

# ISDA JOURNAL

**STUDIES IN DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC POLICY**



**Institute for the Study of Developing Areas**  
**Thiruvananthapuram**



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

- Kerala society is widely considered as a matrilineal one (Mohanam, 2003).
- “It is widely believed that the legal status of Kerala women is higher status, since they could share the benefits of education” (Mohanam, 2003, p.84).

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- (Pillai&Joshy,2010)
- Pillai and Joshy (2010) argue that ...
- Strategic autonomy issue has been raised by several authors (e.g., Pillai, Parija, Menon & Josukutty, 2015)
- Pillai, Josukutty Joshy and Parija (2015) support.....

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##### **Citing print sources:**

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

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

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

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## **CRISIS OF SOCIOLOGY: FAILURE OF SOCIOLOGY OR FAILURE OF PRACTICE?**

**Saji P. Jacob\***

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### ***Abstract***

*Contemporary Sociology has been constantly besieged by existential questions with regards to its epistemological, ontological and pedagogical relevance in addressing problems in the postmodern world. In this article the author contends that the crisis of Sociology is a global problem faced by other disciplines too. Through in-depth analysis of the debates on the crisis in Sociology, the author argues for an optimistic outlook in incorporating and reformulating Sociological imagination in addressing current and future life of Sociology. This article suggests that the way forward for Sociology is to go beyond ideological hegemonies and bring in solutions to address methodological and epistemological concerns both within and beyond Sociology.*

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*Keywords : pluralizing, public Sociology, Sociological imagination, policy Sociology*

Recently, a lot of discussions have questioned the nature, role, status and future of sociology in contemporary society. References can be made to the works of Jonathan Turner and Stephen Turner (1990), Irving Luis Horowitz (1994), Jean Baudrillard (1972 & 1994) Christopher G. A. Bryant (1995), Anthony Giddens (1996) Mike Gane (2003), Michael Burawoy (2004), Kauko Pietila (2011) A.R Vasavi (2011) et al. This paper argues that, these propositions are all based on one general assumption that 'Sociology is in crisis (henceforth SIC).

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These arguments are indeed quite multidirectional in nature. For some of them, sociology is losing its role or at least it is 'decomposing' due to a weak intellectual state of the discipline (Horowitz 1994). For some others, the post modern society that we study now is a much different one and it no longer represents the imagination of sociology, which comes from the logic of modernity (Baudrillard 1972; 1994). Still others relate it with the pedagogical issues while yet another group connect it to the absence of contextualization or nationalization and so on (Vasavi 2011, Patel 2011 et al.). Although, there are a few of them who have also forwarded a proposal to come out of this crisis, the suggested solutions are also being debated about, without in any way helping us to see what lies ahead after this crisis ridden life, i.e. sociology's life after death?

In my view, all these assumptions are still quite ambiguous and are, therefore, in need of an in-depth analysis. This article argues that, there still remains at least a possibility to make use of the perspective of sociological imagination propounded by C W Mills (1959) to see our own existential problems as sociologists, linking it more widely to the public reality of our times. Because, Sociology is not the only discipline in this condition and we can easily relate our problems to that of the basic sciences themselves or to the general state of conventional forms of knowledge systems as a whole. In fact many an instance, the constructions on the crisis of sociology or challenges of sociology is apparently based on a very self centered or regionally or nationally restricted perspective and therefore, it is very much narrowed down to discussions of a couple of specific national realities, that too without a proper comparison among themselves. The situation is indeed universal and it has nothing really national or context specific characteristics and therefore, need to be looked at in light of a broader perspective like that of the 'private to public', advanced by C Wright Mills. The problems that sociologists confront

now are no more personal issues and it has a public existence. Hence the discussions on the question of SIC along with the propositions for its resolution, be it a movement for public sociology like that of Burawoy or a call for 'pluralisation of sociology' advanced by Vasavi, each one needs reformulation in the light of a wider international dimension of the question of condition of sociology. In this way, I go on to argue that, we could perhaps link the problems of the conventional sciences as a whole and in the process would get some lead in defining ourselves as sociologists in the present day context. My argument here is also based on an understanding that, the so-called debates on SIC has been in circulation for about four or five decades now and nothing concrete has so far come out and the debate still goes on. As George Steinmetz and Ou-Byung Chae (2002) has observed, '...between 1964 and 2002, at least 150 articles and books were published on sociology's apparent crisis.' This data, although, is with reference to the global context of sociology, it is doubtful if it has any reference to the innumerable literature published on the question of crisis in Indian Sociology. In fact, this would make us wonder, if the sociologists are always living with a sense of insecurity or is it that we really are yet to identify the scope or a proper subject matter for our discipline? This is once again the reason why there is a need to reframe this debate, little more holistically and this paper is an attempt in that direction.

### **Gouldner to Horowitz: Expected Crisis to a Decomposing Sociology!**

Looking at the history of views on SIC, it is indeed important to start our discussions with the works of Alvin W. Gouldner's 'Coming Crisis of Western Sociology' published in 1970 and also the book written by Irving Louis Horowitz, 'The Decomposition of Sociology' published in 1994. While, Gouldner's argument, was apparently premised on the loss of relevance of a particular

type of Sociology, represented by the functional or system analysis of that of Talcot Parsons, which is by and large facing existential dilemmas due to the disappearance of all their 'systems of reference', Horowitz's position, however, is based on, the transition of sociology into a 'pseudo science'. Sociology has become the home of the discontented, a gathering of groups with special agenda, from the proponents of gay rights to liberation theology. (Cited in Giddens 1996:2) For Horowitz, the deterioration of sociology doesn't imply the disintegration of social research, which is still flourishing in many domains, but much of such research is degenerated into pure empiricism, no longer guided by worthwhile theoretical perspectives.

Although, we could perhaps challenge or dispute these positions, the point of concern here is, does it mean the end of sociology or its decomposition? A closer look at both these works would reveal that, more than the intellectual challenges, both of them were primarily dealing with the 'practice' of sociology, which was otherwise very much skewed towards the empiricist or abstract theoretical systems. The concerns that Gouldner brought out had a very clear reference to the works of Talcot Parsons' and his efforts towards the constitution of 'grand theories' in sociology. George Steinmetz had clearly advanced this position in his article where he says, 'Gouldner warmly welcomed what he called "the coming crisis of western sociology," believing that it would break up the entrenched hegemony of Parsonian theory and positivist-empiricist methods'. (2005:496). Pierre Bourdieu, writing some eighteen years after Gouldner, celebrated the incipient erosion of consensus in sociology as a form of liberation (2005:496). Horowitz's book, writes Steinmetz, ends with a call to resist "the political barbarians at the gate" of the discipline and "the professional savages who have already gotten inside" (2005:497). Undoubtedly, both the works are throwing the light on the nature and character of sociology as it was dominated by the classical canonists and scientific brands in it.

It is also worth recollecting here that, Parsonian sociological tradition was not carried forward by the later day sociologists in United States and on the contrary was moving in the opposite direction, fundamentally influenced by the micro or everyday perspectives. These changes, however, proved more expensive as the structural or system concerns soon gave way for a post structural or post modern themes, finally dissociating sociology from all its basic systems of reference, upon which it was depended on for its existence. It is here that one can make a reference to yet another fundamental concern around the question of SIC, i.e. the impossibilities of sociology of the contemporary or post modern society.

### **Impossible Sociology of the postmodern!**

The idea of impossible sociology of the postmodern is closely linked with a distinct perception of the nature of contemporary society and its difference from the age of modernity. This argument is in fact found widely in circulation and one can relate it with the works of a number of scholars. To most of them, sociology seems to have lost its way because the contemporary society is terribly different from the society in the 19th century and is therefore in need of a new imagination.

### **C W. Mills and the concerns of Post modern**

The situation of sociology in the present day world is quite like what C W. Mills' masterpiece volume 'Sociological Imagination' states in its introductory section:

'Nowadays men often feel that their private lives are a series of traps. They sense that within their everyday worlds, they cannot overcome their troubles, ... the more aware they become, however vaguely, of ambitions and of threats which transcend their immediate locales, the more trapped they seem to feel ...' (1959:3)

Sociology and the society that sociologists study are a lot



different now. There are large areas of confusion and dilemma that every sociologist is living with. Yet we do not define those troubles or dilemmas in terms of the history of our times. Mills, however, had anticipated it already, and his major contribution was his imaginative predictions about the coming of a post modern society. In 1959 itself he proclaimed that, "... the modern age is being succeeded by a post modern period" (1959:166). Although, he had not elaborated this idea any further, Mills' writings on the transformations in class system, emerging homogenizing tendencies of mass society, rise of a new power elite etc. can be seen as rooted in this position. His writings were very much addressing these changes and at the same time calling for an imagination bridging the emotional and intellectual divide between an individual's experience of the world and realistic knowledge of its historical structures. In short, the images of the 'modern' that Mills had drawn were more of the post modern society and the concerns were in more ways than one, a reflection of his disagreements with the nature of sociology at that point in time. Mills was calling up on the social sciences to fulfill its true function of meeting the challenge of reasserting the social, over and above, the technological values in human society.

The post modern sociology: Against Sociology or Against Method?

There are others also who have conceptualised the emerging social structures in these ways. What is common to most of them is this question of challenges facing sociology. The problem here is that, we still do not look at the context of their arguments. The debates on declining role of sociology in post- industrial society were in fact also related with the challenges faced by positivist sociology in general. When one looks at the period after the mid 20th century, one can also see that this was the time when Positivist/functionalist traditions and the Marxist tradition as a whole were also facing its

dilemmas of existence, especially due to the expanding strength of Capitalism the world over. Both the theoretical traditions had the concerns of social predictions and by 1950/60s it was apparent that, all those predictions are proving incorrect, and is therefore worthy to be rejected. The subsequent movements of the subjectivist and compromise sociologies of Habermas, Bourdieu et al, all have its base in this context of crisis in classical sociology, that too of the Marxist and Functionalist brands and were also simultaneously attempting for a reformulation too in the name of post modern and post structural traditions. The rise of these positions also needs to be understood against this social condition and the following argument developed by Rob Stones (1996) will throw some light in this regard.

### **Modern versus Post-modern: Two enemy positions**

Writing in the nineties, Stones argue that, two 'enemy positions' in existing sociological traditions are responsible for the present situation of sociology. They are: (1) The complacency of sociological modernism and (2) The defeatism of postmodernism. The first one is associated with an overweening confidence in the ability of social scientists; to know all there is to know, without doubt and without blinkers (Stones 1996: 2).

The defeatism of postmodernism, on the contrary, wishes to deny any difference at all between fictional stories and the accounts of social sciences. Sociological modernists work, implicitly or explicitly, with a crude form of realism in which the reality of the social world is all too unproblematically apparent to the favoured theoretical framework, whether this is Marxism, functionalism, modernisation theory, systems theory or whatever. Under this perspective, far too much of the burden of proof is placed upon the theoretical framework, to the detriment of an adequate stock of empirical knowledge (Stones 1996) Consequently, Stones argues, the authors of these sociological works are afforded a kind of omniscience and omnipotence that the

literary critics typically associate with the classical realist novelists of the 19th century (Stones 1996:3). The defeatist post modernists, on the contrary, decry any notion of realism. This is more like throwing the baby away with the bath water.

Indeed there is a demand on sociology to respond to the emerging realities in a different frame than using the sociological modernism. As Giddens says, 'the findings of the social sciences are now regarded with suspicion, not because they question common sense, but on the contrary, because they only reiterate, in pretentiously technical language, what everyone already knows anyway. (Giddens 1996:161; italics added) The problem is of course, the pseudo nature of our claims than the discipline itself.

Already there are attempts to evolve some alternate logic for sociology to exist. Michael Burawoy's 'Public Sociology' and A R. Vasavi's 'Pluralisation of Indian Sociology' are some of the most recent of such initiatives.

### **Michael Burawoy: Plea for a Public Sociology**

Burawoy introduced this theme in the national conference of American Sociological Association in 2004. As Burawoy himself puts it 'Public sociology' ... 'most simply, it is taking sociology to publics beyond the university, engaging them in dialogue about public issues that have been studied by sociologists'(2005).

What Burawoy argues for is in fact mainly to recover the spirit of social reform, which according to him was the spirit behind the origin of sociology, because, the situation of sociology at the present times is much different from its initial stages of inception. In other words, the discipline of sociology had to separate itself from its initial agenda of reform and social work, because of its attempts to secure its legitimacy as a science. Such a situation is no more there and sociology is now mature enough for 'going public', without at the same time not allowing anyone to question our credentials as a science.

### **'Pluralising Indian Sociology': Beyond the Public sociology of Burawoy!**

A. R Vasavi's (2011) call towards 'Pluralising of Sociology' is in fact making a step further by pointing to the absence of linkages between the discipline and the larger society and nation, still moving beyond Burawoy. Vasavi has also identified a number of factors responsible for this situation of the discipline in India. In her view, this includes, factors like, the politics of knowledge production, the state of the disciplines syllabi and pedagogies, its limited methodologies, the entrenchment of some approaches and theories, and the inability of sociologists to engage with and contribute to public debates either in the 'vicinity' or at the national level.(2011:402) As a result, she goes on to argue that there is a clear lack of any significant breakthroughs after the times of D.P. Mukerji, R.K. Mukerjee, M .N. Srinivas and Andre Beteille, and also the lack of generation of new concepts and theories especially reflecting on the 'subaltern perspectives' (2011:401). It is due to the absence of these above factors, argues Vasavi, Sociology of India seems fragmented and diluted, unable to forge an identity of its own, and respond to changing times and generate new schools of theory, methods and perspectives.

To overcome this problem, Vasavi advances 'pluralisation of the discipline' as a way out. Towards this purpose she suggests three steps: first, facilitating wider and more diverse themes and issues in research including encouraging studies of the 'vicinity'; second, developing and deploying multiple methodologies to study and represent a range of issues; and third, integrating Indian language writings into the pedagogical, textual and theoretical apparatus of the discipline (2011:399).

Vasavi has indeed moved beyond the 'Public Sociology' option of Burawoy, although, she has made reference to it as one of the

aspects missing in Indian sociology. Nobody in the Indian context would seriously disagree with Vasavi's call for 'pluralisation of Indian Sociology'. Indeed, there is no other way out as otherwise; sociology will not represent Indian society at all. Such is the level of cultural, social, and political variations that exist in Indian society. But, the question is whether, is this all that sociology of India is suffering from. Going back to Vasavi's own survey of literature on sociology in India, it becomes evident that the growth of sociology here has been halted at the stage of canonical imitations, be it that of dialectics by Mukerji, or functionalism by M. N. Srinivas, or of Weberian approach by Andre Beteille. This, therefore, makes it quite parallel to the condition of world sociology, as it was argued throughout this article. Sociology everywhere is weighed down under the overload of canons and its perspectives. Siqueira, one of the discussants in this debate, says, 'While new social groups have moved into the sociology classroom, sociology has not adjusted and not made itself relevant to its new learners' (2011:437) He writes further, '... those that were the subjects of research now sit opposite us in class, ... they do not find a voice in the classroom. I wonder if this could be the reason that sociology remains rather irrelevant and more often uninteresting. This lack of relevance is visible in public debates as well' (2011:438). The point that Siqueira brings out is indeed very pertinent. But the question needs to be reframed so that it could address the situation of sociology in the international context as well. Because, as I argued earlier in this article, Indian sociology is not the only sociology in such a crisis and it is not in India alone that it has lost its relevance in the 'public'. In fact, the problem is apparent everywhere and even in other basic sciences too. And therefore, the solutions need to be arrived at from within and beyond the boundaries of Indian Sociology.

Burawoy and Vasavi can be right or wrong. Both of them have indeed succeeded in initiating a thinking or rethinking on the

question of invisibility of sociology in public. But the question is will it be enough? This article would argue that it will never be enough. The solutions suggested are not really based on the diagnosis. It is also based on a much narrowed understanding of the problem. Because these problems are not that much problems of sociology alone. The problem is indeed very common for almost all basic sciences. The problem is of both epistemological and ontological character. Nature of knowledge that the epistemology of sociology advances is being challenged, just as the nature of the reality of society that sociologists study is also under transition. The knowledge that gained relevance during the 18th or 19th century is indeed in need of reformulation. The tools and skills that gained acceptance in 18th and 19th century is unlikely to find a similar scale of legitimacy at present. The problem for sociology is that, even in 19th century, it never had a commonality of perspective. Even at the point of origin sociology was celebrated for its multiplicities and vitality of intellectual diversities. There was never a possibility for a single sociology of society. Although, many used to appear congratulatory of this quality of sociology, the practice of sociology was, however, a bit ambiguous in this regard. A science which claims to possess the skill to unearth the true nature of society, apparently have brought out a multitude of 'truths', each of which continues to negate each other. The discipline that taught us to look at society as if it is a 'thing' or a 'fact' in itself is being challenged from within with the discursive nature of society. It is also making us feel the 'power' behind these discourses. Sociology as a discipline has multiple foundations. It is perhaps this multiplicity that is threatening its otherwise static disciplinary claims. Because, even while, giving way to such discursive constructions, there were also certain deliberate attempts to expand its canonical bases too. There was always an undue dominance of some perspectives even while, celebrating the strength of diversity. It was an ideological hegemony, partly related with the context of its emergence.

The defense of sociology doesn't lie any more in its classical theories or methods. Even the moralist or the reformist objectives of sociology are no more valid as the present day world has no single value or morality for reform. Sociology, indeed, has to move on, because, as Mills had stated, sociology is an act of social imagination (1959). However, this act of moving ahead can never be so easy since the nature and character of the sociology in need in also very different. There can never be a sociology in the future that does not acknowledge the constraints of the classical agenda and its concepts and theories including Positivism and Marxism. It is very much a fact to remember, as what Giddens (1996) says, most of the debates that grab the intellectual headlines today across the social sciences, and even in humanities, carry a strong sociological input (1996:6). Sociological authors have pioneered discussions of postmodernism, the post industrial or information society, globalization, the transformation of everyday life, gender and sexuality, the changing nature of work and the family, the underclass and ethnicity. Hence, the impossibility of sociology of the contemporary society indeed becomes a questionable proposition. The issue, on the other hand, can be about the type of sociology which can be considered as possible or preferable. The only impossibility is that, present day sociologist will have to acknowledge each of the above aspects, including its subjectivities. The sociologies of family, culture and race can no longer be the same as it is these spaces that were subjected to redefinitions within different national or regional contexts. It is Sociology's own imaginations that promoted the intrinsic value of the subjectivities of age, gender, class, caste and all forms of ethnicities. Gender and age can therefore be as much a factor in social analysis as class, race or power was in early sociology. But, is it really so? There are contestations even now. Siqueira (2011) writes "The classroom must engage students in locating themselves in the social history of the region, the nation and the globe and reflecting on the presence

and absence of their social positions (e.g., gender) in intellectual and social production."

The diagnosis of the condition is quite appropriate. There is an apparent loss of relevance for sociology everywhere. However, the solution suggested here is nothing new and to me it is part of the problem itself. Because, the question is more of why such a tradition could not emerge within the framework of sociology so far? The irony is that all these subjectivities have been part and parcel of our disciplinary output itself and still they are missing from our practices. The height of this contradiction is that, these subjective concerns are no more with sociology or have already been distanced or alienated from us. Adding to that, there were also takers outside. The end result is we have a discipline of Social work which is one of the thriving professional programmes the world over; Women Studies is expanding into newer horizons, in spite of numerous backlashes it is facing from several hegemonic systems.

### **Sociology After the 'Third Stage': Life after Death.**

Thus, the question 'why the discipline of sociology is losing its role or why it became outdated can be answered only by pointing to these dynamics that was mentioned above. In many cases, the sociologist who teaches Women Studies is still not considered as a sociologist but only as a feminist. The objectivity of sociology is still quite limited to the canons of systemic properties and not that generous enough to acknowledge these diversities of gender or age, that authors like Vasavi or Siqueira are asking for. The irony is that, the perspectives that sociologists sidelined are more visible than sociology itself. Skills that represent the social workers could have very well been retained within sociology if we were not obsessed with the idea of being scientific. The need of the hour is to reclaim our skills as sociologists and reintegrate the logic of Social Work or that of Women Studies or even the framework of Gerontology,



as there can be no better way to make our discipline 'public'. The contemporary society is already demanding it. The population of the world has gone old. Capitalism as well as communism has created a number of 'iron cages' and there is a need to intervene in it with the tools and skills of sociology and social work.

It is important for sociologists to be reminded that even Durkheim had criticised the positivist philosophy of Comte, especially his 'law of three stages', "as essentially arbitrary" (Gane 2003:50). Instead, Durkheim asks, 'Why should evolution stop at the third stage?' In fact, Durkheim had himself given a clarification to this issue. In his view, Comte's theory should only be understood as a description of the development of the European or Western society from the 10th to the 19th century that means, up to his times. Therefore we need not take his theory as applicable to the entire course of human evolution (2003:50). Indeed we are beyond this state. We need not get panicked at this movement and assume that the post industrial society is also the end of sociology. Instead, we can still be optimistic.

The only concern should be that, discipline of sociology cannot any more afford to keep aside the demands of the ageing society or emerging needs of the hitherto marginalized categories like, women, children, ethnic minorities, immigrants, sexual minorities, and the like. Whatever crisis that sociology finds itself in, it is only because of our failure to accept this reality. The fact is, not only that sociologists ignored these realities, we even contributed to the reverse by rejecting those perspectives as being 'deviant' or 'subjective'. There lies the root cause of our invisibility or decomposition. The objectivity of our perspectives could not become objective on these subjectivities. It is this reformist agenda that we left behind in the name of 'being scientific' which is coming back to us in the form of 'public sociology or plural sociology.'

