiness and peace.

The objective of this study is to identify whether the knowledge which people acquired is true or false. It will help human beings to understand what is right and wrong in their activities and what will create true knowledge. It also will support them to develop the process of self-realisation which is necessary for the ongoing of a peaceful life.

The methods used in this paper, is mostly analytical and descriptive in nature. Secondary data have largely been used for

the analytical purposes and also certain primary data has been collected through intraction. Data is collected mainly from different publications, research works and academic periodicals.

Definition and Nature of Epistemology

The word 'epistemology' is derived from the Greek word 'episteme' which means knowledge and explanation. Epistemology, as the theory of knowledge, is the study of the nature, origin and validity of knowledge and belief. The Indian Philosophers have discussed various problems regarding the nature of knowledge. In Indian epistemology the concept of definition, meaning and truth are interrelated. The concept of definition requires clarity of words and able to describe accurate meaning. Thus, whenever a person wants to acquire knowledge of facts through language he must understand the definitions of concepts and things through the meanings of the expressions in that language. The techniques of definition played an important role in the traditions of Nyaya and Advaita systems.

According to Nyaya-bhasya, the function of definition is to specify the notion of an object under consideration, certain ambiguity in the characterisation of definition or laksana is brought out in the process of analysis (Kunjunni Raja, 1977, p.265). Some definitions referring to asadharanadharma (unique property) and some formulate an instance of kevalavyatireki (exclusively negative inference). In Advaita theory, there are two types of definitions, svarupalaksana or essential definition and Tatasthaleksana or accidental definition. Svarupalaksana reveals the essential nature of a thing under consideration. Tatasthaleksana points only accidental but unique property of definition in order to demarcate the object of definition.

Meaning is the study of semantics which is the science of

the development of the meaning of the words. In Advaita tradition, there are two types of meanings postulated. They are primary or *vachyartha* and secondary or *lakshyartha* meaning. Advaita semantics implies that primary meaning of an expression as universal (*jati*) is contrasted with individual (*vyakti*) theory of meaning (Kunjunni Raja, 1977, p.74). Secondary meaning is related to primary meaning. In Navya-nyaya semantics we find referential theory of meaning according to which meaning of an expression is due to its reference to certain object in the universe. In meaning, universal element corresponds to the theory of sense and individual factor stands for denotation or reference.

The concept of truth (*satyam*) is necessary for the component of knowledge or *prama* and hence the analysis of truth is prior to the explication of knowledge. In Advaita epistemology, there is a distinction between truth (*satyam*) and knowledge (*jnanam*), for instance the ultimate reality is in the form of *satyam-jnanam*. "Knowledge which is not contradicted is truth" (Radhakrishnan, 1989, p. 501). The word *satyam* designates the actual existing state of affair. According to Sankara, '*satyamvada*' (speak the truth) implies that a speaker of truth must be reliable or trustworthy and must be capable of communicating the truth without twisting the information from the actual state of affairs.

Ignorance: A glance

According to Indian thinkers, the root cause of all bondage and suffering is ignorance, *avidya* or *ajnana*. "Avidya is either absence of knowledge or doubtful and erroneous knowledge" (Radhakrishnan, 1989, p.575). Avidya in the Upanisads is only ignorance as distinct from knowledge possessed

by the individual subject (Radhakrishnan, 1989,p.575). This ignorance creates such a delusion that one takes the unreal to be the real and gets trapped in the worldly play. Ignorance of our true self is simultaneously accompanied by identification with the body-mind complex in the form of the ego. Considering oneself to be the body, endowed with senses, mind and intellect, one enters the struggle for existence in this world. The mind runs through the senses towards the sense-objects experiencing pain and pleasure variedly, and one gets bound in the empirical world through attachments (raaga), aversions (dvesha) and fears (bhaya).

According to Sankaracharya, the principle of maya is the root of all sufferings. Maya can be controlled only by the means of knowing the ignorance. "Sankara observes: Knowing the true nature of all phenomena which represent the cycle of birth-and-death, which are manifest and unmanifest, and which are the result of ignorance, attachment and other defiled actions, and which consists of subject and object, merit and demerit, knowing such phenomena in their reality a Brahmana should practice renunciation"(Sharma, 1991, p.277).When we are under the processes of maya, we should deliberately 'ignore' that and try to understand the real self. Ignoring maya is one's duty to concentrate on supreme self. One thing we have to realize is that our self is an infinite reservoir of power. Ignorance mystifies one with a deep sense of desires and doesn't let one to realize the ultimate truth or to be established in that knowledge which liberates one from good. Thus, with the dawning of the wisdom of the self, one becomes absolutely free from all worldly afflictions born of ignorance. We should ignore some of the mental afflictions such as

- Ignore others praise and criticism
- Ignore unwanted desires
- Ignore partial knowledge
- Ignore unhealthy relationships
- Ignore selfishness, jealous, greed etc.
- Ignore illusions or error

Normally, people love to hear others praise of them. The problem with this love for praise is that it blinds us to our faults, and so there is no scope of self-correction. While it is true that not all criticism may be valid, if we refuse to accept criticism, there is the genuine possibility that we might be ignoring valid criticism too. We welcome praise, without bothering to check if we have done anything to deserve it. But when it comes to criticism, we conclude that all of it is unfair. Self-criticism was important. The experience of self-consciousness is an undeniable fact (Mahadevan, 1976, p.129). Without this, one would become complacent, and eventually forget to think of one's deficiencies. By criticising himself, the men had rewarded to taken care of his duties.

People have their own weaknesses. Atmajnana is good for realizing our own weakness in courage, confidence, fear and anger. But it is the atma that makes the mind to think. Sometimes we are scolded or abused by people, we move away, because we do not wish to retaliate. The senses are powerful and chase their respective sense objects relentlessly. Unless one learns to keep the senses under check, one turns to a life of sensuous enjoyment, not knowing that soon old age and disease will catch up and he will have to let go of these pleasures.

Desires may be necessary or unnecessary. Man has the power to discriminate their wants and unwants. So they can decide which desire is most relevant to satisfy their need. Desire for external objects brings misery along with it (Mahadevan, p.158). Then he can choose the correct one and relinquish all other worldly attachments and sense life and instead turn his mind inward in search of his inner self. Knowledge of the ultimate truth is too subtle to be expressed in words and philosophy. The quality of subtleness is understood as that which transcends grossness. So we ignore the partial knowledge and try to get the complete knowledge. The full knowledge can be done by the fine intellect which is subtler than the subtle and greater than the great.

Human relationship is very important in our life. But we should ignore the unhealthy relationships of our family, work place and in other situations. Good relationships make us to do something valuable and bad relations lead us to do crimes. If we get angry towards anybody, that is the symbol of selfishness, jealous and greed. These are negative factors which creates mental distractions. Illusion or error represents an object in a form which does not belong to it. It misrepresents a fact. It distorts the nature of reality and consequently misleads us in practical activity.

Cognition: A quick scan

Our knowledge of the objects is determined by the means of cognition. The term 'cognition' means knowing in the widest sense through perception or intuition. Cognition is an activity of a subject (Sastri, 1976, p.310). Cognition as a present act involves a conscious subject in active relation to an object. It is the reality or possibility of an object that determines the actuality

of all knowledge. Cognition is a quality of the psycho-physical organism, which belongs to the mind-body complex. According to Nyaya and Prabhakara School, cognition is one of the adventitious qualities of the self which come and go without affecting its essential nature. Specific cognitions activates without making any difference to the spiritual character of the self, but intelligence ever continues in all its changing states. Cognition may not be there in the absence of objects to be cognized, but the capacity to cognize can never be taken away from the self.

According to Kumarila, cognition is a potency of the self which is expressed in specific acts of awareness of objects. He refers to a theory according to which cognition is apprehended simultaneously with the object. Cognition can never be the object of cognition (Mahadevan, 1976, p.71).Prabhakara and Sankara hold that cognition is a self-revealing factor. The Naiyayikas argue that cognition is perceptible because it is a temporary specific quality of the soul, like pleasure, pain etc. All agree that pleasure, pain etc., are the temporary qualities of the soul, which are cognized directly through inner perception and cognition too is such a quality. To be a temporary quality of soul is not a sufficient ground for the inference that cognition is perceptible, because volition, which too is a temporary quality of soul and is the cause of activities like breathing in deep sleep, is not perceived during that state. Therefore cognition cannot be an object of perception under any logical pressure.

Types of cognition

Every cognition involves not only what we cognize but also how we cognize. This takes us to the means of cognition which are employed implicitly in daily life. There are six types of cognition.

- Empirical cognition
- Valid cognition
- Erroneous cognition
- Inferential cognition
- Perceptual cognition
- Eternal Cognition

Empirical cognition is possible through pure sensation, which is the limit of all empirical cognition. Sensation is the very core of the actual experience which is perception. The sense-perception is an apprehension of the particular essence of the object. The sense organs have the ability to give rise to vital cognitions. A cognition is valid if it does reveal the nature of the object, and if it can give rise to a successful activity. It can give rise to an activity only through the apprehension of the object. A valid cognition is strong in itself to reveal its validity. An erroneous cognition is an immediate apprehension. In the dream cognition, which is erroneous, have only a subject experiencing and there are no two apprehended things. Erroneous cognition is knowledge that is sublated by a subsequent cognition (Mahadevan, 1976, p.81). This should imply the validity and reality of all dream cognitions.

The ‘smoke’ that is apprehended in the inferential cognition is dependent on something other than itself; but the memory and the relation of smoke to fire cooperate in giving us one knowledge. Knowledge is a phenomenon occurring in time (DebabrataSen, 1984, p.64). Such a knowledge can never be directed to the removal or elimination of an object. In perception we have the cognition of an object which is conditioned by a definite place and by a specific time. Perception is an immediate

apprehension in which we find consciousness expressing itself through certain media like the sense organs. When we are aware of the sense organ coming into contact with an object, we have an epistemic activity. Cognitions and the soul are eternal and one because they are of the nature of intelligence, if there is diversity it is due to the object. Cognition or jnana is the function of this intellect. Cognition has no form other than that of intelligence. It is the contact of the sense-organs with the intellect that brings forth a cognition. Hence, it is said that thought or intellect is eternal and that it is capable of undergoing modifications through which it is connected with the several cognitions.

Cognition is a means and state as well. We come to know the object when we have an image or an idea of the object. Our awareness of this image or idea is the result of the means of cognition employed. But any such analysis is a mental construction which does not have any ultimate validity. According to the Naiyaika, knowledge remains itself unrevealed when an object is revealed through it (Debabrata Sen, 1984, p.251). The valid means of cognition are grounded in sensory experience in which the positive conditions of revelation are present. Even then our experience is true and undeniable; but what is false is our knowledge derived from the experience. That is, the terms true and false are applicable to the knowledge which seeks to interpret an experience. Thus knowledge may be true or false, valid or invalid. True knowledge leads us to the supreme wisdom. False knowledge can be determined by proper utilization of our intelligence. Valid knowledge is a true and definite knowledge of some new fact. Invalid knowledge is a form of illusion like doubt, dream and memory. In this list of invalid knowledge ignorance is not considered as invalid because it is only the absence of knowledge. The human self can exist even

without cognizing.

Maya as the Universal phenomenon

The progress of the world means more enjoyment and more misery too. This mixture of life and death, good and evil, knowledge and ignorance is what is called maya or the universal phenomenon. “Maya or Avidya is not pure illusion. It is not only absence of knowledge. It is also positive wrong knowledge. It is a cross of the real and the unreal” (Sharma, 1991, p.252-253). There are two ways which left open – one by giving up all hope to take up the world as it is and bear the pangs and pains in the hope of a crumb of happiness now and then. The other, to give up the search for pleasure, knowing it to be pain in another form, and seek for truth and those that dare try for truth succeed in finding that truth as ever present, present in themselves. Then we also discover how the same truth is manifesting itself both in our relative error and knowledge, we also find the same truth as bliss which again is manifesting itself as good and evil, and with it also we find real existence which is manifesting itself as both death and life.

Thus one realizes that all these phenomena are but the reflections, bifurcated or manifold, of the one existence, truth-bliss-unity, our real self and the reality of everything else. The real self is identical with the pure manifesting unity of all consciousness (Dasgupta, 1975, p. 475). Then only it is possible to do good without evil, for such a soul has known and got the control of the material of which both good and evil are manufactured, and he alone can manifest one or the other as he likes, and we know he manifests only good. A redistribution of pain and pleasure is better than always the same persons having pains and pleasures. The sum total of good and evil in the world re-

mains ever the same. It is our responsibility, and we have the freedom, to cultivate knowledge within ourselves.

Seeking truth or wisdom

We acquire a dependable method of truth-seeking, a method that can be applied to every sphere of human life, then we have an instrument of infinite power that will serve us as long as humankind endures. This method of attaining wisdom is self-corrective and self-evolving. Historically there has been five chief ways of seeking the truth. They are

- Divine revelation
- Recognized authority
- Intuition from self-evident knowledge
- Rationalism with certain logical assumptions
- Modern scientific method to establish knowledge

Traditional religion has heavily relied on divine or supernatural revelation in its quest for knowledge, as when some revered prophet received the direct vision as the absolute and immutable truth. In any religion the ideas and insights that a believer purports to acquire by means of prayer are also presumed to come through revelation from a supernatural power. "A valid means of knowledge is such that it could apply to any of the three meanings, which we ascribed to the term, namely divine revelation, authoritative tradition and report" (Jayatileke, 1980, p.184). The methods of authority demands ultimate faith and at that moment they have some responsibility to make certain facts.

Intuition means the direct, immediate and certain apprehension of truth by the human personality, sometimes by

means of so-called innate ideas, without the intervention of any reasoning process or the mediation of sense perception. Intuition as the royal road to infallible and self-evident knowledge with higher standing in philosophy. The method of rationalism starts out with certain fundamental mathematical or logical assumptions and builds up a closely interrelated complex of ideas into a coherent whole. The fifth way of seeking truth, modern scientific method, embodies whatever is valid in past methods and adds its own distinguishing characteristic of empirical confirmation through accurate observation and experiment.

Thinking is unique

Thinking is a most incredible faculty that all humans have, and have no real understanding of how thinking actually happens. When we are thinking, we are actually quietly talking and simultaneously listening to ourselves, though external audible sound is absent. We learn from others by listening to them, by processing the information we receive externally through the complex internal mechanisms of our own mind. So listening is a conscious effort to direct our attention, to concentrate on what is being heard, whether it is the spoken word or something read. Listening is hearing with attention. When we listen, we are fully engaged, focused and concentrated.

Thinking without creative response makes so many problems. The world of creation begins with desire. Human life, as we know, is a manifestation of desire. Life is an expression of our known and unknown desires, seeking fulfilment- overcoming obstacles, conquering challenges and getting fulfilled or frustrated. Indeed, life swings like a pendulum, between fulfilment and frustration. No man can ever claim to have fulfilled all his desires. Fulfilment of certain desires and unfulfilment of

countless others are the story of an average human being. We all know, right at our very birth when as new-borns we give out a cry. That cry is the first visible expression of desire. Desire give birth to action and action creates karma, then karma creates desires and the chain continues and keep rolling. But there is a logic behind the desire and the dictum, 'enjoy, fulfil your desires with care'. We should be care of our desire which can be transformed. While desire for objects of enjoyment bind, 'desire to not desire' liberates us.

Desire again, are the source of all anger, greed, and violence. Says the famous verse in the Gita, "Thinking of objects, attachment to them is formed in a man. From attachment longing, and from longing anger grows. From anger comes delusion, and from delusion loss of memory. From loss of memory comes the ruin of discrimination, and from the ruin of discrimination he perishes." (Bhagavat Gita: 2.62-63). There are two ways of giving up all attachment. The one is the realization of their own ignorance and the other is the attainment of the truth and reality. Spiritualization of life is the only way to go 'beyond' our thinking.

True self

In spiritual life the creative response leads us to remove our ignorance. The art of listening and thinking make us to know the subtle spiritual truths of the universe. Through deep thinking, reflection and meditation upon what we have carefully listened to, we are able to gradually experience the subtle realms of spiritual reality, which transcends all sound and thought. So learning the art of listening is extremely important in recovering our true self. In Vedanta, it is known as *sravana*, *manana* and *nidhidhyasana* which are threefold method of attaining self-

realisation. In order to mastering the art of listening we have to consider three factors:

- Interest in knowing what we need
- Appreciation for the value of what we are listening to
- Mindfulness to remove the ignorance

Whatever we are interested in, we effortlessly give our attention to that itself. Interest stimulates our feelings, holds our attention, engages our entire personality; infuses us with energy. Generally, our interest is scattered over many things. It is very important that we focus our attention on one thing which is necessary for removing our ignorance. If we are not really interested in something, for all practical purposes, it doesn't exist for us. As long as we are all wrapped up in this world and are satisfied here, that yearning for spirituality will never come. But the moment genuine yearning dawns, our interest begins to shift from worldly things to the divine. In spiritual life we have to become one-pointed; our interest has to be directed within. So having an intense interest in acquiring true knowledge, in self-realization, is perhaps one of the most salient means of cultivating the actual skill of listening.

Whatever we value, we have respect for that and want to listen about it carefully to enter the true knowledge. We pay attention to that knowledge and find delight in dwelling on it, because it has meaning for us. A knowledge seeker is deeply appreciate of the values which helps to removes his ignorance. There is no other source for this kind of knowledge other than our own direct experience. By listening to the values and practice it will be instantly free from the bondage of samsara. So the value in listening to our spiritual teachers is immeasurable, in-

comparable (Virajaprana, 2013, p 298). They convey the assurance of the truth and our ability to realize it, which strengthens our convictions and impels us to intensify our practices.

In our daily lives when we pay attention and listen carefully to the truth and reality, of others, of ourselves, and of the world around us, is an excellent training for the removal of our ignorance. This is an opportunity to choose the correct decision in our daily activities. Learning the skill of listening is also the result of conscious effort and practice, of bringing more self-awareness, more mindfulness. This mindfulness is expressed through our creative response.

Creative energy

Every one of us is endowed with creative energy and we have the freedom to decide how to express that creativity. But unfortunately we are ignorant about our creative energy. This creative energy is boosted with our will and consciousness. It is our power to decide what to do and be responsible for what we do, that puts us apart from inert things and animals. According to Swami Vivekananda the most oft-quoted words are 'arise', 'awake' 'stop not till the goal is reached'. To arise is to claim ourselves as people with a will. To awake is to claim ourselves as pure consciousness. We should arise for the welfare of the world. We should awake because that is the only way to create our energy.

When in ignorance one accepts ignorant men as Guru, the result will be catastrophic. It will be like a blind man taking a group of blind men under his fold. To know the truth is one thing; but to experience it in one's consciousness as the truth with unwavering faith is realization. The realization of the absolute and the ultimate is essential for understanding the true

consciousness of human beings. One must listen to the 'inner voice' and resort to seeking divine guidance. If we are aware of the inner voice we can easily develop our creativity within us. Human will and divine will are co-related. Unlike animals and inanimate objects human beings have the power or will to choose the course of action and follow that course of action. Humans could save themselves from a speeding automobile by moving away but this is not possible for a tree or even some animals.

Cognitive peace

Peace is a state of harmony characterized by the lack of violent conflict. Inner peace or peace of mind refers to a state of being mentally and spiritually at peace, with enough knowledge and understanding to keep oneself strong in the face of discord or stress. Being 'at peace' is considered by many to be healthy mental condition and the opposite of being stressed or anxious. Peace of mind is generally associated with bliss and happiness.

There are some prescriptions to peace given by men of wisdom over the centuries. We must have four sorts of ideas.

- We must have friendship for all
- We must be merciful towards miserable persons
- We need to cultivate an attitude of gladness
- We should practice indifference to evil

To be friendly means trusting others, and not doubting and getting suspicious of others. Being friendly means to be helpful and kind. It is a blessing to have a good, understanding friend, 'someone who knows all about you and still loves you' (The Vedanta Kesari, January 2013, p.7). This attitude of friendliness

when extended further relieves us of stress and restlessness. Often silence makes the real conversations between friends.

Being merciful makes the mind pure. It fills the mind with pure vibration while externally a merciful person may seem 'disturbed' to see others suffering (The Vedanta Kesari, January 2013, p.8). While mercy cleans up the mind of all self-centeredness and make a person kind. Inner peace requires that one should be free from all cruelty and hardheartedness and cultivate mercy towards all.

One should feel happy to see others doing good works and not imagine bad motives to them. Comparison and competition are two things that are at the core of jealousy. A jealous person invariably compares himself or his situation with someone who he thinks is better placed or is being favoured and he feels it is unfair to him (The Vedanta Kesari, January 2013, p.9). There is a feeling of lack, some kind of emptiness caused by jealousy and taking away all peace. Let us be happy at others' happiness, for that is the way to inner peace and joy.

Often we see wickedness in others and just go on thinking of it. We forget what is evil to us, and what is causing unhappiness to us, is quite relative and not an absolute truth. We should practice indifference to that evilness not to wicked person. Only a person who has done wicked actions in the past becomes wicked and brings suffering for himself and others. A seeker of inner peace can change the wicked and develop right approach to him.

These four attitudes together form the most mature and wise prescription for inner peace.

Conclusion

The state of knowledge and ignorance are simultaneous and interdependent. Whether phenomenal or transcendental, the knowledge indirectly indicates ignorance and vice-versa. It is the state of knowledge which makes a person feel about the ignorance. In the case of transcendental knowledge, the knowledge is both means as well as goal. The law of nature itself explains that the existence of something is the cause of the existence of another thing. Thus the natural phenomena has both the characteristics of the real and unreal. But both are misunderstood for each other and this causes a great concern for understanding ignorance and knowledge. This is why, from the earliest times, knowledge and ignorance both have been taken in view by the philosophical thinkers of various ages. The Rigvedicmaya and the Upanisadicavidya and maya, the Buddhisticsamvrtti and avidya and the Sankariteavidya and maya is an effort in the same direction.

The ancient philosophers were greatly introspective, no doubt, but they also gave importance to the world in which they lived. There was no question of living in disharmony or in isolation, or for one's own self-interest. It comes only when one has grown beyond the demands of the body and mind and is no longer bound by them. This leads us to peace. In today's world there is none who does not long for peace even as the world we live in is engulfed in the hustle and bustle of modern living. We should be introspective and realise that we are one with the universe and the universe is one with us; as long as this 'oneness' is not realised, there will be lack of balance and peace.

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INDIA'S PRIORITIES FOR ENERGY SECURITY IN CENTRAL ASIA

Pramod Kumar* & Muzammil Ahad Dar**

Abstract

Post 9/11 along with discovery of oil and gas carried a new dimension to strategic importance of Central Asian Region in the world. Being in the proximity of India's extended neighborhood, Central Asia became important source of its energy security. India's economic developments are craving for Energy Security. Rising India is dependent for its energy consumption on the imports from many countries including Saudi Arabia, Iran as well as some African and American countries. India's growing disparity between production and consumption of energy puts pressure on furthering imports from other countries. The recent exploration of energy resources in CARs has forced energy hungry nations to approach towards this region. India also has options to fulfil its growing energy demands from Central Asia, for which India has already begun its important role in the construction, development as well as stability of this region.

Key words: Energy, India, CAR, oil, Gas, import, export

India is one of the fastest developing economies in the world and is expected to be a major economic power by 2020. Energy Security is important concern of India in enhancing India's relation with Central Asia. The importance that India now attaches to energy security is reflected in the former Prime minister of India Manmohan Singh's remarks in an interview with financial times in 2004 stating, that the Energy security is second only in our scheme of things to food security. The study of rising demands of energy and disparity between production

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and consumption of energy are chief objectives of this paper.

Most of authors who have written on the energy security, have very nicely predicated the growing demands of energy for India in future and in its reliance on few major suppliers. Madan (2010) argues that together China and India would account for 50 percent of Global energy demands. Madan in her article 'India's International quest for Oil and Natural Gas: Fuelling Foreign Policy' has further analysed the growing dependence of India on oil imports by 90 percent by 2030. Bupendhar Chada (2010) 'India's Energy Security Challenges and Opportunities' has analysed the fluctuation of markets on the imports of energy from other countries. He has analysed that the uncertainty of energy supplies, makes the energy as priority and concern for foreign policy makers. In an article Bupendhar Kumar sing (2009) 'Changing Dynamics: Gulf Energy Security' analysed the impact of growing consumption of oil and petroleum by Gulf countries locally. Daniely (2006) 'Ensuring Energy Security' relates the energy security with national strategy. He states energy as the fundamental need for power to economic growth. Daniely further states that India has to readjust its abilities to the new dependence on Global market. The challenges of energy security would be more frequent because of the growth of energy trade in global market. There would be more shocks because of disruptions in Gulf, African and Latin American Countries. The growing gap of production and consumption of energy lead India to formulate the strategies at domestic and external level, this theme has been captured by Devika Sharma in her article 'India and its Energy Security Strategy'. The growing demands for energy have brought changes in the regulatory mechanism. The self Reliance and independence in energy security are major components of India's energy strategy. A vision

document known as 'India- Hydrocarbon Vision 2025' was prepared to assure self reliance in energy security. Energy strategy has been the priority of India's major bilateral, regional and pluralateral high level meetings. India's major energy strategy is diversification of energy sources and alternatives. Hence the CAR has emerged as an option and an important alternative for India's energy Strategy.

Method

The paper has a limited theme of Central Asia in India's Map of energy strategy. This paper is both analytic in nature and scope. As per the requirements of the study both qualitative and quantitative methods found a significant space. The bulk of study based on the analysis of documents, journals, periodicals and scholarly papers, both online and offline substantiates that secondary sources form the very base with the support of accessible primary data in the form of official documents and statements. The textual interpretation or content analysis employed as a research tool substantiates the objectivity and subjectivity of the methodology to complete the task

Importance of Central Asia to India

The five soviet central Asian states have appeared on the map of the world after the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991. Traditionally, Central Asia has been an area of "great game". Russia, China, US, Turkey, Iran, Europe, EU, Japan, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan have all substantial security and economic interests in the region. India's growing interests in central Asia are well-recognised. India views itself as a stabilizer and security provider in the region and with its growing economic influence, an attractive economic power. India's interest in securing reliable energy supplies and trade through central Asia re-

mains important. The subject of India Central Asian relations is not a new one, they have close bonds of history that always linked these two regions, and it is accepted as India's "extended neighbourhood". India's engagements in Central Asia have been renovated under different official names of "extended neighbourhood", "immediate and strategic neighbourhood" and "look north policy" as well as connect Central Asia Policy. The shock of Soviet disintegration and changes in post-cold war world politics influenced India's Central Asia policy. India always showed a low profile in its engagement in Central Asia. In modern times, the importance of Central Asia to India is not merely civilizational and historical, but also geopolitical and economic. The relations with central Asia are significant for India's short and long-term foreign policy goals in this region. The paper further elaborated on the option of energy security for India in CARs.

Growing Demands for Energy

The world consumes 12000 million tonnes of oil equivalent (mtoe) of energy resources; India consumes 4.4% of the world total (524.2 mtoe). Global consumption of primary commercial energy (coal, oil and natural gas, nuclear and major hydro) has grown at a rate of 2.6% over the last decade. The size of the oil and gas industry in terms of turnover stands at US\$ 160 billion. Of India's total energy requirements, 45 percent are fulfilled by oil and gas. According to US Energy Information Administration in 2013, the value of India's crude oil imports reached nearly 3.9 million bbl/d. About 78 percent of India's petroleum consumption is met from imports (mostly crude oil); while about 25 % of natural gas (including LNG) consumption comes from imports. According to World Energy Outlook, India's dependence on oil will grow to 91.6 percent by the year 2020

(Sarma 2010: 71-74).

From a global perspective according to the International Energy Agency (world Energy Outlook 2013) primary energy demand in the world will increase by 66 percent from the year 2002 to 2030, where Asia's share is projected to increase from 28 percent to 35 percent. The share increase will be especially significant as regards oil demand. Two sectors; transport and petrochemicals will be prime sectors for oil consumption by 2035. The Asian developing countries will take the largest share, 38 percent in 2030 of which china will account for 16 percent and India 8 percent. India's demand will more than double during that period and India will also increase its share of total consumption of natural gas and coal.

Secondly few other sources of energy is as suitable and environment friendly as oil and gas. There is also a remarkable correlation between oil demands in transport and GDP growth. India's GDP has been growing by 6-8 percent annually during the last few years till 2011 and oil demand is calculated to grow between 4 and 5 percent annually during the coming decades to meet these growth rates.

India is one of the fastest growing economies of the world. In recent World Bank report terms of purchasing power parity despite fairly low per capita consumption, India replaced Japan as third largest world economy after US and China respectively. To sustain India's prosperity and growth India needs energy resources. According to the government's integrated energy policy, with 2003-04 as the base, India needs to increase its primary energy supply by a factor of three or four of its electricity generation capability by a factor of five to six (Chatur Vedi 2013: 41). Keeping a development agenda, India's commercial

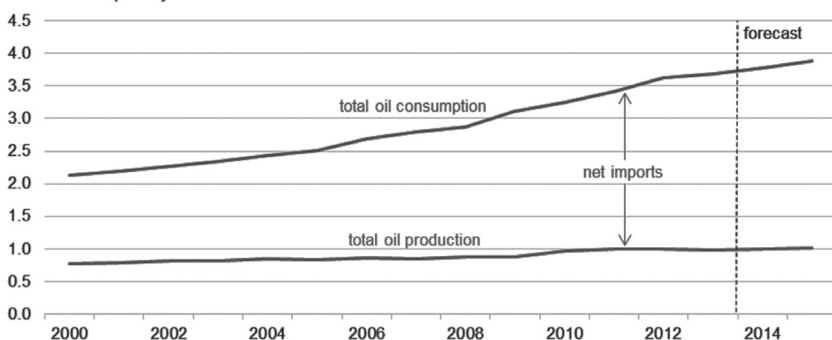
energy supply would need to grow from 5.2 percent to 6.1 percent per annum while its total primary energy supply would need to grow at 4.3 percent to 5.1 percent annually (Chatur Vedi 41). Power generation capacity of around 160, 000 MW. Correspondingly, the coal requirement will need to expand to over 2 billion tons per year (Sachdeva, 2012, 33).