It is not the argument of this article that we should not have any concern with our classics as what was proposed by Bryant, 'a sociology without foundations' (1995:2). We can indeed make use of our theoretical resources that we have constituted during the last 150 years or more. Sociology, however, should not be stuck with the 'third stage' and more specifically within a certain brand or brands of sociology of the third stage in the name of either being 'objective or being 'scientific'. The irony is that, even the natural sciences have adapted themselves with facts like neutrinos which even challenged the basics of science. If at all the basic sciences are facing any form of existential dilemma, it can only be because of its rejection of the emerging principles or it's newly evolving skills. Can we imagine a world ahead which does not encourage the researching of new facts in sciences? If the sciences have a better acceptance in the world it is because of its modifications in the basic formats and thinking. To the extent that it rejected, to the same extent the basic sciences are also facing a crisis as that of sociology.

As Luhmann (1993) says 'today's sociologist should be clear about the fact that it cannot any longer take itself for an independent authority of reflection that can instruct society, helpfully or critically, as if from outside of it' (Cited in Pietila 2011). Today's sociologists have to come out from this awkwardness by evolving new ways of imaginations to deal with the crises of signification, representation and sociological imagination itself. The story of sociology is one that we have been part of the project which invented 'society' and therefore it is again our task to walk along with it further towards or beyond the modern.

As Giddens have reminded us, 'the conditions under which current sociological research can play a revelatory role are more difficult to establish than in the case of natural science, and cannot be understood within the framework of logic of social science such

as that offered in the intellectual tradition...Even without the assistance of sociology, human beings are already the creators of social world...' (Giddens 1996:161; italics added). We took on the movement of modernity and science and constituted an unmatched style of imagination, placing ourselves in the middle and looked wide around us, extending the boundaries of our existence even up to the global social/virtual world. The only thing was, as what Pierre Bourdieu (1994) states, sociology has the fortunate or unfortunate privilege of being constantly confronted with the question of its status as a science. The role of sociologists in present day society is to rise up to and address those emerging concerns with the future in mind. For that, we have to move beyond the 'third state' of Comte. We have to subject our methods to rethinking and adapt ourselves to theories that warned us against the dangers of modernity, but with more care, as that should not again take us back to the times of the canons. We may adapt ourselves with the theories that enable us to deal with the dualisms of time and space.

As in the words of Pierre Bourdieu "In more cases than one, to enable science to progress, one has to establish communication between opposing theories, which have often been constituted against each other" (1994:12). Bourdieu did that through his attempts of synthesis. We need to move further than synthesis, may be even to think beyond the social sciences as Baudrillard stated, but, that can still be sociological. We need to take into account the criticisms raised by Horowitz and Stones and have to get out from those images of sociology like, what William Julius Wilson says 'common sense wrapped up in somewhat unattractive jargon'. Instead, we need to find a proper field for our investigation, a new reason for sociological practice, linking our objectivity with the subjectivities of our times.. There is hardly any dearth of social problems. As Bourdieu says, people are infinitely more demanding

to sociologists, than they are towards history or ethnology or the like disciplines (1996:8). The issue is, are we ready to answer them?

## **Conclusion**

The world of the social that sociologists now confront is not the world or the society it created. Now the 'post social' is looking towards sociology to move ahead of it and take it to the next stage of imagination. In the place of the canons the present 'social' is only asking for a new 'reason of sociology'. It is not a decomposition or crisis, but a new challenge left for our imagination. The journey so far, for sociology, was often misguided. Sociology still can move ahead. But that depends on how we reclaim our skills that we alienated from our territory in the name of being scientific. As Peter Berger has observed in his work 'Invitation to Sociology', 'if one asks the undergraduate students of sociology, why they are taking sociology as a main subject, one often gets the reply, 'because I like to work with people' (1963:12, italics added). If this was the expectation of sociology even during the mid twentieth century why do we need to make a renewed call for the relevance of 'public sociology'? We were always public. If it has still not become public enough, then the problem is not because of its impossibilities in perspective, rather it is because of our 'practice'.

To quote Giddens again, "Social world has become episodic, fragmentary and dogged with new uncertainties, which it must be the business of creative sociological thought, to help us understand. Sociologists don't despair! You still have a world to win, or at least interpret, a world after this world, may be a life after death. (1996:7, italics added). Sociology still can have a life after all its crises. It has to move on, because, it is not an 'impossible discipline'.

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## INDIA'S ENERGY SECURITY: POTENTIALS OF BIMSTEC IN PERSPECTIVE

**Ravuru Narasaiah \***

### **Abstract**

*In the present global scenario, every major rising economy including India is consuming massive amounts of energy. Population growth, rapid industrialization and other factors have contributed towards energy shortage in India. In consideration of its rising energy demand coupled with increasing dependence on oil imports, India needs to work towards long term energy strategies, policies, and targets to achieve sustainable energy security. Regional cooperation can be instrumental in enhancing energy security. BIMSTEC is one such sub-regional grouping which provides opportunities for India to meet its energy needs through regional energy cooperation. So far BIMSTEC has proposed many initiatives to ensure energy security for its member countries. In this context, this paper brings out a perspective on the potentiality of BIMSTEC Energy Sector's Initiatives in strengthening India's Energy Security position.*

*Keywords: energy potential, energy security, renewable energy, India, BIMSTEC.*

India constitutes about 17 percent of the world's total population. However, it is not adequately endowed with energy resources. Ensuring energy availability and energy access to such a huge population in the context of inadequate energy resources is a fundamental challenge for the country. The concurrent growth in its population and economy has led to exponential increase in energy needs and energy consumption in India. Presently, India stands fourth in the list of the largest energy users in the world. In fact, it

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shares up to 6 percent of the world's energy consumption (Gnocato, K. & R. Grimes, 2016). India's energy use has almost doubled since 1990 and the potential energy consumption is expected to grow further. International Energy Agency (IEA) projects that by 2040, India would be the leading energy consumer in the world. IEA World Energy Outlook 2015 estimated that India energy requirement in 2040 is expected to be 1908 million tons of oil equivalent (Mtoe) (IEA, 2015, pp. 11-12). However, there is a wide gap between the growing needs of India's energy consumption and its potential to meet them as its domestic sources of energy are limited. In addition, the factors like rapid industrialization, urban expansion, inadequate energy infrastructure, lack of investment, and low level of technology have resulted in energy shortage in India. Therefore, in India, energy security has emerged as a major concern.

In order to cater its energy needs, India has shifted focus on exploiting energy endowments of South Asia and Southeast Asian region through regional cooperation (Rahman et al., 2011). In this backdrop, Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and

Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) is one such sub-regional grouping which has provided a platform for India to augment its relations with other member countries as well as to explore the possibilities to fulfil its energy needs (Kurian, 2016). Energy sector is one of the important identified sectors for cooperation within BIMSTEC with principal objective of ensuring energy security of its member countries. Most of the BIMSTEC countries are endowed with abundant natural resources, e.g. Nepal and Bhutan have enormous hydropower resources while Myanmar has huge natural gas reserves. India, being the largest and most populous country, can consume maximum energy resources of this region. So far BIMSTEC has proposed many initiatives to ensure energy security for its member countries. However, it is strenuous to find

out any research work on the potential of BIMSTEC energy sector's initiatives in strengthening India's energy security. In this context, this paper attempts to bring out a perspective on the potentiality of BIMSTEC Energy Sector's initiatives in strengthening India's Energy Security position.

This paper is structured into five parts. First section discusses the present and future energy scenario in India. Second section outlines India's primary energy mix by discussing renewable and non-renewable resources such as coal, natural gas, oil, nuclear energy, hydropower and biomass. Third section presents a picture of energy resource endowments in the BIMSTEC region. Fourth section deals with BIMSTEC energy sector's initiatives in strengthening India's energy security. And finally, fifth section concludes with a brief summary of key ideas which are discussed in this paper.

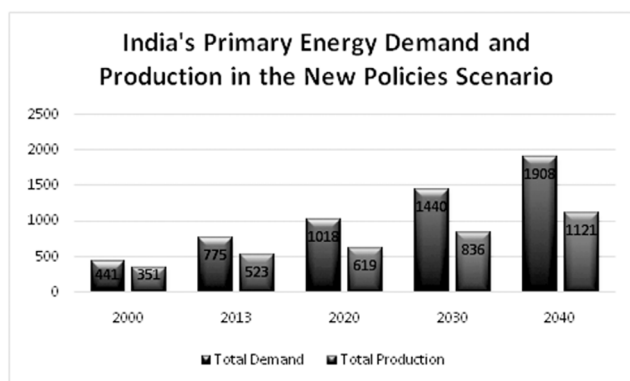
### **India's Energy Sector: An Overview**

India is the second largest populous country in the world, with 1.3 billion population, and it is also the world's second fastest-growing large economy, after China, in the post-reform period since 1990s (Drèze & Sen, 2013, p. viii). At the same time, energy consumption has virtually increased in the country. Consequently, over the years its energy craving has doubled, comprising 10 percent increase in the world's energy demand. For the first time, in 2009, India stood at world's 3rd position in terms of energy demand after China and the United States (IEA, 2012, p. 24). As World Energy Outlook (WEO) 2015 projects that India's energy demand will be reaching at 1908 Mtoe by 2040 from 308 Mtoe in 1990. It is noteworthy that the level of per capita energy consumption in India is 1010 kWh which is lower than the global average of around 3000 kWh and approximately 280 million people, mostly in rural areas, don't have access to basic electricity (Slusarska & Orlando, 2016). In these circumstances, the level of low per-capita energy consumption

indicates that India's energy demand still has a long way to reach its saturation point. Figure 1 shows India's primary energy demand and production 'in the New Policies Scenario of IEA India Energy Outlook (2015)' from 2000 to 2040.

Figure: 1

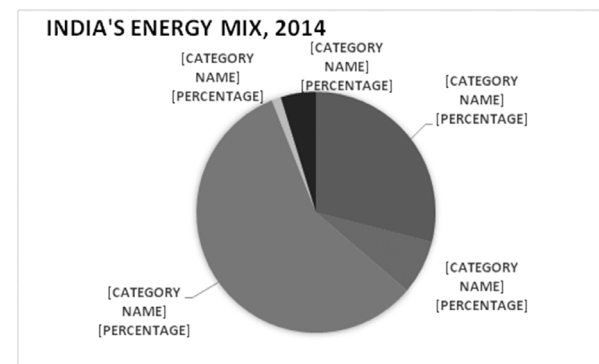
### The Energy Mix



Source: IEA India Energy Outlook 2015

The primary energy mix of India includes both renewable and non-renewable energy sources, namely oil, natural gas, coal, nuclear and hydropower resources. Coal has been by far the dominant source of energy mix, accounting for 58 percent of primary energy consumption. Figure 2 below gives a detailed overview of each sector.

Figure: 2



Source: BP Statistical Review of World Energy, 2015

### Energy Resources

#### Coal

Coal is by far India's main energy source. In 2014, India's coal consumption was estimated approximately 360.2 Mtoe which accounted for 58 percent of India's primary energy mix. It is noteworthy that despite having considerable coal reserves, India has undergone growing coal shortages. Coal, being the most ample resource in India, is widely used in its power generation sectors which accounts for around 70 percent of the country's total coal use. Since power plants largely depend on coal, India is unable to provide sufficient coal supply for its growing demand and thereby facing severe coal deficiency. Consequently, there is low performance in electricity generation and concomitant power cuts throughout the country (Shah, 2016).

Furthermore, over the years, there has been a significant increase in coal demand in the power sector. Though coal production has gradually augmented by about 4% per year since 2007, producers

are unable to meet the government's production targets. IEA World Energy Outlook 2015 estimates that 'In the New Policies Scenario' the coal demand in India will grow from 341 Mtoe in 2013 to 934 Mtoe by 2040, with 3.8% compound annual average growth rate (CAGR). Still, domestic coal production is not adequate in aggregate to meet the growing demand, leaving a wide gap that needs to be filled by imported fossil fuels and thereby the country confronts a huge gap between demand and supply (IEA, 2015, p. 13).

## **Oil**

The oil and gas sector is one among the six core industries in India and it plays a key role in influencing the development of economy. In 2014, oil accounted for 29 percent of India's primary energy consumption. In 2015, India was elevated to world's 4th position among the largest oil-consuming nations, behind the United States, China, and Japan, with its oil consumption of around 4.1 million barrels per day. It is expected that India will soon overtake Japan as the third biggest oil consumer in the world. Furthermore, India became third biggest oil importer in the world by surpassing Japan in 2015. India imports around 80% of its crude oil needs from the Middle Eastern countries (Snyder, 2015). In India, the gap between demand and supply in oil is widening. For the first time, in 2015, India registered an all-time record in terms of oil demand growth which rose to 300,000 barrels per day and doubled to the historical average of 150,000 bpd in the previous decade. Crude oil and Petroleum products are mainly used as driving power in the transport, industrial and domestic sectors in India. IEA World Energy Outlook 2015 projects that India's oil products demand is expected to sustain strongly on an upward trajectory, with its oil consumption seen increasing by 6 million barrels per day (mb/d) which is the biggest projected rise for any country's oil demand, from 3.8 (mb/d) in 2014 to around 10 (mb/d) by 2040 (IEA, 2015, p. 118).

## **Natural Gas**

In 2014, natural gas accounted for 7 percent of India's primary energy consumption. Natural gas has begun to serve as an alternative for coal in electricity generation and as a substitute for Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) in the fertilizer production in India. Until 2004, India's Natural Gas Sector achieved self-sufficiency and met its own energy needs (EIA, 2014, p. 11). Later, the consumption has witnessed an increasing trend. In addition to that, Indian hydrocarbon sector has not been exploited to the utmost; with approximately 70% of Indian gas basins remain underexplored. As a result, India has begun to rely on gas imports for meeting its growing domestic demand. In 2015, India has been ranked as world's 15th biggest consumer of natural gas with a consumption of 51 billion cubic metres (bcm) as well as world's 4th largest importer of LNG sourcing 18.9 bcm (livemint, 23 September 2015). In 2015, India produced 33.66 bcm of natural gas which is likely to increase at 33.73 bcm in 2016. The availability of India's natural gas reserves is likely to fall short due to its rapidly growing natural gas needs. IEA World Energy Outlook 2015 projects that 'in the New Policies Scenario', India's natural gas production surges from 35 bcm in 2013 to virtually 90 bcm by 2040, nevertheless this still results a significant gap of around 80 bcm that needs to be filled by imported natural gas (IEA, 2015, p. 119).

## **Nuclear Energy**

Nuclear power is the 4th biggest source of electricity after thermal, hydro and other renewable energy sources in India. In 2015, India stood at world's 12<sup>th</sup> largest position in terms of electricity generation from nuclear energy (PIB, Govt of India, 2015). As of March 2016, India has 21 nuclear reactors at 7 operating nuclear power plants, with an installed capacity of 5,780 MW nuclear power which accounts for only 2 per cent of the total installed capacity. In

addition, six more nuclear power plants are in the different stages of construction across India, with a total capacity of around 4 GW. The Nuclear Power Corporation of India Limited (NPCIL) operates all nuclear plants in the country (Chawla, 2016; IEA, 2015, p. 135). Though the current share of nuclear power in India's energy mix is one percent which is relatively very low, India attempts to cater its growing energy demand by uninterrupted electricity supply in the years to come. In this regard, India has ambitious plan to generate and meet 25% of the nation's total electricity needs through nuclear energy by 2050 from a mere 3% in 2015 (Spencer, 2016). IEA World Energy Outlook 2015 estimates that 'in the New Policies Scenario' the capacity of India's nuclear energy is likely to grow, almost sevenfold, from 5.8 GW in 2014 to nearly 39 GW in 2040 (IEA, 2015, p. 136).

### **Hydropower**

After Coal, hydropower is the most widely used and second-biggest form of energy source in India. In 2014, hydropower accounted for 5 percent of India's primary energy consumption. India was ranked as the world's sixth biggest producer in hydroelectricity generation after China, Canada, Brazil, USA and Russia in 2014. India is blessed with a vast amount of hydroelectricity potential approximately 84,000 MW at 60% capacity factor, which is conducive for economic exploitation. Furthermore, through Small (up to 25 MW), Mini (up to 2 MW) and Micro (up to 100 KW) hydropower schemes a potential of 6780 MW installed hydroelectricity capacity have been assessed. In addition, in order to meet the peak electricity demand and water pumping for irrigation, several pumped storage sites, with a total installed capacity of 94,000 MW, have been identified (IBP Inc., 2015).

In consideration of its rising energy demand coupled with increasing dependence on imported oil from volatile Middle Eastern

countries, India needs to work towards long term energy strategies, policies, and targets to achieve self-sufficiency in energy sector and to reduce its dependence on others. In this background, the term energy security has acquired greater significance.

### **The concept of Energy Security**

The International Energy Agency (IEA) defines, the simplest definition, energy security as 'the uninterrupted availability of energy sources at an affordable price' (IEA, 2014, p. 13). Today, Energy security assumes greater importance and lies at the heart of transformation of bilateral, regional and global economic affairs of every country in this world. It plays a strategic role in ensuring country's economic development, prosperity, and stability as well as wellbeing of the people. Furthermore, Energy security has greater implications not only in domestic political and economic sphere but also in external sectors as it reflects the capacity of the state to ensure adequate, reliable and sustainable supply of energy at an affordable cost in the long run as well as to maintain its status of an independent actor in the energy domain in global sphere (Walther, 2005, p. 71). The current quest for sustainable and renewable energy as a prerequisite of energy security has demonstrated the necessity of stable and affordable energy supply without causing environment and health related hazards (Tanabe, 2011, p. 88). There is now a greater concern among all the states whether developed or developing about how to ensure the accessibility of affordable, sufficient and useful energy to each and every section of the population without compromising with the energy needs of the future generations (Pandey, 2006). Hence, the domain of energy security has been expanded with the spurt of new areas of concern relating to environment compliance, sustainable development and equitable distribution of energy among all.

In the light of the above, India's energy sector which has faced a multifaceted challenge requires an urgent and pragmatic action. It is very essential for India's energy planners to strategize and restructure India's energy sector, and work towards improving energy security of the country. It is believed that one possible way of achieving energy security is enhanced regional cooperation. Therefore, India needs to strengthen regional cooperation and to diversify the energy alternatives and tap each and every resource to the maximum possible extent in ensuring its energy security.

### III. Energy Endowments of BIMSTEC Region

The BIMSTEC region provides a unique link between South Asia and Southeast Asia and it is home to approximately 1.5 billion people, constitutes around 22 percent of the world population, having a combined GDP of over US\$ 2.7 trillion (MEA, Govt. of India, 2016). The geographical region covering the BIMSTEC member states has an enormous potentiality in energy resources. For example, Nepal and Bhutan possess abundant hydropower resources while Myanmar has ample natural gas reserves beyond their use. Due to geographically scattered position, a large portion of these resources are still untapped among these countries. There is a need for effective regional cooperation in order to develop, distribute and ensure efficient utilization of these resources among the member countries. If the resources are efficiently and effectively utilized, it will be extremely beneficial and subsequently reinforce energy security among the member countries (RIS, 2004, p. 47).

**Table: 1** Energy Resource Endowments per million population in the BIMSTEC region

Countries	Population	Coal	Oil	Gas	Biomass	Hydropower
Bangladesh	161665000	5.47	0.08	0.12	0.00	0.002
Bhutan	781980	2.56	0	0	34.01	38.37
India	1210854977	74.40	4.71	0.03	0.11	0.12
Myanmar	51486253	10.49	3.11	0.22	NA	1.94
Nepal	28037904	NA	0	0	0.97	2.97
Sri Lanka	20771000	NA	7.22	0	0.58	0.09
Thailand	65926261	18.80	7.59	0.21	NA	0.22

Sources: 1. Compiled from ADB 2014; *Statistical Review of World Energy June 2015*

2. (Population) Compiled from latest census of the countries concerned.

**Table: 2** Energy Resource Endowments land area per square km in the BIMSTEC region

Countries	Land Sq. Ft Km	Coal	Oil	Gas	Biomass	Hydropower
Bangladesh	147570	5990.38	81.31	140.28	0.54	2.23
Bhutan	38394	52.10	0	0	692.81	781.38
India	3287000	27406.45	1734.10	11.87	42.29	45.63
Myanmar	676578	798.13	236.49	17.44	NA	147.80
Nepal	147181	NA	0	0	183.71	563.93
Sri Lanka	65610	NA	2286.23	0	182.90	30.49
Thailand	513120	2414.64	974.43	27.29	NA	29.52

Source: *The World Bank Surface Area 2015 (for Land Area)*



Table 1 and 2 show energy resource endowments per million population as well as energy resource endowments land area per square km in the BIMSTEC region. India, being enormous energy resource rich country, is far behind, except in coal, in the energy resource endowments list owing to its large population. With regard to oil, Thailand stood in top position in terms of per million population, while Sri Lanka occupied first place in terms of land area per square km in the list. In the case of natural gas, Myanmar is ranked as 1st position in terms of per million population whereas Bangladesh is placed highest position in terms of land area per square km in the list. As for hydropower and biomass, Bhutan, being small in terms of population and land area, stood in highest position in both in terms of per million population as well as land area per square km in the list. Likewise, Nepal occupied 2nd position in energy resource endowments in the BIMSTEC region list.

## Bangladesh

Bangladesh has huge potential reserves of natural gas which is by far country's main energy resource, accounting for 71% of total country's commercial energy consumption. At the end of 2014, Twenty-Six hydrocarbon fields, an estimated 27.12 trillion cubic feet (tcf) of gas, have been discovered in the maritime zone of Bangladesh. So far, Bangladesh has extracted natural gas from 20 hydrocarbon fields out of 26. As of July 2016, Bangladesh has 20.77 proven recoverable gas reserves and the total gas production is 13.52 tcf (Daily Sun, 25 July 2016). With regard to coal and oil, Bangladesh has modest reserves. As for biomass, it is a major primary energy supply in rural areas of Bangladesh. Approximately 70% of country's energy requirements are met through biomass. Agricultural crop residues, wood, jute stick, rice husk, animal manure and municipal solid waste are the main sources of biomass energy in the country. In the case of hydropower, Bangladesh has

an estimated potential capacity of 350 MW. Karnafuli hydroelectric power plant is the one and only hydropower station in the country, with power generation capacity of 230 MW. Furthermore, there are some micro and mini hydropower generation stations, with capacity of 10 KW to 5 MW, in Bangladesh (Chowdhury, 2015, p. 3).

## Bhutan

Bhutan does not have any non-renewable energy sources, namely oil, petroleum and natural gas, and thereby heavily depends on India for importing coal, petroleum and natural gas products. As for biomass, it is the main energy source of Bhutan, where approximately 90% of the country's total household energy requirements are met through biomass, particularly from fuel wood (ADB, 2012, p. 5). With regard to hydropower, Bhutan is endowed with abundant resources which have an estimated usable hydropower potential of 30,000 MW. In addition, six mega hydropower projects with an installed capacity of 5000 MW are in the different stages of construction. But, as of 2015, only 6% of hydropower resources have been captured. Arguably, Bhutan is the only country in the BIMSTEC region to have surplus hydroelectricity power generation. At present, Bhutan's electricity generating capacity is 1614 MW. In 2014, this sector contributed a substantial income to Bhutan's national economy by generating 72.5% of export earnings, 20% of government revenues and 14.15% of gross domestic product (GDP) (Gyeltshen, 2015).

Hydropower sector plays a key role between Bhutan-India bilateral relations. India has helped Bhutan in developing its hydropower projects for decades. The surplus hydro power of Bhutan is exported to India. This amounts to about more than 84% of total hydro power generation capacity of the country (Bhandari, 2014). Both the governments have already taken the decision to further expand power trade with the target of generating 10,000

MW of power by 2020 after the first bilateral Empowered Joint Group of Ministers meeting which took place in March 2009 in New Delhi. Some of the important hydropower projects which are already supplying electricity from Bhutan to India are Chukha, Tala, Kिररुचि power projects. Furthermore, seven more projects that are under construction include: Punatsangchhu I, Punatsangchhu II, Sunkosh Reservoir Chamkarchhu-I, Amochhu, Kholongchu etc. which will supply electricity to India from 2018 onwards. In hydropower sector, India-Bhutan energy cooperation is a perfect win-win situation for both the countries (Bisht, 2011).

## **India**

With regard to coal, India holds world's 5th largest reserves and ranks 3<sup>rd</sup> biggest consumer behind China and the United States in the world (BP, 2015, p. 30). The Geological Survey of India (GSI) under the Indian Ministry of Coal estimated that the total proven coal reserves in India as on 1.4.2014 is 125.90 billion tonnes (Ministry of Coal, Govt of India, 2014). However, it is noteworthy that compare to other BIMSTEC countries India has huge coal reserves but, it is not tapped to utmost. In the case of oil, as of 2014, India held approximately 5.7 thousand million barrels of proven reserves (BP, 2015, p. 6). As for natural gas, at the end of 2014, India possessed 1.4 trillion cubic meter (tcm) of proven reserves. A significant chunk of natural gas reserves are found in the western offshore of India. The two dominant state-owned oil companies, namely Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) and Oil India Limited (OIL) hold largest share in the country's upstream gas sector (EIA, 2014, p. 14; BP, 2015, p. 20).

As to hydropower, as of June 2015, India's installed capacity is approximately 41,997 MW which accounts for 17.6% of India's total electricity generation. India stood at 5th position in terms of exploitable hydroelectric potential at global level. At the end of June

2015, India has 190 hydropower stations; most of them are located in the northern region of the country. National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC) and Satluj Jal Vidyut Nigam (SJVN) Limited are two largest hydropower companies in India (IBEF, 2016, p. 14). Pertaining to biomass, India's total potential capacity is approximately 30,000 MW, but currently it has an installed capacity of 3000 MW, leaving 90% of the country's total biomass resources untapped (SICOM, 2016).

## **Myanmar**

Myanmar is blessed with ample natural energy resources such as natural gas, coal and hydropower. Myanmar is ranked as 10th biggest natural gas producer in the world and 90% of its total petroleum products are based on natural gas. Myanmar has an estimated proven natural gas reserve of 11.8 trillion cubic feet (tcf) (ADB, 2016, p. 1). In 2016, Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise (MOGE) projects that the country's total gas production is likely to reach 689.8 billion cubic feet (bcf) in the fiscal year of 2016-2017, out of which 515 bcf will be exported to countries like Thailand and China. The Yadana and Yetagun are two major offshore gas fields of Myanmar, situated in the Andaman Sea. These are country's biggest source of revenue, contributing to its economy (Asia News Network, 20 June 2016). Myanmar has an estimated hydropower potential of 108,000 MW. So far, the government has identified 92 large-scale hydropower potential projects with a total installed capacity of 46000 MW. As for oil, Myanmar has 160 million barrels of proven oil reserves. In the case of coal, Myanmar has estimated coal reserves of 540 million tons in 33 coal deposits (Shin, 2016). With regard to biomass, which has historically served as an important energy source for residential sector of Myanmar. It is estimated that biomass accounts for approximately 65% of Myanmar's primary energy supply and about 12 million people depend on it as their source of fuel for cooking and lighting (Nam, Cham, & Halili, 2015, p. 1).

## **Nepal**

Biomass is by far the most widely used energy resource in Nepal, where more than 80% of the country's total population highly depends on solid biomass such as, wood, animal dung, charcoal, and crop residues. As for hydropower, Nepal is bestowed with abundant resources having an estimated potential of 83,000 MW. At present, Nepal's total installed hydropower capacity is around 750 MW, leaving 99% of the country's total hydropower resources unexploited. With regard to coal, Nepal possesses some low-grade lignite coal, which was extracted in Dang district of Nepal. In the case of Petroleum and Natural gas, Nepal imports mainly from India and other countries (The Kathmandu Post, 29 July 2016).

## **Sri Lanka**

Sri Lanka has no proven fossil fuel resources, relying almost solely on imports to meet its growing energy needs. However, in 2011, Sri Lanka has discovered eight hydrocarbon blocks in the Mannar Basin, north-western coast of Sri Lanka which has a potential capacity of more than 2 trillion cubic feet of natural gas (Pieris, 2016). With regard to biomass, it is the only major indigenous available energy source in Sri Lanka, meeting around 53% of the country's total energy requirements, particularly in rural domestic energy sector. As for hydropower, Sri Lanka has an estimated potential capacity of around 2000 MW. In addition, Sri Lanka has allowed private sector companies to generate hydroelectricity through mini hydropower projects (up to 10 MW). In 2015, the generating capacity of these mini hydropower projects from 150 plants was 293 MW, out of the total estimated potential power generation capacity of 873 MW (Daily FT, 17 May 2016).

## **Thailand**

Thailand has reasonable amount of proven fossil fuel reserves,

namely natural gas, oil and coal. With regard to natural gas, Thailand possesses 14 trillion cubic feet (tcf) of reserves, out of which around 90% of country's natural gas reserves are located offshore in the Gulf of Thailand. In 2014, Thailand's total natural gas consumption amounted to around 4,669 million standard cubic feet per day (MMscfd), but domestic natural gas production was approximately 4,073 MMscfd. As a result, Thailand still remains dependent on natural gas imports in order to bridge the increasing demand-supply gap and to meet its growing energy needs. Thailand started importing natural gas from Myanmar through pipeline since 2011 (Ministry of Energy, Govt. of Thailand, 2015, p. 113). Pertaining to oil, as of 2014, Thailand has 0.5 thousand million barrels of proved oil reserves and Thailand's total oil production was around 453 thousand barrels per day (BP, 2015, p. 6).

In the case of coal, as of 2014, Thailand's total proven coal reserves are estimated to be of 1,239 million tons and coal consumption was of 18.4 million tons. As for hydropower, Thailand possesses an estimated potential of about 15,155 MW. As of 2014, Thailand's total installed hydropower capacity was 3,444 MW. As to biomass, Thailand holds an estimated installed capacity of around 400 MW. In 2014, biomass accounted for 2,452 MW of Thailand's total electricity production. Alternative Energy Development Plan (AEDP) 2015, of the Ministry of Energy of Thailand has put up an ambitious target to generate 5,570 MW capacity of biomass energy by 2036 (Achawangkul, 2015).

## **Energy Sector of BIMSTEC**

Energy sector is one of the important sectors among the fourteen BIMSTEC identified sectors which is led by Myanmar. This sector is consisted of two sub-sectors, namely; i). Oil and Gas and ii). Power. The prime objective of energy sector of BIMSTEC is to ensure energy security of its member nations. As of 2016,



Myanmar hosted 5 Expert Group Meetings on Energy Sector. And, till date, the BIMSTEC Energy Ministers have met twice- in Oct 2005 in New Delhi, India and in March 2010 in Bangkok, Thailand. The current important projects endorsed in the energy sector are the Trans BIMSTEC Gas Pipeline Project, the Trans BIMSTEC Power Exchange and Development project, and BIMSTEC Energy Centre in Bangalore and energy trading network between members (BIMSTEC Secretariat, 2016).

### **The Trans BIMSTEC Gas Pipeline Project**

The Trans BIMSTEC Gas Pipeline Project is an important project under the Oil and Gas sub-sector. Thailand carried out feasibility study and convened a Task Force meeting in March 2001, in Bangkok, Thailand. Furthermore, in order to finalize Terms of References on Trans BIMSTEC Gas Pipeline project a Task Force meeting took place on 28-29 June, 2006, in Bangkok, Thailand. At the same time, Workshop on Petroleum Reserves in BIMSTEC Region was also held (BIMSTEC Secretariat, 2016). Also, Thailand has agreed to share the technology and knowledge of converting natural gas resource into saleable products with other countries in the region. It is estimated that Myanmar has huge untapped gas reserves which can be tapped with the help of energy deficient countries like India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Thailand for mutual benefit. This initiative will result in attaining energy security in the region and subsequently contributes towards the socio-economic development of the member states (BIMSTEC Energy Centre, n.d.). However, this project has not materialized so far, even though the project has been proposed during the First Energy Ministers Meeting in 2005.

### **The BIMSTEC Trans Power Exchange and Development Project**

The BIMSTEC Trans Power Exchange and Development

Project is a major initiative under the Power sub-sector of the BIMSTEC. It is initiated for accelerating power trade among the member countries. Thailand was entrusted with the responsibility of preparing of Terms of Reference for the Task Force and of providing technical knowhow and expertise in the field of power exchange and development to member states by conducting training programmes on power planning and maintenance (BIMSTEC Secretariat, 2016). This initiative will ensure energy security and thereby offers win-win situation in the region as it will allow the member countries to share their surplus hydroelectric power with each other. In order to start the BIMSTEC Trans Power Exchange and Development Project, a workshop on Harmonisation of Grid Standards took place on 6<sup>th</sup> February 2006 in New Delhi, India, in which the host country drafted the MoU on this project. However after a long interval, the member countries finalized the negotiations for drafting MoU on the BIMSTEC Trans Power Exchange project at the 5th BIMSTEC Task Force meeting on Trans Power Exchange on 16th March, 2015 in Dhaka, Bangladesh (Karim, 2015). The MoU provides a broad framework of cooperation for the implementation of power grid interconnection with the aim of boosting balanced power transmission in the BIMSTEC region. Guided by the principles of mutual cooperation and sustainable development, the member countries are eager to create grid interconnection for stable, reliable and economic electricity supply at the affordable cost to the consumers in the region (BIMSTEC Newsletter, August 2011).

In 2006, India hosted a Workshop on Sharing Experience in Developing Hydro Project with focus on remote area electrification. It is estimated that the BIMSTEC countries have an immense hydropower potential of about 260,000 MW (bdnews24.com, 17 March 2015). Except Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, other member countries are endowed with abundant hydropower potential.

Myanmar has proposed to initiate hydropower projects in collaboration with Thailand, Bangladesh and India. The countries like India and Bangladesh are already experiencing an increase in demand for hydropower and this increased demand is more likely to exceed the hydropower potential of these countries. Fortunately the BIMSTEC is blessed with enormous hydropower potential which needs to be tapped and developed through regional cooperation in order to fulfil the increased hydroelectricity demand. It has been realized that hydropower, if effectively developed, can contribute towards more electricity generation and sort out the problem of electricity scarcity in the region when other renewable energy sources like wind and solar power are comparatively costlier to be utilized (Hossain, 2015).

## Conclusion

This paper has discussed the present and future energy scenario in India, the energy profile of India, the energy endowments in the BIMSTEC region, and the BIMSTEC Energy sectors initiatives in detail. Undoubtedly, India has abundant energy resources, namely coal and hydropower resources, but the burgeoning population and untapped resources forced India to heavily rely on oil imports. It is well known that Nepal and Bhutan have enormous hydropower resources whereas Myanmar has rich natural gas deposits. India, being net energy importing country, can make use of these surplus resources from BIMSTEC member countries and thereby reduce its dependence on the Middle Eastern countries. However, the proposed BIMSTEC Energy sector projects are not yet started, which are likely to emerge in the near future. For example, after so many years' gap, MoU on Trans BIMSTEC Power Exchange and Development Project has been finalized. And it is expected to come into force in 2017 and to help in strengthening power cooperation between India and other BIMSTEC member countries.

The paper concludes that BIMSTEC Energy sector's programmes are a good initiative towards promoting energy security in the region. However, it is still in its first phase of implementation. It will take some time to materialize. Therefore, in the meantime, India needs to think in terms of entering into bilateral cooperation with her neighbours, wherever multilateral framework is not productive and the progress is not of expected level. For instance, hydropower sector cooperation, for decades, has been a win-win situation for India and Bhutan. In the case of India and Nepal, misperception, political instability, unstable government, and domestic insurgencies and other factors have hindered progress in this sector. Both the countries have agreement in many areas of cooperation including energy sector. But, they have failed to unfold cooperation in this sector. In order to achieve progress and develop cooperation in hydropower sector, both countries need to overcome these challenges. In the same way, India has to focus on expanding bilateral energy cooperation with Myanmar and Bangladesh which are rich in natural gas resources.

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AND ACADEMIC RECOGNITION

ISDA Journal 27 (1 & 2) 2017, pp. 47-65  
© Institute for the Study of Developing Areas ISSN 0971-2550.

### MAKING OF A PEOPLE: UNDERSTANDING THE ETHNIC DISCOURSE OF ASSAM

*Bitasta Das\**

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#### **Abstract**

*Assam is one of the states of the north-east cluster of India. During the colonial times, leaving out Sikkim, Manipur and Tripura, the rest of the four states that make the north-east region—Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh were part of Assam. After Independence the state of Assam got divided four times, a phenomenon unique among all the states of India, largely owing to “ethnic” dissidence. Present day Assam sustains under several similar threats. The common feature in all the separation demands has been that they have centred around a specific notion of peoplehood, based on belief in discrete cultural identity, and rightful claim on a territory (homeland) corresponding to this identity. In this paper we look into this idea of identity and unravel when it had emerged in the socio-political milieu of Assam.*

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*Keywords: Assam, Ethnic Discourse, Assertions*

#### **Assam and its people**

Looking at the population of north-east India (then undivided Assam, Manipur and Tripura), the British administrators had called it “an anthropologist’s delight and an administrator’s dilemma”. Presently homing more than 220 ethnic groups in a population of about 40 million, the image of the north east India more or less has remained the same even till this date.

Large part of north-east India had been ruled by various dynasties at various times of the history. The Varmanas ruled from 350 to 650

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AD), the Salstambhas from 655 to 900 AD and the Kamarupa-Palas from 900 to 1100 AD. Later, in the medieval period two dynasties, the Ahoms and the Koch emerged as powerful empires. The Ahoms, a Tai group, ruled north east India for nearly 600 years (1228–1826 AD). The nerve centre of Ahom polity was (present) upper Assam; the Ahom kingdom was gradually extended till Karatoyariver during 17th–18th AD. The Koch kingdom, a Tibeto-Burmese, established sovereignty in 1510 AD in north east India and present north Bengal. Among the other dynasties, the Chutiyas and the Kacharis ruled from Dikhow River to central and southern north east India. With expansion of Ahom kingdom, by 1520 AD the Chutiya areas were annexed and since 1536 AD Kacharis remained only in Cachar and North Cachar more as an Ahom ally than a competing force. However, despite numerous invasions, mostly by the Muslim rulers, western powers were unsuccessful in invading north east India until the arrival of the British. North-east India therefore has had a distinct political history and dissimilar rule compared to rest of India. Due to its unique geographical location, it was more susceptible to invaders from the (now known) South East Asian countries. The various reigns left their discrete marks in the socio-cultural matrix of north east India through coercion or integration. This separate history has influenced the socio-cultural imagination about north east India and about its corresponding demographical constituent. The demography of this region is commonly believed to consist of people from wide ranging ethnic groups. Every study of north-east India, official or non-official, anthropological, sociological or political, inevitably subscribe to the idea that the land is “culturally divergent and ethnically variegated”. This region has inevitably been considered to be a repository of people inflowing from various regions, mostly from South East Asia. Being a land frontier and because it is connected to the rest of India only by a narrow strip

of land, the people and their culture are generally believed to have closer affiliations with the people of adjoining border countries rather than that of rest of India. These sociological writings along with, government records, the prevalent stereotypes, all conform to the view that north east India is a geographical and cultural entity is distant from mainland India.

Colonial administrator and author, J.B Fuller (Fuller: 1909) wrote that the province of Assam at the far north-eastern corner of India is a “museum of nationalities”. Peter Kunstadter in his two volume work entitled Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities and Nations (1967) included a chapter on undivided Assam. Kunstadter explain his inclusion of the region on the basis of the region’s large population of tribal and minority peoples whose languages are more closely related to the languages of Southeast Asia than to those of the Indian subcontinent and their cultures too resembling the cultures of their neighbours in Southeast Asia. Sir Robert Reid (Reid, 1942), Governor of Assam (1937-1942) also stated that the tribal people of north east India are not Indians in any sense of the word. Neither in origin and appearance nor in habits and outlook and it is by historical accident that they are tagged to Indian province. Therefore, he termed the inclusion of the region into Indian Territory as a “series of historical accident”. The north eastern region of India had little or no contacts with the mainland India throughout the annals of history. The different communities in the region maintain autonomy or independence not only from outside forces but also within themselves even though there was intimate relationship between the warring communities. The British military success over Burma in 1826 and the annexation of the Ahom kingdom of Assam to the Presidency of Bengal marked the entry of the British East India Company to the region. By the right of conquest these territories were brought directly under the

control of the British government and the region was redrawn as the political frontier—India's 'North east'. The whole of the present north eastern region was under Bengal province till 1874. Due to the British policy of expanding areas under their control and administrative rearrangements since the Revolt of 1857, the Assam province was created and governed by a Chief Commissioner who was subordinate to Lieutenant Governor of Bengal province. However due to change in subsequent administrative policies, a new arrangement was made where Assam province became a distinct unit directly administered by a Governor-General. Therefore, successive legal and administrative decisions taken between 1874 and 1935 gave north east India, a distinct region and identity. The region has been treated separately and distinctly from other parts of the region or province by British India throughout their colonial rule. The north eastern region has been a difficult frontier region ever since the British colonial period.

The perspective of the British colonizers articulating north east India as a land inhabited by variegated racial and cultural communities had set in place a concrete idea that has not changed even after years of Independence.

The Gazetteers of India had identified the diversity within the population of undivided Assam. This diversity is acknowledged on the basis of their physical traits:

Out of Assam's population of nearly 9 million (1951), 4.69% are Scheduled Castes and 19.48% are Scheduled Tribes. Classified data are available for 12 tribes like the Arleng, Bodo, Khasi, Garo and others. They are medium in stature in over 50% cases and short in about 30%. The head is mesocephalic in 50% cases, but there are some interesting deviations. The Koc (88), Hill Garo (100) and Plain Garo (100) have dolichocephals in the following proportion 60%, 53% and 47%. This is followed by high figures

for mesocephaly, namely, 31%, 44% and 46%. Brachycephalic and hyperbrachycephalic heads are few, though among the Ahoms (19) this rises to very high figure (31%+26%). The Khasi (237) and the Mi-Shing (Miri) (25) have more than 16% brachycephalseach, the latter have also hyperbrachycephaly in 8% cases. The nose is mesorrhine in over 60%. The percentage of Chamarrhine and hyperchamarrhine is also fairly high among the Khasi (25%, 2.5%), Koc (24%, 7%), Hill Garo (46%, 4%), Mi-Shing (Miri) (Gazetteers of India, 1965)

*The People of India* (Singh, 1992) project conducted by the Anthropological Survey of India (ASI), a government of India initiative that began in 1985 subscribes that the Austroasiatic are considered to be the earliest settlers, followed by Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan and the Kradai speakers. Forty-five languages are identified to be spoken by different communities, including three major language families: Austroasiatic (5), Sino-Tibetan (24) and Indo-European (12). Three of the spoken languages do not fall in these families. Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism, Animism and Buddhism are recognized as the major religions here.