Production Consumptions Gap

India lacks enough domestic energy resources which compels it to import almost 70 percent of its energy requirement. According to the oil and Gas Journal, till end of 2012, India had 5.5 billion barrels of proved oil reserves. About 53 percent reserves are from onshore resources, while 47 percent are offshore reserves. According to 2006-07 estimates, natural gas reserves in India are around 1075 billion cubic metres. Natural gas demand is rising rapidly from 242.66 mmscmd in 2013 to 378.06 mmscmd in 2016-17 and will be more than double to 516.97 mmscmd in 2012-22, according to a study commissioned by PNGRB (Petroleum and Natural Gas Regulatory board).

India petroleum and other liquids production and consumption, 2000-15

million barrels per day



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, International Energy Statistics and Short-Term Energy Outlook June 2014.

US Energy Information Administration, International Energy Statistics and Short Term Energy Outlook 2014

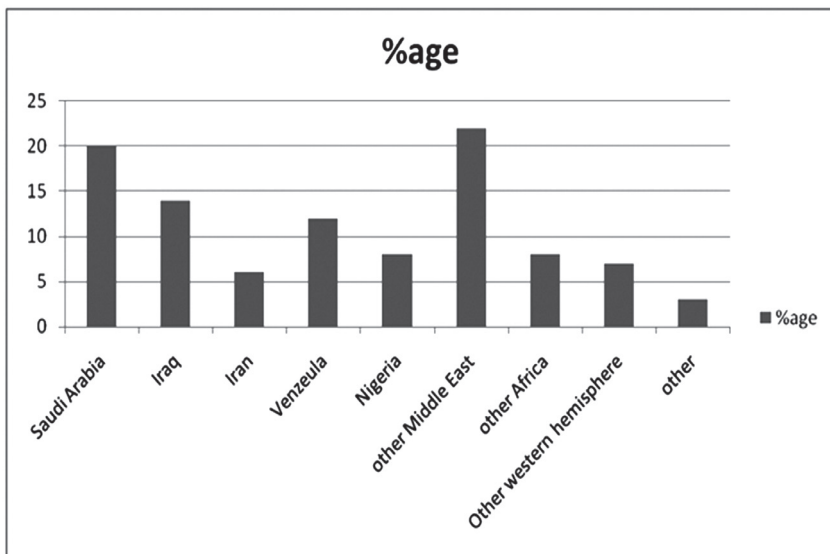
According to the US Energy Information Administration (EIA) the gap between India's oil production and consumption is raising rapidly. Last year 2014 the demand reached nearly 3.7 million barrels per day (bbl/d) compared to less than 1million bbl/d of total liquid production. According to EIA projection, by 2040 India's domestic total liquids production will remain relatively constant around 1 million bbl/d, the demand will increase more than double to 8.2 million bbl/d. Indian dependence on imported crude oil has led Indian energy companies to diversify their supply sources as a result, Indian national oil companies (NOCs) have already purchased equity stakes in overseas oil and gas fields in South America, Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Caspian Sea region to acquire reserves and production capability. However, the majority of imports still continue to come from the Middle East. Hence, energy is one of the important sectors India is hoping to access the energy market of CAR.

Considering this growing energy needs, the Indian former President, A.P.J. Abdul Kalam (2007) had stated that Indian's energy needs are going to play a key driving force in future foreign policy. As a result, convergence of India's foreign policy diplomacy and domestic needs for development needs is striking in the context of energy security.

India is mostly dependent on the Gulf countries for its energy requirement as shown in Table II. Political crisis in the Gulf region and the sanctioned imposed by United States on Iran compels India to diversify its energy sources which is now a prime concern of India's energy policy. The ongoing conflict

in West Asia which is one of the important energy exporters to India informs the same policy.

1. India's Petroleum and Other Liquids Imports by Source, 2013



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, Global Trade Atlas

India's Energy Options in CAR

The CAR has substantial unexploited energy resources (Table III) and need investor for the exploration of their energy resources for their own consumption and foreign revenue. Among the Central Asian States Kazakhstan possess the most untapped natural resources and minerals followed by Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan though lacks oil and gas has hydroelectric power capability in the region. India has already assisted Tajikistan to rehabilitate and modernize the Varzob-1 hydropower Plant through the Indian Public sec-

tor Units BHEL (Bharat Heavy electrical Limited) and National Hydro Power Corporation (NHPC). The hydro power station was inaugurated in 2012 and productively operating now. This hydro power project has received about 47 percent of the total committed grants to CAR (Hemant, Taraporevala, Prasad and Mullen 2014: 14).

Estimates of proven Reserves of Oil and Natural Gas in Central Asia and India

	Oil (Billion Barrel)		Natural Gas (Trillion Cubic Feet)		
	BP Statistical Review	Oil & Gas Journal	BP statistical Review	CEDI-GAZ*	Oil & Gas Journal
Country	Year-End 2007	January 1, 2009	Year-End 2007	January 1, 2008	January 1, 2009
Kazakhstan	39,828	30.000	67,203	67,099	85,000
Kyrgyzstan	NSR	0.040	NSR	NSR	0200
Tajikistan	NSR	.012	NSR	NSR	0.200
Turkmenistan	0.600	0.600	92316	94644	94,000
Uzbekistan	0.594	0.594	61603	61978	65000
India	5459	5625	37257	37257	37906
world	1237876	1331698	6257780	6315770	6254364

NSR: not separately reported

**Centre International d' Information sur le Gaz Naturel et tous Hydrocarbures Gazeux.*

Source: *US Energy Information Administration Data Base*

India in 2006 succeeded in obtaining exploration right for hydrocarbon reserves in Turkmenistan by oil and Natural Gas Corporation of India. Agreement between Kazakhstan and Indian in Satpayev gas field in Caspian Sea, MoU between Uz-

Uzbekistan and India on the joint exploration and production in Uzbekistan Gas field and third countries, and India's participation in TAPI projects are some significant development India has gained in CAR. The 1,800 km long Turkmenistan pipeline supported by the Asian Development Bank expected to be completed around 2018. The pipeline will transport Caspian Sea natural gas from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan into Pakistan and then to India. Estimated cost of the pipeline projects is reported at \$7.6 billion. From Indian side GAIL, signed the purchase agreement and become a part of the project. The project aims to export up to 33 billion cubic meters (bcm) of natural Gas per year. The CAREC (Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation) on strategy for regional cooperation in the energy sector identifies TAPI as one of the links in the inter energy relationship among CAREC countries. Aims of TAPI are strategically aligned with CARECs objectives of by ensuring energy security through balanced development of regional infrastructure and institutions, secondly creating a stronger integration of markets and finally economic growth through enhanced energy trading. TAPI is a high priority flagship project in the energy sector under CREC 2020. For India, the South Asia's Regional Cooperation Strategy and programs (SARCSP) of 2011-2015 also focuses on the energy sector as a priority area. Road shows were held between 10-20 September 2012 in Singapore, New York City and London to meet with Proactive consortium leader and financiers. Technical Working Group and Steering Committee meeting were also organized during this period. After several TWG and steering committee meetings, the four Governments have obtained necessary approvals for establishment of TAPI Ltd, which is the pipeline company will design, building, own and operate. An initial \$ 5.0 million

capital injection has also been approved for each of the parties to provide as an initial into TAPI Ltd (USAID Trade project, July 2014).

New Great Game

Lack of connectivity and transit facility with the region still remain major impediments for India to reach out to the region for boosting economic cooperation. Central Asian Region is a land locked region and having a limited connectivity with neighbours particularly with India. However, India is sharing a good trade and economic partnership with china, Iran and Russia, immediate neighbours of the region. Hence a fruitful mutual cooperation benefiting both is not too far to realize. India also in recent times is seriously engaged in CAR and its neighbouring country Afghanistan and Iran through many humanitarian and development measures to not only stabilize the region but engage in many construction activities to link CAR through these countries. Pakistan's repeated denial to transit India's goods through the country pushed India to bypass Pakistan if necessary to connect the region and substantially fulfilled the India's future goal in this region. The assistance and cooperation in the development of Chabahar port of Iran, construction and repairing works in the border roads of Af-Iran-CAR shows the India's growing interest in the region.

Infrastructural Projects

From Indian Side a CAR driven policy is much needed for India to sustain India's growing energy requirements and development of the country. Despite low per capita consumption, in terms of purchasing power parity India is third largest energy consumer for both if India is able to import its energy require-

ment from CAR countries. The pipeline projects which are intending to link CAR with India or South Asia are as following.

Regarding the pipeline projects between CAR and India, the most important and slowly developing project is the TAPI pipeline project. It was started in 1995 as TAP, Turkmenistan-Afghanistan and Pakistan. India joined later in the eve of two-day Regional Economic Cooperation forum on Afghanistan held in 2006 in New Delhi. It is a 1680 km (1040 miles) long gas pipeline that has potential to transport up to 33 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually for thirty years from Dauletabad field in Southeast Turkmenistan to first Afghanistan then running through Pakistan to India. According to the projection, India and Pakistan would get 38 mmscmd each, while remaining 14 mmscmd supplied to Afghanistan. It is a pioneering effort to link the gas rich Central Asian economies with the energy deficient economies of South Asia. It has potentiality of benefiting both the regions. This would pave Turkmenistan's way to become natural gas hub of Eurasia. Turkmenistan has the world's fourth largest reserves of natural gas with 7.94 trillion cubic meters (TCM), after Russia, Iran and Qatar (Debata 2011: 22). Turkmenistan has an estimated reserve of 4 to 14 TCM of gas in the world's largest field reserves. It will follow the reinvigoration of ancient trading route from Central Asia to South Asia almost 7.15 km through Multan and Pakistan at Quetta (Ballochistan) and proceeding about 800 km through Multan and Pakpattan in Pakistan towards the Indian border town of Fazilka. The estimated cost of pipeline is 7.6 billion U.S. dollars and according to projections work should have started in 2010 and end after five years in 2015. However due to security situation and India-Pakistan's strained relations project is yet to start. However, a new deadline has been set up by the member

countries by signing the purchase deal agreement \$7.6 billion and is likely become operational by 2018. From Indian side the agreement was signed by Chairman of GAILB.C. Tripathy. India also agreed to payment of 50 cents per million metric British thermal unit (mmBtu) as the transit free to Pakistan and Afghanistan for the gas. The TAPI pipelines project is also known as the 'peace pipeline' due to its potentiality to reduce the differences among the nations and to work towards for a greater integration of the region. (Debata 2011: 17)

Although the process of the project is slow, it carries lot significance. The recent India-Pakistan positive attitude for a healthy relation by new governments of both the nations enhances widespread positive implications for a long time sustainable regional cooperation. Speaking at an energy conference in Turkmenistan, Susan Elliot U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State on South and Central Asian Affairs said 'TAPI route may serve as a stabilizing corridor, linking neighbours together in economic growth and prosperity.' Since Afghanistan's Taliban is of utmost concern to the United States, it wanted to improve the security situation in Afghanistan linking through its neighbouring countries of South and Central Asia (Zubeda 1978: 23).

Repeating the important consequences of the project, Indian former External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna opined that credibility of TAPI is that it could become an important confidence building measures among the four involved countries and further enhance cooperation and economic benefits for the whole region.

The second important pipeline is IPI (Iran, Pakistan, India) which although did not involve the CAR has implications for enhancing cooperation between South and Central Asia. The

IPI gas pipeline was a bilateral pipeline between Iran and Pakistan, as both signed agreement for the same in 2010. However, later India joined the project but both sides dilly dallying on the project. From Indian side apprehensions are that the strained relations with Pakistan may in future result in cutting off gas supply passing through its territory to India. On the other hand, Pakistan is always sceptical towards India's engagement with Afghanistan and CAR (Zubeda 1978: 24). However, joining of India in any pipeline project linking to South Asia is important for financial concerns of the involved nations. As Nadeem Iqbal has pointed out that IPI pipeline project is only viable if it is extended up to India since Iran is hoping to make \$US 3.06 per MMBTU (million British thermal units) of gas sold to India, but would only get \$ 1.48 if limited to Pakistan only. On other hand Pakistan which is also an economic and developmental crisis is hoping to earn about \$14 billion in 30 years from the project including transit fees of \$8 billion. Same challenges and opportunities are also in front of TAPI project (Rila, 2006). However, Involvement of more parties and western support to TAPI lend more importance to the project. Further the stressed relation between western countries and Iran is another reason of delaying the IPI project. Iran which has the second largest reserves of gas after Russia has yet to emerge as a large exporter due to western sanctions and periodic political upheavals. Iran's interests in gas supply to the subcontinent are stated to lie in the geographical location of Iranian gas resources, especially South Pars field in the centre of Persian Gulf. The latter makes India the best market for the country's gas export in the coming years (Pande 2011: 17).

However, gradual improvement of relations between U.S. and Iran has a positive implication for further enhancing the

project. India also shares great historical, political implication for enhancing the project. India also shares great historical, political and economic ties with Iran and was able to import its energy requirement during the sanction period too. Therefore, both TAPI and IPI pipeline (MAP I) are significant for the whole Central and South Asian regions, successful cooperation of one will boost the later. Both projects have potentiality to integrate the whole region with economic prosperity, development and future cooperation and confidence building between the regions.

Map I: TAPI and IPI pipeline



Source: http://outlookafghanistan.net/topics.php?post_id=2209

Conclusion

Post 9/11, along with discovery of oil and gas with other mineral and energy resources in Central Asia caught the attention of the world. On the other hand, post economic liberalisation India was able to create a space in the international economic sphere. India, according to recent World Bank report,

has succeeded Japan as the World's third largest economy. The main two sectors for India's energy demand increase are transport and petrochemical sectors. The prime energy demand related to the oil and gas sector corresponding to India's growing transport industry. According to US Energy Information Administration in 2013 India's crude oil imports reached to 3.9 million bbl/d. India is mostly dependent on the Middle East countries. Approximately 62% of India's imported crude oil comes from there. Saudi Arabia is India's largest oil supplier, with a 20% share of crude oil coming from Venezuela. While India has increased oil imports from African countries contributing 16% of India's crude oil imports, supply has been disrupted from major important countries, including Iran, Libya, Sudan and Nigeria. However, it is happening due to strained relation between Iran and US on one hand and the socio political crisis in the Gulf region on the other. Iran accounted for 5.5% of India's crude imports in 2013, down from 8.3% in 2011-12 (US Energy Information Administration June 26, 2014). As a result, India is searching to diversify energy sources while CAR could be able to meet future energy demand of India. CARs on the other hand have energy driven economic policies with huge unexploited natural resources and have welcomed India to invest in their country. CARs need long term partners to meet their national aspirations of growth and development while India edifices a successful emerging global economic power.

India has already signed many agreements and treaties with Central Asia to work together. India already gets access to the energy field of CAR maintain countries; On the other hand, CAR's main pragmatic policy is to maintain a balance between major power's interests in their region to protect their national interest through multi vector policies for prosperity and devel-

opment. Hence, both found mutual beneficiary areas that led to India growing interest in central Asia and Vice versa.

However, the most important impediment between CAR and India is the accessibility of land or sea routes. CAR is a landlocked region sharing border with Russia, China, Iran and Afghanistan. The closest route is via Pakistan and Afghanistan. For India, it is closer than other foreign partners. However, India is not able to access CAR vice versa CAR to India because of India's strained relations with Pakistan and anti-Indian Taliban force still active in Afghanistan. New Delhi has had to look for new routes that bypass Pakistan altogether. Towards that end, the North-South Transportation Corridor which connects India to the Central Asian region through Iran was envisaged as a game-changer. Initiated in 2003, this project aims to connect the port in Mumbai to the Iranian ports of Chabahar and Bandar Abbas through maritime transport, and then develop road and rail networks linking these two ports with Afghanistan and other Central Asian Republics (Mukherjee 2015: 21)

India has come up with a "Connect Central Asia policy" (2012), which includes elements such as high level visits, strategic partnerships, comprehensive economic engagement, partnership in the development of energy and natural resources. Development of potential in medical field, education, e-networks, land connectivity etc. This policy was declared in 2012. The implementation of the policy needs to be speeded up. This will require allocation of definite resource for the implementation of the policy. Second, there must be an institutional mechanism for implementation. (Arvind Gupta 2013, IDSA)

Secondly, to get access to energy market of CAR, India already has engaged with CAR, Iran and Afghanistan through

many infrastructure projects in border areas of the region, Afghanistan Iran CAR with India. It is helping the CAR region too since it is mostly dependent on Russia and China route for transit. It will help CAR to diversify their trade route not only through land but will mitigate the long search on their warm water port. India's assistance for the development of Chabahar port and the proximity of CAR and Afghanistan to the port is important to mention. Moreover, as the country's energy demands continue to grow, New Delhi has no choice but to tap into other sources. In this context, energy-rich and proximate Central Asia is best positioned to become India's next big oil and gas supplier.

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TREADING THE PATH TO EMPOWERMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF THE STATUS OF MUSLIM WOMEN IN KERALA

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Abstract

Muslim women of Kerala form a heterogeneous group with its own cultural diversities in the multi cultural and pluralistic society of this state. The religion Islam accords special status to women but in practice the challenges they face when they try to empower themselves and to bring them up within the main stream of social life are double fold when compared to the efforts of their sisters in other communities. Even after 68 years of independence, women in Kerala, in spite of their highest literacy rates and educational achievements, failed to produce strong women political leaders, competent entrepreneurs, acclaimed social reformers or distinguished personalities of power except a few. But, this cannot be attributed to the dearth of talents; perhaps it maybe due to the attitude of the patriarchic society. Muslim women stand themselves as a separate group within the general population who are destined to fight within the society as well as their own community to come up against the main stream social life. This paper attempts to observe the current status of Muslim women, and the challenges they face on this path

Muslim women of Kerala form a heterogeneous group with its own cultural diversities in the multi cultural and pluralistic society of this state. Though the Human Development Indices of the state in general are at par with most developed countries, the real status of women in general is far from truth. Historical analysis of the status of these women in Kerala reveals horrifying details of oppression and male domination. In Kerala, the Muslim women, though religiously entitled to enjoy certain amount of freedom, were never given the same in the

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general atmosphere of oppression and male chauvinism. Thanks to the freedom struggles, social reformation movements and political Independence, the status of women in Kerala witnessed revolutionary changes, but owing to the community's callous approach to English education, and reluctance to acceptance of women's social outgoing, the changes in society at large did not have any impact on Muslim women. They had to be contended with the Arabic Malayalam scriptures for entertainment, communication and education. It was later with the strenuous efforts of Muslim reformation leaders like Vakkom Moulavi and other pioneers that the Kerala Muslim community as such, and Muslim women started benefiting from English education and independence.

Even after 68 years of independence, women in Kerala, exalted for higher literacy rates and educational achievements could not produce strong women political leaders, competent entrepreneurs, acclaimed social reformers or distinguished personalities of power except a few. This cannot be attributed to the dearth of talent, but maybe owing to the unsympathetic attitude of the patriarchic society. Muslim women stand a part as a separate group in the general population who are destined not only to stand apart to fight with the general society but also within their own community to come up against injustices in the mainstream social life. This makes the study of the Muslim women of Kerala and their struggles to empowerment interesting and meaningful. This paper attempts to conceptually analyse the rights of women in Islam, current status of Muslim women in Kerala and the issues they face in the struggle for empowerment.

Islam and Women

Islam accords an equal status to women compared to men. The Holy Quraan which is the text for Islamic principles addresses mankind as a whole. "Allah created you from a single soul, and created from it its mate" (Holy Qura'an 4:1)

Islam is a religion, with unalterable text and directions for every activity in human life and relations. Men and women as explained in the earlier verse were created from a single soul and the relation to each other is clearly defined in Islam through the various Qura'anic verses and teachings of the prophet Muhammed. The religion of Islam teaches and believes in rebirth, where all souls will have to meet his lord, the creator, and receive rewards for his/her deeds in this world. "Every soul will be held in pledge for its deeds" Holy Qura'an [74: 38]. These two verses help define the position of the two sexes in the Islamic world.

Qura'an says that men and women were created for one another. The Qura'an says, "O mankind, we created you all from a male and female, and made you into races and tribes, that you may know one another. Surely the noblest among you in the sight of God is the most God fearing of you". Holy Qur'an(49:13)

Furthermore, Qura'an says, "Their Lord answers them, saying : 'I will deny no man or woman among you the reward of their labours. You are the off-spring of one another". (Holy Qur'an 3:195). "For Muslim men and women, for believing men and women, for devout men and women, for men and women who are patient, for men and women who humble themselves, for men and women who give charity, for men and women who fast, for men and women who guard their chastity, for

men and women who remember Allah much for them all has God prepared forgiveness and a great reward" (Holy Qura'an 33:35).

Thus reads numerous verses in Qura'an, each quoting and stressing that before God, there is no distinction between man and woman, except for their deeds. So it can be concluded that before God Almighty men and women are equal.

Among Men and Women Islam ranks Men as superior to women, but with rights to women over men. "Your wives are your garments and you are a garment for them" (Holy Qura'an 2: 187). Again the Holy Qura'an (2:228) Says, ' "It is but fair that women should have rights over men even as men have rights over women, albeit men rank a degree above them". "Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, for God has given the one more (strength) than the other and because they support them" (Holy Qura'an 4:34). Thus Islamic text Qura'an gives a dignifying position to women.

The Teachings of the Prophet

The Prophet described women as "the twin halves of men" which emphasized the idea that their role in society is complementary to that of men. He declared that "the most valuable thing in the world is a virtuous woman". He taught his followers that it is God's commandment to treat women with gentleness and affection because, he said, "they are your mothers, daughters, aunts" (Abbassi, 1992)

In Islam, a woman is a completely independent personality. She can make any contract or bequest in her own name. She is entitled to inherit in her position as mother, as wife, as sister and as daughter. She has perfect liberty to choose her husband.

(Sarsarabi, 2015) The prophet's followers accepted his teachings and brought about a revolution in their social attitude towards women. They no longer considered women as mere chattels, but as an integral part of society. For the first time women were given the right to have a share in inheritance. In the new social climate, women rediscovered themselves and became highly active members of society rendering useful service during the wars, which the pagan Arabs forced on the emerging Muslim community. (Ahmed, 2011). They carried provisions for the soldiers, nursed them, and even fought alongside them if it was necessary. It became a common sight to see women helping their husbands in the fields, carrying on trade and business independently, and going out of their homes to satisfy their needs. (Rahman, 1988)

The predominant idea in the teachings of Islam with regard to men and women is that a husband and wife should be full-fledged partners in making their home a happy and prosperous place. A man is enjoined to educate the women in his care so that they cultivate the qualities in which they, by their very nature, excel. The prophet presented the best example in instructing the Muslim women to learn and teach. Women and men attended classes together taught by the prophet where women asked the prophet questions and had the opportunity to interact and educate themselves (Ashrof, 2005). Historians also mention that the female lecturers during the Umayyad caliphate reached to being about eighty in number and that some of them taught medicine and other sciences. (Islam web.net).

In the Madinah society, after the emigration of Muslims from Mecca, established by the prophet, women were guaranteed personal respect, the right to education, the right to enter

into legal contracts, and the political right to express their views concerning public affairs. (Bessell, 2002). They were also given the right to choose a husband of their liking and to reject a marriage they did not like. (Hasan, 2004) Indeed, the prophet allowed women to engage in suitable work for earning an income like men, so long as such jobs did not infringe on their dignity.

Women Empowerment

Empowering women does not mean giving power to women to dominate or be superior to others. Through empowerment, women develop a self confidence, self respect and will be capable to confront any circumstances that may come her way. Her empowerment leads to her increased influence in decision making, especially in matters that have a direct bearing on her life or her close associates. Also an empowered woman would be informed of her state as an individual, her legal rights as an equal citizen and ways and means to achieve her status in case of a conflict. Thus, she would be in a position, to support and guide, protect her fellow beings, and thus assume roles of leadership. Thus, empowerment is a process that happens with a conscious effort at individual level further developing into a collective movement. Empowerment is achieved through knowledge of one's rights, duties and responsibilities. Its objective is realized only through a support system that guides, mentors and supports the empowering process.

The report on human development in South Asia states that empowerment of women should be on an individualistic level, reflecting change in external and internal qualities. It states empowerment as a change in the context of a woman's life, which enables her increased capacity for leading a fulfilling human life. It gets reflected in external qualities such as health,

mobility, education and awareness, status in the family, participation in decision making, and also at the level of material security. It also includes internal qualities such as self-awareness and self confidence (Mathew, 2003).

Empowerment is a multidimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives. It is a process that fosters power (that is, the capacity to implement) in people, for use in their own lives, their communities, and in their own societies, by acting on issues that they define as important. (Page 1999) Empowerment is a process which generates changes in our ideas and perceptions and creates awareness about one's rights and opportunities for self-development in all important spheres of life (Das & Mishra, 2001).

Status of Muslim Women in Kerala

Gone are the days when women were confined /restricted within four walls of her house. Today the social culture of Kerala has unimaginably changed over the last century. The position and status of women has achieved considerable standard, with women occupying several administrative positions in various offices. Realizing her potentials, she is gearing up her rights as individual and as a citizen. Women are seen all around Kerala, with increased mobility and social interaction. Women driving four wheelers and two wheelers, women managing retail shops, women as police constable, bus conductor and senior government officials are common sights. Large number of girls and women enjoy the freedom of education irrespective of caste, economic status or religion across Kerala. It is common right in Kerala women in large number go to movie theatres and market places.

Kerala women stand apart in lofty level from the Indian society in their status, culture, beliefs, practices, education and employment. The gender indices of Kerala women are at par with that of the most developed nations like Norway and Netherland (Mukhopadhyay, 2007). But the true picture of Kerala women is very different from what one visibly sees in statistical measures.

Kerala has been a predominantly male and caste dominated society. It is through education and social reformation that Kerala society moved further. But the society is still not free from its shackles. The preference for male child is a known factor in most households, as he is seen as the one who carries the generation forward where as the females are considered responsible holding together the family and is entrusted with child rearing and Kitchen work. Even if she is professionally employed, she is naturally expected to manage the dual roles of home management and professional responsibilities. Her option for higher studies and career development are contained and limited when it comes to mobility and monetary factors associated with it. She is totally dependent on family support for fulfilling her ambition as she is solely held responsible for the future of her children. Women in Kerala are still far away from the corridor of power. It is a fact that we have not developed strong women personalities is our society who are powerful enough to demand their rightful position in society. Media support to women empowerment is also not satisfactory and we see no conscious effort on any front towards this objective. Women are just consumers of reservation benefits, be it in police, politics or business. It is common in Kerala society where girls excel in studies in schools, and colleges, but boys prove better in professional and powerful position.

The presence of women in literary scene is comparatively to lower to men and the same is the case in Arts, and cultural arena. The female mentality of sub-ordination to men is strong, but a slick change over is seen in favour of women in the certain professions like teaching, nursing and secretarial jobs.

The practice of dowry system, a social evil which is prevalent widely among all communities in Kerala. Accordingly the bride's educational and occupational levels demand higher dowry. The higher the social status of the bridegroom, the higher will be demand for dowry.

It is commonly observed that the girls enjoy higher freedom before their marriage. The parents today are educated and become ambitious for the future of their daughters. The marriages of Muslim girls compulsorily followed, after custom bound rituals and religious practices. This puts a social pressure on parents to marry of their young daughters on or before the completion of their education. It is interesting to note that the very women who once got trapped by this evil social custom show extra vigour and ambition in the demand of dowry for their sons when they marry. This brings back the ambitious women to the conventional family structure, and getting blind followers of unwritten laws and practices. A married women's life revolves around her children and family. Her later efforts to push forward in professional life depend on her will power to struggle for getting family support to fulfil her ambitions. But as there is no policy procedure or social system familial or otherwise to support such a comeback of women after completing their parental responsibilities, these dreams remain dreams forever. Thus goes the life of common Kerala women across all communities. (Observation, 2015) .

Educational Status

Education levels of Muslim women now are comparatively higher when compared to the position in 4 to 5 decades ago. The community has finally accepted the importance of modern education and got the letters of the aversion for women education considerably. Muslim women today are proving their competency in society by scoring higher ranks and distinctions in academic studies. Today education up to 12th standard has become the usual norm of most households, except exceptional incidents. Today the question of educational empowerment of women does not arise as almost all are well educated. It is now the question of boys education and empowerment. (quotes. Gafoor 2015).

Education of girls is now an accepted norm in Islam, most of them pursue education up to graduation and above through various distance education modes as their accessibilities permit (Ali, 2015). Muslim women do take up profession in the male dominated fields like journalism too (Abdurahiman, 2015).