This description is not much different from the historians' accounts. History of north east India has been made parallel with the history of the people migrating and habituating the region. Historians, within and outside the region, hold the same view that the inflow and the confluence of varied races is the bedrock on which the history of north east India is based. Dr. Balaram Chakravorti who has contributed a huge numbers of writings on historical, cultural and ancestral matter of India and other countries, writes about the people of undivided Assam while accentuating their difference:

From the very ancient times different groups of people of different ethnicity, culture, religion and following various customs and traditions began to live in the valley of the Brahmaputra. Some of them were autochthonous while others

came across the Northern or the Eastern hills or from the plains on the west as, traders or pilgrims. Assam is originally a land of tribal people. We know from the anthropologists that the Khasis and the Jaintias were the most ancient inhabitants of Assam, who were of the Austric race. They were followed by the great Nagas and Danavas who were the descendents of Abotani spreading across to Polynesia and Transpacific countries. Then the Kiratas of Mongolian stock followed them. There after came the Asuras from Mithila headed by Naraksura who brought in the Sanskrit speaking Brahmanas (Devas) from the interior states of India. The land grants of Asura testify to this.

The larger modern Assam is occupied by various tribes like the Bodo, the Kachari, the Garo, the Chutia, the Morans while the Adis, the Apatanis, the Mithings, Meiteis etc. belong to the Danava race. They are off-shoots of the great stock of the Kirata race with different titles.

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D., at the time of the Ahoms the two powerful branches of Bodos named the Kacharis and the Chutias were ruling over a large part of eastern Assam. At last the group of Sanskrit-speaking people entered Assam with their own distinct culture and heritage through the North-Eastern and the Northern passes from Pamir region, called the Alpines. Some of the Deva groups, who were also Sanskrit speaking came directly from the North from the mountain passes and began to reside in the eastern regions of Assam including Kamrupa. The culture and civilization of Assam is a composite mixture of Sanskrit-speaking Devas and non-Sanskrit speaking elements. (Chakravorti 2000: 10-11)

Renowned historian N.N. Acharyya (Acharyya, 1983) referring to the diversity concludes that the Karbis, the descendents of Austric race, were the first inhabitants of this region. The Kirats belonging to Mongoloid race migrated from the Western parts of China

and speak Sino-Tibetan language. The tribes like Bodo, Garo, Rabha, Deuries, Misings, Morans, Chutias, Dimasas and Koches (Rajbongshi), Lalung, and Hajong also belong to the Mongoloid race. The Kaibartas and Baniyas from Drabirian race came to Assam from the Mediterranean coast. The Aryans from Caucasian race have migrated from the Gangetic plains to Assam, as early as the 1st century AD, when the region was under the rule of the Mongoloid kings.

Likewise, there is a large body of literature and records that subscribe to the variegated ethnic diversity of the north east India. This perception and description of this land inhabited by numerous and wide ranging communities has been the essence of its socio-political matrix. The imagination of the region subsisting with numerous identities is at odds with and definitely inferior to the single Brahmanical/Aryan racial composition seen in major parts of mainland India. The unitary racial composition is seen as superior and as a strong backbone to building a community. In contrast, the north east is still viewed as a challenge to this national unity. This region, located in geographical margin of India, has been ostensibly marginalised from the central idea of the nation.

### **Assertions in contemporary Assam**

Assam has witnessed numerous conflicts after the Independence. These conflicts have manifested themselves in various forms. They were sometimes demands for recognition of a particular language as the official language, at times upsurges for separate state, sometimes stir for greater share in development and in the some extreme cases there have been secessionist demands. This phenomenon started with Naga insurgency demanding secession from India right after the Independence. This was intensified in the 1980s as demand for secession or separate homeland spread to various groups in the region. As a result colonial Assam was divided into five states: Nagaland in



1963, Meghalaya in 1970 and Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh in 1972. The ULFA, the Bodoland movement continued to demand for separation. The Karbis of the KarbiAnglong district launched a movement for autonomous state (they already had an autonomous district council). After this, the demand for “ethnic” homeland was adopted by various other groups of the state such as the Mising, the Tiwas, the Rabhas etc. Each of these groups today has its own autonomous district council with varying powers, with or without well-defined territorial boundaries. The process has not attained a closure yet. Since many years the Koch-Rajbanshis have been agitating for a separate Kamatapur state incorporating eleven districts in the Brahmaputra valley and six districts in North Bengal region. The Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland (IM) contention for ‘Nagalim’ (Naga homeland) incorporates a large tract of land which is habitat of several tribes of Assam like the Karbis, Dimasas-Kacharis etc. Together with these, there is the looming immigrant’s issue that has been propelling immense tension in the social and political context of Assam. In all these assertions, post Independence, two features have been common, first is the shared belief in unique and distinct cultural identity and second is the idea of definite homeland. A study of the contemporary assertions reveals that it is not ethnicity per se which causes the assertions. Distinctive and specific political intentions provide the stimulus for the population of people to assert themselves. However why the assertions adorn ethnic contours in their process of demand calls for a close analysis. The study of the cases of Assam Movement, ULFA and Bodo Movement provide an opportunity to understand the conundrum that plagues the society and politics of contemporary Assam. The three movements arose with different agenda, representing different section of Assam’s population and seeking varied remedy for their resentment. However they eventually adapted the process and ideology that let them get categorized as ethnic assertions.

The three movements were of different constituent and nature; the Assam movement was an indigenous people’s revolt against unchecked immigrants, Bodo movement was a “tribal” uprising demanding autonomy and the ULFA upsurge, an extremist stir with the aim to secure secession. They had, however, primarily evolved on the sentiments of neglect and deprivation. While trying to annul the perceived/real exclusionary attitude, they grounded their demands by formulating a specific notion of identity that is based on belief in discrete cultural identity and a corresponding homeland. Three of these movements have had large mass support and were associated with varied levels of violence.

The Assam Movement (1979-85) started as an indigenous communities’ assertion against the immigrants, but it transformed into ethnic turmoil by the time it ended with the signing of the Assam Accord. The Assam movement started as a collective assertion of the indigenous population against the economic and demographic threat posed by illegal immigrants. But the consolidated movement gradually fragmented into ethnic divisions. We argue that the difficulty in identifying the “illegal immigrants” amongst the local population transformed into a process of outlining their own identity by the indigenous population. In this process, the identity categories already available were sharpened and this led to the ethnicization of the purported collective identity of the Assam movement. We identify three sites where ethnicization of the identities took place, they can be delineated as: The Elections, Growth of identity based organizations, The Assam Accord. The identities got ethnicized—it took place in two folds- sharpening the historical rivalry between the Assamese and the Bengalis and eroding of the idea of “greater Assamese nationality”. The framing of identity of the people of Assam by the United Liberation Front of Assam or ULFA (1979-) is also important in this context. ULFA surfaced and thrived upon

the broad sense of discontent prevalent in the region regarding its membership in India. ULFA's idea of identity of the people of Assam is different from the Indian identity. The formulation of this identity was possible through underscoring the already existing sense of discontent among the masses in regard to economic deprivation, social marginalization and military cavalier of the centre. ULFA bases the identity of the people dissociated from India on the idea of difference, as a people and the long nurtured sentiment of deprivation and marginalization. ULFA's idea of distinct identity has evolved from the long held view that the people of Assam are diverse among themselves and from rest of India. The Bodos during the Bodoland movement (1989-) relied on the already existing ethnic differentiation to establish their claim as the authentic "sons of the soil". The Bodos raised their claim on the land by evoking an idea of ancestral kingdom in doing so they formulated their identity by challenging the "sons of the soil" of the Assamese. The Bodos formulated their identity based on the existing large body of writing and idea about their origin. The Bodos formulated their identity through the eroding of greater Assamese nationality and attempting a separate tribal identity. The greater tribal identity though was attempted by the Bodos to consolidate their claim on Assam, fragmented into smaller units, once again bringing to the fore that a discordant ethnic distinction is prevalent.

### **Emergence of the Ethnic Discourse**

The politicization of ethnic identities, we purport, is not natural but had emerged at the time when the people were identified and categorized based on the perceived idea of their origin. It was this practice, started by the British administrators that translated into concretization of the ethnic identities. The identification and categorization of people was put in practice in three interrelated ways—Census and Cartography, Anthropological Studies and Administrative Policies and Acts.

The ethnic discourse of north east India is constituted by the numerous writing about the people. Extensive writings about the inhabitants; their origin, the route of immigration and time of arrival in north east India, their racial and cultural affiliation, historical allegiance are, without doubt, features of the colonial establishment. Though undivided Assam had a history of writing and maintaining records even before the advent of the British, in the form of Buranjis, the chronicles of the Ahom dynasty, the study and detailing of the people and categorizing them based on their analysis created an unprecedented paradigm of identifying the people of Assam.

Two key aspects of the colonial political geography of Assam, which profoundly affected its cultural dynamics, were: the segregation of plain and the hills, and the notion that Assam is an extension of Bengal (Guha, 1977). Together with these Assam's late nineteenth century economic revolution (discovery of tea and petroleum, setting up of coal fields, timber production were some of the developments) brought an inflow of people to Assam from various parts of the country to meet the newly emerged demand of labourers. Colonial officials actively encouraged immigration into Assam. Labourers in a large scale were brought in from present day Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh to work in the gardens and fields. This economic transformation brought in a sea change in the demography of Assam. Together with this, the radical policies introduced were a sharp break from the past. At one hand the interconnection between the people of the hills and of the plains or valleys were curtailed and at the same time a new category of people, the "immigrants", was created. This juncture hence saw the emergence of the binary opposite categories: the indigenous and the immigrants; the plain people and the hill people; the tribal and the non-tribal and the hill tribal and the plain tribal. These categories have existed and dominate the social, political and economic life of Assam till date.

Bernard Cohn in *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (1996) brings to the fore that colonialism was much more than a temporary overpowering of the home administration. But its appendages grow much deeper and the power it acquires is through the knowledge it generates about the colonized people. Knowledge about the people provides the colonial machineries the power to rule them. Nicholas B. Dirks in the opening remarks of Cohn's book describes the cultural project of control by the British in India as follows:

Colonial conquest was not just the result of the power of superior arms, military organization, political power, or economic wealth—as important as these things were.... Colonialism was itself a cultural project of control. Colonial knowledge both enabled conquest and was produced by it; in certain important ways, knowledge was what colonialism was all about. Cultural forms in societies newly classified as “traditional” were reconstructed and transformed by and through this knowledge, which created new categories and oppositions between colonizers and colonized, Europeans and Asian, modern and traditional, West and East. Ruling India through delineation and reconstitution of systematic grammars for vernacular languages, representing India through the mastery and display of archaeological memories and religious texts, Britain set in motion transformations every bit as powerful as the better-known consequences of military and economic imperialism. (Cohn 1996: ix)

Cohn's work deals extensively with the “Investigative modality” of the British policy makers. “Investigative modalities”, in Cohn's usage, were made official through the production of usable knowledge in the form of published reports, statistical returns, official proceedings, administrative histories, and legal codes. All of these Cohn treats as “texts” that can be deconstructed in relation

to the way in which they were written as part of specific colonial projects. In his outline, Cohn lists the following types of modalities: historiography, observation and travel, survey, enumeration, museology, and surveillance.

The colonial state in India in the late nineteenth century began to introduce some of the major instruments of control of populations and resources tried out in Europe, with suitable modification for colonial adaptation. Simultaneously the colonial administrations inducted cognitive and statistical projects of modern rule. These we argue that the colonial practice of census and cartography, anthropological studies and administrative policies and acts put in place a rigid idea of peoplehood amongst the people of north east India.

### **Understanding the Ethnic Discourse**

Studying the three contemporary movements provides us with the necessary resources to understand the ethnic discourse of Assam. Assam movement which had started as a peaceful protest by the people of Assam against the alleged enfranchising of illegal immigrants by the government, the many debates both within the intelligentsia and the public sphere foregrounds that any attempt to define an Assamese in Assam percolates to the discursive idea of identity that had emerged during the colonial period. The threat faced by the indigenous people from the “educated Hindu Bengalis”, the “hardworking Bengali Muslims” and “the enterprising Marwaris” brought in by the colonial rulers to fulfil the new enterprises initiated by the empire infused a threat amongst the people against “outsiders”. Assamese, in the Assam movement, were people living in Assam prior to the onrush of immigrants encouraged by the British rulers. The idea of “greater Assamese nationality” popularized during the Assam movement was sought to encompass the various tribal communities believed to be natural ancient inhabitants of Assam.

However, the very idea of ethnic solidarity fragmented till the time the movement culminated with the signing of the Assam Accord, demonstrating that ethnic specificity is the sole defining feature of the socio-cultural and political context of Assam. The argument is that the disintegration of the “greater Assamese nationality” and ethnicization of identities occurred at three sites: the elections, emergence of identity based bodies and the Assam Accord. The intimidating ethnic discourse in Assam pre-empts the possibility of any other form of identity formation. Besides, the culmination of the movement with the signing of the Assam Accord incited a fresh wave of identity consciousness among the various communities which in turn gave rise to a chain of ethnic upheavals.

For the Assam movement the nation was the supreme power to evoke and seek redemption whereas for the ULFA it was the complete rejection of the nation that generated its impetus. The centrality of the issue of Bangladeshi immigrants as the biggest deterring factor against Assam’s prosperity shifted to the question of membership of Assam within the Indian nation, as its biggest cause of woe. ULFA gave a violent turn to the long nurtured theory of “Colonial Hinterland” to renounce the validity of the Indian nation to rule Assam and articulated an idea of Assam’s population as a sovereign people; corresponding with its status of independence before the British arrived. The ULFA too like the Assam movement was not able to sustain its formulation of a greater identity for the people of Assam and soon it came to be regarded only as an extremist organization of “Upper Caste Assamese”. The various communities rejected its demand for secession as for them ULFA was a group of “artificial Assamese” who did not possess the right to decide the future of Assam. ULFA, however, holds significance in the public and intellectual parlance of Assam as it, for the first time was able to show through the stress on economic exploitation that

the Indian state had abdicated its responsibility of nation building. The argument is that ULFA provides a specific instance of locating what ethnicity connotes in the context. The “Citizen” Assamese of the Assam movement was a “non-Indian” in ULFA’s formulation.

The study of the Bodo movement, a tribal uprising against the alleged hegemony of the Assamese, had consolidated and asserted themselves even before the Independence. Their uprising took a radical turn in the 1980s and reached its peak during the 1990s till the formation of the autonomous Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) in 2003. The Bodos directly conformed to the pre-existing idea about their identity in the process of culling out an identity distinct and a plane more organic than the Assamese with respect to Assam, in two stages, a) Reversing assimilation and b) Eroding of the “greater Assamese nationality”.

The “Sons of the Soil” theory propounded by the Assamese was dismissed by the Bodos who termed them as “artificial Assamese” settled in Assam from other parts of the country. The Assamese who were “citizens” in the Assam movement, “non-Indians” in the ULFA were projected as “non-indigenous” in the Bodo movement. The Bodos in the course of their assertion and to strengthen their claim attempted to forge a consolidated tribal identity comprising of all the tribal groups, believed to be indigenous to Assam, under its fold. However, this consolidated tribal identity also failed to sustain itself and after the Bodo movement there was a string of similar uprising from tribal groups like the Rabha, Tiwa, Rajbanshi etc demanding exclusive territory like the Bodos. The ethnic discourse supplies the communities with the necessary precursor that enables them to articulate their distinctiveness, in a fractional pattern.

The main inference that we derive analyzing the three movements as well as other ongoing conflicts in Assam is that none of them initiated as ethnic conflict per se and the content of



ethnicity never remained the same. Examining as to why and how in the three instances the attempts to constitute generic identities failed and the identities were reduced to specific ethnic units—that while the presence and acknowledgment of diversity cannot be negated since earlier times, colonialism brought in a new dimension to the existing diversity; one of objectification of the colonized masses. Identities recognized in this form turned into subjects of colonial politics. Colonialism is much more than a temporary overpowering of the home administration. Its appendages grow much deeper and the power it acquires is through the knowledge it generates about the colonized people. Knowledge about the people provides the colonial machineries the power to rule them.

Analysing the modalities by which the British administration converted the masses into colonial subjects, and as to how the categorization and thus objectification of the people were done, we locate three modalities – Census and Cartography, Anthropological Studies and Administrative Policies and Acts – that accomplished the crystallization of identities. We argue that the form of imagination the people of Assam, so also the entire north eastern India, initiated by the British has not been altered even after the end of the colonial rule. The main argument is that the processes of categorization of the people, initiated in the colonial period consolidated into creating a knowledge base which formed the basis of control and power of the British. This created a discourse turning the masses into subjects of the knowledge and objectified their identity. This objectification led to the emergence of a discourse—the ethnic discourse which subsequently became the defining actor of the socio-political milieu of the region making it difficult for any other form of identity to emerge. The tensions in the post-colonial times have taken up ethnic dimensions as the only mode of identity formation possible in Assam is ethnic. The imagination of the region even in the post-

colonial times and the government attitude of policy making have not altered making it difficult to shed the ethnic mode of identity formation and assertions

Ethnic multiplicity is not self-explanatory and ethnic tensions instinctual. By deploying Foucault's method of discourse analysis helps us arrive at a conclusive understanding on the causations that comprise the tensions as ethnic. The need in Assam, so also other regions of the world comprised by diversified identities, is not to dwell and treat the heterogeneity in a fragmentary manner. But, provide necessary conditions for the discursive ideas to inspire self-confidence amongst the community and esteem for others. Exclusivist ethno-nationalistic theories and the corresponding political incentives do more harm than good for the peaceful co-existence.

Foucault describes the process of analyzing a discourse not only as an exercise of tracing the continuity that forms the discourse but also by taking into account the discontinuities. He says:

And the great problem presented by such historical analyses is not how continuities are established, how a single pattern is formed and preserved, how for so many different, successive minds there is a single horizon, what mode of action and what substructure is implied by the interplay of transmissions, resumptions, disappearances, and repetitions, how the origin may extend its sway well beyond itself to that conclusion that is never given- the problem is no longer one of tradition, of tracing a line, but one of division, of limits; it is no longer one of lasting foundations, the rebuilding of foundations. What one is seeing, then, is the emergence of a whole field of history is trying to develop its own theory: how is one to specify the different concepts that enable us to conceive of discontinuity (threshold, rupture, break, mutation, transformation). (Foucault: 1972: 5)

The colonial ethnic discourse, emerged as a micro discourse from the macro discourse of British colonialism, has gone about colouring the imagination of the region under study. The colonial period was a moment when all aspects of the life of the colonized masses were objectified turning them into subjects of the colonial power – knowledge combine. We argue that it is the continuation of the discursive colonial knowledge in the form of narrative, interpersonal relationship and political and governmental policies that incite the particular trajectory of the assertions. A wide range of tensions have been clamped together under the rubric of ethnic problem and focuses on Assam in order to answer the question as to why the ethnic politics. It sustains: a) Assam is a region distinguished by its ethnic diversity and b) the demands raised by various quarters at different points of time had a single commonality amongst them—all rallied upon their ethnic exclusivity while placing their demands. The argument is that it has been an unwavering practice to imagine Assam, so also the entire north eastern India, as a region crisscrossed by wide ranging ethnic diversity, which are different not only from rest of the country but also amongst themselves.

All the narrative about the region—governmental, sociological, political, anthropological, as also the literary and romantic description about the region stresses on the variance amongst the people. In such an academic and social context where categorization and their consequent politicization are regarded as self explanatory, it is pertinent to ask as to what constitutes these categories. There is a gap between the presumption that the ethnic diversity as pre-given and ethnicity as the most important tool of political mobilization in Assam. It is working on in this gap we understand critically the underpinnings that empower ethnicity as the defining feature of socio-cultural and political expression in Assam. The diversity amongst the population is figuratively placed in order to express

lack of homogeneity and naturalize hostility. The crucial argument is that the predicament lies not in the presence of diversity but in its discursive narration and representation. We maintain that the ethnic discourse in its present form had emerged during the colonial period as enabled by documenting and cataloguing of the population. In other words, the discursively constructed identity of the colonial times is a quandary that surfaces time and again in the post colonial situations.