Professional Status

Teaching, Medicine, Dentistry, Advocacy and office works are the most preferred areas of Muslim women. They are confined mostly to those areas as they don't disturb their familial responsibilities. It is rare to find Muslim women in active politics, technical field, civil service, entrepreneurship, Police, Army, commanding government posts and the like. Though professionally qualified, many of them are not interested in these career path (Gafoor, 2015) (Kunjali, 2015). They are contented with their social networking, and hassle free life. Most women doctors, after tedious studies of MBBS curriculum, get married off and do not pursue further studies or clinical practice for

long. This is an unhealthy trend. The payment seats for MBBS are mostly filled for Muslim girls and they go useless for the society (Gafoor, 2015). The transformation of education to career probably does not happen in North Kerala women compared to South Kerala women due to their non-ambitious attitude. This probably may be due to the environmental influence as stated, more ambitious, South Kerala women professing towards career (Anwar, 2015). The new generation though educated does not find the need for a career path; probably because of their economical support of family and comfort at home (Abdurahiman, 2015). The Muslim women are religiously bound by their familial responsibilities and patriarchal dominance that their individualism and ambitions are subconsciously suppressed (Karassery, 2015).

It can be seen across Kerala, that Muslim women, though highly qualified, are mostly confined to women-friendly jobs more than their interests towards gender equality. Marriage defines her career prospects and future social life.

Social Status

The social life of Muslim women of Kerala has definitely and visibly changed since last few decades. The Gulf boom of 1970's posed challenges to Muslim women as they were left without their husbands' support. Education in later periods opened up avenues for their confident social interactions. Resources for increased mobility and communication revolution accelerated their socializing process. Mobility is not an issue today. Throughout Kerala one can see Muslim women comfortably shopping, driving and traveling around. (Rasheed, 2015). But places like cinema halls, hotels, clubs, and parties are not frequented by many Muslim women.

Purdah is a gown like dress that came into Kerala as a fashion or a covering dress as a byproduct of the Gulf boom. Probably the absence of their husbands prompted women to move outside the house for many a tasks, the husbands would have suggested Purdah as a safe dress to move around. (Muhammed, 2010) Anyhow, Purdah today is associated with religiosity to an extent that women are brainwashed to show just only their eyes outside while they are in public. This so called 'imposed or creative religious practice' has secluded her from the general community and creates health issues as this black gown does not suit Kerala atmosphere (Karassery, 2015). Covering the head and dressing modestly is the Islamic code of dressing which has been transcribed as Purdah is the Islamic dress code by certain orthodox groups (Amal, 2015).

Social media has opened up avenues for Muslim women to be engaged in creative, communicative and participative issues in social, politics, cultural affairs (mostly among the new generation). Social empowerment has resulted in decreasing moral values in society even among moderately educated middle aged women. Divorce cases demanded by women, cases where women as accused of and crimes committed by women are seen on the rise in Malabar and Calicut areas (Rasheed, 2015). Women have now started to voice their problems, and have started demanding justice in family issues compared to earlier times. She is not a representative of ignorant generation who used to silently suffer her fate (Anwar, 2015).

Education revolutionized the arena for Muslim women's thinking and understanding. Social media and Religious organisations along with Gulf circumstance of household responsibility made her capable of practical lessons in life. Handling of

money at home became her responsibility in the absence of her husband, which gave her greater autonomy in decision making at home. Moreover her involvement in social affairs as head of the household helped her make informed decisions. This when supplemented by her acquired knowledge of education gave her the courage to involve in social affairs and advice the needy, (Ruba, 2015).

Conducting classes, awareness programmes, entrepreneurship building, conducting organized activities among women for societal upliftments, team centered interactions are common among student groups around Malabar, Calicut region and central Kerala and women are interestingly participating and involving in such activities (Anwar, 2011).

The training camps, awareness program, entrepreneurial development classes, religion education, premarital counseling, career consultations etc conducted by women organizations like MGM and GIO are empowering Muslims women to a great extent (Anwar, 2015).

Creating awareness of active social participation in social and environmental affairs, rallies, pamphlets, counseling, published articles, dedicates magazines are all tools by various Islamic women based organization to improve their leadership capabilities at home and in the women involvement in society (Nargis, 2015).

Opportunities for women journalists, and opportunities through women run magazine Aaraamam of Jamal-at-e-Islam has provided a platform for women to develop their leadership capabilities and to inspire the Muslim women to awake and arise to be of service to society (Ali, 2015).

The Muslim organizations have been working to provide all rights of equality that Islam provides to women, to be social leaders, Today they have women representatives in Wakf Board and active promotion is given to develop leaders at Mahall level, which is the lowest unit of organization in a residential set up (Kinaloor, 2015).

Economic Status

Educational empowerment has not fully converted into economical empowerment among Muslim women. They get educated, but those who work professionally are much less compared to the women community at large. The economic independence among those who work after marriage needs further analysis.

Kudumbasree is a project of the Government of Kerala, to eradicate poverty and to empower women economically through a network of neighbourhoods (Ayalkoottams). This initiative was successful and generated crores of income to Women who were economically and socially weak. It has helped them to empower themselves though they are minimally educated. Kudumbasree provided opportunities for Muslim women in Muslim populated areas in Malabar. The present day economic status of the majority of women in Kerala is certainly very poor as they earn very low.

Political Status

The position of Muslim Women in political front is a serious topic. The political consciousness of Muslim women was there traditionally which can be seen from their active political participation and moral support during the Malabar revolt. The polling turn out in Muslim dominated areas have consist-

ently been high. The fifty percent reservation for women in Panchayati Raj gave unprecedented opportunities for women to seriously enter and flourish in active politics. The acceptance of Muslim league as a prominent secularist party supporting the cause of Muslims and their active women's wing have resulted in many able Muslim women performing responsible positions of power including Deputy Speaker of Kerala Legislative Assembly, Chair persons and Directors of Kerala State Women's Development Corporation, Member of Kerala State Women's commission, Member of Wakf board, Pro-Vice chancellor of MG University, and in various other posts. (Rasheed, 2015)

Though there had been advancements in all levels for empowering women from all walks of the community the hesitance to hand over power to women is visible in the society. Two Muslim women had occupied the seat of political power as deputy speakers in congress and communist ministries in earlier times. Muslim women had occupied reputable posts as Supreme Court Chief Justice, but there are no sufficient achievements to claim even after 30 years of such glorious past. (Gafoor, 2015)

Though Muslim league had come to power many times in Kerala Legislative Assembly and enjoyed key roles in power politics, never did they condescend to concede a position of active power to any of its capable women members. Any woman member who questioned the status - quo was sidelined by the male dominated party and its supporting religious leaders. Today we can see the political awareness, knowledge, and enthusiasm among young Muslim girls who quite actively participate in processions and political protests. It is commonly seen from interactions that they follow Islamic dress code and principles and at the same time discuss and debate political issues without

shying away. This ought to be reflected in positions of political power by merit, which one can hope for happen in near future.

Major Challenges

Today Muslim women of Kerala beyond doubt have improved in their literacy status. Their Primary level educational empowerment has also significantly improved. Most girls complete their higher secondary education, though there are records about drop-outs participation in professional education is seen only in limited numbers when compared to general women population. Professional education is highly confined to medicine, engineering and legal studies and among them it is limited to the traditionally 'reserved for women' seats As discussed earlier, the presence of Muslim woman in the main streams of life remain considerably neglected or negligible. Therefore it is a challenge to convert the higher educational status of Muslim women in Kerala into appropriate positions of power in social life.

The attitude of the society poses a major challenge to women empowerment. Society includes both men and women. Traditionally certain professions have been earmarked for women and like Gynecology, school teaching, nursing of elderly people etc. (Very few are seen in Government jobs or other professions.) The attitude of parents and their upbringing should change to allow fresh thinking choice of careers for young muslim girls and to prepare them to take up challenging career opportunities. Parents should identify talents of their children at young ages and, encourage and support them to take up careers in their areas of interest without inhibitions of societal acceptance. Thus fashion designing, hotel management, software and hard ware engineering, surgical specializations in medicines

counselling, business, management and similar areas of subjects having immense potential for women to establish their careers should be explored.

Early marriage of girl child is another hindrance to Muslim women's empowerment. Muslim community prefers early marriages; the problem is not with early marriage but life after marriage. Marriage should be to increase the strength of women and not to pull down her capabilities. With marriage she assumes the role of a typical house wife. If the family supports higher studies and professional stability along with her familial responsibilities, this challenge can be easily overcome.

Lack of Governmental support and policy reforms to accommodate women in general and Muslim women in particular slows down the process of empowerment. Policies should be introduced to attract women to government jobs and private sector jobs for ages 30 to 40 so that women are hopeful of their career prospects even after their young age. Thus, they will be motivated to continue their education even under trying circumstances. The security and status of a job once experienced will be passed on to the next generation by working parents.

Fundamentalist leaders and conventional attitude of the community are a major challenge to women empowerment. The traditionally Islamic belief is that the male member is the bread winner of the family and there is no need for women to work. But the religion also gives woman permission to pursue any area of interest of that doesn't affect her morality and religious conduct.

The dual responsibility at home and work demands lot of effort that makes professional empowerment a hard challenge to Muslim women. Though this applies to women across the

country, it is very much applicable to women of Muslim community. Without external support from either parents or in laws it is practically impossible for Muslim women to pursue education, career or recreation.

In the area of political empowerment Muslim women has a long way to go. It is only because of reservation in panchayat elections that Muslim women get opportunities in the socio political arena. It is during the time of political election, the trace colour of Muslim male chauvinists and political leaders come to expose. Earlier the corridors of power is entirely set for these people. When the laws for women reservation in local body in elections passed, the women were forcefully pushed to the arena of election by those who had been opposing it earlier. Though it has been criticised as a kind of proxy ruling in many panchayats, it provides a window for future women leader from the community. The attitude of Muslim political leadership towards their women's leaders confining them only to certain 'dignified' positions and keeping them away from corridors of power, define the status of Muslim women in Kerala. Women's have to gear up and challenge the status quo and rise from mere social workers and election campaigners to policy makers of women's welfare.

Mere employment is not empowerment, education and knowledge leads to empowerment. Having discussed the major challenges of empowerment of women it can be concluded that education is the key to empowerment. It is only through education can one realize the rights and wrongs of ones beliefs and practices and challenge status quo. Education and knowledge motivate rational thinking and allow interference in society and alter women's social position and status. And this view holds true especially for Muslim women in Kerala.

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THE IMPACT OF POSTMODERNISM ON PHILOSOPHICAL HERMENEUTICS: AN EXPLORATION

Jayaraj. K.*

Abstract

Philosophical hermeneutics is considered as the discipline which strives to interpret the philosophical texts. Traditionally, hermeneutics accepted the authorial meaning as the original meaning of the text. But the emergence of postmodernism has reinterpreted all things under the sun including the interpretation of texts. As a result, this historical foundation of decoding the textual meaning from the author is challenged, his role of bringing a document is degraded and the historical context which caused for the composition is dismantled. There are debates came up on a question where is meaning created. Some would argue that meaning is created behind the text that is in the author, others would argue that the meaning is created in the text or text oriented meaning, and postmodernist would argue that meaning is in front of the text or reader oriented meaning. Arguments between two stanch hermeneuticians are brought to defend author and reader, through whom one may understand the postmodern debate. A conclusion is drawn based on the argument in favour the textual context.

Key Words: Post modernism, Hermeneutics, Deconstruction, Reader-Response Theory.

Hermeneutics is considered to be the art and science of interpretation, the theory which helps the reader or hearer to perceive the meaning of text, verbal or non verbal communications. In some extent, this is a science which delineates principles or methods for interpreting an individual author's meaning. The history of hermeneutics goes back to the ancient Greece where Hermes, a Greek mythological god received the information

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from his father Zeus and communicated to the fortunate or unfortunate recipients. Traditionally scholars considered that the author being the sole authority to determine the meaning of any text. However, this idea is being challenged, and developed a tendency to anchor meaning in the text itself rather than its original intention with which an author documented. The impact of postmodernism directed the scholars to have their own subjective perspectives. As a matter of fact, the text was viewed from multiple perspectives which resulted in numerous outcomes. This new focus on hermeneutics occurred especially in Germany. Later years, the history has witnessed several developments in the area of hermeneutics. In this article, the researcher would like to highlight the aspect that what extent postmodernism influenced philosophic hermeneutics to come to the postmodern way of reading the text. The Primary focus is given to those philosophical hermeneuticians, their debates and interpretations of texts during the postmodern periods. In the development of the argument, an epistemological explanation is done to evaluate the postmodern hermeneutics to show how far this method can help the reader to perceive the originality of the textual meaning.

Rise of Postmodernism

The term postmodern is referred to a complex set of reactions to modern philosophical systems and their presuppositions. It was actually an opposed agreement on substantive doctrines or philosophical questions often come in contact within the philosophical movement. There is not much relation on precisely what the presuppositions of modern philosophy are, but postmodern philosophy vehemently stands against foundationalism, essentialism, and realism. Jean Francois Lyotard is

considered to be the beginning point of postmodernism with his publication of books on postmodernism. Postmodern philosophy in its very outlook is measured to be a complex cluster concept which includes many significant factors. This system of thought also “has an anti-epistemological standpoint, anti-essentialism, antirealism, anti-foundationalism, opposition to transcendental arguments and transcendental standpoints; rejection of the picture of knowledge as accurate representation; rejection of truth as correspondence to reality; rejection of the very idea of canonical descriptions; rejection of final vocabularies, i.e., rejection of principles, distinctions, and descriptions that are thought to be unconditionally binding for all times, persons, and places; and a suspicion of grand narratives, metanarratives of the sort perhaps best illustrated by dialectical materialism” (-Magnus, 1999, p. 726).

Having seen these features of postmodern philosophy, it also supports relativism, scepticism or nihilism and in a great extent it tries to eradicate the traditional explanatory system of metaphysics of presence. One of the most significant and notable factors is the sceptical attitude which postmodernism developed to critique whatever it has confronted. This sceptical attitude attacked all claims and monopoly of knowledge ultimately all totalising explanations. The publication of ‘The Postmodern Condition A Report on Knowledge’ by Lyotard in 1979 became the need of the hour which paved the way for people to develop a critical attitude on ideas and things. Lyotard was criticising two major ideas like the progressive emancipation of humanity from Christian redemption to Marxist Utopia – and also that of the triumph of science. Therefore, he wanted to liberate man from these kinds of manmade snares. Postmodernism is considered to be a historical term which redefined all the principles

and practices of modernism, primarily a more broadly a cultural phenomenon (Ermarth, 2001).

The role of language has played another significant part in the postmodern thought. As Jacques Derrida, the representative of one of the postmodern theories called Deconstruction has rightly said, “when language invaded the universal problematic; this is the moment when it becomes clear that everything operates by such codes, that everything behaves like language. Body language, garment language, the silent expression of gesture, the layout of a city or a fashion magazine or a university: all these are complex, coded systems of meaning and value in which we function simultaneously in several, even many, at once. Even in humdrum activities we are expert well beyond our conscious measures. Language thus conceived is a model of organization that is both powerful and finite”(Ermarth, 2001, p. 6743). The two rational ideas like episteme and discourse have emerged as useful terms describing the function of language. Episteme suggests the systemic nature of all knowledge the one can speak of the western episteme; and discourse suggests the systemic nature of all practices like moral, social, domestic, political, reproductive, economic, and intellectual. These terms and their investigation of meanings would help a reader to come to a firm ground of reality.

All the above mentioned features have reflected in the interpretation of postmodern time. They did not give any credibility to the writer or context rather only text which is placed publicly. For them text is in front of us, the reader has all the authority to handle it the way he likes. Man and his rational powers were highlighted and also post modernists believed that nothing would be accepted without sufficient evidences. All these presuppositions enthroned the postmodern reader to dic-

tate meaning for everything. He is considered to be the measure of all things without him nothing is made what is made.

The Postmodern Emergence of Cultural Studies

The postmodern thinkers have espoused the cultural studies very seriously. This cultural studies have two kinds of separate origins. The first and foremost one has come from French Structuralism of the 1960s which treated culture and literature as a series of conventional practices. This type of influence is found in the writings of the greatest French theorist Roland Barthes. "Barthes is especially interested in demystifying what in culture comes to seem natural by showing that it is based on contingent, historical constructions. In analysing cultural practices, he identifies the underlying conventions and their social implications" (Jonathan and Culler, 2000, p. 43). One of the sources of contemporary cultural studies is based on the Marxist literary theory which sought to uncover and bring into lime-light the popular working class culture. This theory tried to explore the lost voices of the downtrodden, marginalised and side tracked people and also trying to see things from below with the flavour of mass culture. Frankly speaking, cultural studies dwell in the tension between the analyst's desire to analyse culture as a set of codes and practices that alienates people from their interests and creates the desires that they come to have and, on the other hand, the analyst's wish to find in popular culture an authentic expression of value (Jonathan & Culler, 2000). In reality, culture in itself is said to be a shifting ideological construction in the waves of postmodernism. There are plenty of changes happened in the cultural development during the post-modern era which directly have influenced hermeneutics. As a result of the cultural studies, the monopoly of any claim of one ideology is challenged and multiple cultural constructions were

accepted which ultimately became the foundational premise for even postmodern philosophical hermeneutics.

The Influence of Postmodernism on Philosophical Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics is considered to be both a science and an art. As a science, enunciates (articulates) principles, investigates the laws of thought and language, and classifies its facts and results. As an art, it teaches what application these principles should have, and establishes their soundness of showing their practical value in the elucidation of the more difficult texts. The hermeneutical art thus cultivates and establishes a valid exegetical procedure. It simply means Hermeneutics is a science that determines certain principles of discovering the meaning of a document which involves the skills of an interpreter (Terry, 1991). In postmodern climate, readers and interpreters can find and create meaning for the text based on their contextual needs and pre-understandings. Therefore, the interpreter or the reader is expected to play a vital role in determining the meaning of a particular text. For some scholars, it is unnecessary to limit the meaning to the text. McKnight observes that people have used different texts throughout history to discover and create meaning for themselves. Those who locate the meaning in readers should also take into consideration the realities behind the text in order to understand the text as a pattern of meaning that continues to have an effect on readers (McKnight, 1988).

Having thus explained the postmodern function of the reader, one can surely come to a conclusion that in a reader-oriented approach the full attention is focused on the modern reader as the sole authority to handle the text. "Exegesis is in part of a creative construction of the reader, a construction of cause,

which is a result of the effect of the text in the first place. The original causes behind a text are relativized and placed in balance with what modern readers do with the text to create meaning” (McKnight, 1988, p. 171). Instead of trying to find the actual textual facts and meaning for forming a philosophical interpretative system, the postmodern reader attempts to view the text in the light of their integrity as linguistic and literary creations. This comes out as an examination of the world disclosed in the texts and the world of values and meanings presupposed by the world of text. According to the postmodernists the reader can create an answer from the given text. The postmodern climate favours the modern reader to come out with his own way of thought as the actual meaning of the text. In other words in the process of interpretation, he himself is redefined.

Even though part of this agenda depicts or seems to be a worthy goal, which is part of the hermeneutical spiral that is in hermeneutics widely accepted, one should register a pointed caution when he receives the meaning. Though, as a result of postmodern interpretation we get multiple kinds of reader response perspectives, they may be irrelevant and inappropriate with regard to actual authentic meaning. One important factor should be noted seriously, only the textual meaning not reader’s response, has the legitimate monopoly to the description. The logical and methodological tools that an interpreter can use to bring the meaning which would have made sense to the primary audience and that should be the primary goal of an interpreter. If anybody deviates from this primary goal, then he is in danger of bringing the subjective and susceptible meaning to the whim of the interpreter. “We have no desire to deny a legitimate place for a literary study of the text that may transcend historical approaches. One should agree that rather than

seeking the propositional meaning or content of the text interpreters may want to study and appreciate the literary dimensions of the text. Various literary theories and methods contribute immensely to our understanding and appreciation of texts” (McKnight, 1988, p. 175). Morgan and Barton also mention that “One mark of great literature is its capacity to illuminate and enlarge the experience of successive readers in new social contexts” (Morgan and Barton, 1988, p. 182). One would read any text or piece of information to understand the information it has or someone may read for some other purpose like inspiration, enjoyment, courage which would sometimes go beyond the surface level of the textual meaning. In either case the fact of knowing the intentionality remains open to all readers.

In the postmodern climate, the reader-centered approach takes seriously what actually the readers bring into the texts. In fact, they most often unapologetically and quite often intentionally to produce meaning from their unique reading of the text which is sometimes interest to hear may not be the actual meaning of the text. Definitely one may ‘use’ the text beyond its original intentions or meanings, but the hermeneutician should be very careful in doing that. Sometimes ‘the text as literature’ may go well beyond the original meaning of the text, its author and the original readers who read at the time of its composition or to whom that piece of literature was written. Sadly, the postmodern readers using their modern criteria trying to see a text composed from a different context and their modern perception govern that foreign text which cannot be hermeneutically accepted. In reality, this postmodern attempt is actually subverting the real purpose the text.

A hermeneutician who wants to do justice to the text must study the literary genre and parallel forms of literature of ancient or modern times which will throw light on the original meaning or the actual intention of the text. If the hermeneuticians seek the historical meaning or the contextual meaning of the text, then they will have to consider all the possible ways of information available concerning the world in which the text is composed, to gain insight about the actual production of the text. Literary criticism subdivides all these things into three major areas: (1) focus on the author's intent in composing the text, (2) the conventions of the text that reflect that intent, and (3) the readers' response to the text (Klein, Blomberg, and Hubbard, 2004, p. 190).

Postmodernism has heavily influenced philosophical hermeneutics from top to bottom which is reflected in the very outcome of interpretation. The Reader Response Theory is the product of this subjective methodology. The postmodern treatment of text has absolutely dismantled the context and the historical concerns of the texts were also fully abandoned.

Postmodern Hermeneutical Debate on Textual Meaning

Post-modern era has witnessed unprecedented forms of interpretations in every area including hermeneutics. The scholars of the postmodern time have reinterpreted all the traditional theories and conventions. Postmodernism has heavily influenced hermeneutics in determining the meaning of a piece of literature. Many dimensions of textual meaning derived during this time among which reader response theory became prominent. The question which postmodernism raised was, is there a meaning in this text. The postmodern scholars come out with diverse opinions that a text has more than one

possible meanings or the text may have an infinite number of meanings. The legitimate question that they have raised at this juncture is, whether meaning precedes the interpretation or meaning proceeds the interpretation. The postmodern hermeneutical debate started from this platform of such a thinking. Primarily, there are two categories of scholars who debated each other in the form of placing their own arguments logically about where the meaning is created. E. D. Hirsch argues for authorial intention and comes out with a conclusion that meaning is created in author. Then the other category is the postmodern interpretation where we have two great scholars come out with their critique to the traditional understanding. They are Roland Barthes and Stanley Fish, according to whom the meaning is a function of readers not authors, any text's meaning depends on the readers' perception on it (Osborne, 1991). They vehemently asserted that the meaning does not reside within the text just because the author put it there; rather for them, the readers bring the meaning to a text. This is the postmodern hermeneutical debate which is further highlighted under the following descriptions.

E. D. Hirsch – The Defender of Intentionality

Eric Donald Hirsch Jr. is said to be an American educator and academic literary critic of twentieth century. Hirsch has published two significant works which centered on the questions of literary interpretation and also hermeneutics. His books are *Validity in Interpretation* (1967) and *The Aims of Interpretation* (1976) through which he argued that the author's intention must be the ultimate determiner of meaning. During his university education he met the exponents of authorial intention like Cleanth Brooks and W.K. Wimsatt who are the advocates of New Criticism which rampant in all most all the academic

circle at that point of time. They emphasized that a text should be viewed as an autonomous objects that itself is able to explain to the reader without the presence of the author. He also has taken up the issues of the hermeneutical understanding of Gadamer, Martin Heidegger, the death of the author by Roland Barthes and Deconstruction of Derrida. Hirsch has assimilated many ideas from German philosophy especially from Frederick Schleiermacher, William Dilthey, and Edmond Husserl. Hirsch has very much popularized the distinction between "meaning" which is intended by the author and "significance" which is perceived by a reader or critic. One of the areas he argued was, the possibility of objective knowledge in the humanities and social sciences. He is considered to be an outstanding personality who emphasized and advocated for the author oriented meaning.

Hirsch describes the distinction between meaning and significance from a historical perspective. For him, the meaning is represented by the text that is what the author meant by his use of particular sign sequence. That special sign has a contextual relevance and meaning for a particular community. On the other hand, significance names a relationship between that meaning and a person, or a conception, or a situation, or indeed anything imaginable. "Significance can change, can widen indefinitely, while meaning is a fixed point, the unmoved mover, as it were. Meaning and significance are the two aspects of what we call literary meaning; the one centripetal, the other centrifugal. This distinction faithfully describes our literary experience, especially when we feel a particular work to be 'suggestive'" (Nagao, 1991, p. 172).

Hirsch was an outstanding defender of determinate meaning and authority of the author against those who have attacked the relevance of the authorial meaning. Hirsch is considered

to be the preeminent champion of the author and of the objectivity in interpretation. He has defended the sensible view that a text means what its author meant. Emphasizing further that the authors' intention is the only practical norm for distinguishing the right and wrong in the process of interpretations. For Hirsch author's intention alone determines which of the possible verbal meanings a sentence or text actually bears (Van-hoozer, 2005). Hirsch has built his ideas of intentionality on Edmond Husserl's phenomenology emphasizing intentionality as the essential characteristics of consciousness. If someone had an 'intent' simply means, he has to direct his consciousness in a particular way toward a particular mental content. Understanding is an intentional act directed at an intentional object and consequently meaning is what understanding grasps or is about. He also asserts that the time when an author banishes from the interpretive process then subjectivity and relativism become prevalent. As a matter of fact, no adequate principle will function for judging the validity of an interpretation. He, therefore, calls for the resurrection of the author's meaning "on the fact that it is the only kind of interpretation with a determinate object, and thus the only kind that can lay claim to validity in any straightforward and practical sense of the term" (Hirsch, 1967, p. 5).

One of the critics of Hirsch, Raju Kunjummen mentions that Hirsch is an important person defending for the authorial intent and determinate meaning. He notes that his distinction between the meaning and significance, his difference between meaning and implication, and his discussion of intrinsic genre are his positive contributions to the field of hermeneutics. The defence of authorial intent and his distinction between textual meaning and its particular significance in the way of interpreta-

tion are to be appreciated. Another merit of Hirsch's interpretation is that his discussion of intrinsic genre and its significance in identifying the actual legitimacy of an interpretation which highlights the necessity of hermeneuticians to give rightful attention to the literary features of particular textual genre in their search for authorial meaning (Kunjummen, 1986).

One of the notable factors is the development of humanism which has provided foundation for scholars to think and exercise their own intellectual freedom. This freedom of thought and expression paved way for multiple meanings to be generated. The intellectual climate of postmodernism contributed to the lavish support for the reader as the sole authority in determining the meaning of a text or any piece of literature. In the midst of this confused climate Hirsch tried his level best to establish the authors meaning. He says that "if any theory of semantic mutability were true, it would legitimately banish the author's meaning as a normative principle in interpretation. Meaning is that which is represented by a text; it is what the author meant by his use of a particular sign sequence; it is what the signs represent. Significance, on the other hand, names a relationship between that meaning and a person, or a conception, or a situation or indeed anything imaginable" (Blue, 2001, p. 255). Hirsch points the significant role that the intrinsic genre is playing the process of interpretation. He is of the opinion that sense of the whole by means of which an interpreter can correctly understand any part in its determinacy and for him intrinsic genre plays a vital role in determining the validity of an interpretation, in particular whether an interpretation is implied in a meaning. He highlights that the implications, unlike significances, are found within meanings and therefore, they are part of the whole of the willed type of the author. By using this

perspective, an interpreter is able to understand the intention with which an author has written down a text or any piece of literature.

Stanley Fish— The Defender of the Reader-Response Theory

Stanley Eugene Fish is considered to be an American literary theorist, legal scholar, author and public intellectual who has made immense contribution in the field of postmodern interpretation. He is said to be an outstanding figure who became an instrumental in bringing and developing the reader-response theory.

As far as Fish is concerned, he uses two kinds of reader response criticisms. The first is phenomenological approach and the second one is epistemological theory. His earlier works demonstrate his use of phenomenological approach and much of his later works demonstrate the characteristics of epistemological theory. The phenomenological method has much to commend itself to us as it focuses on what happens in the reader's mind as he or she reads. Fish started his postmodern way of interpretation with the publication of one of his early works "Surprised by Sin: The Reader in Paradise Lost". In this work, he uses Milton's use of various literary techniques which shows his intentionality to lead the reader into a kind of false security. According Stanley Fish, the reason why Milton is using all these metaphors to evoke some change in the minds of the readers so that he will be able to understand his own sinfulness in a new light and be forced back to God's grace. Fish is ingeniously using Milton's leading or misleading of the reader.

The concern of Stanley Fish is to see what is happening in the act of reading and is seen in his many essays. "Fish defines his own phenomenological approach as an analysis of the

developing responses of the reader in relation to the words as they succeed one another in time. His concern is with what the text does as opposed to what it means” (Markham, 2000, p. 1). This attitude of Stanley Fish prompted him to develop a kind of criticism that completely abandons the intentionality of the author and enthrones reader as the one who determines the meaning of a text. Therefore, his theory may be sometimes called “reception aesthetics” or “affective stylistics.” According to Fish the interpretative community is the one which determines and creates the meaning. It is the reader who investigates the meaning with his life and thus his meaning will be a valid one. For Fish, those who claim that meaning is to be found in some external and eternal superstructure or substructure of reality he labels them as “foundationalists.”

‘The reader creates the meaning’ is the watch word of Stanley Fish. This hermeneutical thought of Fish is considered to be the most radical and also controversial in nature. He attributes the meaning not in the text but in the reader or in other words the community which is reading the text. Fish notes that “the reader's activities are at the centre of attention, where they are regarded not as leading to meaning but as having meaning” (Markham, 2000, p. 5). He holds this because of the opinion that there is no stable source for meaning. For him, there are no accurate interpretation which can be true always in all sense. He asserts that the meaning does not exist outside of the reader but exists within the reader himself. What a text means is the experience which the reader brings and produces for the text. Fish mentions that when a reader interacts with the text which is considered to be an experience that automatically occurs, it makes us to do something. When a reader confronts the text, there is spontaneously generated a meaning in the hearts

of the reader. He, as an interpreter of the text is consciously or unconsciously able to make a decision on what he reads. Fish takes off all the formalist guidelines of the past which stood against his interpretative agenda. Liberation from the yoke of such predominant past need to have time to completely come out. However, the interpretive method of Fish will eventually lead someone from impartial objectivity to full blown partial subjectivity. In the concept of Fish, what one needs is the active and activating consciousness of the reader. Fish like any other postmodern hermeneuticians wanted to have a dialogue between the text and the reader or a free play between the governing structures of the text and the creative imagination of the reader (Tate, 2006, p. 311).

One of the important peculiarities of Fish is that he denies the objectivity of the text. He notes that the objectivity of the text is an illusion and, moreover, a dangerous illusion, because it is so physically convincing. When one is reading a statement, not necessarily that he should understand, but he has to give the meaning to the text that he is reading. But he does deny the text's independence as a repository of meaning. According to Fish the text does not contain any inherent meaning: despite being written upon, it is a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate onto which the reader, in reading, actually writes the text (Markham, 2000). He admits the fact that a reader is always reading a text with the preunderstandings or preconceived notions and therefore there is no way to get the objective or authorial meaning from the text. He comes out with a very subjective statement saying, "success is inevitable, the methods with which one approaches the text have already determined the outcome, and one's presuppositions actuate the product. A text is only a Rorschach blot onto which the reader projects his/her self-understanding

or, as we shall see, his/her culturally determined assumptions. The text contains nothing in itself, rather the content is supplied by the reader. It is the reader that determines the shape of text, its form, and it's content." This is how Fish can claim that the reader's write texts. The text can only function as a mirror that provides a reflection of its reader (Fish, 1972, p. 8).

Fish dismantles the idea of intentionality of the author which is considered to be a guiding principle in the way of interpretation. According to him the reader did not see anything which the hermeneutical principles did not permit him to see and he has attributed what he could see in the text as the meaning of the particular text. "What I am suggesting is that formal units are always a function of the interpretive model one brings to bear; they are not 'in' the text, and I would make the same argument for intentions. To claim that the author intended to say or do such and such is really a declaration regarding the interpreter" (Markham, 2000, p. 9). As far as his understanding is concerned, different authors would bring diverse meanings to the text and also divergent intentions because they are the creation of the readers not the authors. His epistemic beliefs prompt him to conclude that nothing one sees, perceives or think is un-interpreted. Any attempt to understand the intention of the author is a sign of immaturity just because nobody can get access to anyone's heart. By saying such a statement, Fish completely disregards intentionality of the author as well as historical interpretation. He comments that it is unimportant to get accessed to the original historical context to understand the meaning. The postmodern wave forces him to believe the fact that the interpreters are cut off from the past worlds or the cultures and therefore they are without commonality which leads them to be a complete disjuncture. He concludes by saying

that the reader and the author belong to two different worlds and consequently they have no relation. Therefore reader should take the liberty to exercise his imagination to decode the textual meaning (Bridgman, 1959).

Conclusion

Postmodernism has heavily impacted the philosophical hermeneutics in handling the textual interpretation. It has changed the very outlook of the way of reading a text. The intellectual heights made readers to think that he is the master of what he does. As postmodernism influenced all the areas of study, so also influenced the philosophical hermeneutics. Postmodernism enthroned the reader in the throne as the sole dictator of meaning which has made grave damages in the process of interpretation. Intellectual creative thought can be appreciated, however, removing the background of an utterance disprove the originality and authenticity of any textual meaning. The debate between Hirsch and Fish also reveals the fact. The advantage of Hirsch's argument is that without taking the authors' intention into account, one will never be able to understand what actually the text wanted to communicate to the readers. The disastrous results of postmodernism are, the historical context which caused the text to be formed is totally removed, the contextual factors which influenced the language of composition is ignored and the world behind text is abandoned. Instead of this, subjectivity intruded into action, multiple ways of thinking became right, eventually all who interpret became correct and ultimately nobody is wrong. This mode of thought transcended all boundaries placed by traditional conceptions of hermeneutics. Authors of texts were buried, their desires of communicating ideas were shattered and the unique world of information was concealed. In this way, postmodernism influenced the philosophical her-

meneutics very much in determining the meaning of a piece of literature.

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EMPLOYMENT PATTERN IN THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA SECTOR

Abin T Mathews*

Abstract

In India, post liberalization era witnessed the emergence of new technology sectors like electronic media. Media market expanded and the competition between various segments including channels intensified for its share. The sector makes up ₹ 329 billion in 2011 and there exists unexploited potentials which can lead the way forward. Growth of the electronic media generates direct and indirect employment opportunities at different levels. This necessitates concerns on various quantitative dimensions of its employment. The present study using National Sample Survey's 68th Round Results on Employment and Unemployment in India 2011-12, examines the pattern and concentration of employment in electronic media sector. The study brings about some significant findings with regard to gender, age, education, social representation and concentration.

Key words: Electronic Media, Television, Employment Pattern

Structural transformation models explained by Fisher (1939, 1946) and Clark (1957) envisage an economic development which advances through different stages. There will be a gradual shift in sectoral output shares from primary to industrial and ultimately to service sectors. Indian economy too witnessed a transformation bypassing the second one. Service sector has emerged as the most dominant sector in terms of GDP contribution. Though the employment elasticity of the sector is debatable, the share of services in total employment increased from 19.70 percent in 1993-94 to 25.30 percent in 2009-10. This should be analysed in the context of emergence of new technology sectors including entertainment and media sector mainly symbolized by electronic media. Electronic media witnessed

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impressive growth during the last few years and it makes Rs 329 billion in 2011. Growth of the electronic media generates direct and indirect employment opportunities at different levels. This necessitates concerns on various quantitative dimensions of its employment. The present study using National Sample Survey's 68th round results on Employment and Unemployment in India 2011-12 examines the pattern and concentration of employment in electronic media sector. By applying relevant multipliers to samples of usual principal status of employees, employment pattern is found. Location quotient is used for finding out the concentration of employment.

Electronic media is unexplored area in India and hence previous studies are limited. Though one can't find a clear cut definition of electronic media employment, the researcher identified five areas from National Industrial Classification 2008 which can be considered as electronic media sector activities. The areas are 1) 59113: production of television programmes or television commercials 2) 59122: post production activities of television programmes or television commercials 3) 59133: distribution of television programme 4) 60200: television programming and broadcasting activities 5) 61103: activities of the cable operators. The employees engaged in above mentioned activities are clubbed to find the total number of employees in electronic media.

Gender-Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector

The proportion of male employees in the Electronic Media Sector is greater than that of in either Service or Information and Communication sector⁴. 248157 males and 13565 females are working in this sector. They are in the proportion of 95:5

(see table 1). In India, men are more technically educated. Being a sector oiled by technology one can normally expect a concentration towards male group.

Table 1		
Gender Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Gender	Labour Composition	Share
Male	248157	94.82
Female	13565	5.18
Total	261721	100.00
Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68 th round)		

Age-Wise Distributions of Employees in Electronic Media Sector

Almost 64 percent of the employees in the Electronic Media Sector are in the age group of below 39. Their number comes to about 166658. This is shown in table 2. A large number of skilled youths find employment in this sector. This pattern is similar to the pattern that we have noticed in the case of Information and Communication sector employees. Most of the employees in the upper age group are those belong to public sector electronic media which have a much more history of existence in India.

Table 2		
Age Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Age	Labour Composition	Share
Below 25	32632	12.47
25-29	56951	21.76
30-34	56015	21.40
35-39	21060	8.05
40-44	38521	14.72

45 & above	56543	21.60
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NS SO data (68th round)</i>		

Education Wise Distributions of Employees in Electronic Media Sector

Education wise distribution of employees in Electronic Media Sector is given in table 3. Large number of employees (85%) has education of only higher secondary or below. About 223524 employees belong to this category. Electronic Media Sector requires skilled employees but skills need not be at higher levels. Most of the activities can be performed by an average individual. That is why a large number of employees with average level of skill profile finds place in Electronic Media Sector. Another notable feature is that only 6 percent employees bear diploma certificates.

Table 3		
Education Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Education Level	Labour Composition	Share
Below Secondary	64501	24.64
Secondary	91427	34.93
Higher Secondary	52779	20.17
Certificate /Diploma Courses	14817	5.66
Under Graduation	31378	11.99
Post Graduation	6819	2.61
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>		

tronic Media Sector

Eighty three percent that means 217323 employees are working in proprietary ventures. In public and private limited companies 7 percent are employed (see table 4). Except broadcasting, almost all the other activities like production, distributions etc are running under proprietary mode. Hence a large proportion is concentrated there.

Table 4		
Enterprise Type Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Enterprise Type	Labour Composition	Share
Govt/Public Sector	5653	2.16
Public/Private Ltd co	18537	7.08
Proprietary	217323	83.04
Partnership	17815	6.81
Others	2394	0.91
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>		

Religion Wise Distributions of Employees in Electronic Media Sector

With regard to religion wise distribution, Electronic Media Sector follow almost similar pattern like that in Information and Communication sector. A good majority (89%) of employees belongs to Hindu religion. Their number comes to about 232101. The number of employees in other religions is far less than the numbers in Hindu religion. This is shown in table 5

Table 5 Religion Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Religion	Labour Composition	Share
Hindus	232101	88.68
Christians	12077	4.61
Muslims	14173	5.42
Others	3370	1.29
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>		

Social Group Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector

Social group wise distribution depicted in the table 6 reveals that majority (56%) belongs to the category of 'Other Backward Castes'. Total number of employees in Schedule Tribe and Schedule Caste are comparatively too small.

Table 6		
Social Group Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Social Group	Labour Composition	Share
Schedule Tribe	346	0.13
Schedule Caste	28038	10.71
Other Backward Caste	146174	55.85
Others	87164	33.30
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>		

Sector Wise Distributions of Employees in Electronic Me-

dia Sector

Out of the total 261721 employees in the electronic media 166356 are employed in urban areas (see table 7). They constitute 64 percent. Even though the majority in Information and Communication sector are also working in urban centers, there is variation in the proportion. More proportion of Information and Communication employees are in urban areas⁴. In the case of Electronic Media activities there are comparatively more number of activities which are rural based. Hence one can expect good number of employees in rural areas also.

Table 7		
Area wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
Sector	Labour Composition	Share
Rural	95365	36.44
Urban	166356	63.56
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>		

State Wise Distributions of Employees in Electronic Media Sector

Almost 63 percent of employees in Electronic Media Sector are in the Southern states of India. To a large extent the employees are concentrated in the states of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Kerala is a leading state behind them. West Bengal has a proportion of 13 percent employees. Electronic media are ubiquitous in most of these states and hence normally we can expect a good proportion of people in these states. This is shown in table 8

Table 8		
State Wise Distribution of Employees in Electronic Media Sector		
State	Labour Composition	Share
Jammu & Kashmir	2295	0.88
Himachal Pradesh	532	0.20
Punjab	1663	0.64
Uttaranchal	168	0.06
Delhi	9158	3.50
Rajasthan	1831	0.70
Uttar Pradesh	8802	3.36
Bihar	2860	1.09
Manipur	11	0.004
Mizoram	32	0.01
Tripura	1691	0.65
Assam	1805	0.69
West Bengal	33376	12.75
Jharkhand	9013	3.44
Orissa	16534	6.32
Madhya Pradesh	3633	1.39
Gujarat	2908	1.11
Maharashtra	40116	15.33
Andhra Pradesh	85035	32.49
Karnataka	287	0.11
Kerala	21256	8.12
Tamil Nadu	17988	6.87
Andaman & Nicobar Island	728	0.28
Total	261721	100.00
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>		

Regional Pattern of Employment in Electronic Media Sector

There is no uniformity in the levels of development between different states in India (Mazumdar 2002). Disparity may be natural or manmade. It may be natural because of unequal distribution of resources or man made for the reason that some regions are neglected. In India, historical factors too played an important role. Wide disparity is evident in different spheres of economic activity and employment scenario is a fine specimen. It is worthwhile to look at the regional pattern of employment. This section examines concentration of electronic media sector employment in different states of India.

Location Quotient is the most popularly known method to study the concentration of a particular industry in any region. It compares the local economy to the reference economy. It also identifies specializations in the local economy.

Electronic media sector employment in India is not evenly distributed. In terms of concentration one can see very glaring variations across states. Location quotient calculated for Indian states have been explained in table 9

Table 9	
Location Quotient of Electronic Media Sector Employment in Indian States	
State	Location Quotient
Jammu & Kashmir	1.17
Himachal Pradesh	0.26
Punjab	0.29
Uttaranchal	0.08
Delhi	3.14
Rajasthan	0.13

Uttar Pradesh	0.25
Bihar	0.18
Manipur	0.02
Mizoram	0.13
Tripura	2.17
Assam	0.31
West Bengal	1.67
Jharkhand	1.63
Orissa	1.77
Madhya Pradesh	0.23
Gujarat	0.19
Maharashtra	1.42
Andhra Pradesh	3.46
Karnataka	0.02
Kerala	2.95
Tamil Nadu	0.96
Andaman & Nicobar Island	8.26
<i>Source: Estimated using NSSO data (68th round)</i>	

Location quotient seems to be high in southern states. Conducive socio economic infrastructure and demand stimulating factors contribute to a greater concentration in these states. However the states like Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, where information technology and information technology enabled services made outstanding performance, electronic media sector is not so significant in terms of concentration. Even though the location quotient in Andaman & Nicobar Island and Tripura are high, the industry is not vital to that region's economy, since the total number of employment is very low. Very few states have both high location quotient and large number of employees simultaneously and Kerala is one among such few.

Conclusions

New technology sectors provide large number of opportunities at various levels. Job seekers with technical and managerial skills are in great demand. However women participation remains at low level. This should be examined seriously since the indicators of work participation of women in information and communication sector as a whole is comparatively good. Low participation rate of people belonging to the group of Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes are also needed to be studied. Even though our state controlled education system gives special considerations, something prevents these people from taking up employment in electronic media.

Last three decades witnessed the emergence of new media culture and there exists tight competition between channels for expanding the market share. Electronic media hence gives preferences to vibrant and dynamic youngsters who can think and act beyond a predetermined frame. Majority of employees are in their twenties and thirties. Even though the sector requires people with technical and managerial skills, the skills needn't be at high level. This again attracts youths, for they can join their dream career at an early stage. However this trend with regard to qualification doesn't have a nationwide application since one can see considerable differences in states like Kerala where concentration is more and competition is intense.

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STAGNANT PUBLIC FUNDING ON EDUCATION IN INDIA: THE INDISPENSABILITY OF PRIVATE INVESTMENT- CONCERNS AND ALTERNATIVES

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Abstract

India could actually spend only less than 4 per cent of its GDP on education. The difficulty of achieving high per capita expenditure on education during the early and recent decades has been reflected in achieving the national educational goals and resolving the major challenges in education. More investment via private participation is highly influential in dealing with these issues. But the entry of private players and global competitive players into the Indian education scenario has caused serious concern on social justice and basic access to minimum rights of education. Limitations of the government to allocate more funds to education may enable us to think of strategies that provide qualitative education to all without any discrimination. The stagnant nature of public funding on education in India, the issues associated with mounting private participation and the need to think for an alternative strategy are the matter of discussion of this paper.

Key words: Public Funding, Private Investment, Social Choice, Right to Education, Marginalisation

Introduction

The role of education in national development and social transformation makes it essential that educational programmes keep continuously renewing in order to maintain its relevance to the changing public needs, individual needs of learner and to the emerging national development priorities. Given the crucial importance that education plays in the development of a society and the economy, education has been assigned a high

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priority in the development policy objectives in India. Provision of education both for its coverage as well as the quality requires significant amount of financial resources. The funds for education in India come mainly from the government sources: the central and state governments are the major partners in financing education in India. However, the expansion of education has been remarkably slow in India as compared to some of the other Asian Countries. India could spend marginally on education which would insist the country to rely on more private investment in education. It is asserted that India has neglected education, investing too little in the early post-independence decades. The difficulty of achieving high per capita expenditure on education during the early decades has been also reflected in the present decades. So far India could not have mobilized resource for education sufficient to achieve the national educational goals. The growing reliance on private investment in education requires logical and ideological explanations as education is being treated as a private meritorious good rather than a public good. The stagnant nature of public funding on education in India, the issues associated with mounting private participation and the need to think for an alternative strategy are the matter of discussion of this paper.

Discussion has been organised in four sections. The first section discusses on the share of public expenditure on education in India. The broad challenges ahead of the Indian education with a stagnant public spending makes private spending crucial is the matter of discussion in the second section. The third section focuses on the rising participation of private players in education, concerns on it and the need for thinking

of an alternative strategy. Final section concludes and summarizes the discussion.

Section 1: Public Funding on Education in India

Public expenditure on education as percentage of GDP is the total public expenditure (current and capital) on education expressed as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product in a given year. Public expenditure on education includes government spending on educational institutions (both public and private), education administration, and transfers/subsidies for private entities (students/households and other private entities). International Comparison of Public Expenditure on Education as percentage of GDP during 2008-2012 is given in Table 1. It is seen that India could actually spent only less than 4 per cent of its GDP on education. This is perhaps lower when compared with other countries except Pakistan and Mauritius. In view of the low per capita income and slow growth, India could spend, at best, marginally on education during the earlier decades. It has been asserted that India neglected education, especially at the elementary level, investing too little to it in the early post-Independence decades (Aravind Panagariya, 2013). But it is significant that even at higher achievement of per capita GDP during the recent past India could spend only marginally on education (See Table 2). In India high fiscal deficits and competing demands for public expenditure on other strategically selected areas may force the government to consider education sector as a residue.

Table 1: International Comparison of Public Expenditure on

Education as per centage of GDP 2008-2012

Countries	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Australia	4.6	5.1	5.6	5.1	NA
Brazil	5.4	5.6	5.8	NA	NA
Germany	4.6	5.1	5.1	NA	NA
India	3.8	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.9
Japan	3.4	NA	3.8	3.8	3.9
Mauritius	3.2	3.2	3.7	3.4	3.5
Netherlands	5.5	5.9	6.0	5.9	5.9
New Zealand	5.6	6.4	7.2	7.1	7.4
Pakistan	2.7	2.6	2.3	2.2	2.1
South Africa	5.1	5.5	6.0	6.2	6.6
Switzerland	5.1	5.4	5.2	5.3	
Thailand	3.8	4.1	3.8	5.8	7.6

Source: - World Bank, Data Series

Table 2: GDP per capita Growth in India and Public Spending on Education During 2003-2012

Year	GDP Per Capita Growth (in %)	Public Expenditure on Education(as % of GDP)
2003	6.2	3.4
2004	6.3	3.3
2005	7.7	3.1
2006	7.7	3.1
2007	8.3	3.2
2008	2.5	3.8
2009	7.1	3.2

2010	8.8	3.3
2011	5.3	3.8
2012	3.4	3.9

Source: - World Bank, Data Series.

The current level of expenditure is highly insufficient to achieve the national educational goals. It is not only that the expansion of literacy and education has been far too slow, but also that educational provision itself remains highly differentiated in both quantitative and qualitative terms. The current literacy rate in India suggests that India has to set out further steps to attain comparable rates globally. Literacy rate in India stands only at 69.3 per cent as against the world literacy rate of 84.1 per cent (See Table 3).

Table 3: Literacy rates of the countries of the World

Country	Australia	Brazil	Germany	Russia	Japan	Mauritius	Netherlands
Literacy rate	99.0	90.4	99.0	99.7	99.0	88.8	99.0
Country	New Zealand	Pakistan	South-Africa	Switzerland	Thailand	India	World
Literacy rate	99.0	52.8	93.0	99.0	93.5	69.3	84.1

Source: - CIA, World Fact Book.

To provide universal access to quality schooling and ensure equal access to higher education among all socio-economic groups, gender and region indicate significant failures of development project in the country during more than six decades after Independence. The Annual Status of Education Report (ASER), 2014, says only an average 48.1 per cent of class V children throughout India can read a class II-level textbook.

The basic reading in early grades shows a more pitiable situation by the Report. It is seen that the percentage of children in Std II who cannot even recognize letters as yet is only 32.5 Per cent. (See Table 4). But by the end of Std II children should be able to read simple sentences easily. Hence Indian educational system is to be supported by massive programmes to achieve the basic educational goals which require more investment.

Table 4: Basic Reading in Early Grade

Year	Percentage of children in Std II who cannot even recognize letters as yet
2010	13.4
2011	19.9
2012	24.8
2013	28.5
2014	32.5

Source: ASER, 2010-2014

Thus India's public expenditure on education remains stagnant during the past and present decades. It is to be increased if it were to come at par with the expenditure incurred by the developed economies. The pattern of expenditure on a particular sector reflects the priority for the sector in public policies. In this regard, the recommendations of the Education Commission (1964-66), popularly known as the Kothari Commission, on the issue of government financing of education are considered as important. The commission estimated the financial requirements of the educational system in India up to 1985-86, and recommended that "if education is to develop adequately, the proportion of GNP allocated to education will rise to 6.0 per cent in 1985-86" (Kothari Commission, 1964-66). Of the sev-

eral recommendations made by the Kothari Commission, this 6 per cent of GNP had been accepted and resolved by the Government of India in the National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1968. However, it can be argued now that the Commission's estimate was made long ago and based on somewhat austere estimates of growth in enrolments, per student expenditure and other parameters. But this benchmark remains unaccomplished so far. Hence it is high time to move towards a long term, substantive commitment for more investment on education in the country.

Section II: Broad Challenges to Indian Education-Requisite for Private Investment

India's higher education system is the world's third largest with respect to student enrollment. It comes next to China and the USA. But while positive trends augur well for the various sectors, Indian education is faced with the following challenges.

i) Demand-Supply Gap

There remains a glaring mismatch in demand and supply, particularly in higher education and in high quality institutions. There is enormous unmet demand for higher education India. Enrolment in higher education is only at 18 per cent, compared with 26 per cent in China and 36 per cent in Brazil. With regard to the Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) in India, it is significantly lower compared to the world average. The government has therefore set target of 30 per cent GER by 2020, which seems difficult at the current pace of development. In high quality educational institutions, for example only one out of approximately 150 applicants gets admission into the elite Indian Institute of Management (IIMs). An industry chamber has recently reported that 450, 000 Indian students spend over USD 13 billion

each year in acquiring higher education overseas. To reduce the demand supply gap in school education, it has been proposed in the 12th FYP (2012-17) to set up 6,000 schools at block level as model schools to benchmark excellence. Of these, 2500 will be set up under Public Private Partnership. The unfilled demand supply gap will result in infrastructure and investment deficit, promoting entry and opportunity for private players.

ii) The low quality of teaching and learning

The Indian education system is beset with issues of quality in many of its institutions: a chronic shortage of faculty, poor quality teaching, outdated and rigid curricula and pedagogy, lack of accountability and quality assurance and separation of research and teaching. Indian schools, at Public schools, the kids do not really attain knowledge and skills commensurate with their age. Some of the reasons that contribute are: - a) the pedagogy does not have applicability and depends so much on being learning by rote. b) evaluations are made on the basis of what a child learnt by heart c) most of the students coming from poor households do not have the atmosphere at home to get learning and d) the curriculum is designed to leave the kid with no skills or perspectives to be able to build a working life.

iii) Constraints on research capacity and innovation

India's research output is declining both in terms of volume and quality. Its research output was only 3.5 per cent of global research output in 2010. In our country, the allocation for research is only about \$8 million in comparison to about \$250 billion in the US and \$60 billion in China. India awards only 5,000 PhD degrees in science subjects a year, when there is the need for more than 25,000 degrees holders whereas, China is producing more than 15,000 Ph D degree holders a year. India

has 119 researchers per million of the population, compared to 1,564 in China, 2,706 in the UK, 4,605 in the US and 6,807 in Iceland. Even in terms of the number of researchers per 1,000 people employed, India, with 24 researchers, ranks below China (115), Japan (131), the European Union (231) and the US (324). With a very low level of enrolment in research, India does not have enough premium quality researchers. There are few opportunities for interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research works, lack of research experience, a weak ecosystem for innovation, and low levels of industry engagement. India as a developing nation needs large volume of higher quality research that can fuel growth in various sectors.

iv) Unequal access to opportunity to education

Socially, India remains highly divided; access to higher education is uneven with multidimensional inequalities in enrolment across population groups and geographies. One key indicator of the current state of access to education is the net attendance ratio (NAR). It is the number of students attending a particular section, divided by the total number of kids of the same age group. (For example, for Classes I to V, NAR is the number of children aged 6-10 years currently attending Classes I-V, divided by estimated population in the age group 6-10 years which is expressed as a percentage)

A recent survey on education by the National Sample Survey Organization shows that 89 per cent of the kids attending primary schools are from the richest fifth of the population both in the rural and urban areas, while that proportion drops to 79 per cent for kids in the poorest fifth of the population in rural areas and 78 per cent in urban areas. That is not too bad. But, NAR drops sharply when it comes to secondary school

and becomes worse at the higher secondary level. Also, the difference between the richest fifth and the poorest fifth in enrolment widens sharply from the primary section to the secondary and higher educational levels (NSSO, 71st round, July 2014).

While basic literacy is increasingly available to all, the gulf between the poor and the rich widens as you go up the educational ladder. Only 6 per cent of young from the bottom fifth of the population attend educational levels above higher secondary in urban India, their proportion is five times higher, (31 per cent) for the richest fifth of the population. It is important to see that that NAR for urban kids studying above higher secondary levels from the middle fifth of the population is 15 per cent (half that of the top fifth). So the real middle class is also substantially disadvantaged when it comes to higher education. The situation is considerably worse in rural India (NSSO, 71st round, July 2014).

With regard to access for castes, the difference between scheduled castes and tribes and other categories widens at higher levels of education. It is particularly high among urban girls belonging to scheduled tribes at the secondary and higher secondary levels. Among religious identities, enrolment of Muslims is lower than that of other religions.

Inadequate public funding on education in India cannot resolve the above said challenges. Hence more investment via private participation is highly influential in dealing with these issues. The private higher education sector in countries such as the United States, Japan, and Malaysia has been instrumental in tackling these challenges. But in an economy working completely on democratic setup, more entry of private players should be permitted with much caution.

Section III: Opportunity for Private Participation: Concerns and Alternatives

3.1 Increasing private participation in Education

Inadequacy of public funding on education has put opportunities for the private players and global competitive players to enter more into the scenario of education in India. The entry of the private sector in education came in primary and secondary, and higher and professional education. However, it was initially in the context of professional education courses such as, medicine, dentistry, engineering, pharmacy, etc.

There has been a significant increase in the number of institutions and enrollment in higher education over the last few years. Now in India there are 757 Universities, 38056 Colleges and 11922 Stand Alone Institutions. Total Enrolment in Higher Education has been estimated to be 33.3 million with 17.9 million boys and 15.4 million girls. Girls constitute 46 per cent of the total enrolment. Significant growth in higher education has been achieved through increased private participation. The share of unaided private institutions in the higher education sector has increased considerably over the last few years. There has also been a rapid growth in the percentage of students enrolled in unaided private higher education institutions. As per the estimate of the All India Survey on Higher Education (AISHE 2014-15) 76 per cent Colleges are privately managed; 61 per cent Private-Unaided and 15 per cent Private Aided. During the period between 2011-12 and 2014-15 enrollment in private colleges (both aided and unaided) has increased by 60.7 percent, out of which growth of enrollment in private unaided colleges alone constitutes 69 per cent. According to an estimate with regard to enrollment in private schools, 29 per cent of children in India

are privately educated. With more than 50 per cent children enrolling in private schools in urban areas, the balance has already tilted towards private schooling in cities; and, even in rural areas, nearly 30.8 per cent of the children were enrolled in private schools. (ASER, 2014).

There has been a phenomenal growth in private spending also. The National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) survey report has revealed that the spending on education has jumped up by 378 per cent in rural areas and 345 per cent in urban areas of India. Even after correcting for inflation the expenditure on education has increased by 162 per cent in rural areas and 148 per cent in urban areas during the decade, despite of inflation. This is in sharp contrast to the overall household expenditure on all items, which increased by a mere 8 per cent in rural areas and 20 per cent in urban areas after adjusting for inflation (66th round of NSSO's survey 2009-10). Thus, however, the private sector provides a greater share of education services in India. In the long run it is anticipated that the proportion of private sector in school and higher education will be much larger than at present.