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**Statement about Ownership and other Particulars  
about ISDA Journal  
Form - IV  
(See Rule 8)**

1. Place of Publication : Kowdiar  
Thiruvananthapuram
2. Periodicity of Publication : Quarterly
3. Printer's Name : B. Mohanan  
Nationality : Indian  
Address : Institute for the Study of  
Developing Areas, 4/64-2  
Continental Gardens,  
Kowdiar,  
Thiruvananthapuram - 695 003
4. Publisher's Name : B. Mohanan  
Nationality : Indian  
Address : Institute for the Study of  
Developing Areas, 4/64-2  
Continental Gardens,  
Kowdiar,  
Thiruvananthapuram - 695 003
5. Name and Address of : Institute for the Study of  
Individuals who own the  
Newspaper & Partners of  
Shareholders holding more  
than one percent of the  
total capital : Thiruvananthapuram - 695 003

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**THE INCIDENCE AND EXTENT OF INDEBTEDNESS: A STUDY  
AMONG THE FARMER HOUSEHOLDS IN KERALA**

**Rajesh George\***

**Abstract**

*The agrarian crisis prevailing in the country has made the lives of farmer households in Kerala distressed in many ways. The most striking manifestation of the distress has been the growing levels of indebtedness. Both the incidence and extent of indebtedness increased substantially among all farmers cultivating variety of crops in the State. The study reveals the fact that piece-meal approaches by the governments can hardly solve this burning issue of indebtedness and distress. Governments must look into the matter with utmost genuineness and initiate surgical measures to salvage the ailing farming community in a state.*

*Key words: agrarian crisis, distressed farmers, trade liberalisation, indebtedness, formal and informal sources*

**Introduction**

The agricultural sector of Kerala is currently witnessing one of the most difficult periods in its history. The growth rate of agriculture has been low and negative since 1995. In 2014-15, the sector has recorded a negative growth rate (-4.67) against the corresponding all-India figure (1.1 per cent, 2011-12 base year) (GoK, 2015). One of the most severely impacted sections of the agrarian crisis are the farmers in the state. They have been hit badly by the secular deterioration in farm incomes due to the twin problems of decline in crop prices and escalating cost of cultivation. The crisis that snowballed among the farmers is evidently manifested in the form of the rising burden of indebtedness and wearing away of repayment

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capacity. The most disturbing outcome of the distress has been the widespread farmers' suicide which continues unabated in the state in an unprecedented level. The growing burden of indebtedness among farmer households across the country has been one of the major concerns in recent years (Radhakrishna, 2007). While studying Punjab peasants, Darling (1925) wrote 'the Indian peasant is born in debt, lives in debt and dies in debt'. Though this was written many decades ago indebtedness still remains as a pertinent problem that threatens the very survival of farmers in the country. According to Deshpande and Prabhu (2005), the phenomenon of indebtedness among farmers is very severe and is responsible for agrarian crisis and suicides in the country.

The agrarian crisis affected the farmers in Kerala in the most disastrous manner due to many factors peculiar to the state. Firstly, unlike other states in the country, the agricultural sector of Kerala is dominated by cash crops having high degree of export intensity. The risk of livelihood increases for farmers cultivating commercial crops (Deshpande, 2002). Out of the gross cropped area of 26.24 lakh hectares in 2014-15, food crops comprising rice, pulses and tapioca occupy only 10.5 per cent and the remaining 89.5 per cent of gross cropped area is dominated by cash crops (GoK, 2016). Since trade liberalisation, the prices of these commercial crops have been subject to wide fluctuations and made the lives of farmer households in the state really miserable. There has been a continuous decline in the prices of cash crops in Kerala after the agricultural trade liberalization in the country (Jeromi, P D 2007). Secondly, the majority of land holdings in the state are small and marginal in size. Marginal holdings (less than one hectare) account for 96.33 per cent (GoK, 2015). The average size of land holding in the state is only 0.24 hectare and is continuously declining. Agricultural sector of Kerala is also affected by a host of other factors including various agro-climatic

environmental shocks (Nair, et al, 2007). The end result has been that the income from agricultural activities declined drastically over the years while the cost of production increased in the state. The shortage of labour in the state pushed the cost of cultivation and made farming a less viable enterprise for livelihood. More than 50 per cent of the cost is incurred by hired human labour in the state (Report on Cost of Cultivation, 2013-14). The withdrawal of government support in agriculture like reduction of subsidies for inputs further deteriorated the situation. The series of unfavourable outcomes that followed since 1991 resulted in sky rocketing indebtedness and mounting distress among the farmers in the state. The incidence of indebtedness which is the proportion of households reporting debt either to institutional or non-institutional agencies is much higher in Kerala than the national average. The national average of incidence of indebtedness was only 51.9 per cent in 2013 and the same was found to be much higher at 77.7 per cent for Kerala for the same year. Kerala is the fourth highest state in India in terms of the proportion of indebted households (NSSO 70 Round).

**Table1**  
**Indebtedness among Rural Households**

	IOI (%)	AOD (Rs)	AODL (Rs)
Kerala	49.5	147404	297752
India	31.44	32522	103457

*Source: NSSO 70th Round (2013)*

The NSSO 70 Round conducted in 2013 reveals the striking difference between Kerala and all-India figures on indebtedness among rural households. At the all-India level, 31.44 per cent of rural households were indebted (IOI) in 2013 whereas it was 49.5 per cent in Kerala. The average amount of debt per rural household (AOD)



in rural India was Rs.32522 in 2013 while the corresponding state figure was Rs.147404. The average amount of debt per indebted rural household (AODL) in rural India was Rs.103457 while it was Rs.297752 in Kerala state during the same period.

## 2. Significance of the Study

The rural Kerala is witnessing higher levels of indebtedness over the years which invariably have its bearing on the farmer households in the state. No serious attempt has been made so far to analyse the extent of distress prevailing among the farmers in the state. The paper examines the incidence and extent of indebtedness among the farmer households in the state of Kerala by using survey data carried out in three districts stretching from South to North. The incidence of indebtedness refers to the proportion of households reporting debt either to institutional or non-institutional sources at the time of survey. The extent of indebtedness refers to the average amount of debt outstanding per household at the time of survey.

## 3. Method.

This study has used survey data collected from 210 households in three districts namely, Thiruvananthapuram, Kottayam and Palakkad. These districts have been selected purposively to represent different agro-ecological regions and various categories of crop farming. The farmer household is taken as the unit of analysis. A household is defined as a social group which resides in the same place, shares the same meal and makes joint or coordinated decisions over resource allocation and income pooling (Ellis, 1998). The household head is the respondent for the selected households. Formal sources of credit include commercial banks, Co-operatives and RRBs. Informal sources of finance include money-lenders, friends and relatives. Total 70 farmer households have been selected at random from a Gram Panchayat from each district using proportionate sampling method.

The data from sample households have been collected using a well-structured and pretested schedule by personal interview method for the year 2014-15. The data have been analyzed using appropriate statistical tools. The averages and percentages have been used to estimate changes in incidence and extent of indebtedness of farmer households.

## 4. Findings and Discussion

### 4.1 Incidence of Indebtedness among the Households

**Table 2**  
**Incidence of Indebted Households**

Indebted Farmer Households.	Percent	Total
184	87.6	210

*Source: Survey data, 2014-15*

The incidence of indebtedness shows the proportion of households indebted at the time of survey. Out of 210 farmer households in the study area, 184 are indebted to institutional, non institutional or both sources of credit. That is, 87.6 per cent of farmer households surveyed are indebted. This reveals that the proportion of indebted farmer households is very large. The farmers in the state are left with no option but to borrow money from all possible sources to get their both ends meet. They experienced the twin problems of fall in farm incomes and rising cost of living which made their livelihood distressed and vulnerable.

#### 4.1.1 Incidence of Indebtedness among the Households: Formal and Informal Sources

Farmers borrow money from both formal and informal sources to live. The distribution of households with debt outstanding

Table 3

**Distribution of Indebted Households: Formal and Informal Sources**

Indebtedness	Frequency	Percent
Formal Source	162	77.1
Informal Source	61	29.0

Source: Survey data, 2014-15

to formal and informal sources shows that majority of farmer households are indebted from formal sources where as households whose debt outstanding against informal sources is not insignificant also. 162 households have borrowed loans from formal sources which amount to 77.1 per cent of the total. The high land value prevailing in the state, the well developed banking networks and the educated farmers in Kerala are some of the reasons for high share of borrowings from formal sources. Out of 210 households surveyed, 61 have outstanding debt to non-institutional sources. That is, the proportion of households indebted to informal sources of finance is 29 per cent. Nearly one-third of farmer households have debt outstanding to informal sources of credit. It implies that, a sizable section of farmers are outside the purview of institutional sources of credit despite hectic attempts of financial inclusion by the government in recent times.

#### 4.1.2 Incidence of Indebtedness among the Farmer Households: District wise

The distribution of incidence of indebtedness among the farmer households in various districts reveals that the proportion of indebted farmer households is very high. Almost all farmer households (97.1%) in Palakkad district have borrowed money. The

Table 4

**District wise distribution of Indebted Farmer Households: Formal and Informal Sources.**

Districts	Indebtedness		Formal Source		Informal Source		Total
	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent	
Thiruvananthapuram	58	82.9	53	75.7	25	35.7	70
Kottayam	58	82.9	52	74.3	19	27.1	70
Palakkad	68	97.1	57	81.4	17	24.3	70
Total	184	87.63333	162	77.13333	61	29.03333	210

Source: Survey data, 2014-15.

proportion is high in other districts studied too. The incidence of indebtedness among the farmers in different agro-climatic regions cultivating different crops is high. This brings out the fact that all farmer households cultivating both cash crops and food crops are affected by the distress.

Informal sources of finance have been accessed by more than one-fourth of farmer households in various districts studied and its proportion is the highest in Thiruvananthapuram district. The conspicuous role of informal credit among the farmer households is a cause of worry. In Palakkad district, where formal credit availed is the highest, the proportion of households who have borrowed from informal sources is the lowest. This brings out the importance of extending formal credit to the farmers in the state to prevent them from falling into the clutches of the informal money lenders.

#### 4.2. The Extent of Indebtedness among the Households

The incidence of indebtedness gives an insight into the proportion of farmer households who have debt outstanding during the period of survey only, but it does not give any idea on the intensity of indebtedness among the households. It is given by the

extent of indebtedness which explains the average amount of debt outstanding per household. The extent of indebtedness also helps to explain the extent of distress among the farmer households in the state.

#### 4.2.1: Extent of Indebtedness among the Households: District wise.

**Table 5**  
Average amount of Debt Outstanding among Households

Districts	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	F	Sig.
Thiruvananthapuram	70	295048.39	271080.983	0	1500000	4.76	0.010
Kottayam	70	395220.34	356473.197	0	1600000		
Palakkad	70	237314.29	242644.521	0	1000000		
Total	210	304832.46	296668.898	0	1600000		

Source: Surveydata , 2014-15.

The difference in the average amount of debt outstanding among the farmer households across the various districts under study is statistically significant at 1 per cent. The average amount of debt outstanding per farmer household across the districts is 3.04 lakhs rupees. The average amount of debt is highest in Kottayam district (3.95 lakhs rupees) where as it is lowest in the district of Palakkad (2.37 lakhs rupees). All the districts under study have minimum zero average debt outstanding and maximum 16 lakhs rupees. The maximum debt outstanding is found to be in Kottayam district (16 lakhs rupees) while it is lowest in Palakkad district (10 lakhs rupees).

There exists high amount of debt outstanding among the farmer households in various districts under study. All farmer households in different districts are badly affected by the problem of mounting indebtedness. Indebtedness is highest in cash crops dominated

district like Kottayam and it is lowest in food crop intensive district like Palakkad. Commercial crops are more credit intensive compared to food crops in the state (Jeromi PD, 2007). The composition of debt is an equally disturbing factor which affects the level of distress among the farmers. The source of debt is a significant factor that influences the livelihood security of the farmer households in rural India (Chavan P, 2005).

#### 4.2.2 The Extent of Indebtedness among the Farmer Households: Formal and Informal Source.

**Table 6**  
Average amount of Debt Outstanding from Formal and Informal Sources.

Source	Districts	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Min.	Max.	F	Sig.
Formal Sources	Thiruvananthapuram	70	276543.86	272863.065	0	1500000	2.78	0.064
	Kottayam	70	374649.12	350661.186	0	1500000		
	Palakkad	70	254672.13	244002.850	0	1000000		
	Total	210	300874.29	294604.891	0	1500000		
Informal Source	Thiruvananthapuram	70	81612.90	98762.232	0	500000	1.67	0.194
	Kottayam	70	58806.45	90445.350	0	400000		
	Palakkad	70	39500.00	65143.687	0	300000		
	Total	210	61136.36	87720.845	0	500000		

Source: Survey data, 2014-15.

The mean amount of debt outstanding from both formal and informal sources of finance is very high in all districts studied. The amount of informal debt in the total debt profile of farmer households is also strikingly large. The average amount of debt from formal sources ranged from a minimum zero to a maximum

of 15 lakhs rupees with a mean value of 3.0 lakhs rupees. Both Thiruvananthapuram and Kottayam districts have maximum 15 lakhs rupees debt outstanding against each household while the corresponding figure in Palakkad district is 10 lakhs rupees. The mean debt outstanding from formal sources for each farmer household is highest in Kottayam district with 3.74 lakh rupees and lowest in Palakkad district with 2.54 lakhs rupees. The corresponding figure in Thiruvananthapuram district is 2.76 lakhs rupees.

There is no statistically significant difference in the average amount of debt outstanding to informal sources in various districts in the state. The extent of indebtedness from informal sources ranged from a low of zero to a high of 5.0 lakhs rupees with a mean value of 0.61 lakhs rupees. The extent of indebtedness from informal sources is highest in Thiruvananthapuram district with mean value of 0.81 lakhs rupees where as it is lowest in Palakkad district with a mean value of 0.39 lakhs rupees. The mean value of debt outstanding from informal sources in Kottayam district is 0.58 lakhs rupees.

## 5. Conclusion

Majority of farmer households are indebted according to the study. Almost all farmer households are indebted in Palakkad district. Moreover, informal sources of finance have been accessed by more than one-fourth of farmer households in the various districts studied. The extent of debt outstanding from various sources of finance shows that the amount of debt incurred by the farmer households is very large. Many farmer households have been hit hard by the mounting levels of indebtedness over the years. Thus, farmers belong to different agro-climatic regions in the state, cultivating different crops have been badly impacted by the agrarian crisis. Moreover, the amount of debt incurred from informal sources of finance is also significant. The above analysis reveals the fact that piece-meal approaches by the governments can hardly solve this burning issue of indebtedness and

distress. Governments both at the centre and state must look into the matter with utmost genuineness and initiate surgical measures including writing off debts completely to salvage the ailing farming community in a state like Kerala which is becoming non-agrarian in character day by day.

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## THE GRASSROOTS GOVERNANCE JOURNAL

(A Window to Understanding Village Republics of India)

*Published by*

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RESEARCH OF INDIA**

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## KUDUMBASREE AS A PLATFORM FOR INFORMAL LEARNING: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

**Krishna.S\***

### **Abstract**

*Worldwide, the policy makers, international organisations and educators alike are highlighting the role of community based organisations to serve for non-formal and informal learning in addressing critical issues of poverty, marginalisation, social exclusion and in serving as a catalyst for inclusive development. This paper aims to document the critical role played by Kudumbasree in opening up avenues of learning of this kind to its members. Exploring the arenas of learning opened therein, the nature of the process and the resulting benefits at individual level form the focus of this paper. Designed as a qualitative case study, relying on thematic analysis of the data gathered; the author argues that there is an emerging need for recognising and utilising the possibilities offered by the movement in serving as a building block for a more inclusive and development oriented Kerala society.*

*Keywords : Informal and Non-formal Learning, Kudumbasree*

The south-western state of Kerala has always been a centre of interest for social scientists owing to its distinct features such as matriarchal communities, patriarchal norms, gender paradoxes of High Human Development Index and low Gender Development Index and the Kerala Model of Development. Mukhopadhyay (2006) states that there exist a number of contradictory signals in the state as far as the status of women are concerned. The persistence of several gender unfreedoms in mobility, such as restricted sexual choice in and out of marriage, limited access to and enjoyment of

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public spaces and facilities, and the free circulation of misogynist ideas in public discourse complete the gender paradox (Devika, 2010). As argued by Mitra (2006) although women in Kerala are highly literate and educated, the unemployment rate among females in Kerala is high and the social norms dictate that women have a subservient position at home and workplace despite the matrilineal mode of family structure. The above picture brings forth the paradox in the status of women in Kerala society.

State Poverty Eradication Mission (SPEM), a Government programme based on Community Based Organisation aimed at addressing these varied issues using a multipronged strategy and was launched way back in Kerala in 1998, popularly as Kudumbasree. The Community-Based Organisation, which encompasses all sections of poor, is organised into a three-tier structure. The Neighbourhood Group (NHG) at the lowest level, Area Development Society (ADS) at the ward level and Community Development Society (CDS) at Grampanchayat /Municipality /Corporation Level. As of now, Kudumbasree encompasses 2.58 lakh NHGs, over 19,700 ADS and 1072 CDS with membership strength of about 42 lakh women. (At a glance, bulletin point. 3 .<http://www.kudumbashree.org>).

The role played by Kudumbasree in serving as a platform for informal learning for Kerala women is to be analysed keeping in mind the above stated gender paradox and the limited avenues of formal education available to rural women.

### **Concept of Learning**

Learning is a lifelong process and it is what determines to a great extent who an individual is. Based on the structure, nature and expected outcome, types of learning can broadly be classified as : Formal, Non Formal and Informal Learning.

Silva & Vieira (2015) highlights that the skills and competences needed for working and living can be acquired in a variety of ways outside the framework of formal educational systems. The contexts in which we move, the experiences that we go through, as well as the opportunities that we have access to determine to a great extent our learning avenues. And so is the role of biological and cultural variables.

Today, efforts in highlighting the value of all forms of learning including non-formal and informal are gaining more importance. The relationship between these types of learning are associated with themes such as “poverty reduction, job creation and employment, and social inclusion, making them even more relevant for addressing development issues.

### **Definitions**

#### **Formal Learning**

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2007) report, formal learning usually takes place in an educational or training institution such as a community college or private training agency. In such experiences the learning is structured in terms of course objectives, a specified time of instruction and leads to some form of certification. From the adult learner’s perspective, this is intentional learning.

#### **Non-formal learning**

Non-formal learning was defined as learning that takes place through a structured program of instruction but does not lead to the attainment of a formal qualification or award. (OECD, 2007)

It does not take place in an educational or training institution nor does it lead to certification. Often times, it is offered in the workplace by work specific organizations or groups. This kind of learning is also intentional from the learner’s perspective. (OECD, 2007).

## **Informal learning**

The OECD(2007) defines informal learning as the learning that results from experience of daily work related, social, family, hobby or leisure activities.

It encompasses daily life activities related to work, family, community and leisure. Like non formal leaning, informal learning is not structured and usually does not lead to certification. In most cases, it is incidental or non intentional.

## **Significance of Non formal and Informal Learning**

Cullen & Battersby (2000) identify the defining characteristics of informal learning (and the distinctions between it and formal learning) as related to factors like developing a greater capacity for self-determination and self-evolution, or emphasising the social embeddedness of learning rather than its individual focus.

Livingstone(1999) identifies certain basic characteristics of informal learning- indirect learning, learning in and with open groups, no degrees and certificates are obtained, learning for yourself , no external incentives/frame, learning in a practical/concrete context, no curriculum, having a wide range of time scales, purposes and intentions, embedded in activities of everyday life, e.g. visiting a museum/library or travelling, not organised.

Kaminska &Vieira(2015) in their research on Education and Informal learning of adults identifies several central aspects to success in learning as intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to learn, observation of role models, the need to solve problems, reinforcement given by significant others, learning by trial and error, and the feelings of security and satisfaction with new knowledge.

Coffield (2000) opines that informal learning should not be regarded as an inferior form of learning or a mere precursor to formal learning, but as fundamental and valuable in its own right. A survey

conducted in Canada by Livingstone (2001) concluded that adult informal learning is very much like an iceberg—‘mostly invisible at the surface and immense in it’s mostly submerged informal aspects’.

Much is made in the literature of the potential of informal learning to transform the lives of individual learners by building their confidence and self-esteem. By engaging successfully with the process, learners are perceived to be better able to understand and value the usefulness of personal skills and knowledge gained from various experiences and contexts outside any formal educational set up.

In that regard what are the unintended and unacknowledged learning outcomes of Kudumbasree on its members?

## **Purpose of the study**

The purpose of this study is to document and analyse the experiences and perspectives of Kudumbasree women regarding their resultant informal from the life in and through the organisation . The specific research questions which guide the study are:

- ❖ In broad sense what all are the avenues of learning opened up by Kudumbasree?
- ❖ What all benefits do the members feel as resulting from their resultant learning?

## **Method**

The study is designed as a qualitative case study carried out in a village of one of the Central Districts of Kerala. To ensure the breadth and richness of the data along with portraying the subjective experiences of the informants the study draws from multiple tools such as Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Semi Structured Interview and Non Participant Observation.

Maximum variation in informant category was ensured by including women who are just NHG members devoid of any

position in the structure, members who hold various positions as NHG Secretary, ADS President, CDS Chairperson, Resource Person, Micro Enterprise Group Member. Five focus Group Discussions (FGD) were carried out in five NHG weekly meeting. Semi structured interviews were further carried out with three members chosen from among the FGD participants on the basis of their rich narratives and experience sharing capacity. Interview guide was organized around the following topics: (1) Identification of those programmes and activities which the members consider of significant importance in offering them ample scope for learning.;(2) Delineating the nature and characteristics of the process and (3) Comprehension of benefits resulting therein at individual level. The data gathered was subjected to thematic analysis.

## Results and Discussion:

### Emergent Themes

Kudumbasree programme as a whole and in parts has opened up new avenues of knowledge and realisations otherwise unknown and inaccessible to its members.

The opening query of the FGD was whether they feel have learned something new from their association with Kudumbasree; to which the consistent response by majority was that-‘ if at all we have learned anything considerable in our adult life then it’s all from Kudumbasree only’. The discussions that followed did emphasise this learning experience from their own perspective.

The crux of the above statement of the members have to be understood in the backdrop of their familial and social exposure they were used to before joining the Organisation. Any learning is in fact contextual.

"Before joining Kudumbasree my only encounter with Panchayath office was soon after my marriage to sign the

marriage register accompanied by husband.” Says Beena who is 45 now and Kudumbasree member for the last ten years.

“My contacts and presence outside family were restricted to close relative’s marriages or death ceremonies and that too along with my family. The only Government organisation that I had accessed before I became a kudumbasree member is that of the Employment exchange annually to renew my Employment Card” recalls Santha who is a degree holder.

Smitha who is 38 now sadly remarked:” I got married during the First year of the Degree course in Economics and that brought an end to my studies as well”

“I have beard the brunt of being a widow and at the time of my husband’s death I knew nothing. Neither to neither visit government offices nor interact with people. It was through Kudumbasree I learned everything which was necessary to carry out my responsibilities and eke out a living (through Micro enterprise venture ).NHG meetings opened made me confident and group activities linked me with the outer world.” Said Jolly

The informants at one point or the other was seen emphasising the ‘world’ opened before them by Kudumbasree -the relations, interactions, activities, information’s and the resulting realisations.

### The platforms of Learning-as identified by the participants

The programmes which the members identified as a learning platform and the way it served so, are arranged in order of the relative importance attributed by the participants.

#### a. Weekly Meetings as the site of fresh knowledge and skill development.

NHGs and its weekly meetings held by its members was the most cited arena of learning by all the informants. The weekly meetings serve as a platform for interaction, social bonding, information

sharing, awareness about one's own immediate community and skill development. The skill sets which the members pointed out as developed through NHG participation; in their own words are as below:

Each NHG is expected to maintain stipulated records as Minutes Book, Pass Books and Account Books for documenting the proceedings of their meeting and to maintain accounts. The elected members are provided training for the same which in fact is an avenue for non formal learning.

#### **An NHG Secretary recalls with a smile:**

“once giving up my studies at 10th grade ;perhaps the first time I took up a pen for something serious was on the day I became the Secretary of my NHG. In fact it has revolutionised my life- the trainings which I received in maintaining records, writing down minutes of meeting, approaching financial institutions has all added to my knowledge base.”

Weekly meetings are held on rotation basis at the residence of all the NHG members and the member whose is the resident of that house has to propose the welcome and also is responsible for bank remittance of the thrift and credit of all the members for that week. All FGD respondents unanimously agreed to the comment of a member that

“it was through this responsibility to welcome others that we have overcome the stage fright. Now I am quite confident to face any gathering .Also it was then and there that we learnt the basics of book and account keeping and bank related transactions. Also the Financial Literacy Campaigns held by the Mission have helped us a lot.”

The NHG weekly meeting procedures include formal procedures as Prayer, Welcome, signing attendance register by

members, Agenda Presentation by Unit President, Reading Minutes of last meeting, collecting and entering thrift and credit, discussions on set agenda, recording of minutes and vote of thanks. This have given them a hands on experience on formal meeting procedures.

Many handouts on topics relevant to women such as health, employment and social mobility are taken up for discussion in NHGs. Such discussions are led by the Education, Income Generation and Gender volunteers of that NHG. This also serves as instance of acquiring knowledge and learning.

#### **b) Contributions of Capacity Building Initiatives of Kudumbasree Mission**

Human resource development forms a major part of Kudumbasree Mission's declared goal. This covers the Organizational, Enterprise, Financial services and Social and Gender empowerment trainings.

- a) Organizational Training intended to enhance the quality of functioning of the organizational network focus on developing abilities of the women in leadership and management. The Mission claims to have imparted this training to ten lakh women as of now.
- b) Enterprise training assist individual and group entrepreneurs in enhancement of business capabilities. Involves constant inputs at different stages of the enterprise cycle-General Orientation for potential entrepreneurs, Skill Development initially and Performance Improvement programme's on a periodic basis.
- c) Financial Services training on services in the area of Micro Finance and additional support to the community organization for engaging with financial institutions in an effective manner.
- d) Social and Gender Empowerment training are imparted for main streaming issues of the marginalized, particularly the

women and SC-ST communities. A separate training and self learning programme for assessing and addressing rights based issues are also carried out.

Special mention was made by the informants about the role of Resource Persons in trickling down information's to the NHG level. The Resource Persons are selected from among the members, imparted necessary trainings and skills and they serve as the medium of transmission of knowledge.

**Ajitha- a Block Level Gender Resource Person(RP) adds:**

"I am a B.Ed degree holder. Unfortunately due to unfavourable circumstances I could not make use of my degree and has remained a housewife. I have joined Kudumbasree way back in 2005. It was then I came to know about the vacancy for Gender RP and I came forward, has received a good number of trainings. It was these trainings that opened my eyes to many of the gender discriminations and inequalities in our society. Henceforth I make it a point to bring such issues before NHG members and also impart ideas about our rights, legal provisions for women, the authorities to be intimated in case of violence etc ."

**c) Micro Enterprises-Learning by doing. (A combination of Non formal and Informal learning)**

Micro Enterprise (ME) was devised by the Kudumbasree Mission as a means for economic empowerment through gainful employment to the people below poverty line, improving their income and living standards. The thrust areas cover: Food Processing, Dairy Products and IT related enterprises.

The experience sharing of the unit members underlines the fact that three levels of training imparted by the Mission - General Orientation Training, Entrepreneurship Development Programme and Performance Improvement Programme; along with the day to

day running of the enterprise raised their capability level. An FGD carried out with the members of Amrutham Nutrimix Unit(baby food supplement manufacturing unit) revealed this. All the twelve members of the unit were housewives before starting the Unit.

To quote,

"We learned the basics and technical skills of running an enterprise from the trainings imparted, but it is our daily activities, engagements and interactions in connection with this unit which widened our horizons and ability. As part of our work we meet a good number of Government officials, Panchayath officials, Private businessmen etc. Each interaction teaches us something new- the governmental procedures, rules and regulations, practical lessons of business, market techniques, profit sharing, raw material procurement, facing business crisis and so on. "

**d) Learning the basics of computing-Sreesakthi Portal paving the way**

A different exposure cited by the Members of Community Development Society was the Computer and internet related training (Sreesakthi Portal). The training covered modules such as familiarizing with computer, internet, creation of mail id, opening account in the Portal and posting comments .The Portal is a bilingual platform for members to come together to share their views, experiences and to comment and clarify queries'.

To quote from the comments available in the Portal:

"It is because of the training that I am able to log in to the Portal and learn more about the social evil of Human Trafficking discussed therein .Also I plan to initiate a discussion on the same in my NHG".- Leena

**The everyday nature of learning- Socialisation in and through Kudumbasree**

*"Before joining Kudumbasree, I had few options to mingle with*



*outsiders. Once into the organisation slowly I began to meet more and more outsiders. For instance, today after completing my household chores and sending children to school I went to village office to pay tax. From there went to CDS office for getting the accounts of my NHG audited and also clarified some doubts regarding account keeping. Now in the evening I am here at the NHG weekly meeting discussing and sharing matters .”- Suma*

The merits of such a skill, capability and knowledge enhancement enthusiastically shared by respondents could be summarised as below:

### **A feeling of recognition both within and outside the family and thereby the enhancement of self worth and self confidence.**

It seems the members have realised through their personal experiences the benefits of being informed and knowledgeable. The seemingly small changes in the attitude of family members and others towards them are being realised. As far as Prasanna is concerned.

*“Earlier I had no say in family matters, neither was I consulted before taking important decisions in the family such as education of our children or handling of family expenses. Now situations have changed. My husband do pay heed to me and that is because now I have my own opinion and ample reasons for my opinion. The guiding light behind them is that now I am aware of such matters.”*

*“to write an application, submit it at the government office, to go to bank, fill the cheque and withdraw money is all now an usual act for me. My husband is a farmer and whenever he has to submit an application or so at Krishi Bhavan he do asks me to write the same. It is a moment of recognition for me. Because I can never forget those days when I used to stand behind him silently when he used to carry out the bank transactions. Now very often it is me who come to know about new subsidies and programmes for agriculture from the Block Panchayath.” -*

*recollects Beena proudly.*

*“Rarely did I go to Government offices like Village and Panchayat . And there I never open my mouth but simply stand by a corner and wait their till someone ask me what I wanted. Whereas now I know Government officials are meant to serve us and we have to claim it”*

All members of an FGD unanimously agreed to the opinion of Sheela that:

*“now our family and friends often ask us how we have overcome the fear and face gatherings so confidently?.Its then that we look back to our old timid to the present confident stage and realise how Kudumbasree has blessed us all”.*

### **Concluding Remarks**

Hence in the light of question put forth by Mukhopadhyay (2007) ‘Does high literacy necessarily translate into high status?’ the paper argues that literacy need not always lead to high status but the strength acquired via non formal and informal learning can at least set a foot forward. The developmental role played by Kudumbasree through the informal and non formal learning prospects of its members occur in three ways- enhancing the capacities and abilities of its members, trickling down of its benefits to the families and wider community and finally in dealing with the wider issues of poverty, employability and social inclusion. Education for life and throughout life is what the members feel –realizing their right to know, to opine, to question and to claim.

The study findings seem to be in line with Livingstone’s (2001) conclusion that adult informal learning is very much like an iceberg—‘mostly invisible at the surface and immense in its mostly submerged informal aspects’. The paper hence prompts us to confirm that true learning is in fact- a social becoming!

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## ISDA PUBLICATIONS

Thiruvananthapuram

ISSN 0971-2550

We publish outcomes of interdisciplinary academic researches in development and administration; books of science and social science disciplines, edited works, research notes, theses, action projects etc.

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TC 28/1161(1), SREEKANTESWARAM

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ISDA Journal 27 (1 & 2) 2017, pp. 95-113

© Institute for the Study of Developing Areas ISSN 0971-2550.

### EFFECTIVENESS AND ROLE OF PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM IN KERALA

#### A MICRO ANALYSIS THROUGH CHIRAYINKIL TALUK

**Sindhu B.S \* & Rajasekharan Pillai C. \*\***

##### **Abstract**

*This study attempts to explore the role of Public Distribution System (PDS) eliminating hunger from the chunk of the society and focused to check the effectiveness of PDS through a network of FairPrice Shops running throughout the state with the two-fold objectives ensuring adequacy or sufficiency in supply of food grains, and distributing food grains at an affordable price to the Below Poverty Line (BPL) community. The objectives of the study are to analyze the Socio-economic status of the BPL population and to evaluate the effectiveness of the policies and practices of the PDS in the selected area. The embarking result of the study suggest the need for PDS to continue as a distribution network throughout the state with more beneficiary packages and also ensures the duty of the welfare government to act in accordance with those needs.*

*Keywords: Public Distribution System (PDS), Below Poverty Line (BPL), Targeted Public distribution System (TPDS).*

Kerala is a food scarcity state. It has been following statutory ration system from 1966 onwards, covering 97% of the population under its umbrella. Kerala has a relevant Public Distribution System working within the framework of the state. Only 15% of the food grains required is produced here and the rest is imported from other

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states like Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat etc. The Public Distribution System has become significant constituent of the strategy for poverty eradication and is hypothetical to serve as a safety net for the poor. Therefore, Public Distribution System is very pertinent for the State, where there is more than 75% shortage in food grain production.

Public Distribution System (PDS) is principally a social welfare and anti poverty program of the Government of India. PDS can be regarded as one of the most significant stable elements of India's food policy since the early 1950s. The most vital medium through which the government ensures food security at the micro level is the Public Distribution System (PDS). The objective of our Government Food Security Policy is to ensure availability of food grains to the public at an affordable price and ensuring adequacy or sufficiency in supply of food grains.

Food is the major source of our health. The right to food is a human right protecting the right for people to feed themselves in dignity implying that sufficient food is available, that people have the means to access it, and that it adequately meets the individual's dietary needs. The right to food protects the right of all human beings to be free from hunger, food insecurity and malnutrition (Ziegler 2012). Food security is defined by the World Food Conference (1974) as 'Availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuff to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices.' According to this definition, unavailability of food is the only cause behind food insecurity. From this definition, it is obvious that food security is a situation related to the availability of food. The right to food does not imply that governments have an obligation to hand out free food to everyone who wants it, or a right to be fed. However, if people are deprived of access to food for reasons beyond their control, for

example, because they are in detention, in times of war or after natural disasters, the right requires the government to provide food directly.

The right to food can be viewed in two dimensions. One is with a negative right to obtain food by one's own actions, and the other is a positive right to be supplied with food if one is unable to access it. In a democratic country like India there arises the need for the government intervention to attain food security for the marginalized. In this context, it is remarkable to honor the contribution of Amartya Sen (1998) for his work in demonstrating that famine and mass starvation in modern times was not typically the product of a lack of food; rather, it usually arose from problems in food distribution networks or from government policies. Recently, the Parliament of India passed the National Food Security Act, 2013 (also Right to Food Act) which aims to provide subsidized food grains to approximately two thirds of India's 1.2 billion people. The National Food Security Act, 2013 (NFSA 2013) converts into legal entitlements for existing food security programs of the Government of India which includes the Midday Meal Scheme, Integrated Child Development Services scheme and the Public Distribution System etc. Moreover, the NFSA 2013 recognizes maternity entitlements also. The Midday Meal Scheme and the Integrated Child Development Services Scheme are universal in nature whereas the PDS will reach about two-thirds of the population (75% in rural areas and 50% in urban areas). Under the provisions of the bill, beneficiaries of the Public Distribution System (or, PDS) are entitled to 5 kilograms of cereals per person per month at the said prices as - Rice at Rs3 per kg, Wheat at Rs2 per kg and Coarse grains (millet) at Rs1 per kg. Pregnant women, lactating mothers, and certain categories of children are eligible for daily free cereals. Even though the bill has been highly controversial, it was introduced

into India's parliament on 22 December 2011, promulgated as a presidential ordinance on 5 July 2013, and enacted into law on 12 September 2013.

### **Review of literature**

Public Distribution of essential commodities had been in existence in India during the inter-war period. PDS, with its focus on distribution of food grains in urban scarcity areas, had emanated from the critical food shortages of 1960. PDS had substantially contributed to the containment of rise in food grains prices and ensured access of food to urban consumers. As the national agricultural production had grown in the aftermath of Green Revolution, the outreach of PDS was extended to tribal blocks and areas of high incidence of poverty in the 1970s and 1980s. PDS, till 1992, was a general entitlement scheme for all consumers without any specific target.

In order to make PDS more effective to the poor, targeting of PDS has been launched in all States since 1990's. As part of targeting, Targeted Public distribution System (TPDS) was introduced with effect from June 1997, primarily for extending PDS benefits to the vulnerable sections of society. Various studies have been conducted, which examined the role of PDS and TPDS in India. Brief reviews of the leading related studies are given below.

S. Narayanan (1986) studied the association between the demand level and supply level of food grains up to 1990 in fifteen major states of the country over time and the bridging role of PDS. His analysis exposed that demand forecast for rice, wheat and total cereals showed mounting trend in all states. While supply forecast in many states showed that there was increase in demand supply gap.

I.S Gulati and T.N. Krishnan (1975) suggested long-lasting and permanent PDS with an inclusive coverage of the Economically Vulnerable Sections (EVS) of both deficit and surplus states by

distributing a minimum quantity of 280 grams of cereal per capita per day at substantially lower prices. In their scheme, EVS who needs price protection includes all households in urban area and non cultivating households in rural areas, constituting the entire agriculture labours.

Gulathi and Krishna (1975) had also analysed the problem of inter-state equity in the distribution of levy burden among the farmers. They have stressed the need for equity in the distribution of the burden of procurement.

P.S George (1979) used the distribution approach and examined the impact of ration system in Kerala. His analysis showed that the effect of the ration system like enhancement in consumption level predominantly on the poor, donate a positive income redistribution in Kerala State Govt. also benefit than the Central Govt. transfer payment through food subsidy.

MahendraDev and Suryanarayana (1991) examined the two criticism raised against PDS such as PDS is urban biased and pro rich. They examined urban bias in PDS by making six criteria and found any bias at the all India level. At the state level, in majority of the States, the rural sector PDS purchase exceeded the urban sector purchases. The study also examined the general notion that PDS functions mainly for high and middle income groups. By using the dependence criterion they found that there was no apparent class bias in the PDS.

Singh and Goel (2001) analysed the targeting of PDS and division of population into APL and BPL. They found that price differences for APL and BPL families resulted in pilferage with the poor still avoid from access to food. This calls for improving the purchasing power by creating employment opportunities, food for work and strengthening consumer co-operatives.

Kakwani (1986) argues that there is a significant interpersonal



variation in the conversion of nutrients into nutritional achievements so that requirement figure cannot be in an individual and independent way. Basal metabolic rates vary from person to person, and there can be substantial differences in nutritional needs of different people. This makes it particularly problematic to identify under nourished individuals.

Johnson and Toole (1991) analyse the link between risk and assets. They concluded that the most food secure households are those which achieve adequate access to food while using a small proportion of available resources, the most food insecure, those most at risk, fail to achieve adequate access even by devoting a larger proportion of available resources to food.

Rajkrishnan (1967) discussed the problems of low production, stability of consumption, growing imports and socialization of market surplus. The Equity approach on this has been pursued by economists like Gulati and Krishnan (1975). The nutritional criterion and calorie deficiency was studied by CDS (1975) and others Gailwad (1976) approached this from the angle of extension of consumer credit facilities linked with PDS. Managerial aspects have been studied by various government departments and bodies, as well as other individuals.

P.S. George (1979) used the distribution approach and concluded that low income group consumers were the most prone to decline in consumption levels in the absence of rationing. It was also found that indirect income transfers through rationing may be superior to direct income transfers. In his later study (1985) it was asserted that "Public distribution of foodgrains in India has resulted in come re-distribution of Income".

The nutritional criterion and calorie deficiency was studied by CDS (1975) and others Gailwad (1976) approached this from the angle of extension of consumer credit facilities linked with PDS. Managerial aspects have been studied by various government

departments and bodies, as well as other individuals.

Nagavarapu et al. (2014) study found that the leakages in the Targeted Public Distribution system can be cured by mobile phone SMS to examine PDS supplies and finds a passionate response from the users, even if the project itself has not worked well.

It is obvious that there is neither study nor research work attempt from any direction towards the said objectives regarding the role and effectiveness of Public Distribution System enhancing food safety net in the selected area among BPL beneficiaries. This paper is a case study and is an attempt to penetrate into the effectiveness of the Public Distribution System acting as the nodal agency for providing food security to all especially the marginalized in Chirayinkil Taluk in Thiruvananthapuram district.

### **Objectives of the study**

- To analyze the Socio-economic status of the Population under study.
- To evaluate the effectiveness of the policies and practices of the PDS in Chirayinkil Taluk.

### **Method**

This study was conducted as a case study with the BPL beneficiaries of the selected area. Both primary data and secondary data were used for the study. BPL beneficiaries are taken from the official BPL list of 2009 by the government of Kerala. Discussion with the ration shop owners enriched the knowledge regarding the working of Public Distribution System.

### **Sample**

The sample population primarily comprised of 100 BPL card holders. Out of 100, 70 was selected from Mudakkal Grama Panchayat (rural) and the remaining 30 from Varkala Municipality (Urban) in the Chirayinkil Taluk both coming under the Thiruvananthapuram district.

## Analysis and Discussion

Any attempt to assess the impact of public utility services like the PDS will become futile unless the response of the consumer public and their attitude towards the system are considered. Many of the schemes introduced by the Govt. may apparently look successful, but they may turn out to be flops when put to practical tests to measure the benefit they could provide to the public. It is for this reason that the response of the consumer public and their attitude towards the PDS are important when analyzing the effectiveness of the system.

Analysis in the study focused on two sections. Section A presents the Socio-economic status of the beneficiaries of the Public Distribution System in Chirayinkil Taluk. Section B deals with the perceptions and responses of the consumers towards the rationing system and functioning of the Public Distribution System in general. The findings of the study are discussed as follows.

### Section A

#### Socio Economic Status of the sample respondents- Mudakkal (rural) and Varkala (Urban)

Table 1.1

Socio Economic Status of the sample respondents on the basis of Size of the family, Occupation and Income – Mudakkal and Varkala

Variables	Mudakkal (rural)	Varkala(Urban)	Total
<b>Size of family</b>			
Up to 2 members	6 (10)	3 (4)	9 (8)
3-5 members	34 (60)	27 (65)	61 (62)
Above 5 members	17 (30)	13 (31)	30 (30)

Total	57 (100)	43 (100)	100 (100)
<b>Occupation</b>			
Employment	48 (80)	28 (67)	76 (75)
Business	9 (16)	10 (25)	19 (19)
Agriculture	2 (4)	3 (8)	5 (6)
Total	59 (100)	41 (100)	100 (100)
<b>Income</b>			
Less than Rs. 500/ month	30 (50)	16 (40)	47 (17)
500-1500	9 (15)	7 (19)	16 (17)
1501-3000	6 (11)	10 (25)	16 (17)
3001-6000	8 (13)	6 (15)	14 (12)
Above 6000	6 (11)	1 (1)	7 (8)
Total	59 (100)	41 (100)	100 (100)

Source: Survey Data (Figures in bracket are percentages of total)

In the table 1.1, the socio-economic status of the BPL samples of rural and urban area are analysed using variables like size of the family, main occupation, monthly income etc.

With regard to the size of family, the proportion of families with 3 to 5 members is more in urban (65%) than in rural(60%) having a total of 62%. The proportions of families having members exceeding 5 are 30% in rural and 31% in urban by taking a total of 30%. Similarly, the proportion of families up to 2 members is 10% in rural and 4% in urban taking a total of 8%.