3.2 Concerns on Private participation

In India generally all activities which include more private investment are watched suspiciously. Once the governing orderings shifts to private agencies and to global competitive players, the issues of social justice will be challenging and wearisome, especially of higher learning. Private sector educational institutions provide education to those who could afford the cost of education. Educational institutions funded by the government have been strictly not-for-profit while private sector educational institutions are definitely not so. Education is a key

strategy for bringing about the changes necessary to ensure socio-cultural-economic development as well as environmental protection in terms of society's prospective. The right to education is universal and does not allow any form of exclusion or discrimination. However, India faces challenges in guaranteeing equal opportunities to all in accessing education. According to World Bank's revised methodology for poverty calculation, the world had 872.3 million people below the poverty line, of which 179.6 million people living in India. In other words, India with 17.5 per cent of total world's population had 20.6 per cent share of world's poorest in 2011. As on 2014, 58 per cent of the total population was living on less than \$3.10 per day. In this circumstance a large number of children in India are still excluded from the educational system and hence cannot participate meaningfully in the economic, social, political and cultural life of their communities. It appears that current educational programmes might have failed to address the needs of children who are vulnerable to marginalisation and exclusion. Marginalised groups are often left behind by national educational policies, denying many people their right to education.

3.3 Need for an alternative strategy

However, the fact that the private sector provides a greater share of education services does not eliminate the need for the government to play a stewardship role to ensure that all children have access to a quality education. The government's role in setting up an effective regulatory environment is paramount. But its limitations to allocate more funds on education may enable us to think for strategies to provide qualitative education to all without any discrimination.

The first strategy in this respect is the 'School Choice' made

on Milton Friedman's idea that administration and financing of education are separable functions of the government. It is an active topic of discussion among educationalist and think tanks. Its goal is to provide education system in which all parents, regardless of race, origin, or family income, are free to choose a learning environment—public or private, near or far, religious or secular (Milton and Rose Friedman, 1996). It would allow children from the marginalized and disadvantaged group to access education according to their preference. Friedman proposed that the government establish minimum levels of schooling and finance it by “giving parents vouchers redeemable for a specified maximum sum per child per year if spent on ‘approved’ educational services”. Parents could use this voucher with any additional sum on their account for “purchasing educational services from an approved institution of their choice” The service providers could be any private school run either on profit or not. But the feasibility of implementing school choice in India should be well studied and discussed. A major question before us is that which sort of voucher model would best serve India. At present, the Government directly provides grants to educational institutions. However, to realise the aim of voucher system, it is essential that financial support is provided to the pupils or parents, instead of to the educational institutions.

Secondly Government can promote private players to play a key role. They include a range of educational operators including faith-based organisations, local communities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In several developing countries, governments subsidise private schools, mostly operated by faith-based nonprofit organizations, by financing either school inputs, such as teacher salaries and textbooks, or per pupil grants. But the curriculum and syllabus are framed by the

state. Hence when these private players are promoted, ensure that learning in these institutions is in strict adherence with the approved curriculum.

A revamping of policies in education through a 'right based' approach can also provide accessibility to the marginalised to a great extent. Basic access to minimum rights of education should become the corner stone of governance (Suresh Kumar, 2016) The Right to Education Act reserves 25 per cent of seats for children belonging to weaker sections and disadvantaged groups in unaided schools in their neighborhood. Strict monitoring should be made to ensure that it is properly implemented.

Section IV: Summary and Conclusions

India could spend only marginally on education. The current level of expenditure is highly insufficient to achieve the national educational goals. The failure of the Indian state more than six decades after Independence to provide universal access to quality schooling and to ensure equal access to higher education among all socio-economic groups and across gender and region indicates significant failures of development project in the country. While positive trends augur well for the various sectors, Indian education is faced with various challenges such as

- i) demand-supply gap
- ii) low quality of teaching and learning
- iii) Constraints on research capacity and innovation and
- iv) unequal access to opportunity of education. More investment via private participation is highly influential in dealing with these issues.

The entry of the private sector in education came in primary and secondary and higher and professional education. There has been a significant increase in the number of institutions and enrollment in higher education over the last few years. Private spending on education has also witnessed a phenomenal growth. However when private agencies and global competitive players provide education, the issues of social justice will be challenging and wearisome, especially of higher learning. A large number of children in India are still excluded from the educational system and hence cannot participate meaningfully in the economic, social, political and cultural life of their communities. Marginalised groups are often left behind by national educational policies, denying many people their right to education. The above situation may enable us to think about effective alternative strategies to provide qualitative education to all sections of the society. Experiencing 'school choice', ensure its feasibility in the Indian context, promotions of private players including faith-based organisations, local communities, non-governmental organizations etc in providing education strictly in adherence with the syllabus framed by the state and a 'right based approach' to ensure minimum basic access are the alternative strategies suggested.

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DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVES OF FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT

Sreekala. M*

The importance of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has grown significantly in Indian economy especially after liberalization. FDI makes domestic country proficient in using technology. The capacity of FDI to impart knowledge in terms of technology, platform- that received by domestic firms to watch technological advancement, innovations and the resultant competition is called the spillover-effect of FDI. The value of Karl Pearson correlation is found to be +0.89 means a high degree correlation between FDI and economic development. A significant body of theory has been developed by economists on knowledge spillover from the late 1970s. This paper tries to observe the methods by which it can be effectively surveyed.

The dependency school theory views foreign investment from the developed countries who form the core of the world economic system harmful to the long-term economic growth of developing nations who are already out in the periphery. It views that the penetration in to the peripheral economies of weaker nations by large companies would result in the ultimate control of their resources that might otherwise have been used for national development. It asserts that the First World nations got wealthy by way of extracting labor and material resources from the Third World countries. This type of capitalism perpetuates a kind of global division of labor that causes distortion, hinders to growth, and rises income inequality in developing economies. The dependency theorists argue that developing countries are inadequately compensated for the exploitation of their natural resources and are thereby they have been sentenced to conditions of continuing poverty. Countries who have been

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on the economic periphery cannot become fully modernized so long as they remain with the capitalist world system. To get out of this economically debilitating relationship, the Third World nations must strive hard to attain development independent of foreign capital and goods.

FDI is a process of production apart from just a capital inflow (Hymer, 1976). It is the transfer of a package of capital, management, technology. The previous theories have not taken into consideration these matters as the spillover¹ of FDI. Culturally and physically different countries are involved in the process of FDI when we consider foreign and host countries. If and only if there is technological superiority or superior techniques at the disposal of the investing country in terms of not only capital but managerial, distributional, marketing, commercial ways, an investing country can make fruitful results. FDI involves a transfer of intangible assets such as technological skills across nations (Caves and Kindleberger, 1984). But as the previous theorists have committed, the neglect of the technological aspect can lead to a serious underestimation of the role of foreign-owned capital in the recipient country. Koizumi and Kopecky (1977) used a partial equilibrium analysis to show the spillover of FDI and the resultant technology transfer. According to them, the rate of technology transfer is positively related to the volume of capital owned by foreign firm in the FDI relationship. As the more savings ratio and capacity of the host country increases, the less capital will be transferred from the foreign country. With similar production functions, the technological transfer can help both the countries to attain steady state of growth. They considered technology as a public good. Findlay (1978) analyses the spillover through a different hypothesis. He uses Gerschenkron's hypothesis that "greater

the difference between the foreign and host countries in terms of development faster will be the catch up rate". He provides two main factors which influences the rate of technological progress. First, the rate of spillover is an increasing function of the difference between the countries with respect to technology. Second, following Arrow's theorem, the technological transfer is analogous to contagious diseases. Therefore, technological innovations are most efficiently diffused when there is personal contact between those with the knowledge of the innovation and those who adopt it.

Das (1987) utilized a price-leadership model from oligopoly theory to analyze the transfer of technology from the parent firm to its subsidiary abroad. This analysis recognized that domestic firms learn from MNCs and become more efficient. This increase in efficiency among domestic firms is assumed to be exogenous, and therefore costless to them. It is also assumed that the rate of increase in efficiency of the native firm is positively related to the level of activities of the MNC's subsidiary. The larger the scale of operation, the greater the opportunity for the native firm to learn from it. He then models the problem of choice the MNC faces due to the cost imposed by the "learning from watching" (imitating) benefits flowing to the native firm. Along the optimal path, he concludes that the MNC benefits from the technology transfer from its parent company in spite of the leakage of knowledge in the host country, and the host country benefits unambiguously.

Wang and Blomstrom (1992) also follows Findlay's hypothesis that a positive relationship between the technological gap and technology transfer. By solving a dynamic optimization problem, they found that:

- (i) Technology transfer from a parent company to a subsidiary is positively related to the level and cost efficiency of a domestic firm's learning investment.
- (ii) The lower the subsidiary's discount rate, the more rapid

the technology transfers. The higher the operation risks—for example, political instability or low potential economic growth—the more reluctant foreign firms will be to transfer technology.

- (iii) Some technology transfer proportional to the size of the technology gap always takes place irrespective of the subsidiary's active learning effort. The less costly the technology spillovers from the parent to subsidiary firms, the faster the technology transfer.
- (iv) According to Solow (1956), with diminishing returns to physical capital, and technological change being exogenous, FDI cannot affect the long-run growth rate. Also, long-run equilibrium is characterized by the identical equalization of capital labor ratios and factor prices. According to him, as diminishing returns would affect both domestic and foreign investments, only the foreign investment can offset this limit if it includes the transfer of new technological knowledge in the form of new goods, new markets or new processes. When we attract foreign investment we must take into consideration whether they include incentives to encourage innovation. Foreign investment through knowledge transfer can generate growth and increasing returns as the exogenous growth theory concerned.
- (v) Lucas(1998) analyses the spillover in a different way, i.e., if individual firm possesses knowledge about the ability to transfer tacit knowledge from the parent firm to the subsidiary firm for the right to use this knowledge, then human capital is a rival good that can spill over as a result of a contractual arrangement between the individual and the firm or organization.

- (vi) Romer (1990) suggests that growth rates differ because the positive feedback generated by technological learning external to the firm may exceed the native feedback engendered by diminishing marginal return internal to the firm. He developed a model to generate growth through learning by doing and knowledge spillovers.
- (vii) With capital already moving internationally, the model developed by Wang (1990) predicts that the steady-state income gap is narrowed by an increase in the growth rate of human capital and the technology diffusion rate in the less developed country (LDC). One of the messages emerging from the analysis is that opening to FDI from more advanced countries has important beneficial implications for a developing country. Foreign investment facilitates domestic technological change, and hence increases the rate of income growth.
- (viii) Grossman and Helpman(1991) generate growth in a similar way as Romer but consider technological progress as an improvement in the quality of existing producer products. Old technology becomes obsolete through the introduction of new technology. Also, firms obtain monopoly profits from the introduction of new producer goods that force lower quality goods to exit the market. Overtime, the country with high technological capabilities may become a net importer of high-tech products, as the affiliates export their finished products home, but also receive additional income from increased license fees when the inclusion of foreign investment and technology licensing is introduced.
- (ix) Walz(1997: 5) incorporates FDI into an endogenous growth framework where MNCs play a critical role with respect

to growth and specialization patterns. He extracts the idea of trade-related international knowledge spillovers and applies them to FDI. Production activities of MNCs in the low-wage country improve the efficiency of potential innovations there. The knowledge spillover of MNCs' activities makes innovation in the low-wage country profitable. Allowing for imitation in the less developed country, the indirect transfer of technology through FDI provides the stimulus for active R&D and growth. Therefore, he predicts that policies promoting FDI will lead to faster growth.

While many questions relating to the impact of TNCs on development have remained controversial, the focus now is more on how to maximize the positive effects of FDI. India adopted a regime that was perceived to be restrictive towards FDI. Explicit curbs on foreign investment were imposed through the introduction of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA) in 1973 by restricting foreign ownership of shares in enterprises incorporated in India. At the same time, foreign firms operating in India were subjected to "local content" (domestic ownership shares) and "foreign exchange balancing" rules that curbed their freedom of operation. The Industrial Licensing System under the Industries Development and Regulation Act, 1951 and the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969 sought to channelize their activities into high technology and export-oriented production. The limits on foreign shares fostered joint ventures with Indian entrepreneurs. These policies continued until the policy of creeping liberalization of the Indian economy was initiated in the 1980s. The fast-tracked liberalization of the Indian economy introduced in 1991 brought with it a radical shift in the policy towards FDI. In fact, FDI policy reform formed part of the first package of industrial reforms in July 1991 and was reflected in the Industrial Policy announced in

1991: Foreign investment would bring attendant advantages of technology transfer, marketing expertise, introduction of modern managerial techniques and new possibilities for promotion of exports. The government will therefore welcome foreign investment which is in the interest of the country's industrial development. More recently, the Economic Survey 2008-09 reiterated that: FDI is considered to be the most attractive type of capital flow for emerging economies as it is expected to bring latest technology and enhance production capabilities of the economy. And the National Manufacturing Competitiveness Council (NMCC) opined that: Foreign investments mean both foreign portfolio investments and foreign direct investments (FDI). FDI brings better technology and management, access to marketing networks and offers competition, the latter helping Indian companies improve, quite apart from being good for consumers. This efficiency contribution of FDI is much more important. The change in the sentiments towards FDI were given effect to in the form of a series of changes in the policies. These included removing the ceilings on foreign equity imposed by the FERA, lifting of restrictions on the use of foreign brand names in the domestic market, removing restrictions on entry and expansion of foreign direct investment into consumer goods, abandoning the "local content" and "foreign exchange balancing" rules, among others.

The parallel process of virtual withdrawal of the Industrial Licensing System and the retreating from the primacy given to public sector also enhanced the scope for FDI participation in India. Alongside liberalizing the FDI regime, steps were taken to allow foreign portfolio investments into the Indian stock market through the mechanism of foreign institutional investors. The objective was not only to facilitate non-debt creat-

ing foreign capital inflows but also to develop the stock market in India, lower the cost of capital for Indian enterprises and indirectly improve corporate governance structures. On their part, large Indian companies have been allowed to raise capital directly from international capital markets through commercial borrowings and depository receipts having underlying Indian equity. Thus, the country adopted a two-pronged strategy: one to attract FDI and two to encourage portfolio capital flows which ease the financing constraints of Indian enterprises. As a result of the aforementioned policy changes, India now follows an FDI-friendly regime that is quite comparable to that adopted by most countries. Much of the foreign investment can now take advantage of the automatic approval route without seeking prior permission of the Central Government. Caps on FDI shareholding are now applied to only a few sectors, mainly in the services sector. Concomitant steps have also been taken to remove the hurdles in the path of foreign investors both at the stage of entry and later in the process of establishing the venture. The policy changes were thus aimed at improving India's record in attracting FDI inflows, which was seen to be below its potential, particularly when compared with the massive inflows reported by China.

The progressive liberalization of the foreign investment policy as well as the steps to improve the investment climate could thus be seen as attempts to overcome this perceived failure to match initial expectations and also in comparison with China. Perceptions of foreign investors towards India changed quite distinctly as a result of the change in the policy regime. Inflows of FDI have increased substantially compared to the earlier regime in which the scope for FDI was quite restricted. From a less than \$ 1 billion in the early 1990s, FDI inflows

more than doubled to exceed \$ 2 billion in 1995. In the early years of the previous decade, FDI inflows were pegged between \$ 5-7 billion. But after 2005, the reported statistics show a steep increase in inflows: from \$ 20 billion in 2006 to nearly \$ 35 billion in 2009. The resultant increase in the stock of FDI was staggering: from \$1.7 billion at the end of 1990, FDI stock went up to \$17.5 billion by the end of 2000 and further to a little above \$164 billion by the end of 2009(UNCTAD 2009).

This increase in FDI inflows will have to be read in the light of the fact that since 2000-01 an important change was introduced in the way FDI statistics are compiled which has made strict comparison of inflows overtime inapt. Though this did contribute to the observed increase in the reported FDI inflows, there is no denying the fact of the sharp increase in the inflows especially during the last few years. Several studies suggested that private equity inflows could have contributed substantially to the large increase in FDI in India. Global foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows fell by 16 per cent in 2014 to \$1.23 trillion (World Investment Report 2015), down from \$1.47 trillion in 2013.¹ The decline in FDI flows was influenced mainly by the fragility of the global economy, policy uncertainty for investors and elevated geopolitical risks. New investments were also offset by some large divestments. The decline in FDI flows was in contrast to growth in GDP, trade, gross fixed capital formation and employment.

UNCTAD forecasts an upturn in FDI flows (\$1.5 trillion in 2016 and \$1.7 trillion in 2017) due to growth prospects in the United States, the demand-stimulating effects of lower oil prices and accommodating monetary policy, and continued investment liberalization and promotion measures. Macroeconomic fundamentals and continued high levels of profitability

and cash reserves among multinational enterprises (MNEs) support the expectation of higher FDI flows. However, a number of economic and political risks, including ongoing uncertainties in the Eurozone, potential spillovers from geopolitical tensions, and persistent vulnerabilities in emerging economies, may disrupt the projected recovery. Inflows to transition economies declined by 52 per cent to \$48 billion, as regional conflict and sanctions deterred new foreign investors. FDI flows to the Russian Federation fell by 70 per cent to \$21 billion, in part an adjustment from the level reached in 2013 (WIR14).

FDI flows to developing economies increased by 2 per cent to a historically high level in 2014, reaching \$681 billion. Developing Asia drove the increase while flows to Latin America and the Caribbean declined and those to Africa remained flat. FDI flows to Asia grew by 9 per cent to \$465 billion in 2014. East Asia, South-East Asia and South Asia all saw increased inflows. FDI in China amounted to \$129 billion, up 4 per cent from 2013, mainly because of an increase in FDI in the services sector. FDI inflows also rose in Hong Kong (China) and Singapore. India experienced a significant increase of 22 per cent to \$34 billion. However, FDI flows to West Asia continued their downward trend in 2014 for the sixth consecutive year, decreasing by 4 per cent to \$43 billion, owing to the security situation in the region.

Developing Asia became the world's largest investor region. In 2014, MNEs from developing economies alone invested \$468 billion abroad, a 23 per cent increase from the previous year. Their share in global FDI reached a record 35 per cent, up from 13 per cent in 2007. Developing-country MNEs have expanded foreign operations through greenfield³ investments as well as cross-border M&As⁴. More than half of FDI outflows

by developing-economy MNEs were in equity, while developed-country MNEs continued to rely on reinvested earnings, the share of which increased to a record 81 per cent of their FDI outflows. Equity-financed flows are more likely to result in new investments and capital expenditures than are reinvested earnings, which may translate into further accumulation of cash reserves in foreign affiliates. Among developing economies, MNEs from Asia increased their investment abroad, while outflows from Latin America and the Caribbean, and Africa fell. For the first time, MNEs from developing Asia became the world's largest investing group, accounting for almost one third of the total. Nine of the 20 largest home economies were developing or transition economies, namely Hong Kong (China), China, the Russian Federation, Singapore, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Kuwait, Chile and Taiwan Province of China. Outward investments by MNEs based in developing Asia increased by 29 per cent to \$432 billion in 2014. The growth was widespread, including all the major Asian economies and sub regions. In East Asia, investment by MNEs from Hong Kong (China) jumped to a historic high of \$143 billion, making the economy the second largest investor after the United States. The remarkable growth was mainly due to booming cross-border M&A activity. Investment by Chinese MNEs grew faster than inflows into the country, reaching a new high of \$116 billion.

In South-East Asia, the increase was principally the result of growing outflows from Singapore, to \$41 billion in 2014. In South Asia, FDI outflows from India reversed the slide of 2013, increasing fivefold to \$10 billion in 2014, as large Indian MNEs resumed their international expansion. Investments by West Asian MNEs declined by 6 per cent in 2014, owing to decreased flows from Kuwait, the region's largest overseas inves-

tor, with flows of \$13 billion. Investments by Turkish MNEs almost doubled to \$7 billion. MNEs from Latin America and the Caribbean, excluding offshore financial centres, decreased their investment in 2014 by 18 per cent to \$23 billion. Developing-economy MNEs continued attracting developed-country MNE assets in developing economies. MNEs from developing and transition economies are consolidating their role as investors in cross-border M&A⁴ operations. The share of these MNEs in the total (net) value of cross-border M&As rose from about 10 per cent in 2003 to almost 40 per cent in 2012 and has remained stable since then.

The bulk of acquisitions by MNEs from developing economies (about 70 per cent) are in other developing economies (including intraregional transactions). A sizable share (about 50 per cent) of their M&A activity in developing economies represents the acquisition of assets from developed-economy MNEs (WIR14). In 2014, MNEs continued to acquire firms and other assets owned by developed-country MNEs in host developing economies. MNEs from developing economies are becoming more active directly in developed economies as well. In 2014, some 32 per cent of M&A acquisitions by these MNEs targeted developed economies, more than in 2013 (at 28 per cent); in the first three months of 2015, acquisitions by these MNEs in developed economies rose to 47 per cent of their total M&A purchases. A number of sizable deals involved MNEs from China, Hong Kong (China) and Singapore, targeting companies in the United States and the United Kingdom in particular. For example GIC, Singapore's sovereign wealth fund, acquired IndCor Properties (United States) for \$8.1 billion. In greenfield projects, developing economies dominate. At the global level, announced greenfield FDI projects declined slightly in 2014.

This decline is similar in both developed and developing economies. Greenfield³ projects in developing economies increased in 2013 and remained high in 2014, while the trend in developed economies remained stable.

A similar trend is observable on the investor side. Over the last 10 years, the announced value of greenfield projects from developed-economy MNEs has been essentially flat, with a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of –1 per cent, while the same value for developing economies has increased steadily despite the financial crisis (at a CAGR of 5 per cent).

FDI by sector and industry

FDI stock data by sector highlight the prominent role of services in global FDI. In 2012, services accounted for 63 per cent of global FDI stock, more than twice the share of manufacturing, at 26 per cent. The primary sector contributed less than 10 per cent to global FDI stock. The importance of services in the international investment landscape is the result of a long-term structural trend. In the period 2001–2012, the share of services in global FDI increased by 5 per cent (to 63 per cent), offset by a comparable decrease in the share of manufacturing. Overall, since 1990, the share of services in world FDI stock has gained 14 percentage points (from 49 per cent to 63 per cent) with a corresponding decrease in manufacturing (from 41 per cent to 26 per cent), while the share of the primary sector has been stable (at about 7 per cent). The ongoing shift in the sectoral composition of FDI from manufacturing to services reflects an analogous trend in the distribution of global GDP, but it is also the result of increasing liberalization in the sector, enabling large FDI inflows, particularly in industries traditionally closed to foreign investment such as finance and telecom-

munications.

This shift has occurred in both developed and developing economies. Among developing regions, Asia and Oceania has been the growth engine for services FDI, with services stock in the region increasing from about \$800 billion in 2001 to \$3.5 trillion in 2012, corresponding to roughly 80 per cent of the total growth of services FDI in the developing economies. This sector is also the largest in Africa. Between developing regions, pronounced differences emerge in terms of industry distribution.

Recent trends in FDI by sector and industry.

The most recent data on announced greenfield FDI projects and cross-border M&As reveal various sectoral trends. Globally in 2014, the primary sector recorded high growth in the value of greenfield projects (up 42 per cent from 2013), in the face of a decrease in the value of cross-border M&As (–2 per cent). The pattern ran the other way in the services sector, with a decrease in the value of greenfield projects (–15 per cent) and a strong increase in cross-border M&As (37 per cent). In manufacturing, the picture is consistent across the two modes of entry, with an increase of 14 per cent in greenfield projects and 25 per cent in cross-border M&As. Developed and developing economies display opposite trends in M&A⁴ activity in manufacturing. In 2014, there was a considerable increase in M&As in developed economies, with the total net value of deals rising from \$85 billion to \$152 billion (79 per cent). The growth was most marked in electrical and electronic equipment (125 per cent) and in food, beverages and tobacco (55 per cent). There was a sharp decrease in M&As in developing economies (from \$45 billion to \$16 billion); the decline occurred across most industries,

particularly in food, beverages and tobacco, where the value of cross-border M&As plummeted to \$4 billion after peaking in 2013 at a historically high \$32 billion. Services saw contrasting trends in Greenfield FDI projects and cross-border M&As. While the total value of Greenfield projects decreased (– 15 per cent compared with 2013), the value of cross-border M&As registered a significant increase, from \$155 billion to \$213 billion (37 per cent).

The value of Greenfield projects in developing economies decreased (from \$259 billion in 2013 to \$211 billion in 2014), but with differentiated dynamics at the industry level. Construction jumped from \$22 billion to \$42 billion and became the second largest service industry in developing economies, overtaking industries that traditionally receive large amounts of FDI, such as finance and business services. By contrast, business services and electricity, gas and water ,after strong expansion in 2013 (at \$76 billion and \$63 billion) , fell by 52 per cent and 27 per cent, respectively. Contraction in business services was particularly critical in Latin America and the Caribbean (– 88 per cent), while electricity, gas and water declined in both Latin America and the Caribbean (– 22 per cent) and West Asia (– 77 per cent).

In developing economies, the growth engine of cross-border M&As in services was the increase in finance (from \$18 billion to \$61 billion), in particular in East and South-East Asia. For developed economies, the picture is multifaceted. While the traditionally largest FDI industries, business services and finance, saw a considerable increase, from \$36 billion to \$66 billion and from \$9 billion to \$30 billion respectively, the value of information and communication took a sharp downturn to a negative value (– \$73 billion against \$29 billion in 2013) because of the Vodafone divestment.

Future Prospects

Global FDI Flows are expected to increase to \$1.5 trillion and \$1.7 trillion in 2016 and 2017, respectively. These expectations are based on current forecasts for a number of macro-economic indicators, the findings of an UNCTAD business survey carried out jointly with McKinsey & Company, UNCTAD's econometric forecasting model for FDI inflows, and data for the first four months of 2015 for cross-border M&As and green-field investment projects.

Macroeconomic factors⁶ and firm-level factors⁷ are expected to influence flows positively. Indeed, the gradual improvement of macroeconomic conditions, especially in North America, and accommodating monetary policy, coupled with increased investment liberalization and promotion measures, are likely to improve the investment appetite of MNEs in 2015 and beyond. Global economic growth and gross fixed capital formation⁵ are expected to grow faster and 2016

However, the FDI growth scenario could be upended by a multitude of economic and political risks, including ongoing uncertainties in the Eurozone, potential spillovers from geopolitical tensions, and persistent vulnerabilities in emerging economies.

Notes

1. A transfer of managerial practices, production methods, marketing techniques or another knowledge embodied in a product or service
2. FDI flows constitute capital provided by foreign investors, directly or indirectly to enterprises in another economy with an expectation of obtaining profits derived from the capital participation in the management of the enterprise in which they invest. The foreign investors acquire own-

ership of assets in the host country firms in proportion to their equity holdings. FDI by definition is supposed to reflect a long-term commitment as it involves normally a stake of 10% or more in a host country enterprise, together with managerial control.

3. Examples of Greenfield projects are new factories, power plants, airports which are built from scratch on Greenfield land.
4. Mergers and Acquisitions
5. GFCF is a flow value. It is measured by the total value of a producer's acquisitions, less disposals of fixed assets during the accounting period plus certain additions to the value of non-produced assets realized by the productive activity of institutional units. In this way GFCF is a measure of gross net investment (acquisitions less disposals) in fixed capital assets by enterprises, government and households within the domestic economy, during an accounting period such as a quarter or a year: GFCF is a flow value. It is measured by the total value of a producer's acquisitions, less disposals of fixed assets during the accounting period plus certain additions to the value of non-produced assets (such as subsoil assets or major improvements in the quantity, quality or productivity of land) realized by the productive activity of institutional units. In this way GFCF is a measure of gross net investment (acquisitions less disposals) in fixed capital assets by enterprises, government and households within the domestic economy, during an accounting period such as a quarter or a year.
6. Macroeconomic factors include Government policy, Economic freedom, IPR Regulations, financial freedom etc.
7. Firm level factors include technological standards, the labour efficiency, pricing structure etc.

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ROOTS OF AGRARIAN DISTRESS IN GLOBALISED INDIA

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Abstract

The economic development process in India since the early 1990's guided by the market driven parameters has changed the overall agricultural scenario of the country with devastating consequences for its social life. The globalised era witnessed total neglect of agriculture and thus farming in India has become non-viable with little government support and subsidies, and farmer's suicides have become very common. The globalisation experience in the last 25 years in India reveals that agriculture is the most adversely affected sector and as a result, the decline in agricultural growth. The irony is that like the previous Congress governments, the Narendra Modi led NDA government is also riding with the promise of pro-farmer and pro-poor policies, but many such promises have not yet been translated into actions on the ground.

Key words: Globalization, Agrarian crisis, Accha Din Green Revolution, Marginalisation, subsidies and Farm credit.

In any scheme of economic development and social well-being of a country, agriculture holds a position of vital significance. This is more so in a country like India where agriculture still remains the direct life-line of more than half of the population and thus becomes the predominant component of the national economy and the principal means of livelihood. It is the backbone of Indian economy as it constitutes the largest share of the country's national income and provides direct employment to majority of the work force. Thus development of agriculture is the key to ensuring food security, eliminating hunger, eradicating poverty, generating demands for industrial goods and promoting overall development. Besides the above

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contributions, the expansion of agricultural output and productivity will tend to raise the demand for manufactured goods and to extend the size of the market thereby making the growth process sustainable (Almar, 2008,p. 132). In this regard, Gunner Myrdal in his monumental study on Asian countries, observes, 'it is in the agricultural sector that the battle for long term economic development in South Asia will be won or lost' ([Myrdal, 1988,p.1241). To India, therefore, agriculture is not just a question of economics, production and trade but one of dignity and survival.