When we consider the source of income(Occupation), the proportion of families depending on employment is more in

rural(80%) than in urban(67%) having a total of 75%. In both the selected areas employment is the main source of income. Regarding business as the source of income the survey result shows that 25% of the urban households depend on business as compared with 16% in rural. This shows clearly that the business dependency rate of the sample households in urban is higher than in rural.

The third variable used in the study of socio-economic status of the sample families in rural and urban is the monthly income (recorded in their ration card).The table shows wide variation in the distribution of income between the sample families in rural and urban. The sample families have monthly income less than Rs.500 is more in rural(50%) than in urban(40%). The table further shows that 19% of urban sample households are in the income of Rs. 500 and Rs. 1500 per month, where as in rural sample households the corresponding percentage is only 15%. The table also indicates that in urban 25% of the sample family's monthly income recorded in the ration card is between Rs. 1500 and Rs. 3000. But in rural it is 11%. In Rural the respondents having an income of above Rs. 6000 per month is 11% where as the proportion in urban is only 1%. The people residing in rural area generally get higher wages and income when compared with those people residing in urban area.

## Section B

### Effectiveness of the public distribution system - Mudakkal and Varkala

The effectiveness of the public distribution system is assessed by the following variables

- Average ration quota and purchase (monthly)
- Average requirement of rice (monthly)
- Quality of customer service

- Shortage while purchasing from AuthorisedRetail Dealer(ARD)
- Quality of grains supplied through ARD

### Average monthly ration quota and quantity purchase of sample BPL households- Mudakkal and Varkala

Table 1.2

Average monthly ration quota and quantity purchase of sample BPL households - Mudakkal and Varkala

	Items	Average Requirements	Quota	Purchase	Percentage of purchase
<b>Mudakkal</b>	Rice/Kg	28 Kg	32 Kg	15 Kg	46
	Wheat/Kg	13 Kg	32 Kg	9 Kg	28
	Sugar/Kg	3 Kg	2 Kg	2 Kg	100
	Kerosene/ltr	6 lr	5 lr	4 lr	80
<b>Varkala</b>					
	Rice	30 kg	18 kg	17 kg	94
	Wheat	6 kg	5 kg	2 kg	40
	Sugar	3 kg	1.5 kg	1.5 kg	100
	Kerosene	5 ltr	5 ltr	5 ltr	100

Source: Survey data

In the table1.2 it is clear that the sample BPL card holders in the rural area purchase only 46 percent of the allotted quota of rice per month. They purchase only 28 percent of the allotted wheat. Regarding sugar the beneficiaries purchase their full allotment. It is also seen from the table that they purchase 80 percent of their kerosene allotment. It is due to the poor quality of rice supplied through PDS that the BPL cardholders in rural purchase less

quantity of rice. In urban area the purchase of rice through PDS is very high. 94 percent of the BPL families purchase rice from the FPS. This is due to the low price charged for rice. The BPL families purchase 40 percent of their allotted wheat. Regarding sugar and kerosene, they purchase their full allotment.

#### Average monthly requirement of rice for BPL sample households- Mudakkal and Varkala

Table 1.3

#### Average monthly requirements of rice for BPL sample households- Mudakkal and Varkala

Quantity required	Rural	Urban	Total
Less than 20 Kg	8 (11)	1 (3)	9 (8)
21-34 Kg	24 (42)	10 (24)	34 (35)
35-49 Kg	22 (38)	26 (65)	48 (49)
50Kg and above	5 (9)	4 (8)	9 (8)
Total	59 (100)	41 (100)	100 (100)

Source: Survey Data (Figures in bracket are percentages of total)

It is seen from table 1.3 that only 8% of the total sample families require less than 20 kg of rice per month. In rural 11% of the families need less than 20 kg of rice per month whereas in urban it is only 3%. The survey result shows that 42% of the rural need 21-34 kg of rice per month where as in urban families it is only 24%. The table also indicates that 49% of the sample families of both the areas need more than 35 kg of rice per month. It is this category of families that purchase the open market rice more than the other categories due to their excess requirements. In rural 38% of households need 35-49 kg of rice per month where as in urban

it is only 65%. The table shows that there is significant variation between rural and urban areas in their monthly requirements.

#### Responses of sample BPL card holders to customer service - Mudakkal and Varkala

Table 1.4

#### Responses of the sample BPL cardholders to Customer service at FPS Mudakkal and Varkala

Responses	Rural	Urban	Total
Very good	6 (10)	2 (7)	8 (9)
Good	3 (6)	4 (11)	7 (8)
Satisfactory	16 (28)	27 (67)	43 (44)
Poor	34 (56)	8 (15)	39 (42)
Total	59 (100)	41 (100)	100 (100)

Source: Survey Data (Figures in bracket are percentages of total)

From the table 1.4 it is clear that only 9% of the total sample respondents have good opinion about the services of ARDs. Among this 10% respondents is from rural and 2% is from urban. 6% of the rural respondents and 11% of the urban respondents have good opinion regarding the services of ARDs 44% of the total card-holders respond as satisfactory indicates that they are not very happy with the quality of service rendered by ARDs. This is more in urban (67%) than in rural (28%). Moreover, 42% of the total beneficiaries stated that the customer service is poor. Among this 56% is from rural and 15% is from urban. There is significant difference exist between rural and urban regarding the quality of customer service from ARDs.

### Shortage while purchasing from ration shops- Mudakkal and Varkala

Table 1.5

Responses of the sample BPL Customers regarding discrepancies in weighting items -Mudakkal and Varkala

Responses	Rural	Urban	Total
Always	32 (52)	27 (86)	59 (66)
Frequently shortage	5 (9)	5 (3)	10 (6)
Sometimes	14 (25)	8 (9)	22 (19)
Never	8 (14)	1 (2)	9 (9)
Total	59 (100)	41 (100)	100 (100)

Source: Survey Data (Figures in bracket are percentages of total )

The table 1.5 shows the experience of the beneficiaries of PDS regarding underweight while purchasing the commodities from ration shops of the two areas. The table reveals that 66% of the total sample families always experience shortage in purchases from ration shops. 86% of the sample families in urban always experiences shortage than 52% in rural. 6% of the total sample families always experience frequent shortage in purchases from ration shops. Similarly, 19% of the total sample families experience only sometimes shortage in purchases from ration shops. It is pertinent to note that 9 percent of the total sample families never face any shortage while purchasing from ration shop.

### Quality of grain supplied through PDS- Mudakkal and Varkala

Table 1.6

Responses of the sample BPL card holders Regarding the quality of food grains –Mudakkal and Varkala

Responses	Rural	Urban	Total
Good	10 (15)	2 (1)	12 (9)
Satisfactory	20 (34)	4 (11)	24 (25)
Bad	12 (21)	28 (69)	40 (41)
Very bad	17 (30)	7 (19)	24 (25)
Total	59 (100)	41 (100)	100 (100)

Source: Survey Data (Figures in bracket are percentages of total)

The table 1.6 shows the responses of the respondents in rural and urban regarding the quality of the food grains supplied through ration shop. The table shows that 34% of the respondents in rural and 11% in urban area satisfied with the quality of the grains. The majority 41 percent of the total respondents feel that the quality of grains supplied through ration shop is bad. This is more in urban(69%) than in rural(21%). Only 9% of the total sample families opined that quality of grains supplied through ration shop is good. 25% of the total sample families have the feeling that the quality of grains to be very bad.

### Findings and Conclusion

An attempt is made in the study to find out the extent of patronage that the Public Distribution System in Kerala could secure for the beneficiaries of the system. The attitude of the consumers



and their reactions towards the present distribution network in Kerala are looked into. A detailed analysis regarding the socio-economic status of the BPL samples of the selected area revealed that the proportion of families with more members is found in the urban area than the rural area. So the dependency ratio for PDS is more in urban. Considering the source of income (Occupation), the study found that in both the selected areas employment is the main source of income. The proportion of families depending on employment is more in rural (80%) than in urban (67%) having a total of 75%. Regarding business as the source of income the survey result shows that 25% of the urban households depend on business as compared with 16% in rural. This shows clearly that the business dependency rate of the sample households in urban is higher than in rural. Regarding the monthly income, the people in rural generally get higher wages and income when compared with the people of urban.

The second section of the analysis dealt with the effectiveness of the PDS in the selected area by taking into consideration the variables such as the average monthly ration quota and purchase, average monthly requirement of rice, quality of the customer service, shortage while purchasing from ARD and finally the quality of grains supplied through ARD. The survey data revealed that the sample BPL card holders in the rural area purchase only less quantity of rice, and wheat when compared with that of urban area. They purchase only 80% of their kerosene allotment but purchase full allotment of sugar. Similarly, with respect to sugar and kerosene the beneficiaries in urban area purchase their full allotment. It is due to the poor quality of rice supplied through PDS that the BPL cardholders in rural purchase less quantity of rice. In urban area the purchase of rice through PDS is very high. 94 percent of the BPL families purchase rice from the FPS. This is due to the low price

charged for rice. The requirement for rice from PDS is found more in urban area than in rural area. The purchase of rice from open market is also common among the rural beneficiaries as they need more than 35 kg of rice per month. The analysis shows that there is significant variation between rural and urban areas in their monthly requirements.

Regarding the services of ration shop, only 6% of the rural respondents and 11% of the urban respondents had good opinion. With regard to the quality of service rendered by ARDs 44% of the total card-holders respond as satisfactory indicates that they are not very happy. This is more in urban (67%) than in rural (28%). Moreover, 42% of the total beneficiaries stated that the customer service is poor. Among this 56% is from rural and 15% is from urban. There is significant difference exist between rural and urban regarding the quality of customer service from ARDs. 86% of the sample families in urban always experiences shortage than 52% in rural. 6% of the total sample families always experience frequent shortage in purchases from ration shops. Similarly, 19% of the total sample families experience only sometimes shortage in purchases from ration shops. It is pertinent to note that 9% of the total sample families never face any shortage while purchasing from ration shop. The majority 41 percent of the total respondents feel that the quality of grains supplied through ration shop is bad. This is more in urban (69%) than in rural (21%). Only 9% of the total sample families opined that quality of grains supplied through ration shop is good. 25% of the total sample families have the feeling that the quality of grains to be very bad.

Hence it can be generally concluded that the PDS system has universal coverage. Seventy percent of the sample cardholders want FPSs to continue as an agency of PDS with extended facilities. practically all cardholders want FPS to be efficient. They mention

the following factors which are conducive to efficiency: Correct billing, regular supply, correct measurement and polite behavior. They consider the lack of these factors as an index of inefficiency. Card holders do not like inferior quality rice they need more sugar, about 75 % of them would like FPS to sell coarse grain, pulses, Sooji wheat etc. A considerable section favours packed items even at a higher price. In short, the consumers want the essential commodities to be supplied through Fair Price Shop. Hence it is the duty of our government to provide well nourished food grains as well as essential items as a part of their responsibility.

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ISDA Journal 27 (1 & 2) 2017, pp. 115-126

© Institute for the Study of Developing Areas ISSN 0971-2550.

## GLOBALISATION, SOCIAL MEDIA AND ITS IMPACT ON THE PUBLIC SPHERE: A CROSS REFERENCE STUDY ON RECENT POLITICAL ACTIVISM ACROSS THE WORLD

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### Abstract

*Social media is the collective of online communications channels dedicated to community-based input, interaction, content-sharing and collaboration. It has been used as a tool to support development and to push for social change and transformation. While recent discussion on the political impact of social media has centered on the power of mass protests to topple governments, social media's real potential may lie in supporting civil society and the public sphere. From Europe to the Middle East, examples of political activism and cultural interaction suggest that we are experiencing a social media revolution. In this context, we will explore the opportunities to promote such global initiatives and interaction through the use of social media. This paper deals with the impact of social media on recent political upheavals across the world and the role of globalization upon public sphere.*

### Social Media, Role and Importance

The twenty-first century is evolving into a time of technological advancements. There is constant edit and addition to the available technological resources. As it advances, it also spreads worldwide. The worldwide spread of technology creates vast connections that create new opportunities on a larger scale. The current focus of the

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globalization of technology is on the connections created by networks of social media. Viewed from this angle, social media has become a brilliant tool that can be easily used by those who have access to it. As access is gained globally, it creates opportunities to those who are first experiencing the use to outsource ideas. Currently, the use of social media is being used to implement change.

Social media can be defined as "a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, which allows the creation and exchange of user-generated content" (Kaplan, Haenlein 2009: 61).

It is interesting to study in what way the social media becomes a formative element in the formation of the public sphere and how do they exert influence on one another. Social media is the collective of online communications channels dedicated to community-based input, interaction, content-sharing and collaboration. Websites and applications dedicated to forums, micro blogging, social networking, social bookmarking, and wikis are among the different types of social media. Micro blogging is a broadcast medium that exists in the form of blogging. A micro blog differs from a traditional blog in that its content is typically smaller in both actual and aggregated file size. Micro blogs allow users to exchange small elements of content such as short sentences, individual images, or video links, which may be the major reason for their popularity. These small messages are sometimes called micro posts.

Social media has been used as a tool to support development outcomes (access to markets, financial services and employment; accountability and transparency; service delivery; and protection of human rights) and to push for social change and transformation. However, new medias should not be seen as socially neutral tools. Despite the growth of information and communication technologies in the developing world, some technologies in particular mobile

phones, may not be accessible to marginalised groups, which can reinforce inequalities in society.

Further, there has been little comprehensive research or rigorous evaluation of the causal influence of social media. As such, its ability to contribute to development outcomes and social change remains contested. While recent discussion on the political impact of social media has centered on the power of mass protests to topple governments, social media's real potential may lie in supporting civil society and the public sphere.

### **Social Media and Globalisation**

Globalisation is a big idea, or rather a big set of ideas and discourses. As a process and programme, the evolution of globalization has a long pedigree (Modelska, Devezas, William 2007: 145).

The history of economic globalisation is the outcome of several developments such as, the emergence of capitalist production system in the second half of the 18th century, the process of internationalisation under the capitalist domination of England and West Europe, collapse of New York Stock Exchange in 1929 and the great depression thereafter. As a result, the capitalist system, which for 150 years had claimed to be self regulating, came to a standstill or capitalist development was striven by its own limitless internal dynamics. In Europe and US, unemployment peaked, national income fell miserably and the economy became absolutely stagnant. Most of the Third World countries also had to face severe economic crisis.

It advocates the abolition of state, imposed limitations on movements of ideas, information, goods and services. It can be seen positively as a system of changes that improves life chances for all, or it can be seen negatively as a force which measures everything based on the capitalist strategy of profit making or maximum

economic growth without much concern on social development. As a programme of economic development, it is defined as a the expansion of economic activities across the political boundaries of nations by means of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation under the globally designed dictates of World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization.

Today, globalization, democratization and participative citizenship are current debated phenomenon in all around the world as countries continue to develop more and more. The main reason of these topics' being discussed in the world is the increasing level of education in almost all societies. According to the UNESCO the world's average literacy rate for males is 84% while it is 75% for females. Moreover, huge economic changes have taken place all around the world and both the developing and developed economies have become dependent on each other as a result. Apart from these changes, the notion of democracy that had already been adopted in Europe ages ago has started to spread all around the world, specifically to the Arab nations. The latest examples can be given from Syria and Lebanon where ordinary people started to think about having their voice within their governmental departments. Even though the desire for democratization and the process itself is not painless, the choices of masses have been in that line (Lipset and Lakin 2004: 114).

Globalisation is today an increasingly critical phenomenon in world politics, as national states and regional organisations continue to develop. Vast economic changes take place around the world creating dependencies among both developing and developed economies as a result. Apart from these changes, the idea of democracy and civic society that have been adopted in Europe years before started to spread all around the world. Civic society and political participation are crucial aspects to developed democracies (Yigit and Tarman, 2013: 79). While civic participation

is defined as the actions by individuals or groups to identify and address public concern issues, political participation is defined as actions performed voluntarily to influence elections or public policy (Johnston 2012: 132). These actions should be increased during the process of democratisation and globalisation; social media and networking tools have been among the most effective tools towards the achievement of these targets.

The ever-increasing power of social networks has been studied excessively. What is widely accepted that social networks mobilize people worldwide and redefine practices around the globe. From Europe to the Middle East, examples of political activism and cultural interaction suggest that we are experiencing a social media revolution. In this context, we will explore the opportunities to promote such global initiatives and interaction through the use of social media. The cases of Egypt and Tunisia, where the process of democratisation was accelerated through social networks, provide us with suitable examples of this correlation.

Global networks provide unfathomable opportunities because of the ease of use. As availability spreads worldwide, many people will use technology to their advantage to start a social movement. Social media makes activism easy to start as exemplified with Euromaidan. Euromaidan is a social movement currently happening in Ukraine. The Euromaidan was a wave of demonstrations and civil unrest in Ukraine, which began on the night of 21 November with very large public protests demanding closer European integration. The main causes of this demonstration were suspension of the Ukraine-European Union Association Agreement by the government other versions, Russian foreign policy and threat of Russian trade sanctions, Government corruption and Police brutality etc. the main goals of this demonstration were signing of the European Union Association Agreement and Free Trade Agreement, Impeachment



of President Viktor Yanukovich, snap elections, Re-adoption of the 2004 Constitution of Ukraine amendments, International sanctions against Yankovych and Azarov government members, Rejection of Custom Union membership etc.

The protestors are actively fighting for their human rights, democracy, and freedom because the Ukraine-EU association agreement, a treaty between the European Union and Ukraine that establishes political establishment between the two parties, was not signed (Hebblethwaite). The forefront to their movement is expressed through social media, mainly Twitter and Face book. Previously in Ukraine, Twitter was not widely used until the protests began. Twitter is essential for the Ukraine protest because it provides the connection to further their protest by spreading information and gaining participants. In the country, its main use is to gather protesters and release events, but worldwide, it is used as a source of information to outsiders. With the globalization of technology providing vast and efficient spread of information people are connected like never before.

The vast networks created by social media provide many opportunities but still have setbacks. Because the networks are worldwide it means that everyone has access to it as long as their technology is advanced enough. Worldwide connections provide the access to all information that is expressed. Thus it appears that all the information expressed is not always accurate resulting in the spread of false information. The alteration of information is inevitable so it is important to separate the truth from everything else. Noted about the Ukraine protest, by Carola Frediani, in her article, "How Ukraine's Euromaidan Played out Online" the spread of false information is impossible to stop (Carola, 2014 pp.248). This false information has great impact on people's reactions; therefore, the Euromaidan News Team has a group of volunteers responsible to

verify the sources of information so incorrect information is not provided. Alteration of information cannot be stopped so it is necessary to check the validity of the information that is received and not believe everything that is spread through media networks. For example, more English speaking people comment on the activism than Ukrainian people (Hebblethwaite). This shows that with social media connections being worldwide, anyone can comment and influence the information that people are receiving, for better, or for worse. Despite falsification of information it will not prevent the use of social media as a tool for activism.

Social media itself is built on weak ties because the information is not concrete; therefore, social media activism is built on weak ties. These weak ties make it possible for information to be spread rapidly, worldwide. Weak ties will not inhibit social media activism from being successful. In today's era, social media use is inevitable because it is so efficient. The weak-ties of social media are low-risk but the use of social media for activism is not always low risk. Those who release or receive information from social networks and are, or become active participants of a social movement are putting themselves at a higher level of activism, therefore, at risk. In the case of Euromaidan, all protestors became involved in high-risk activism due to the brutality that was inflicted upon them by the force of the government trying to stop the movement. Euromaidan is an example of the success of using social media as a tool to gain participants but that activism, even social media, has risk. The unexpected can always happen, as seen with the protesters of the Euromaidan movement, who were initially peaceful until they were forced to fight back for their rights and to take steps toward accomplishing the goal of their movement.

Global citizens watched the Egyptian protests against the regime of the President Mubarak (January 2011) generating a

worldwide reaction via social media. The demonstrations on the name of civil freedoms in Turkey (May 2013) caught our attention when social media started to have an impact on organizing further demonstration within the country. The Arab Spring (December 2010), a term used to describe the wave of successive revolutions in the Arab world, brought first the use of these networks in play. Arab Spring refers to the democratic uprising that arose independently and spread across the Arab world in 2011. The movement originated in Tunisia in December 2010 and quickly took hold in Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. The main causes of this movement were authoritarianism, demographic structural factors, political corruption, human rights violations, inflation, and unemployment. Many Arab Spring demonstrations were met with violent response from the authorities, as well as from pre-government militias and counter-demonstrators. These attacks were answered with violence from protesters in some cases. A major slogan of the demonstrations in the Arab world is 'Ash-sha 'b yuridisqat an-nizam' ('the people want to bring down the regime'). It is evident that the use of social media has provided the means for citizens to play a role in their own governments, through organising protests or purely voicing their concerns or opinions. The Internet is an important tool that people use in order to express themselves and share ideas. During the past few years it has become an important tool that democracy and human rights activists use to organize real or virtual demonstration for political, social, and economic reform (Yigit and Tarman, 2013 p. 81). Various researchers have discussed how social media tools have been used in the process of political engagement and how they affected civic and political participation within this scope. Internet has created a new complex environment, which could bring create more inclusion and participation in the public debate, as a public platform for the citizens and not only for political elites. While the communications landscape gets more complex, and

more participatory, the networked population is gaining more access to information, more opportunities to engage in public speech, and an ability to undertake collective action. In the political arena, this has increased freedoms that can help a coordinated demand change from the public (Shirky, 2011, p. 122). Thus, one could argue that the political scenery have shifted towards a more participatory equilibrium.