The agrarian crisis and farmers distress in Indian agriculture is not a new phenomenon that has erupted suddenly. The genesis of this issue go back to the planning era and since then there are constant attempts of correction. When economic planning was initiated in independent India, the major task undertaken by the state was to undo the colonial legacy and establish a firm basis for sustainable economic development, primarily through agriculture. It was in this scenario that the first Five Year Plan of 1951 devoted more resources to the agricultural sector. In the early phase of planning, emphasis was on institutional change including abolition of intermediaries and from the mid -1960s, it was on the development of new farm technology in the form of high-yielding variety of seeds, chemical fertilisers, pesticides, tools and implements (Reddy,200,p.286). The planners visualised a prosperous agriculture with the presumption that income of the vast majority improves and consequently the purchasing capacity of the rural people would increase, thereby creating market for individual products. But after the first plan, priority and efforts for economic development shifted to the development of large scale industries with reduced financial allocation and low priority to agriculture. This made the condition of the

majority of rural cultivators and labourers miserable. It was in this scenario that the Government of India decided to introduce 'Green Revolution'. Though the policy helped India, to a large extent, in its efforts to achieve self-sufficiency in food grain production, its achievement has certain limitations. But at the same time this policy in Indian agriculture refers a marked improvement in a short period and a higher level of agricultural production over a fairly long period.

The latest reason of the on-going agrarian crisis and farmers' distress in India are largely the outcome of a series of economic reforms in India. In fact, this has tremendous impact in the agricultural sector of the country and has far reaching consequences in the country from the perspective of economic growth and income generation, poverty alleviation, food security, employment generation, balance of payments problem etc. In fact this policy reform introduced as part of globalisation is also marked a steady break from the past policy regime of India which is highly fatal to the destiny of India in general and agriculture in particular. The impact of economic globalisation on agriculture has to be assessed against this background. Although no direct reference was made to agriculture in the initial phase of this reform, Indian agriculture was opened up in a big way particularly since the first half of the same decade. As a result of the reduced role of state and the changing institutional setting as part of the structural adjustment policies, agriculture and the livelihood of rural farmers were affected adversely. Not only that globalisation policy did not have any favourable impact on the growth of agricultural sector, but there is clear evidence of sharp deceleration in agriculture both at the national and state levels (Balakrishnan, 201,p. 22).

Actually the GATT accord signed by the country in April
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1994 was a turning point not only to India's agricultural trade and commerce but also to the entire production and output in agriculture. The production of rice, cereals and pulses witnessed a sharp decline in the post globalisation period. This deceleration of production is to be related to the various policies the country has been compelled to execute as a signatory of the GATT. These included the commitments on market access, conditions on domestic support, export subsidies, the agreement on trade related intellectual property rights, the agreement on sanitary and phytosanitary measures (Gulati, 2001, p.43). However, the most controversial aspect in the process of liberalising Indian agriculture is the Dunkel Draft and this can be broadly divided into two:¹ measures in relation to fiscal and trading matters and measures in relation to Intellectual Property Rights. All these pushed the country back from the path of food self-sufficiency towards food insecurity which has tremendous impact on the life and income of the country's farmers. As a result, contrary to the expectations of the government, the plight of millions of Indian farmers worsened and the entire reform introduced in agriculture since 1990 came under sharp criticism.

The Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) as part of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations of WTO which attempted at slashing of agricultural subsidies and supports in the name of correcting huge public debt, fiscal imbalance, recession and financial instability, which ultimately resulted in drastic increase in cost of cultivation, price rise, food shortage, crop shift and finally towards farmers' distrust and suicide. The AoA conditions are also discriminatory towards developing and under developed countries. For instance when AoA hardly provides any subsidies for a country like India, very huge subsidies are offered to developed countries. And it is only a matter

of common sense that in a country like India where majority of cultivators are of small and medium holding category with limited resource and income could not exist without proper government support and subsidies. Added to this, is the consequence of Intellectual Property Right (IPR) in agriculture,² particularly in areas where knowledge has been traditionally handed down the generation. As per this, countries have to make their national IPR system in tandem with the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS)³ of GATT. This restricts farmers from using their own produce from patented seeds or plant varieties for further production or to sell or exchange in non-commercial market.

In order to face the severe backlash in agriculture in the post-globalisation decade, the Government of India announced the National Agricultural Policy (NAP) in July, 2000 with the presumption that rapid growth of agriculture is essential not only to achieve self-reliance at national level but also for household food security and to bring about equity in distribution of income and wealth resulting in rapid reduction in poverty levels. It is a fact that NAP have had many positive targets and also succeeded in creating high expectations and hope among the farmers. However, in actual practice all these expectations proved wrong due to many inherent contradictions including ineffective implementation, poor planning and management, unregulated privatisation as part of the second generation economic reforms since 2000, inability of government to regulate corporates, liberalisation of import restrictions, privatisation in areas like agricultural research and inappropriate institutional framework. AsokGulati correctly points out that 'the policy paths and measures enumerated are mere 'intentions'. Nowhere does the document specify 'how' these intentions are going to

be converted in to reality' (Gulati, 2001,p.3). Thus culpable inattention and disregard shown towards the problems faced by the marginal and middle class farmers by the policy makers in the last two decades has changed the green fertile farm lands of prosperity to the grey barren fields of despair and tears. The following are to be listed as the major causes of this despair in terms of their occupation, income, indebtedness, poverty, cropping pattern, food security, public support, farm credit, displacement and overall livelihood.

1. Market Centric Strategies and Changing State System

The market-centric strategy of globalisation argues that unregulated market will ensure prosperity, liberty, democracy and eventually peace to society. The thinking is that the only way ahead to guarantee peace, efficiency, economic growth and stability is nothing but a liberal blend of state, market and democratic institutions (Kothari, 1995: 149). This has now become an ideology or rather a mind- set of global capitalism that is being projected as the only way out of all political economy problems and crisis, including that of governance crisis, particularly in third world societies like India. It advocates the abolition of state imposed limitations on movements of goods, service and capital across nation-states. This resulted in the gradual retreat of state in favour of market and this became a severe blow to the entire farming community of India particularly to the marginal and middle class farmers who cannot continue in their profession without strong support of the Government. The international level treaty obligations of Government of India towards World Bank, IMF and WTO have changed government's approach, attitude and accountability towards society, resulting in slashing of agricultural subsidies, minimising farm credit, promoting disinvestment, minimising public investment

in agriculture, promoting privatisation and de-regulation etc. It is only a matter of common sense that in a country like India where majority of cultivators are of small and medium holding category with limited resources and agricultural income could not exist without adequate government supports and subsidies.

2. Declining Public Investment and poor Infrastructure.

The fall in government investment in agriculture has another major issue and it is noticeable in areas like irrigation, fertiliser, tools and implements, procurement price, credit subsidies and PDS. This has the effect of compressing the infrastructural facilities making the poor farmers still more vulnerable. Needless to say in a country like India, public investment is vital especially for agriculture. But as a result of policy change this has been grossly neglected. Statistics reveals a drastic decline in aggregate capital formation throughout the 1990s. The level of public investment in 2004-05 is 20 per cent less than that of 1980-81. However, a clear change in the reverse direction is discernible in the case of private capital which showed a tendency to rise since the mid-1990s. The doubling of agricultural capital formation in private sector and the sharp decline in the rate of growth of agricultural output was alarming to the country where public capital is more in the nature of public goods that are unlikely to be provided by the private sector and the economic role of which cannot be replaced by private capital (Balakrishnan 2008: 23-24). Interestingly, while all these were taking place there was not much improvement in agricultural growth and output. If anything, it only helped the corporate forces to penetrate the Indian country side to foster their political and economic interest (Reddy, 2001: 309). It is another thing that consequent on these; individual farmers were deprived entrepreneurial opportunities leading to poor farm income and

food insecurity driving them to a state of occupational stalemate.

3. Challenges in Getting Reasonable Farm Credit

The non-institutional credit by private money lenders and traders has increased about 39 per cent in 2002 from the 33.7 per cent in 1991. But the institutional credit by public agencies, cooperatives and commercial banks decreased to 61.1 per cent in 2002 from 66.3 per cent in 1991. This situation was the outcome of un-reasonable credit policies of public sector banks which never provides adequate credit to the needy due to reduction in rural banking, increasing complication in processing procedures and high rate of interest. On the obverse side, even while the farmers are facing credit squeeze, it is interesting to note that the Government is not coming forth to implement the recommendations of Dr. M.S. Swaminathan Commission, appointed by it, which stressed the need for considerable improvements in micro level agricultural credit to marginal and middle level farmers on land collaterals at a rate of interest of less than 4 per cent (Dharia, 2010:8). Starved of credit, peasants turn to money lenders and other informal sources that provide money at a high rate of interest. In many cases the money lenders raise this money from the farm loan schemes on gold collaterals as the poor peasants has no gold to pledge. For example, in 2008 almost half of the total agricultural credit in the state of Maharashtra was disbursed by the urban branches of Mumbai, the capital city of corporates and industrialists rather than the rural branches (Dharia, 2010,p.30). This shows the extent to which agricultural loans, especially gold loans, are misused by rich industrialists and large farm owners to the detriment of the poor peasants. The culminate impact of all these is that the risk and instability factor in agriculture has increased manifold dur-

ing the globalisation period; agriculture as an occupation has become unattractive and therefore, migration to other profession is on the rise.

4. High Occupational Dependence Versus Low Income

A surprising fact is that even in this state of stagnation, agriculture provides 52 per cent of the total work force of the country, contributing a disproportionately low share-18.5 per cent to the GDP (GOI, 2007-08). It reflects the low productivity of ordinary peasants. The irony is that the total workforce in agriculture has continued to grow even during the period of deceleration and distress, rising from 191 million in 1993-94 to 257 million in 2004-05. In recent years, the land per worker in agriculture has declined, and as such, per hectare yield has stagnated, and the terms of trade have deteriorated. Despite decline in income, the agriculture sector is overcrowded as there is little alternative avenues for unskilled farmers of marginal and middle class category. Thus, peasants are trapped on their land without any alternative opportunity for employment. These farmers were driven to this by circumstances which were neither entirely of their own making nor within their control. Any way it appears that the adversities of globalisation policies are more dangerous than natural challenges like droughts or floods.

5. Deficit of Democracy, Migration and Crop Shift

In the context of new economic policies in agriculture, the concept of development and democracy has lost its human content and orientation. While the Constitution of India had given to people an impressive package of democratic rights that have been widely acclaimed, the working of democracy in the country was only a caricature of what it ideally should be. It could also be seen that government policies benefited only those who

have easy access to capital, technology, information and knowledge. The poor farmers of rural India neither got access to any of these factors, nor do they find their occupation remunerative and their profession attractive. Therefore, they opted for remunerative employment in cities and others left their farms as barren lands or diversified crops by shifting the subsistence based food crops to commercial cash crops. In many states, all able-bodied male members are migrating to other works including construction work, work in factories, services and industrial estates in big cities. As a result, rural farming today is left to care of old people, women and children who have little efficiency, skill and ability. Between 1991 and 2001, the number of male cultivators declined by 4.24 million while that of woman cultivators increased by 5.71 million. [Bardhan, 2011: 160]. The privatisation of public assets and the grabbing of farm lands in the name of creating Special Economic Zones (SEZs)⁴ for Multi-National Companies help only private corporate players (Patnaik, 2010:79).

6. Politics of Liberalisation and Changing Parties

The level of subordination of political parties, public institutions and governments in India towards the philosophy of global capitalism of International Financial Institutions (IFIs) has fundamentally transformed the political nature, development attitude and social approach of major political parties and public institutions. Looking back to the political policies of major parties on neo-liberalism, the liberalisation initiative of Congress Party was vehemently criticised by the main opposition-BJP and as an alternative they advocated 'Swadeshi' (economic nationalism). But contrary to popular expectations, when BJP headed coalition (National Democratic Alliance-NDA) assumed power at the centre in 2001, the party pursued an aggres-

sive policy of economic liberalisation through the formation of a separate department for disinvestment and de-control. The position of the Left parties also was not free from controversy. From the very beginning Left Democratic Front (LDF) under the leadership of Communist Party of India-Marxist (CPI-M) opposed the liberalisation move by virtue of being the supporters of maximum state intervention and social spending by the government. In the early 1990s, the Left in India had a strong base in certain Indian states and led the left front as the platform of anti-globalisation protest in India. But, going by the experience since 1990s, the CPM- led Left Front could not mount significant resistance against the liberalisation politics. They are even caught up in confusion regarding an effective alternative to economic globalisation policies in India. The party has also not succeeded in presenting its own alternative model of farmer friendly sustainable development, which its leadership attributes to the constitutional and legal limitations of Indian federal system. On this, eminent scholar Rajan Gurukkal states:

There is perceptible withdrawal of the mainstream Communist Parties from the constituencies of the oppressed. Busy with the workers trade union and middle level peasants, they were not able to enter the realm of the most marginalised groups. We do not find the mainstream Communist Parties to have played much role in the tribal people's struggle for land and land-rights. Naturally, the tribal people and poor peasants under acute crisis have no alternative other than launching unending struggle for survival. Even with the support of organised militancy of Marxist –Leninist revolutionaries, struggle led by environmental activist, joint movements for people's rights to spontaneous outbreak of the victims of development. In the recent years, the people under threats of displacement, relocation,

habitat destruction, livelihood loss and denial of subsistence have successfully led mass struggle against corporate or state. (Gurukkal, 2015,p.198).

7. Marginalisation and Indebtedness

Many political parties and policy makers are not much interested in the case of farmers as they hardly constitute a vote bank, and are disunited and scattered. Major national parties, as the stake holders of state, are also obliged towards globalisation policies, though they pay lip services against the vagaries of globalisation. The data from a recently held nationwide survey have repeatedly shown that Indians increasingly view their elected representatives and political leadership as uncaring, unreachable, unresponsive, untrustworthy and unrepresentative. This overarching anger against the functioning of public institutions, political parties and elected representatives has led to massive protest by citizen and civil society activists in the last few years. These protests signal a wide spread consensus among all segments of society that the “rule of the game” of conducting politics in India need to change (Vasundhara, 2014,p. 22). This trend may lead to the genesis of new social tendencies such as decreasing reliance on legal system, non-political mobilisation, political apathy, mobilisations based on caste, community or region, sub-national upsurge, political alienation and violent means of agitations. The social repercussions of these reactionary movements are difficult to predict.

The experience of India in the last quarter century reveals that there is no difference on economic policies between the two alliances – NDA and UPA. The tendency of both fronts is to justify everything in the name of economic growth. Under the present NDA Government also the decline in agriculture is intensifying. The present Government of 2014 having a thump-

ing majority in the Lok Sabha began with immense enthusiasm along with the promise of 'Acche Din' to all Indians, particularly to the farmers. Participating in the annual budget session of 2016, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and his Finance Minister promised to double the income of farmers within five years by achieving an average annual growth rate of about 14 percent. Elaborate budgetary allocations are also provided to improve smooth credit flow, insurance against crop failure and marketing facilities. But the fact is that the annual growth rate of agricultural output in India during any five-year period has not touched even half this level. On this, eminent economist Bhasker Dutta comments "what magic wand does the Finance Minister have to achieve this miraculous feat? (Bhasker, 2016,p.8).

As far as the various pieces of legislation of this government is also contradicting its claims of being pro-farmer and pro-poor. Most of the ordinance and Legislations of the Government do not match the promises. The best example is the proposed Land Acquisition Bill. This bill effectively eliminates the main features of the existing Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act (LARR) that proposed rural people some protection from arbitrary disposition and unjust compensation. The new order of Government restores the right of the governments to acquire land for any private purpose it likes with no need to win the support of the affected farmers. The most troublesome and fundamental question here is why should a democratic government forcibly take land from farmers and give it to private companies without proper compensation and resettlement.

Viewed from the above perspective, the worst sufferers of the new economic reforms are the ordinary farmers. They foresee a life of poverty and wish to escape from this condition even

by killing themselves. In this bleak context, agriculture as a profession does not attract new comers and youngsters to this field. Needless to say, without strong political will, governments or parties would not be able to implement policies that can tackle increasing farmers' distress, rich-poor divide and subsequent social unrest. Effective social security measures which are being initiated by an interventionist government are essential for a successful democracy, especially for countries like India. It is very unfortunate to a country like India which claims to be emerging as one of the fastest growing economies.

Notes

1. Under Dunkel Draft conditionality, India has to accept liberalisation measures in agriculture particularly through fiscal and trading issues and Intellectual Property Rights. The measures concerning fiscal and trading matters include: reduction of agricultural subsidies; conversion of all barriers on agricultural imports; guarantee minimum access for farm imports of between 3 to 5 per cent of consumption; reduction of PDS and limitation in providing subsidised food supply; phasing out Multi-Fibre Agreement (MFA) which imposes discriminatory restrictions on textile imports; removal of trade restrictive and destroying investment measures and extension of equal national treatment to MNCs; and treatment of Foreign Service enterprises on an equal national footing with domestic service enterprises.

2. In Intellectual Property, patents are given to any agricultural invention whether product or process. Patent right is enjoyable without discrimination to the place of invention, the field of technology and whether products are imported or locally produced. These patents are known as living patents for 20

years for living organism and for plant varieties.

3. Among various Intellectual Property domains on agriculture covered by the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) of WTO, the most important is the IPR which controls the entire patent system. In fact the new patent system is in substantial variance at the Indian Intellectual Property Act of 1970 and therefore has given rise to lot of controversies in the country. As per the Indian law, agricultural products including seeds and patents, animals and all life forms including micro organisms and micro biological processes are not patentable. But as per the TRIPs, all agricultural products and even processes are patentable.

4. SEZ may be defined as an industrial geographical region within the state that has some privileges in its economic and other social activities with a view to enhancing efficiency and competitiveness in export led growth. It is a specific area for business activities of a firm and it is highly exempted from the operations of national law.

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CUSTOMER SATISFACTION TOWARDS FINANCIAL INCLUSION – A STUDY AMONG THE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN MALAPPURAM DISTRICT

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Abstract

Universally, it is accepted that the objective of financial inclusion is to extend the scope of activities of the organized financial system to include within its ambit the people with low incomes. In India, there is a need for coordinated action amongst the banks, the government and related agencies to facilitate access to bank accounts and make satisfaction to the financially excluded. By expanding financial inclusion, inclusive growth can be attained through achieving equity. The policy makers have already initiated some positive measures aimed at expanding financial inclusion. In this situation it is quite relevant to examine the satisfaction level of customers towards Financial Inclusion. The present study has been conducted among the selected Agricultural and Industrial Workers in Malappuram District of Kerala. The study concludes that the industrial workers are more satisfied than Agricultural Workers in the area on Financial Inclusion measures.

Keywords: Financial Inclusion, Satisfaction Level, Agricultural workers, Industrial Workers

Among the series of experiments undertaken for the sake of rural development and thereby an effort to uplift the down trodden strata and more particularly after the nationalization of commercial banks in July 1969, the recent being the Financial Inclusion. Financial Inclusion is a crucial factor for the inclusive growth in the most interior rural areas. The whole approach

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seems to be bit different from the earlier approaches adopted and implemented to achieve the desired results. This can be explained in terms of comprehensive approach which focuses on financial services, financial savings and social security by providing pension funds and insurance products

Financial services are meant to provide required financial assistance from institutional arrangements for sustainable projects and regular incomes to the poor while financial savings are to be generated by the people through developing the savings habits. The focuses remains unchanged and very much matches with the earlier approaches adopted for the upliftment of the poor and downtrodden. However, there seems to be a shift in the implementation approach.

Inclusive growth basically means an all round growth of the masses or growth with equity. In refers to the broad based or balanced growth which will benefit the poor and the underprivileged. It decreases the rapid growth rate of poverty in a country and increases the involvement of people into the growth process of the country. Inclusive growth by its very definition implies an equitable allocation of resources or providing equitable opportunities to all in accessing resources such that it benefits the society at large. Here the authors emphasize the idea of equality of opportunities in terms of access to markets and resources, an unbiased regulatory environment for, employment, standard of living etc. Inclusive growth should ideally ensure the economic and financial progress permeating through the cross sections of the society resulting in balanced, democratically sustainable and optimal growth.

Before assessing the level of satisfaction on Financial Inclusion, it is imperative to have a relook over the series of pro-

grammes launched through banking system for attaining objectives of Financial Inclusion. The major schemes are briefly given below,

1. The lead banking schemes was implemented immediately after Bank's nationalization in 1969 with a view to expand banking services to the hitherto neglected banking area and extend credit to the needy.

2. The RBI identified priority sectors where banks were required to finance liberally and on priority basis. At present 40 percent of bank's credit need to be extended under this. This limit was fixed in 1985 and all the banks achieved this target.

3. Twenty Point Economic Programme was implemented to finance economically weaker section of the society under different activities. The activities/vocations were identified particularly to benefit people below poverty line.

4. Integrated Rural Development Programme was implemented to assist low income groups and encourage them to take up productive activities for sustainable growth. This was a comprehensive programme with added advantage of financial subsidy to the beneficiary.

5. Antyodaya yojana was also implemented particularly to benefit the poorest among the poor. This programme was highly subsidized to minimize the debt burden to the poor.

6. The RBI also introduced Differential Rate of Interest (DRI) Scheme as back in 1971 which is still the vogue. Under this scheme all public sector banks are required to lend at least 1 % of their outstanding advances of previous year to the people living below poverty line at highly subsidized interest rate of 4%.

7. A concept of Self Help Groups (SHGs) was also imple-

mented to develop savings habit through thrift and to undertake group productive activities. To have wider reach to financial assistance, these groups were linked to banks.

8. Besides the above programme which basically aimed to the mass and particularly to the poor and downtrodden, there were good number of credit schemes implemented for providing self employment to the educated and uneducated youth.

9. The Regional Rural Banks were setup in 1975 with an exclusive aim to provide low cost credit and easy access to the poor by these bans which operate in a limited area and work in the local environment.

10. The RBI created another banking tier viz Local Area Bank just to extend financial help to micro entrepreneurs.

The Problem

In India, most of the studies on poverty, centered on the rural poor and urban poor have received least attention of the policy makers. It is a significant point to mention that even a good number of population in urban areas are still deprived of various financial services, those are available under different government schemes. Government has launched time and again, different economic uplifting programmes. But unfortunately, almost nothing has been done to uplift the economy of the identified workers from industrial and agricultural sectors. On the contrary these workers play a significant role on the infrastructure development of the society. But they still are being deprived of the ambit of the financial inclusionary measures taken by the department of financial services under the Ministry of finance and reserve bank of India. All this measures taken by authorities fails to provide better satisfaction for all excluded people in this area. In this regard, the authors have

made an attempt to assess the satisfaction level of Agricultural and Industrial workers in the district of Malappuram in Kerala. The present paper attempts to fulfill this.

The main objectives of the paper are-

1. To assess the level of satisfaction among the industrial and agricultural workers on financial inclusion and
2. To suggest suitable measures for improving satisfaction based on the findings.

It is hypothesized that, there is no significant difference between Agricultural and industrial workers in respect of their level of satisfaction on Financial Inclusion.

Method

The present study is a descriptive nature mainly based on Survey Method. Both the secondary and primary data were collected and used for the study. The secondary data were collected from published and unpublished reports on Financial Inclusive services, books, periodicals, research dissertations, theses, articles and websites. The primary data have been collected from the Industrial and Agricultural Workers in Malappuram District with the help of a structured interview schedule. The sample selected consists of 200 workers selected from the four Taluks namely Ponnani, Thirurangady, Perinthalmanna and Nilambur in Malappuram District. Special care has been taken to select Public and Private sector Industrial workers and Permanent and Seasonal workers from the Agricultural Sector. Simple Random Sampling Method was employed for the selection of both Industrial and Agricultural Workers. The collected data were analysed by employing suitable mathematical and statistical tools like percentage and Chi square test.

Variables Identified for the Analysis

The following variables were used for the assessment of level of Satisfaction among the selected workers.

1. Purpose for which assistance seeking
2. Attitude of the bank officials at first approach
3. Assistance for filling application
4. Time lag between application and sanctioning
5. Response of employees for explaining various financial products
6. Availing of different products and services
7. Difficulties experiencing in banking transactions
8. General co-operation of the employees.

Results of the Analysis of Primary data

The results of the analysis based on the above stated variables are explained below.

1. Purpose for which assistance seeking

The response on the sample workers on their satisfaction on Purpose for which assistance seeking is given in Table 1.

Table -1 Satisfaction on Purpose for which assistance seeking

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of freedom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	20	20	17	17	3.578	4	0.466
Satisfied	42	42	41	41			
Neutral	17	17	27	27			
Dissatisfied	12	12	8	8			
Highly dissatisfied	9	9	7	7			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

It is found that 62% of the sample Industrial workers responded that they are highly satisfied (20%) and satisfied (42%). However, the percentage share in this respect is 58 among Agricultural workers. However the application of chi square test shows that this difference is not significant.

2. Attitude of the bank official at first approach

The opinion of the sample workers about their satisfaction on Attitude of the bank official at first approach is given in Table 2.

Table 2- Satisfaction on Attitude of the bank official at first approach

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of freedom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	19	19	6	6	12.889	4	0.012
Satisfied	39	39	32	32			
Neutral	25	25	29	29			
Dissatisfied	12	12	24	24			
Highly dissatisfied	5	5	9	9			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

The table shows that 58% of the Industrial workers are rated as highly satisfied (19%) or satisfied (39%) on attitude of bank official at first approach. However, the percentage share in this respect among Agricultural workers is only 38. This difference is found statistically significant (Chi Square test).

3. Due assistance for filling application

The data on the response of the sample workers in this respect is shown in Table 4

Table-3 Satisfaction on Due assistance for filling application

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of freedom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	16	16	10	10	10.187	4	0.037
Satisfied	34	34	22	22			
Neutral	18	18	15	15			
Dissatisfied	23	23	33	33			
Highly dissatisfied	9	9	20	20			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

It is clear that level of satisfaction on Due assistance for filling application shows that 50% of Industrial workers are rated it as either highly satisfied (16%) or satisfied (22%). But in the case of Agricultural workers it is seen that only 32% are satisfied with this. This difference is statistically significant at 5% level (Chi square test).

3. Time lag between application and sanctioning

The response of the sample customers about their satisfaction on time lag between application and sanctioning of loan is given in Table 4.

Table 4- Satisfaction on Time lag between application and sanctioning of loan

Re- sponse	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Num- ber	Per- cent- age	Num- ber	Per- cent- age	Chi- Square Value	Degrees of free- dom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	13	13	7	7	14.826	4	0.005
Satisfied	21	21	13	13			
Neutral	36	36	25	25			
Dissatis- fied	24	24	36	36			
Highly dissatis- fied	6	6	19	19			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

The table 4 indicates that majority of the industrial Workers (80%) opined that they are highly dissatisfied (19%), dissatisfied (36%) or neutral (25%). This means that only 20% of the beneficiary Agricultural workers are satisfied with time lag between application and sanctioning of loan. On the other hand 34% of the Industrial Workers opined that they are either satisfied (21%) or highly satisfied (13%). The Chi Square test shows that this difference is significant.

3. Response of employees for explaining various financial products

The awareness on this variable among sample customers is given in the following table.

Table 5- Satisfaction on Response of employees for explaining various financial products

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of freedom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	10	10	7	7	11.060	4	0.026
Satisfied	41	41	25	25			
Neutral	24	24	24	24			
Dissatisfied	19	19	27	27			
Highly dissatisfied	6	6	17	17			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

It is clear that 51% of the sample Industrial Workers responded that they are either satisfied (41%) or highly satisfied (10%). On the other hand in the case of Agricultural Workers 68% of the them rated this variable as dissatisfied 27%, highly dissatisfied 17% or neutral 24%. The application of Ch Square test shows that this difference is statistically significant.

4. Availing of different products and services

Table 6 depicts the response of the sample customers on Satisfaction on Availing of different products and services.

Table-6 Satisfaction on Availing of different products and services.

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Num-ber	Per-cent-age	Num-ber	Per-cent-age	Chi-Square Value	De-grees of free-dom	Sig-nificance level
Highly Satisfied	17	17	8	8	10.633	4	0.031
Satisfied	33	33	25	25			
Neutral	24	24	26	26			
Dissatis-fied	20	20	23	23			
Highly dissatisfied	6	6	18	18			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

The table shows that 50% of the Industrial Workers are rated this variable as either satisfied (33%) or highly satisfied (17%). On the other hand 67% of the Agricultural Workers responded that they are dissatisfied 23%, highly dissatisfied (18%) or neutral 26%. The chi Square Test proves that the difference is significant.

5. Difficulties experiencing in banking transactions

The response on the sample workers about their satisfaction on Difficulties experiencing in banking transactions is exhibited in Table 7.

Table-7 Satisfaction on Difficulties experiencing in banking transactions

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of freedom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	8	8	7	7	13.773	4	0.008
Satisfied	35	35	15	15			
Neutral	29	29	33	33			
Dissatisfied	23	23	31	31			
Highly dissatisfied	5	5	14	14			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

It is seen that majority of the workers from both industrial and Agricultural Sectors experiencing difficulties in dealing the banking transaction. The survey data shows that only 22% of Industrial Workers are satisfied in this respect. The percentage share in this respect among the Industrial Workers is 43. This difference is found statistically significant (Chi Square test)

6. General co-operation of the employees.

The following table present the satisfaction level of sample workers on General co-operation of the bank employees.

Table -8 Satisfaction on General co-operation of the employees.

Response	Industrial Workers		Agricultural Workers				
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Chi-Square Value	Degrees of freedom	Significance level
Highly Satisfied	16	16	6	6	11.954	4	0.018
Satisfied	23	23	23	23			
Neutral	29	29	34	34			
Dissatisfied	19	19	20	20			
Highly dissatisfied	13	13	17	17			
Total	100	100	100	100			

Source: Survey Data

In the case of satisfaction on general co-operation on employees also, both the employees are not satisfied. It is found that only 39% of sample industrial workers are satisfied. Similarly only 29% of agricultural Workers responded that they are satisfied. The Chi Square Test proves that this difference is statistically significant.

Conclusion and Implications

In order to examine the level of Satisfaction Level on Financial Inclusion among the Industrial and Agricultural Workers in Malappuram District, a total of 8 variables have been examined. The analysis reveals that in the case of all the 8 variables the percentage share of Satisfaction among the Industrial workers is found more compared to that of Agricultural workers. Moreover, statistically significant difference is witnessed in the case of 7 variables. Thus it is clear that the level of Satisfaction on Banking Inclusion is more among Industrial Workers. Hence, the discussion on the level of Satisfaction among Industrial and Agricultural workers can be concluded by rejecting the hypothesis that there is no significant difference between Agricultural and industrial workers in respect of their level of Satisfaction on Financial Inclusion.

The following Implications are offered for improving the present situation.

Bank employees should show a positive attitude towards agricultural workers when they contact the bank authorities for various services. The existing banking working hours is not comfortable for agricultural workers. Steps may be taken by the banking authorities to operate the activities according to the convenience of agricultural workers in rural areas. The existing cumbersome formalities to be fulfilled by the agricultural workers for getting financial assistance from banks may be simplified to the extent possible. Public sector banks can follow the system of dealing application forms and other papers in vernacular language. So that the poor workers can comfortably transact with banks.

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REDUCING ECONOMIC VULNERABILITY THROUGH MICROENTERPRISES:

A STUDY OF THREE DISTRICTS IN KERALA

Vimal Raj.A* & Christabell. P. J**

Abstract

The main feature of microfinance is that it helps the poor to create productive capital and to protect the capital they have to deal with and the risk associated with it. In addition, the expansion of economic opportunities reduces gender disparities among the poor. In Kerala, the system of Microfinance had received a wide spread popularity and acceptance through the Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs) of Kudumbashree. Kudumbashree today acts as a multi faceted women based participatory poverty eradication programme. The core activity of the programme is women empowerment through microfinance, micro enterprise and convergent community action. The present paper focuses on the effectiveness of Kudumbashree in reducing economic vulnerability of socially disadvantaged women based on empirical observation of the functioning of the programme in three districts of Kerala - Malappuram, Wayanad and Thiruvananthapuram.

Key words: vulnerability, micro enterprise, women empowerment, kudumbasree

Economic vulnerability implies increased sensitivity to shocks, and relatively greater susceptibility to shocks of an adverse nature. The concept of economic vulnerability can be incorporated in a neo-classical growth model by considering the physical capital stock and consumption possibilities as being subject to stochastic shocks within concave production and

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utility functions (Gordon 2004). Vulnerability is not necessarily captured by income or consumption measures, though poor people according to these measures are likely to have fewer buffers against shocks. Responses to shocks and the ability to cope with vulnerability are very much dependent on assets and the possession of access to liquid assets is particularly important to avoid impoverishment (Guillaumont 1999). Efforts to measure economic vulnerability paved the way to develop Economic Vulnerability Index (EcVI) which tried to explain contraction that a country can be economically vulnerable and yet register relatively high GDP per capita. Many versions of the index were produced principally by Briguglio (1992, 1993, 1995, 1997), Commonwealth Secretariat. (Crowds 1998 and 1999).

In Kerala, a large number of NGOs and other agencies are engaged in micro-financing and micro enterprising activities where most of them help in the promotion as well as financing Self Help Groups (SHGs). The most prominent in Kerala milieu is the neighbourhood groups (NHGs) formed under Kudumbashree, a woman-based participatory poverty eradication programme launched by the State Government. It is in this context, the present paper traces how microenterprises initiated under the aegis of Kudumbashree helped in reducing economic vulnerability of socially disadvantaged women in three districts in Kerala - Malappuram, Wayanad and Thiruvananthapuram. This paper is divided into five sections. The first section is Methodology Data Sources, while the second section is deals with Kudumbashree: A Ray of Hope for Women. In the third section, Microenterprises can explain how The to reduce economic vulnerability are explained the fourth section deals with the Result and Findings and Final section deals with Conclusion.

Method

For the purpose of the present study, both primary and secondary sources of data were used. The secondary data were collected from the annual reports of Kudumbashree Mission. For the purpose of collection of primary data, microenterprises initiated by Kudumbashree were selected. Of the fourteen districts in Kerala, for the present study, three districts were selected - Malappuram, Wayanad and Thiruvananthapuram. The selection of these districts is made on the basis of the concentration of three socially disadvantaged communities in Kerala they represent the tribal population (Wayanad), the urban poor (Thiruvananthapuram), and the Muslim population (Malappuram). Two panchayats each from three districts were selected in the first stage, where the respective identified social group is concentrated. At the second stage, details of 60 Neighbourhood groups (NHGs) functioning in the six panchayats were collected. A detailed questionnaire based survey was conducted among the entrepreneurs initiated by the NHGs in the three districts under study.

Kudumbashree: A Ray of Hope for Poor Women:

The Kudumbashree programme launched by the Government of Kerala in 1998 for wiping out absolute poverty from the state through concerted community action under the leadership of Local self -Governments: Kudumbashree is today one of the largest women-empowering projects in the country. The programme has 41 lakh members and covers more than 50 percent of the households in Kerala. Built around three critical components, viz microcredit, microenterprises, entrepreneurship and empowerment initiatives, Kudumbashree has today succeeded in addressing the basic needs of the less privileged women,

thus providing them a more dignified life and a better future. Kudumbashree has been continuously evolving and today it has moved on from microfinance to local economic development. From seeking to provide welfare to the poor, the mission is now enabling the poor to claim entitlements. The search has also been one of transforming participation to citizenship.

Table 1 Number of CDS, ADS, NHGs in Kudumbashree up to 2015

Sl No	District	CDS	ADS	NHGs
1	Alappuzha	80	1371	18698
2	Ernakulam	101	1791	20373
3	Idukki	53	826	11730
4	Kannur	88	1586	18695
5	Kasargode	42	777	10242
6	Kollam	75	1428	20166
7	Kottayam	78	1319	14894
8	Kozhikode	84	1504	26598
9	Malappuram	112	2185	23598
10	Palakkad	96	1683	19566
11	Pathanamthitta	58	909	9318
12	Thiruvananthapuram	84	1548	28081
13	Thrissur	103	1784	22668
14	Wayanad	26	486	8796
Total		1080	19197	253414

Source: Kudumbashree Mission 2016

A total of 1080 Community Development Societies (CDSs) are functioning in both urban and rural areas (Table 1) under Kudumbashree in Kerala up to 2016. The highest numbers of

units are operating in Malappuram district and the lowest is in Wayanad District. From the data, it can be observed that a total number of 19,197 Area Development Societies (ADSs) are functioning both in urban and rural areas in Kerala. It can be seen that 2,53,414 Neighborhood Groups (NHGs) are functioning in both urban and rural areas in Kerala during the year 2016.

Kudumbashree, right from its inception, identified livelihood development as a major objective as it was to promote economic empowerment. Thrift and credit operations, the foundation of Kudumbashree, helped to meet the working capital needs of poor women who desired to start new enterprises as well as carrying out economic activities on a smaller scale, alongside encouraging the habit of saving among poor women to enable them meet their social and personal needs. Even though the concept of microenterprises or small scale enterprises is not new to self help groups (SHG) movements, Kudumbashree gave microenterprises a new definition and developed a unique strategy for setting them up. The strategy followed by Kudumbashree is that entrepreneurship should increase the per capita income of beneficiaries so that it leads an improvement in the living standard. Kudumbashree initiated an innovative enterprise namely, "Clean Kerala Units". Under this enterprise, women from the poor families who are the members of the Community based Organisations (CBOs) of Kudumbashree are engaged in door to door household waste collection and transport it to the transit points fixed by the Urban Local Bodies.

Another programme, Yuvashree was launched with an objective to provide opportunity to unemployed youth, both men and women in the age group of 18-40 from family members of Kudumbashree to start enterprises. Support is provided to iden-

tify business ideas, implementation, training, loan facility and getting subsidies for the project.

Microenterprises to reduce economic vulnerability:

Microenterprises play a major role in reducing economic vulnerability among marginalised sections of the society. Microenterprises help the poor to mobilise and pool their meager savings and to use them as a major source to cushion the economic shocks. Microenterprises are initiated by the poor for production and thereby enhance consumption. The microfinance institutions provide microcredit for starting a new business or for improving the existing business. In other words, microfinance is the first step for launching microenterprise through which vulnerability to economic shocks backward people especially poor women can be reduced. The enterprise may be either individual or group-based. The basic approach of the microfinance organization is to address the economic problems first then move to the other issues in the locality and society.

Rural Micro enterprises (RME)

Since 2002-03 onwards a separate component was provided in the budget of Kudumbashree for setting up microenterprises in rural areas. The microenterprise groups set up would be given a subsidy of Rs.10000 per member or 50 percent of total project cost, whichever is less. The number of members in this group is 5-10 up to 2006, 1409 units were set up. Individual units have investment up to Rs. 50000. The scheme of Kudumbashree envisages providing subsidy Rs. 7500 per member or 30 percent of the total project cost whichever is less. Up to 2006, 802 units were set up.

Table 2-Microenterprises initiated under Kudumbashree from 2010 to 2016

SI No	District	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
1	Alappuzha	211	32	54	61	13	--
2	Ernakulam	179	30	82	344	105	12
3	Idukki	101	67	75	257	58	22
4	Kannur	173	32	88	120	7	2
5	Kasargode	23	22	50	61	57	10
6	Kollam	178	84	32	103	46	34
7	Kottayam	249	79	61	250	132	118
8	Kozhikkode	274	61	16	11	27	11
9	Malappuram	240	107	35	70	73	38
10	Palakkad	652	190	59	163	32	14
11	Pathanamthitta	118	38	37	84	44	9
12	Thiruvananthapuram	207	80	98	114	30	31
13	Thrissur	203	114	44	190	66	20
14	Wayanad	74	54	53	65	47	5
	Total	2882	990	784	1893	737	326

Source: Kudumbashree Mission 2016

The microenterprises operated (Table 2) under Kudumbashree programme in the year 2010-11 are found to be 2882. During the years of 2011 to 2013, the total number of microenterprises shows a declining trend. The number of microenterprises during the year 2013-2014 is slightly increasing, but afterwards it shows a declining trend. The district wise data also illustrate the same trend.

Table 3 Details of members in Microenterprises in Districts of Kerala

Sl No	District	Members	Subsidy (in Rs)
1	Alappuzha	4329	24467500
2	Ernakulam	6149	72023400
3	Idukki	3395	38540200
4	Kannur	3345	23716250
5	Kasargode	1930	16657800
6	Kollam	3066	6647500
7	Kottayam	1951	7780000
8	Kozhikkode	2250	16215750
9	Malappuram	3340	34462500
10	Palakkad	4969	26043000
11	Pathanamthitta	2064	4750000
12	Thiruvananthapuram	5601	42695250
13	Thrissur	5287	11029350
14	Wayanad	1423	6775000
	Total	49099	331803500

Source: Kudumbashree Mission 2016

The data reveal the number of members operated in microenterprises and the subsidies provided to them at present. In total there are 49099 members in all fourteen districts up to 2016. It is also seen that Rs. 33, 18, 03,500 was provided as subsidies to the members (Table 3).

Result and Findings

Type of enterprise

More than 50.2 percent of the entrepreneurs operate in service-based enterprises. While another 40.7 percent operate in production based enterprises, only a very few (8.1%) operate in a mixture of production and service as well as production and trade based enterprise. In district wise analysis it was found that, more than half of the entrepreneurs in Thiruvananthapuram district were operating service-based enterprises. In Wayanad district, 68.6 percent of the beneficiaries were operating in production-based enterprises. However, in Malappuram district, only 8.6 percent of the beneficiaries were operating production-based enterprises (Table 4).

Table 4 Type of enterprise

Type of enterprise	Malappu- ram	Thiruvanan- thapuram	Wayanad	Total
Production only	3 (8.6)	8 (22.9)	24 (68.6)	35 (40.7)
Service only	0	40 (90.9)	4 (9.1)	44 (51.2)
Production and Service Production and Trade	0	7 (100)	0	7 (8.1)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp.sig.(2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	43.699 ^a	4	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	48.873	4	.000	
a. 5 cells (55.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .17.				
<i>Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)</i>				

4.2 Ownership Structure

While take into account of type of ownership structure of the enterprises (Table 5) the study found that the majority (59.3 percent) of the enterprises were run as sole proprietorship, in where the beneficiaries are entrepreneurs themselves. About 34.9 percent of the enterprises are group enterprises and only 5.8 percent of the enterprises are non-family partnership based enterprises. It is evident in the case of Kudumbashree that they have initiated a large number of group enterprises under various state and centrally sponsored schemes such as SGSY, SJSRY, RMK, etc. Many group enterprises are found to be established in Wayanad about (89.3) percent of the microenterprises. But the number of group enterprises formed in places like Thiruvananthapuram and Malappuram is comparatively low.

Table 5 Ownership structure of the enterprise

Ownership structure	Malappuram	Thiruvananthapuram	Wayanad	Total
Proprietorship	0	51 (100)	0	51 (59.3)
Non Family partnership	1 (20)	1 (20)	3 (60)	5 (5.8)
Cooperative/Group	2 (6.7)	3 (10)	25 (83.3)	30 (34.9)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	73.599 ^a	4	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	88.879	4	.000	
a. 5 cells (55.6%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .17.				
<i>Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)</i>				

Year of Establishment

The (Table 6) shows the year of establishment of microenterprises. Seventy-three percent of the enterprises started within less than five years. About seventeen percent have started between five to ten years. This shows that the microfinance organization helped them to gain confidence to initiate an economic activity. Less than four percent of the enterprises had been started even before the MFI started functioning in the respective areas. However, those who are engaged in economic activities for a long period show more confidence and consistency in business than others. This shows that experience in doing economic activity is very important.

Table 6 Year of establishment of enterprise

Years	Malappuram	Thiruvananthapuram	Wayanad	Total
0-5	3 (4.8)	32 (50.8)	28 (44.4)	63 (73.3)
5-10	0	15 (100)	0	15 (17.4)
10-15	0	4 (100)	0	4 (4.7)
15-20	0	1 (100)	0	1 (1.2)
20-25	0	1 (100)	0	1 (1.2)
25-30	0	2 (100)	0	2 (2.3)
Total	3(3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	17.696 ^a	10	.060	

Likelihood Ratio	25.113	10	.005
a. 15 cells (83.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .03.			
<i>Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)</i>			

The district wise data found that the number of enterprises started during the recent periods is found to be more in Thiruvananthapuram and Wayanad. In Malappuram district only less than five years to started their business. On the other hand, Thiruvananthapuram as the sample area is near a famous tourist spot (Shangumugham beach) in the city, some of them have started the enterprises beforehand itself. For the people living in the slums of the city, Kudumbashree has offered an opportunity to make a living out of the situation opened up by the tourism industry. The women in the locality have set up trading businesses, especially small eateries (both moveable and non moveable) in and around the tourist spot.

Type of Business

The (Table 7) shows that what type of business enterprises has operated 43 percent of the enterprises are without fixed based enterprises. About 33.7 of the women enterprises are operated fixed premise their business. Remaining 23.3 percent of the women enterprises are mixed type of business they do. Those women, who are not having an outlet infrastructure, walked all the way carrying their wares on their heads or in handbags searching for customers to buy their products.

Table.7 Type of Business

Type of Business	Malappuram	Thiruvananthapuram	Wayanad	Total
With Fixed Premises	0	28 (96.6)	1 (3.4)	29 (33.7)
Without Fixed	3 (8.1)	7 (18.9)	27 (73)	37 (43)
Mixed	0	20 (100)	0	20 (23.3)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28(32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	57.210 ^a	4	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	68.048	4	.000	
a. 3 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .70.				
Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)				

Income generating activity

The survey showed that (Table 8) 41.9 percent of the entrepreneurs have self employment in productive enterprises another 32.6 percent of the entrepreneurs income generating activity other than activity of the microenterprise and only 25.6 percent of the women enterprises run by self employment in agriculture. The district wise data it was found that they were forced to take some kind of income generating activity for sustaining their families. On the other hand, for 46 percent of the

entrepreneurs, the enterprise is not the sole source of income. The overall data show that the entrepreneurs in Wayanad and Thiruvananthapuram are depending on the income generating activity more than the others.

Table.8 Presence of any income generating activity besides the enterprise

Income generating activity	Malappu- ram	Thiruvanan- thapuram	Wayanad	Total
Self-Employ- ment in Agricul- ture	3 (13.6)	0	19 (86.4)	22 (25.6)
Self Employ- ment In Produc- tive enterprises	0	30 (83.3)	6 (16.7)	36 (41.9)
Others	0	25 (89.3)	3 (10.7)	28 (32.6)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sid- ed)	
Pearson Chi- Square	54.179 ^a	4	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	63.112	4	.000	
a. 3 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expect- ed count is .77.				

Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)

4.6 Main Source of Income

The (Table 9) data reveals that enterprise was the main source of income for about 64 percent of the entrepreneurs.

They have been depending on enterprises profit for their livelihood. About only 32.6 percent of the women enterprises are assisted to main source of income for loan repayment. The district wise overall data show that the entrepreneurs in Wayanad are depending on the entrepreneurs in the state assisted enterprise is the main source of Income.

Table.9 Main Source of Income

Name of the District	Is Loan assisted enterprise main source of Income?		Total
	Yes	No	
Malappuram	0	3 (100)	3 (3.5)
Thiruvananthapuram	5 (9.1)	50 (90.9)	55 (64)
Wayanad	27 (96.4)	1 (3.6)	28 (32.6)
Total	32 (37.2)	54 (62.8)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	62.418 ^a	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	71.392	2	.000
a. 2 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.12.			
<i>Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)</i>			

Source of funds

The enterprises started by women used various sources of funds as seed money for setting up their units. The amount of investment varies from one another depending on the nature and scale of activity. Nearly 37.2 percent of them availed loans from the Kudumbashree program while about 24.4 percent of the entrepreneurs managed to get loans from other source of in-

come and about 19.8 percent of them money lenders and (18.6) percent of the entrepreneurs managed to house hold savings (Table 10).

Table 10- Main source of start up funds

Main source of funds	Malappu- ram	Thiruvanan- thapuram	Wayanad	Total
Kudum- bashree Loan	2 (6.2)	3 (9.4)	27 (84.4)	32 (37.2)
Other Loan	0	21 (100)	0	21 (24.4)
Household Savings	1 (6.2)	14 (87.5)	1 (6.2)	16 (18.6)
Borrowing from Money lenders	0	17 (100)	0	17 (19.8)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi- Square	68.550 ^a	6	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	82.849	6	.000	
N of Valid Cases	86			
a. 4 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .56.				
<i>Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)</i>				

Average Hours Per days

About 61 percent of the enterprises spent about three to six hours of time for running and maintaining their respective enterprises, while another 27 percent of the entrepreneurs have more than six to nine hours of time in enterprises. Another 10 percent have found running less than three hours (Table 11). The district wise data it was found that about 27 and 25 percent of the enterprises in Thiruvananthapuram and Wayanad have three to six hours of time for running their enterprises. In Malappuram district entrepreneurs have only very few percent of the hours of time in enterprise.

Table 11 Average Hours Per day

Average Hours	Malappuram	Thiruvananthapuram	Wayanad	Total
0-3	0	9 (100)	0	9 (10.5)
3-6	1 (1.9)	27 (50.9)	25 (47.2)	53 (61.6)
6-9	2 (8.3)	19 (79.2)	3 (12.5)	24 (27.9)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	
Pearson Chi-Square	15.790 ^a	4	.003	
Likelihood Ratio	18.920	4	.001	
a. 4 cells (44.4%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .31.				
Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)				

4.9 Cash flow per month

The (Table 12) reveals that cash flow per month in the enterprise. majority of the members (61.6%) have availed amounts ranging from Rs 1000 to 5000. Yet a small number of members (5.8%) could flow per month an amount of Rs 5000-10000. Another six percent of the members spend of Rs 10000 and more. On the other hand, about (19.8) percent of the entrepreneurs flow per month amount less than Rs 1000. The district wise data it was found that (67.3),(46.3) percent of the enterprises in Thiruvananthapuram and Wayanad district those who have cash flow per month amount ranging from Rs 1000 to 5000.

Table 12 Cash flow per month

Cash Flow (in Rs.)	Malappu- ram	Thiruvananthapu- ram	Wayanad	Total
0-1000	0	16 (94.1)	1 (5.9)	17 (19.8)
1000-5000	3 (5.7)	37 (69.8)	13 (24.5)	53 (61.6)
5000-10000	0	1 (20)	4 (80)	5 (5.8)
10000- 15000	0	1 (16.7)	5 (83.3)	6 (7)
15000- 20000	0	0	5 (100)	5 (5.8)
Total	3 (3.5)	55 (64)	28 (32.6)	86 (100)
Chi-Square Tests				
	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sid- ed)	
Pearson Chi-Square	31.335 ^a	8	.000	
Likelihood Ratio	33.766	8	.000	
a. 11 cells (73.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .17.				

Source: Primary data (Figures in brackets show percentages)

Conclusion

The study clearly proved worldwide that, in order to reduce the level of economic vulnerability of the poor, microenterprise has been used as a liquidity tool. The study clearly proved that economically backward women engaged in microenterprise have definitely and clearly helped the other poor women to enhance their resource base by improving their income level. It has also helped them to develop banking habits, and income generating activities. The economic, political and social empowerment of women has enabled them to improve their overall capacity building. The microenterprises also play a major role of reducing vulnerability among economically marginalised sections of the society. A number of NHGs started group enterprises find it difficult to go ahead with the enterprises. It is observed that the many units who mobilised funds to start and income-generating activities are in dire straits as there is no support system for this kind of enterprises either at the organisation level or at the Panchayat level. The major drawback faced by these group enterprises is that most of them are not economically viable they are still marginalised and outlier communities in the Kerala society. Kudumbashree has improved participation in economic activities, namely microsavings, microcredit and microenterprise, surely improved the economic situation of vulnerable societies of the state. Increased mobility, enhanced confidence, improved decision making power and better position in family and society are some of the changes which occurred in the social life of the women in the field. In short, the economic empowerment of women indisputably has enhanced the political and social capabilities of the women in rural and backward regions of Kerala through the path of microenterprises activities.

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ENDURING DEPENDENCY: POVERTY AND NUCLEAR NON- DETERRENCE

Benny Thomas*

Among the several theories in International Relations; Deterrence Theory, the most popular theory in security Studies explanations that the horror created by the nuclear weapon will prevent the enemies from direct war. Therefore, the Deterrence theory predicts a situation of nil probability of war between nuclear powers. However, as we look into the Pakistan's misadventure in Kargil 1999 shows that it was a clear disregard to the existing theories of nuclear deterrence. This paper tries to develop a theory aimed to explain why and how Pakistan challenged the nuclear deterrence in Kargil Conflict. And also tries to find out the answer to a key question ; why some very poor states try to develop nuclear weapons at the cost of national development.

Keywords: Indo-Pak Relation, Theories of War, Growth without Development, Nuclear Deterrence

There has been a wide range of studies and theories on Kargil war. Most of these are still lack reliability, noticed Centre for Contemporary Conflicts (CCC), Naval PG School Monterey, California. A richer understanding of the true objectives and implications of this war would help in theory building, and ultimately, in developing policies aimed at avoiding the evils of conflicts.

Despite repeated encounters, settlement of the Pakistan-India conflicts lack practical solution. It clearly indicates limitations of the theories in analyzing the conflicts through the years. Competent theories of an inter-disciplinary nature would help to analyze these unique conflicts. This paper tried to give a theoretical explanation of the Pakistan- India conflicts especial-

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ly the Kargil Conflict 1999.

Among the several theories available in International Relations; Deterrence Theory, the most popular theory in Security studies explanations that the horror created by the nuclear weapon will prevents the enemies from direct war. Therefore, Deterrence Theory predicts nil probability of direct war between nuclear powers. Beaufre (1966) believed that deterrence would basically prevent the enemy from taking a decision in favour of war. Menon (2004) evaluated that deterrence is basically the exact opposite of war. However, as we look into the Pakistan's misadventure in Kargil 1999 shows that it was a clear disregard to the existing theories of nuclear deterrence. In short, Pakistan by initiating a war in Kargil, the nuclear scare has lost its deterrence effect. Therefore, developing a new theory in the context of Kargil war, aimed to answer why and how Pakistan challenged the nuclear deterrence. And also tries to find out the answer of why some very poor states try to develop nuclear weapons at the cost their own national development.

अतर्जीवनऋयत्वम्: दारतिदरयम एवं आणवायुधनरिभयत्वं च [Enduring Dependency: Poverty and Nuclear Non-deterrence (ED) developed by the author will be useful in answering these questions. Theory of ED supported by other theories can answer these questions. The answer to all questions can be summed up: nuclear weapons could not terrify poverty which is also the fundamental assumption in the theory of ED.

Definition

Enduring Dependency: Poverty and Nuclear Non-deterrence is a stage which is used to describe certain 'failed states', which retain 'enduring rivalry' with other states. In order to overcome this kind of state failure and development paradox, nations will continuously depend on donors and lenders, environment, and international conflicts. Ultimately it shows willingness to take the nuclear weapon risk even against other nuclear powers. Development paradox accounts for 'growth without development', deeper environmental instability, internal contradictions, dependency on donors and lenders and can become reasons for state failure. In short, domestic failure, ER, EC, external actors and non-apprehension of nuclear weapon risk are the fundamental principles in this concept.

Characteristics and Syndromes

Major six characteristics of ED are identified as: failed state shows higher dependency on lenders and donors; dependency and over-exploitation of environment; growth without development; social polarization; developing Weapons of Mass Destructions; willingness for nuclear misadventure. Several syndromes of ED can be found within these characteristics. More syndromes of this fatal progressive disease can be discovered through enhancing this concept.

The characteristics attached with syndromes of ED are:

1. State totally dependent on lenders and donors, who dictate the development strategies and priorities of the recipients.
2. Extensive dependency and over-exploitation of environment and natural resources for national survival; environmental conservation laws remain in statutes book.

3. Significant correlation between ‘Growth without Development’ and Human Development Index (HDI), Failed State Index (FSI) and Environmental Performance Index (EPI), and Resources Scarcity Index (RSI) owing to environmental degradation.

4. Social polarization and domestic conflict account domestic contradictions owing to development reasons and problems of governance. This situation compels the state to retain the conflict against its enduring rivals and vassal states (if any) using concealed objectives.

5. Maintains big army disproportionate with nation’s GDP, import of weapons in totally agreeing to the terms of suppliers in arms deals, developing Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and even nuclear threat has no deterrent effect.

6. State’s willingness to take any risk and give low respects to international agreements, etc.

Before reaching the extremely dangerous zone of ED, the state will travel through the dangerous zone of “political economy of growth without development”. Prior to these zones, there are at least two stages. Each stage and zone has its own specific features and syndromes; however, the difference is mainly in the degree of intensity of the features and syndromes, but not in its kind. Given below is a description of the different stages and zones depicting the evolution of ED. (Curable Dependency, Pro-type Dependency, and Enduring Dependency).

Evolution of Enduring Dependency

Stage-1 : When the domestic economy comes under the control of external forces in which investments are made by

the 'independent' / 'uncontrolled' sectors or which do not take into consideration the complementary effect on the other sectors. This pattern is not at all supportive to sustainable developments. The investors' interests, easy feasibility, immediate returns from short-term investments, political and economic lobbying, influence of the elite, fundamentalists, military, bureaucrats (particularly former international bureaucrats), etc. guide the economy. The strategy adopted for development is environmentally degrading. The political system may gradually show a tendency to travel towards ED. Though we find this pattern or stage in several developing countries, it need not necessarily pull all developing nations to ED.

Stage-2 : Problems of national sustainability due to negligence of human comfort and rural life; policy/priority; inconsistency due to constant regime change, emergence of new social issues like social unrest, sectarianism, and domestic conflicts in urban as well as rural areas; urban vs. rural; emergence of new power centers (fundamentalism); governments' withdrawal from rural investments; unsustainable growth; climatic changes; increasing population growth; human rights abuse ; absence of rule of law; low quality of life resulting in higher degree of social unrest; conflict increased migration; etc. The disease is curable in stage 2.

Danger Zone:

Danger Zone refers to the following factors, namely, critically increasing influence of lenders and donors, dependency on lenders and donors, conflicts between domestic elements and donors, regulatory /catalyst role of lenders in conflicts, reverse trend in GDP, and unconditional surrender to lenders' will thereby lead to the deterioration of the national economy. In

other words, economy becomes lighter in the lower level and heavier in the upper. The culmination of these factors slowly develops the condition of 'growth without development'. Political system becomes weak. The Danger Zone factors further lead to the creation of the 'Extremely Dangerous Zone'.

Extreme Dangerous Zone:

The Weak political system becomes fragile or fails. Sovereignty becomes nominal, surrender to lenders and donors, and GDP may plummet to below 0 percent. Resources scarcity / stress increase due to environmental reasons become further aggravated. Domestic violence and conflicts become uncontrolled, national integration disappears, and demand for independence of units become active. Political authority comes under the control of unofficial sources like extremists or the army. Economic exploitation over colonies becomes intense; ER does not terminate. Volunteers of international humanitarian organizations, gradually withdraw from their field operations. The state may resort to risk and nuclear weapon loses its ability to be a deterrent. Thus, the nation may reach ED.

A state before reaching the stage of ED has to cross the stage of 'political economy of growth without development'. The development and investment strategies of the nation will be determined by the investors, who themselves account for the 'high yield' projections and feasibility reports (ignoring rural or local development emergency). Low political will and de-legitimization of political institutions compel the regime to follow the directions of the investors, whose bureaucracy (particularly in international ex-bureaucracy) infiltrates into key policy making bodies of these nations. These multinational / international actors are always competent to act as powerful

catalysts in stimulus regulation of national development and international conflicts between rivals, through policy deliberations. The nation will not have development strategies under the influence of these actors whose interests will prevail over national interests.

Development paradox due to ‘Growth without Development’ (GwD) clouds further development and the economy shows vulnerability after the initial shoot. Investment remains concentrated on high profit and early returns. The development strategy will not regard whether the development in one particular sector /service / area or region or the like is complementary or has contradictory effects on others. It often appears as contradictory and unsustainable to stimulate overall growth. Development occurring in one sector /area or the like will immediately suffer due to insufficient horizontal and backup support for sustainability. Therefore, the economy and GDP will come down. It shows high flexibility due to the strategic and catalytic involvement of the lenders and donors. Sometimes, the economy shows signs of recovery and maintains highest growth. However, the country continues to show significant under-performance compared to other states at similar levels of national development. In other words, countries of similar impressive growth rate have corresponding impressive social and Human Development Index (HDI). Development economists like Easterly have described this development paradox as “growth without development”, (Easterly 2001, p 317-35).

Defective investment strategy for peoples’ choice and comfort level of living (Human development), particularly rural, and vital sectors like schooling, mortality, health, sanitation, drinking water, human rights, and the like, which are indica-

tors of social development and are decisive for human development will be disregarded. This particular situation has been considered as a specific model within the political economy literature of the 20th century. Easterly has made a significant case study on the political economy of Pakistan based on the development pattern. He found Pakistan's people have suffered one of development's most worrying cases of growth without development. From 1990, onwards no measurable progress has been made in reducing poverty. Pakistan remains among the worst countries in the world for a child particularly girls, says Birdsall,et.al (2005).

Critical areas like food, health, sanitation, settlement, gender equality, literacy, human rights, fraternity, social security, rule of law, decision making, etc are poor in Pakistan. "It lags well behind other countries with similarly low average income levels across almost all indicators of social and human development", evaluated (Birdsall, 2005, p.2). The World Bank (WB) testifies that Pakistan's success rate in these selective parameters is less than those of other countries having similar growth rate. The gap varies from 20 to 40 percent. In the face of a hostile social and political setting, repeated and apparently enlightened programmes of outside support for poverty reduction and social progress have failed, The WB said.

The elite feudal class, particularly the Punjab group, does not favour human capital investment for the common man .The whole society has been horizontally divided between large deprived mass and small superior elites. When the masses lose their faith in the political elite, the government also loses its legitimacy and thereby takes refuge under non- state actors. Elites no more remain as mere pressure groups. They become policy dictators. International actors, investors, and lenders and do-

nors co-operate with the elite in order to determine investment policy. From 1960 onwards, the Pakistani academic community has argued against lenders and donors, whose policy is used to promote their vested interest in business and foreign policy objectives through programmes.

Developed countries can exercise their financial muscles directly via their bilateral agreements as well as international financial institutions. People in Pakistan have lost their faith in lenders like the WB, which had allocated \$209 billion in loans from 1950 to 1999 to Pakistan, { \$58 billion in foreign aid (Easterly, 2001). However, there was no sustained development, and the nation is in permanent dependency on the WB and other lenders and donors.

While seeking development to satisfy the investors and the elite, development ethics like sustainable development, which must complementarily prop up invariably all other sectors, limited use of non-renewable resources, human face of development, etc. may disappear. Heavy tax on the environment may spoil the scope of sustainable development. The Environmental Performance Index remains at the bottom. Domestic conflicts and poverty will aggravate. Reasons like poor and discriminate public distribution system, scarcity in essential commodities, increasing gap between demand and supply, social polarization etc can take this conflicts in to an annihilating level. The political system is likely to reach in to state of worse on all major dimensions of governance. Non-state actors capture all the key domains in governance. It may appear as less government effectiveness, more graft, more political instability and violence, more regulatory burden, fewer rules of law, and less democrat-

ic voice and accountability as indicators/ dimensions of good governance proposed by Kaufman (1999). Or some negative standards identified by agencies like CIDA, (2008). Country may gradually come under the control of powerful warlords as explained Paul (2014). He also said, the state is likely to show the nature of a 'Garrison State'.

The state may shows some unusual syndromes as noticed below. When the crises become intensive, lenders and donors will assume the role of active catalysts to supervise the intensity of the domestic and international conflict. Maintaining a huge army even in disproportion to its GDP becomes necessary, developing WMD becomes inevitable to retain ER against neighbours. Nuclear weapons also lose their ability as a powerful deterrent. The national interests may totally surrender to the terms and conditions of arms dealers. The nation will have to consider concealed objectives to fight AW, depending on unethical strategies. In the ED, the failed state, as a last resort extends its dependency on lenders and donators, environmental exploitation, ER, WMD, dishonour to nuclear disaster etc. Poverty and human rights violation become wide spread. Pakistan by late 1990s reached the stage of ED. Figures 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 show the evolution of a state to ED with six major characteristics and some syndromes often found in its evolution. The arrow marks given in the each diagram differ in size. The length of the arrows shows the gravity or degree of the states, dependency on each characteristic for its survival in each stage. As mentioned earlier, each stage has its own specific features; however, the difference is mainly in the degree of intensity of the features and syndromes.

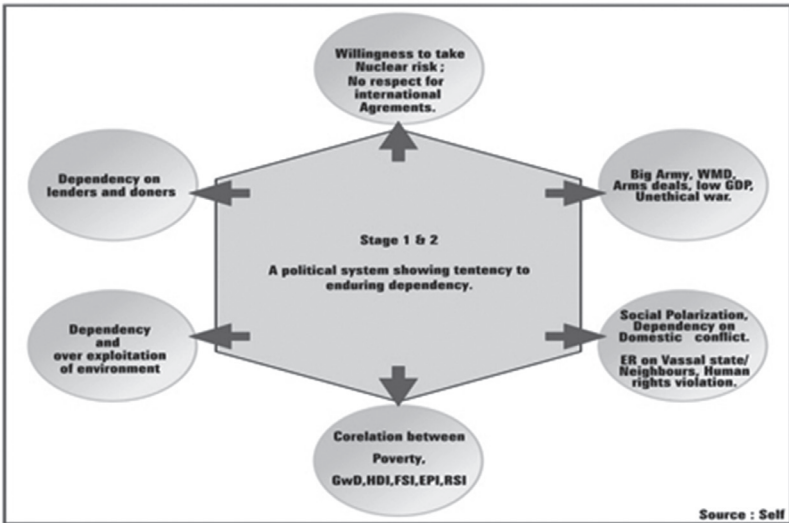


Figure-1.1. Political System : Curable Dependency

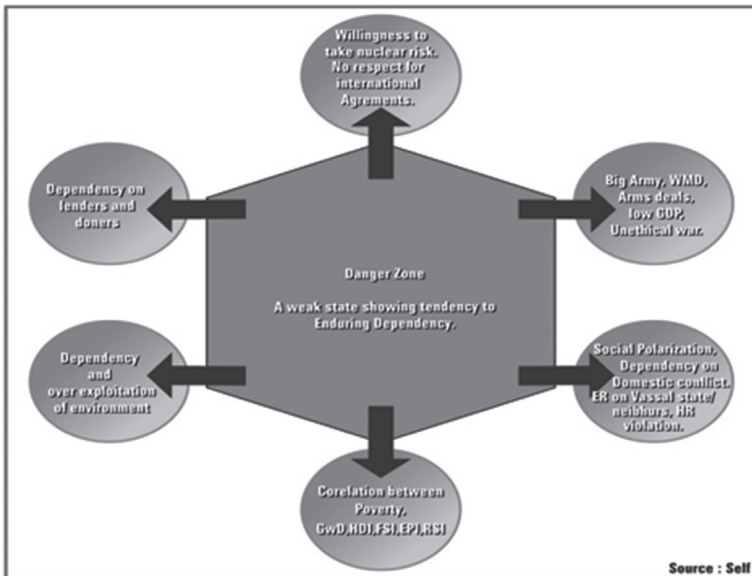
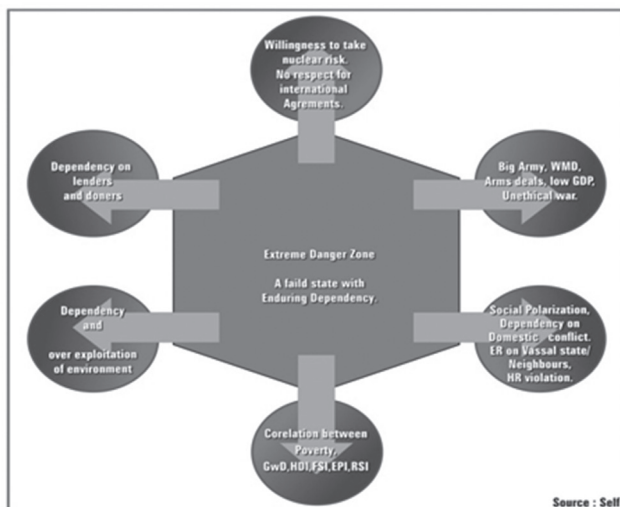


Fig 1.2: Weak State : Pro-type Enduring Dependency



*Figure-1.3: Enduring dependency:
Poverty and Nuclear Non-deterrence*

Conclusion

Analysis of Kargil war by theory of ED shows that, Pakistan at its state of ED prepared to take nuclear risk. Analysis shows that domestic issues of development paradox and environmental issues compelled a failed state like Pakistan to retain Enduring Rivalry and Asymmetric War against India. In short, poverty and misery will give courage to failed states in a state of ED to fight against nuclear weapons.

This theory can test its applications in disciplines like Development Economics, Capital Market, Environmental studies, Strategic studies and history. Coordinated efforts of scholarly contributions can enhance this theory to apply in situations differentiated by local conditions as well as low intensity syndrome of ED. Therefore, this theory is being presented for discourse.

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MARGINALIZATION OF MIGRANT LABOURERS IN KERALA

Smitha Pillai*

Abstract

Migration has a significant role in the overall development of a society. This paper discusses the social and theoretical issues due to the marginalization of migrant laborers in Kerala. They are denied voting rights in veil of a hidden 'sons of the soil theory'. Most of the issues pertaining to the domestic migrant laborers in Kerala, and those evolving, are due to the continuing negligence by the authorities and the civil society. Domestic migrants as well as the home society are not considering the current prevailing labor space in Kerala as permanent. It is high time to learn that the domestic migrant population of the state are similar to the Non Resident Keralites in the Gulf countries, in terms of contributions to the economy and work sector. With regard to the political rights, they must be counted as if the case of Mumbai or Delhi malayalees who never tolerate such a discrimination in their motherland.

Keywords: *internal migration, domestic migrant, marginalization, migrant labourers.*

The faces of the migrant workers are legion. They are marginalized people who can be seen everywhere in Kerala. These migrant workers are breathing life into the state's low graded sectors. They are destined to serve a state whose people, don't welcome them, They are treated as intruders and consider than as illegitimate citizens. They do all the menial works in the state, without them the wheel of Kerala's economy would not move. They are coming to fill almost all the occupational sectors in Kerala. They are now engaged as construction workers, casual labourers, agriculture and plantation workers, road workers, domestic workers, carpenters, masons, plumbers, electricians

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etc. They are also employed in jewellery making, cashew processing units, plywood factories, flour mills, quarries, brick kilns, hotels, slaughter houses, petrol pumps etc. In spite of all these enormous contributions the migrants face a host of exclusionary attitudes both directly and indirectly. Migrants differ from non-migrants in mobility. They use to change locations in search of work and when they find one place unsuitable, they change places. This habit places them in disadvantaged and marginalised category. Their wage rates tend to be exploitative, illegal and uncertain, working hours long, and conditions of employment unhealthy and unsafe. Police and municipal authorities harass them and drive them away. Laws protect them in theory, but rarely in practice. They are often unable to easily access even elementary citizenship rights in the city. They are not entitled to vote in elections. They don't get ration cards to buy goods from public distribution shops. They find difficulties at the time of school admissions for their children. Their numbers are substantial; their economic contributions enormous; yet the migrants tend to remain in the periphery as marginalized. (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2008).

Marginalization: A Conceptual note

According to International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences "Marginalization comprises those processes by which individuals and groups are ignored or relegated to the sidelines of political debate, social negotiation, and economic bargaining—and kept there. Homelessness, age, language, employment status, skill, race, and religion are some criteria historically used to marginalize. Marginalized groups tend to overlap; groups excluded in one arena, say in political life, tend to be excluded in other arenas, say in economic status."

According to Dictionary of Sociology "Marginalization

is a process by which a group or individual is denied access to important positions and symbols of economic, religious, or political power within any society.” Both these definition points- Marginalization is a slippery and multi-layered concept. Whole societies can be marginalized at the global level while classes and communities can be marginalized from the dominant social order. Similarly, ethnic groups, families or individuals can be marginalized within localities. To a certain extent, marginalization is a shifting phenomenon, linked to social status. So, for example, individuals or groups might enjoy high social status at one point in time, but as social change takes place, they lose this status and become marginalized. Similarly, as life cycle stages change, so might people's marginalized position change. Here population of the migrants has been marginalized by the host society.

If we trace out the developmental scenario of Kerala which is high in health sector, literacy, education, gross domestic product etc, but there are some other areas we are totally excluded from the main stream. Among them the plight of migrant labourers in Kerala is a burning issue.

Migrant labourers in Kerala

Migration anywhere is a painful process. The agony of separation, the difficulties to adjusting to the climate and food habits of a strange place, and the challenges of a new work environment are factors that dissuade many people from migrating. (Srivastava, 2012) But the problems of migrants in the case of Kerala are different. Malayalees are famous for their migration to ‘gulf’. But now Kerala is becoming the gulf for the rest of India. Kerala is exporting its skilled labour, with around 2.5 million Keralites living abroad. The jobs which the expatriate

Keralites left behind and those who remain have little intention of doing, started to get filled in by migrant labourers from various parts of the country.

Table-1

Migrant labourers by State of Origin in Kerala (2013)

State	Percentage
West Bengal	47
Odisha	16
Assam	9
Uttar Pradesh	9
Bihar	9
Karnataka	9
Other	1

Source: Labour Commissionerate, Government of Kerala

From table-1 it is clear that large number of labourers come from West Bengal(47%) and Odisha (16%) Bihar, Assam, Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka have same share of 9% the rest are from Tamil Nadu and Bangladesh and they constitute 1 percentage. In the past they were mostly found in construction and plantation sectors, but now almost every restaurant, workshop and petrol pump in the state has at least one migrant worker. The actual shortage of manual labourers and semi-skilled workers, coupled with the Keralites reluctance to do manual, menial tasks, has led to the influx of young people from the North and Eastern States. According to a 2013 survey, there are over 25 lakh migrant labourers in Kerala today. Around 235000 new migrants arrive in the state every year; a vast majority of them are men

in the age group of 18 to 30 yrs. (Narayan and Venkiteswaran, 2013) They send over Rs.17500crores every year to their home states which led to the arrival of migrant workers on a massive scale.Kerala has the highest wage rate. Manual labourers get between Rs.450 to Rs.500 as in 2012 and Rs.100 to Rs.150 in many North Eastern States (Centre for Development Studies.)

On the whole the study found out that migrant labourers have entered almost all the sectors in Kerala however, in a state with a rapidly ageing population, the ratio of domestic migrant labour to the local male population in the working age group is high. This warns of ‘a very explosive demographic situation’ developing in Kerala where a big majority of the host population will belong to the older age groups the migrant population will dominate the other segment of the population that is young and working. The demand for these workers could rise as high as 4.8million in 10yrs. (Times of India, 2013)

Social issues:

Absence of legal registration and ID proof

Table-2 Identity card

Type of card	Number
No id Card	200
Voters Id	894
Pan card	102
Passport	6
Adhar	6
Driving Licence	4
Panchayat Certificate	48
School certificate	2
Total	1262

Source: GIFT, DML in Kerala, 2013

One of the major problems that these domestic labourers face is identity crisis. As most of them are on the move and are not permanent residents in a place; they find it difficult to register themselves under government projects, which is essential for any social welfare and other benefits offered by state and union government. (Janamaithri, 2013) Earlier this month, three members of a family in Parampuzha in Kerala's Kottayam district were allegedly killed by a migrant from Firozabad in Uttar Pradesh. With this murder, it has become clear that a large number of them go by fake names, false addresses. Job contractors, who take them around from one job site to another are equally ignorant of their identities. It is evident from the above table that most of them have voter's identification cards but many do not have any proof of job identification or other legal documents. Lack of reliable data of these migrant population is a major hindrance for the development, welfare and security of these people, this affect the overall socio-legal situation of the state, in general.

Religious Celebrations

Clustering of settlements of people from the same caste community could pose social problems of communal dimension. Like any group migrant labourers have their own socio economic political and cultural milieu of life. Among them religion is one of the prime factor that determine the situations of life completion. (Cohen and Sirkeci, 2011) Here in the case of Kerala, the migrants are often living with certain limited conditions. The different religious groups stay and work together without any secular disparities. At the same time, this religious concordance made lots of impacts in their own personal life and social life. In Kerala we have a strong dominant socio-cultural structure that appears as part of our tradition. That means, a

kind of socio-cultural implantation is happening between the people of Kerala and the migrants. Transmission of language, behavior, cultural values, religious practices etc. influences the two communities. (Mathew, Singh and Varkey, 2005) Not only that their participation or opportunities to participate in local festivals and celebrations are minimal. Some of their celebrations like holi and deepavali are seen as too noisy and riotous by local community.

Language

One of the major problems a migrant worker faces when he reaches & Kerala is related to the differences in the languages spoken by the migrant workers and that of the host society. Labourers are coming from different states having varied languages and their own different practices. (Moses and Rajan, 2012) The official languages of the country are Hindi and English. But Keralities speak Malayalam. This is different from the language spoken by people in West Bengal (Bengali), Odisha (Oriya), Bihar (Hindi) or Assam (Assamese). They face much difficulty in understanding the language of Kerala, but needs compelled the two communities to learn each other's language. (Prakash, 2011)

Health-aid

Labourers who migrate from the underdeveloped states to the more developed ones to find work to fight poverty and indebtedness. Health status of these migrant workers is associated with malnutrition, poor access to preventive and curative health services and higher mortality and morbidity rates. Migrant labourers are usually employed in the 3-D jobs which are dangerous, dirty, and degrading. These are jobs which the local population of the state would not take up and hence, labour is

bought in from outside for the same or less than wages. These jobs are invariably associated with more occupational hazards than other jobs. (Akinola, Krishna and Chetlapalli, 2014). Migrant labourers tend to live together in crowded tenements that often lack basic facilities and give rise to complaints from the local people about lack of hygiene and pollution of water sources.

A Study among migrant workers from Tamil Nadu found that nearly 1/3 of them usually approach a local chemist for treatment. Doctors of a Medical college in Kerala examined a group of 200 migrant labourers in a work site in 2011 found that the labour are showed a dangerous tendency to buy medicines of their choice from medical stores directly without consulting a doctor.(Surabhi and Kumar, 2007)

"A survey carried out by the health department of Kerala found that many migrant labourers are carriers of deadly diseases like HIV, malaria, dengue, hepatitis-B, hepatitis-C etc.... recent incidents prove that Kerala will have to pay abig price for the largesse it offers to migrant labourers. Kerala has accepted more migrant labourers than it can contain. Social scientists warn of grave consequences if the un controlled flow of these labourers is not kept under check." - Kalakoumudi August 13, 2012

Housing

Pattern of housing depend upon the sector of employment and level of wages and skill some live at worksites, in temporary shacks or sheds in common lands, in single room flats, one-room tenements, or one bed room houses. Many of them live in open spaces or common lands in huts made of plastics or tin sheets. The land in these case belonged to local people, for which they paid rent. They do not have any facilities such as kitchens, bathrooms and toilets. The hygiene in such areas

is pathetic. The settlement is littered with waste. In some units around 30-40 labourers live in a row of 6 rooms. Availability of water, access to drinking water and sewage facilities are common problems.

Table-3
Accommodation

	Total	Off.site %	Work site %
Construction	447	274(61.3)	173(38.7)
Casual Worker	365	267(73.2)	98(26.8)
Domestic Worker	362	142 (39.2)	220 (60.8)
Industry Workers	299	173(57.9)	126(42.1)
Self Employed	301	195(64.8)	106(35.2)
Gold	312	174(55.8)	138(44.2)
Total	2086	1225(58.7)	861(41.3)

Source: *CDS-ISMSK, 2012*

Table 3-describes the worker's reliance on employers for accommodation. On average, over 40 per cent of these workers live at their place of employment, which means they will have limited contact with the outside world. Not surprisingly, this figure is highest among domestic workers (60.8%), but it is fairly consistent across the other sectors (except the casuals, who are more likely (73.2%) to live off-site. This does not bode well for integration with the local community—as many workers have no reason to actually leave the worksite!

Domestic migrant worker are not interested in costly accommodation. What they are looking for is cheap accommodation that would permit them to save more. They live in utter poverty in their home states. This make them quite used to the

current lifestyle which helps to adjust with the circumstances.

Table-4

Living condition in room

Members in room	Percentage
1 or 2	5
3	8
4	13
5	12
6	13
7 or more	42
No response	7

Source: GIFT, DML in Kerala 2013

The table-4 shows that most of these labourers live together often on a sharing basis. In many cases, the houses/rooms are overcrowded, 5 to 8 percent live with 2 or 3 migrants in a room. This pattern is different from the usual pattern of accommodation of malayalee labourers in Kerala or outside. Migrants are forced to live in unauthorized slums, shanties, makeshift shelters, facing constant threats of displacement and ejection from government authorities.

Wages and Work Schedule

Migrants who are coming to Kerala to find some work are given low wages compared to the general wage rates in Kerala. But they are satisfied because it is much higher than the wages in their place of origin. The workers in Kerala who are well aware of their rights often resort to strikes for their rights. They work only for limited hours. But the migrants who come from other

state work the whole day and are satisfied with whatever they are given. (Saikia,2008)They work the whole weekend and will not go for any strike or form any union. They have been here just to earn money then why to go for strike or any problems. They work 9 to 10hrs almost without a break for 6to7 days a week for less than Rs500 day whereas Kerala labourers hardly work 6hrs with liberal intervals for 3-4days a week, for higher wages and enjoy protection from various social schemes.

Table 5
Sector wise working hours of the respondents

Sector	10-18 hours	9hours and below	Total
Construction	230(35)	432(65)	662(100)
Trade	28(40)	42(60)	70(100)
Manufacturing	250(61)	158(39)	408(100)
Agriculture	0	8(100)	8(100)
Hotel and Restaurants	32(76)	10(24)	42(100)
Others	24(33)	48(67)	72(100)
Total	564	698	1262

**Source: GIFT,DML in Kerala 2013*

Legal and Institutional Issues:

Political Exclusion

Migrants are a part of Kerala society. Malayalees have spent time outside working: in 1950's went to Assam for manual works. Now a large number of assamese work here. Later in 70's they left home for 'Bombay', and when gulf boom came along, they were the first to explore possibilities. Now things take a reverse mode: Kerala is flooded with migrants. We can't

in any way neglect them, because we do the same in the Gulf. The migrants are looked upon as 'outsiders' by the local administration. Their labour right are vehemently looked down upon by the law sectors (which aims to create vote banks in ethnic and linguistic lines.) This divides migrant communities on linguistic lines into those who belong to Kerala and those from other states. (Rajan, 2011) This attitude leads to the marginalization of the migrants in the decision-making process, which intensify their vulnerabilities. They are even denied their voting rights. At the same time Keralites are fighting for the voting rights of 'Pravasi Malayalees' in Gulf/ Europe. This is 'double standard'. Migrants who leave their state for work are under compulsion from the political parties to go back home to vote during election. A major concern is to keep their name alive on the electoral records as this is a crucial proof of identity. (Iyer, 2004) They have come to Kerala on contract basis so they are bound to stay here till the completion of the agreement, hence they are not able to vote, and fear of being excluded from the voters lists in the state of origin. In Kerala they hardly exercise any membership in governmental institutions, trade unions, political parties or in any other political organization.

Social Insularity

Despite the migrants are treated as unequals, they contribute their labour to sustain local economy and make possible infrastructure development, and their presence is gradually percolating into all the sectors of Kerala. In public discourses and media they are called 'anya-samsthanahozhilalikal' which though literally would mean 'workers from other states' or simply alien workers. (Venkateshwaran, 2013) They are not at all considered as a part of our society. On one hand, everyone is aware that the supply and labour of the migrants is absolutely

essential for the state's economy; but on the other, they are also not very willing to accept them as equals, as citizens with all the rights. This is one way or other against the spirit of our India feeling.

Crime and Prostitution

Kerala, which relies heavily on migrant workers, is jittery over a recent spike in the number of crimes committed by the migrants whose number makes up close to a tenth of the resident population. Earlier this month, three members of a family in Parampuzha in Kerala's Kottayam district were allegedly killed by a migrant from Firozabad in Uttar Pradesh. The three were stabbed, electrocuted and doused with acid before the suspect fled to his native village. The Kerala Police tracked him down and captured him. In yet another incident a migrant worker murdered his co-worker and dumped the body, wrapped in a gunny bag, by the wayside. The accused was also arrested. What has followed in the state's media after the tragic incident is a narrative that migrant labourers from other states in India are a danger to the state. Given that Kerala is a "money-order" economy surviving on foreign remittances, an irony just drank itself to death. In the past few days, Kerala's media has alarmingly reported that the increase in the crime rate in the state is directly proportional to the increase in number of migrant labourers. With such huge migration, social tension is obvious. There is no organization to protect them, so it is easy to blame them. (Rameez and Varma, 2014)

Migrants are being branded as 'unreliable outsiders' and criminals by some local people. (Kumar 2011) They are often considered as a potential source of social disorder and crime in Kerala. They are charged with many illegal practices like

theft, robbery, rape, murder etc. Migrants coming to Kerala are predominantly male and young leading a far from ideal life having emotional and sexual needs. Volunteers of Kerala State Aids Control Society says that “sudden influx of migrant male population into Kerala, who earn wages and has extra money to spend, has given a boost to local sex industry. Prostitution is rampant among them, but is carried out under veils of secrecy; moreover they also are careful not to invite the wrath of local moral policing. All this along with the total lack of knowledge about safe sex and the use of condoms, make them a section that is very vulnerable to fatal infections and diseases. A vast majority of them have not even heard of HIV or AIDS”. (Krishnakumar, 2013)

Exploitation from the Middlemen

Migrants completely are dependent of the middlemen. There is an elaborate chain of contractors and middlemen who perform the critical function of sourcing and recruiting workers. Their work lives are characterized by exploitive practices, such as manipulation in wage rates and work record, non payment or withholding of wages, long work hours, verbal and physical abuse. Accidents and deaths at workplaces are common in construction sector but ignorance and denial of right make their condition more vulnerable. The worker never comes in touch with the principal employer who is thus easily able to absolve himself of any responsibility with regard to the welfare of workers. This further weakens their bargaining power in terms of wages, benefits and working conditions. Neither the administration nor the job providers ensure that the regulations in the 1979 Interstate migrant Workman (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act are followed. Till date, there are no organisations to represent the migrants. As they are not

part of the vote bank, the extremely powerful labour union of Kerala do not consider it necessary to include them. (Iyer,2003)

Conclusion

In-Migrant labourers should be acknowledged as an integral part of Kerala. Government policies should not hinder but seek to facilitate labourers in Kerala. They should include and integrate migrants politically, economically, socially, culturally and spatially.

Migrants coming to Kerala are the backbone of Kerala's growing economy. We must develop a human right base approach towards the migrants in Kerala. Government and NGO's must ensure special initiative for their health concerns and devise social security schemes for them. A voluntary registration of the migrant labourers with all benefits should be provided. We must avoid a prejudiced, negative attitude of the local people towards the migrants. This is important to prevent social tensions in future. Government should ensure special consideration of social protection entitlements for migrant labourers in Kerala. We must also integrate mainstream internal migration into national development policy.

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