Social media has made an impact on countries around the globe, from world powers like the United States and the European Union, to Latin America and the Middle East. The impact it has, however, depends upon the resolve of the citizens to actually do something more. From activating young voters in the U.S. to the roots of the Arab Spring in the Middle East, Twitter, YouTube, Facebook and other SNSs tools have played not just an important role, but a highly influential one (Omidyar 2014, p. 130). Social media have created a record for becoming coordinating tools for most of the world's political movements, when most of the world's authoritarian governments are trying to control or limit access to it. In one of its declaration, the U.S. State Department has committed itself to internet freedom as a specific policy aim of progressiveness (Dickinson 2010, p. 149). Already from 2009, and while thousands of protesters gathered in Tehran to demonstrate about the presidential election, something unprecedented happened. For the first time young people in America were connecting with young people in Iran, and realizing they had far more in common than they had ever thought (Omidyar 2014, p.130). The alarming effect is obvious. The governments often fail to understand that people will not stop communicating; there will always be new ways to do so. The power of political ideas and the capacity of social networks can be an intimidating combination for those with dominating intentions. The more hopeful way to use social media is as long-term tools that

can strengthen civil society and the public sphere.

Social media activism is successful in using social networks as a tool to spread information efficiently and gain participants. It is not yet successful at completing a revolutionary movement due to the lack of a hierarchy. A hierarchy is necessary in order to have an organized plan of action once the protesting has moved towards a takeover. Social media activism is held back by its inability to fulfill a movement because there is no organization in charge to implement the change desired by the protestors. Without someone or a group in charge of a social movement, chaos will arise not only during the protesting but thereafter, "without a clear next phase, a movement is left to run on its own momentum, which inevitably runs out." (r) The lack of a hierarchical system makes the success of social media activism extremely difficult to implement real change. Euromaidan exemplifies this struggle of social media activism because the movement is not yet successful. It has been occurring for months and the people have still received their desires or gained control of the government. It is extremely difficult for large masses of people to actually make a change because they do not have the power to make the change, only the freedom to rebel.

Overall, social media is an inevitable force that is being used for activism presently and no doubt will be used in bigger and better ways in the future. The advancement of technology has made it possible for social media to be spread worldwide. As social media spreads to most countries vast connections are made. With these great connections come great opportunities. The main one is the use of social media as activism to run a social movement. Social media activism is successful in exposing the world to current events. However, with this exposure comes the falsification of facts. But this does not prevent the use of social media for activism. As can be seen currently with the social movement Euromaidan, in Ukraine social

media is the forefront of the movement. The tool of social media for activism is successful at gaining participants, but becomes high-risk once someone becomes an active protestor. Social media activism is completely successful at starting a movement and getting it spread worldwide, but because it is not consisted of an organized hierarchy it fails at completing the movement in a way that satisfies most. As the use of social media is used for activism it will become possible for social media activism to be completely successful. It is only a matter of time before the global resources will develop ideas and solutions for the completion of social movements.

## **Conclusion**

Globalization era has shrunk this world to a great extent and access to social media around the world has enhanced and intensified the effects of globalization. A current reality is a networked, connected and an easily accessible one globally. Even the not-so-democratic regimes are unable to ban their countrymen from accessing the alternative perspectives on current developments, current affairs or alternative interpretation of politics over the various internet sources helpfully constructed by activist media platforms (Lievrouw, 2011, p. 156). Hidden becomes unveiled as the recent Wiki Leaks and Snowden related events have proved. Globalization and social media together have created a potential for more transparency as well as a chance for subaltern marginalized voices to be digitally constructed and thus broadcasted to and heard by broader audiences. All of the above have potentially created a new public space, perhaps even a new civil society that has a tremendous potential to create changes in a physical reality globally (Cammaerts and Carpentier, 2007, p. 187).

In the era of globalization, digital social media strengthens, reinforces, and intensifies the effects of interconnectedness by overstepping all geographical boundaries and providing answers in crisis situations through online channels to both online and

physical target audiences. Thus various international communities that include immigrants, expatriate etc can connect globally and help each other in times of needs. In the future, social media may potentially fill a niche of an online civil society, especially where governmental structures are missing, by organizing online local and international communities.

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## THE PHILOSOPHY OF TIME AND DASEIN'S TEMPORAL EXISTENCE

*Syam M K\**

### **Abstract**

*Martin Heidegger is a prominent figure in the field of philosophy. His most important work 'Being and Time' deals with the temporal existence of man as Being-in-the-world. Although he denies himself as an existentialist his original thinking and philosophical treatises influenced almost every field of reflection in the twentieth century and contemporary philosophies and played a crucial role in developing existentialism. From the start, Heidegger's analysis of time differs significantly from most Western concepts of time. 'Dasein' the word he used to denote human existence is the mode to understand the true nature of Being. His philosophical analysis of time and temporal existence of humans are exemplified as 'care' and 'transcendence'.*

*Keywords Used: Time, Dasein, Care, Ecstatic, Authenticity, Transcendence*

The subjective and objective experience of 'time' is inevitable for men. The existential reality of 'time' is at the pinnacle in the philosophy of the German thinker, Martin Heidegger. He says "the central problematic of all ontology is rooted in the phenomenon of time if rightly seen and rightly explained" (Heidegger, 1978, p.40). In order to discuss the topic we have to understand the concept of 'time' and how Heidegger connects it with his philosophy. This article is an existential analysis of the metaphysical time and temporal existence of man.

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## Concept of Time

According to the Greek thinker, Plato, time is a moving image of eternity. Aristotle holds that it is the number of movements in respect of the before and after. Plotinus derives time as the life of the soul in movement as it passes from one stage of act or experience to another. Medieval figure St. Augustine is of the opinion that it is a present of things past, memory, a present of things present, sight, and a present of things future, expectation. These definitions, like all attempts to encapsulate the essence of time in some neat formula, are unhelpfully circular because they employ temporal notions. (Earman and Gale, 2001, p.920).

According to them, Christian theology points out that time is organized by God which is finite and eschatological and eventually comes to an end. Descartes and later Enlightenment thinkers upheld the subjective view that time is something understood in the mind of a rational observer. Kant represented the 'phenomenal world' as the plane defined by space-time as perpendicular axes. According to Kant the ideas of space and time are intuitive rather than conceptual in character. Besides, they are 'pure' intuitions insofar as the essential nature of their referents is known in advance of experience i.e. a priori and not as a result of it. They are a priori conditions of experience. For our intuition of objects time is necessary and a priori, because the occurrences that designate the passage of time cannot be characterised in time.

The phenomenon of time can be approached by two ways; i.e. from the perspective of life and from the perspective of science. When we approach time from a life perspective it actually outbreaks the binary logic that science used to describe time. "The objective, mechanical conception of time – what Newton refers to as 'absolute, true, mathematical time,' is well suited for the modern scientific

project because it reduces time to a causal series of 'nows,' each of which is simultaneously an effect of previous moments that are themselves 'no longer' and a cause of subsequent moments that, from a logical point of view, are 'not yet'" (Jalbert, 2003, p. 267). The natural movement of time defined by science i.e. the 'world time' which is same for everyone, and which is used for the practical ready-to-hand tasks of everyday survival. The ordinary notion of time is related with the structures of significance, datability, spannedness, and publicness. Time as a uniform sequence of 'nows' is an abstraction from time with these structures. This scientific articulation of time is not adequate in explaining the existential situation of man. Because the possibilities, creativity and freedom of man is not derived from linear perspective of time.

## The Idea of Dasein

Heidegger used the word 'Dasein' to signify the relationship of man and the world. It is a German word means 'there being' or 'being there', which is derived from the two words Da (there) and Sein (being). Prior to him Kant and Husserl used this word to indicate existence, to describe animate or inanimate existence. For Heidegger 'Dasein' exclusively represents man and his way of being. Since it has no plural form it denotes human being as well as humans as a whole. Despite the fact that 'Dasein' is 'being there' the significance of different creatures is uncovered by it. He infers and makes implications in this world.

He selected the expression of 'Dasein' for a few reasons. He felt that the words we utilize no longer sufficiently express their unique sense. They have ended up 'exhausted' from abuse, so we miss their more profound centrality. By this word, he stirs our mindfulness and moves us to take a glimpse at ourselves with new eyes. He trusted this would urge us to consider our identity in a progressive way,



uninfluenced by the customary conclusions of religion, reasoning, psychology and humanities. According to him this expression is best embodied, underscored and communicated the way that we are remarkable creatures, subjectively different from other entities, in the light of the fact that the core of our identity is contained in our way of being. We can't get the characteristics of it by the depiction of our ontic qualities because of the grounds that Dasein's being has no 'settled' nature that exists freely of from its way of Being. When it is utilized as a verb it signifies 'to exist'. For Heidegger recommends we are more similar to a movement or process than any kind of a thing. He utilized 'being there' in the sense 'being-in-the -world', 'there' gives the meaning of 'world'.

### Time and Being

Being itself is temporal, it is the being of Dasein. There cannot be any time except for Dasein and conversely, there can be no Dasein except for there being time. "Heidegger is intrigued by the fact that time appears at first glance to be a measurable, quantifiable 'something'. He insists, however, that careful reflection upon our most basic experience reveals time to be not a 'something' at all. It is not a graspable entity but is in fact the underlying structure of what it means for something or someone 'to be' at all. Temporality is, for Heidegger, the 'meaning of Being'. More specifically, we typically think that to say something 'is' means to say that it subsists now, in the present. Heidegger argues, however, that careful investigation of what we ourselves really already mean, operatively, by the expression 'to be', in conjunction with a careful description of our own experience of existing, reveals something quite different about the relationship entities have to time" (Walsh, 2010, p.178).

Time is an a priori condition for Being-in-the-world. Time is the unity of Being and Dasein, it is prior to Dasein. "These sorts of

experience do not mean that time is merely a subjective phenomenon in the sense of being illusory, for we really do live temporally, but this temporality does not exist apart from us as a physical property of the universe, since the universe is temporal only because we are temporal and not the other way around. So time is not a substance nor a property of beings but a way of Being: it is existential rather than categorical" (Watts, 2011, p.118). According to Heidegger humans are temporal beings in nature, and since during our existence the whole thing we come across is categorically perceived as temporal, our comprehension of any revealedness, of any Dasein is irrefutably temporal in nature. Thus the world Heidegger says is inherent in the structure of Dasein as it is the field of being-there. This temporal and cultural aspects of the world constitute being-there as fundamentally a historical phenomenon. In this 'Being' is unveiled, support this 'being-in-the- world' be what it is. Hence worldliness is an ontological stuff of Dasein; it is our milieu of involvement in the world.

Time temporalizes itself in its being lived through temporally. The fundamental insight into the nature of time revealed by the encounter between Bergson and Einstein is that time extemporizes itself. As Heidegger describes it, it temporalizes itself in its being lived through temporally. Extemporization provides the ways for time's temporalizing of itself which is to say that, Heidegger further validates Bergson's characterization of time as inseparable from its being endured, lived through. This notion of time as self-extemporizing, as temporalizing of itself is in direct contrast to the conception of time in terms of simultaneity, and the defining of time in terms of a sequence of 'nows.' In this latter sense, time remains spatially external to what determines it. This is to reduce time to a being, even if only a clock on the wall. Time, in the former sense, exists imminently to its own horizontal process of temporalization (Scott, 2006, p.184).

Human being, who lived in the world, and lived through his body, and in the world of consciousness through his mind, experience the extemporizing of time as the continuity of his invention and creation. The gradual enrichment of his existing in the world is related to the temporality of Dasein which is in the past, present, and future of being. As such, time cannot be understood to be some entity, nor is it simply given once and for all. Paul C. W. Davies, a popular scientist comments that time is neither are past, present, nor future rendered meaningless, as they are by the theory of relativity. In other words, to borrow Heidegger's characterization, time is 'timeliness'. Timeliness is not; it extemporizes itself. The Past, present and future as those 'ecstatic' modes through which it is given, acquire meaningfulness only because they are the means through which time extemporizes itself through the activity of Dasein. This is the fundamental philosophical insight garnered by Heidegger from the Bergson–Einstein encounter. (Scott, 2006, p.185).

### **Experience and Time**

In order to understand present or change we must experience temporal interval. At that point, the issue emerges that our experience is entirely kept to the present. We can recall the past and foresee the future however we are restricted to the present since it lacks duration. This contention is confronted by phenomenologist. As per them, there are two sorts of present i.e.; conventional scientific present and experiential or phenomenal present. Here the former is duration less whereas the latter has small but finite duration, to allow us to apprehend change and persistence. German phenomenologist, Husserl, call it the 'living present' or known as specious present. This conception of time is again treated by Heidegger, the phenomenology of time is the core of his philosophy. Heidegger as a phenomenologist interested in the experiential time which is related to our mental states and concerns. As we know when

we are doing something mindfully we experience time as different as compared to the state of boredom.

The French philosopher, Henry Bergson, who contributed significant amount about the concept of time is of the opinion that our experience of ourselves is totally different from the scientific knowledge about ourselves. Heidegger also admitted this view and Dasein's temporal existence is of experience. According to Bergson, science deals with linear time i.e. before and after. "We exist in the present moment but are continually moving on to the next moment, leaving behind us an infinite line of past moments, and ahead of us, there stretches an infinity of future moments. On this understanding of time, the not-yet-now becomes the now and the now becomes the no-longer-now in a beginningless, endless and irreversible sequence" (Watts, 2011, p.118).

According to Heidegger the past, present and future of Dasein are interconnected. It is not something linear connection. We use clocks and watches to measure the linear time we are using in our day to day life. But the actual experience of time is subjective according to person to person, for there are instances of distorted perception. When we watch a good movie we shall mesmerize by it and actually doesn't experience the measurable time taken to watch it. In the case of a painful experience or a traffic jam, this may be of the reverse effect. The past and future coexist with our experience of time and thus time distortion occurs. Take the instance of a song, we experience the song as combination of past, present and future i.e.; "..... retention, in which notes that are no longer sounding have to be retained in memory; attention, in which a 'primal impression' of each note, as it sounds, must be gained; and protention, in which the auditor must 'listen ahead' and construct expectations of what might or might not follow. Crucially, these three acts have to occur together. Our awareness of time is thus a gathered-togetherness- a simultaneous occurrence- of past, present and future" (Watts, 2011, p.119).

## Dasein and Transcendence of Time

Heidegger's temporal interpretation of Dasein points to time as the ground in which the present finds its roots but his conception of time has its roots in the subjectivity of Dasein itself. Because of the conception of time, he has borrowed from Kant according to whom the time-consciousness is generated by the internal inner episodes recorded by the viewer some of which he feels 'earlier' and some 'later'. The logical and phenomenal structure of objects gets when the forms of experience and categories structures with reason. The categories are strictly mental and essential to experience space and time.

Such a finite conception of time generated within the inner warnings of the subjectivity of the subject cannot help in the interpretation of historical events which are spread over the past, present and grew into future. For this purpose, a transcendent conception of time is since *qua* none. The gap between the past and present is bridged by insisting on a tradition which provides continuity to the past and helps, thus, the historian interpreter with cognitive potential. Understanding is not to be thought of so much as an action of one's subjectivity but as the planning of oneself within a tradition in which past and present are constantly fused. (Shukla, 1998, p.6)

Dasein's being is temporality, i.e. human being is composed of past, present and future and not exclusively present. The horizon which makes possible the being of Dasein as care is what Heidegger calls temporality. He says, "temporality reveals itself as the meaning of authentic care" (Heidegger, 1978, p.374). Human beings are temporal and their ability to discrete things is also temporal. His understanding is nevertheless temporal. "The primordial unity of the structure of care lies in temporality" (Heidegger, 1978, p.375). "The three aspects of care correspond to the three dimension of time:

the future (ahead of itself or *Existenz*), the past (facticity), and the present (fallenness). The unity of Dasein is founded on care, whose unity, in turn, is founded on temporality" (Dostal, 1993, p.156).

According to the existentialist thinker Karl Jaspers, man chiefly experience transcendence in experiencing his own existence as possessing a depth and a possibility that surpasses me. Thus, Jaspers relays transcendence to his sole conception of human 'existence'.

Any moment of human experience has these three dimensions. Heidegger talks about this three-dimensionality of the lived experience of time as the 'ecstatic' unity of time. By this he means how each of these three dimensions is distinctive and distinguishable from the other two, that is, how each dimension 'stands out' from the others. 'standing out' is the literal meaning of 'ecstasy.' By the ecstatic character of time, Heidegger also means to describe how any moment is a crossing point of past and future. The present bears within it the past and future. Past and future make it up. "Original time or temporality is this coming-toward-itself, coming-back-to-itself, and en-presenting, in their essential interconnection. Such temporality is ecstatic, inasmuch as in the toward, back-to and with, temporality has the character of being outside itself. Heidegger calls this outside itself of temporality ecstases, and the future, past, and present of original temporality the three ecstases of temporality" (Gorner, 2002, p.29).

This connectedness and ecstatic unity he refers to as the 'transcendence' of time and the transcendence of Dasein, which is essentially temporal in just this way. The present moment goes beyond, or 'transcends', the merely present in the way that it, as present, is at the same time future and past" (Dostal, 1993, 156). Dasein transcends towards the 'world'. Transcendence essentially characterizes Dasein as being-in-the-world. How does world hood manifest itself? Transcendence has a temporal 'ecstatic' character:

“The ecstatic unity of temporality – that is the unity of the ‘outside-of-itself’ (in future, past, present) is the condition for the possibility that there can be an entity which exists as its ‘there’” (Heidegger 1978, p. 350). For Heidegger, transcendence is always towards the world, but the world is never an object, or even something that can be said to exist (Moran, 2014, p. 508). Heidegger portrays Dasein as itself a transcendence, a ‘stepping over’, a ‘passage across’, a ‘surpassing’. According to Karl Jaspers transcendence is revealed through human historicity. He emphasizes the historicity of human existence as exactly disclosing this transcendence.

### **Dasein and Historicity**

Dasein is nothing but Being-in-the-world. The world is constituted by Dasein. “Dasein understands its own being (existence), but in understanding its own being it at the same time understands the being of entities other than itself. An understanding of the being of entities of a character other than its own is constitutive of Dasein’s own understanding of existence” (Gorner, 2002, p. 19). We are both in and of the world. The history and culture of the world are the primary influences of Dasein. The relation of Dasein and other things are in relation. It is the ‘average everydayness’ of Dasein. This relation has two components i.e. understanding and state of mind. We understand our world and ourselves with the practical involvements and projects. “State of mind is the way we find ourselves already disposed toward things in this world. These are aspects of care, which best captures not just one aspect of Dasein but Dasein in its entirety” (Dostal, 1993, p. 155).

Heidegger used the word historicity to denote Dasein’s mode as a historical being. He is interested in the historical nature of human existence. Unlike Husserl he is interested in history and is of the opinion that truth is related with the complex heritage of mankind. It is related with the traditional context and historical epoch in

which it ascends. “The relation of what has-been arises from the intensity of our belonging together in a world. We are not subjects extractable from a world without remainder. We are deeply entangled in this world, our stance within the world is precisely composed of the relationships we bear, that we support and which, in turn, support us as well. Heidegger’s conception of what has-been rests on this thought of our being embedded in this world of relations. We have no relation in this sense, Heidegger claims, to a mathematical formula, it lacks a meaningful concretion when isolated on its own” (Mitchell, 2013, p. 400).

According to him, Dasein is different from nature and its essence is ‘who’ whereas nature is composed of categories. Dasein encounter with the things in the world as a workman in a workshop. There are handy and not handy tools in a workplace according to the situation involved. Heidegger is of the opinion that the movements of nature are time free and nature is encountered ‘in’ the time which we ourselves are (Heidegger, 1985, p. 320). When Dasein encounter with nature it becomes a part and parcel of history and culture. We understand nature through our practical involvement with it, a similar view that Kant holds. History is the possibilities of Dasein in the past and they are the available possibilities of Dasein in the present and future.

Dasein’s past is mirrored in the past of the world. World has temporal structure because of the temporality of Dasein. “Only if death, guilt, conscience, freedom and finitude reside together equiprimordially in the Being of an entity as they do in care, can that entity exist in the mode of fate, that is to say only then can it be historical in the very depths of its existence” (Heidegger, 1978, p. 437). Guilt is nothing but the failure to respond to that task of shaping one’s life within a thrownness that one can never master and control. “What is still required is man’s active response-in

anticipatory resoluteness- to the call of conscience, to his guilt vis-à-vis his thrownness. Through such active response, an individual situates himself within the historical background of his life. In addition, this historical background- the individual's heritage- now ceases to be viewed as open either to one's attempts at control or to (detached and objective) justification. As of now, the individual is ready to accept his heritage in the latter's full contingency and groundlessness (nullity). This stance toward one's historical past is its 'repetition'" (Hoffman, 1993, p. 212). Heidegger is of the opinion that repetition leads to 'something new', it is not mere reproduction or recurrence. Essentially repetition is Dasein's being- toward-the future. But it includes the backward movement to the socio-historical tradition and inherits. These are the cradle of possibilities of one's own, there by recognizing the scope and limits within it. Thus the forward orientation is the intertwining of future, present, repetition of the past or heritage.

Heidegger holds that it is impossible to devise a brand new life project completely of one's own, since eventually our source for all possible projects is rooted in some way or other in our shared culture. Repetition allows Dasein to have a fate or a destiny, as well as a hero. I.e. Our historical past will provide with a pool of role models (heroes) to choose from. Heidegger's use of the term 'fate' is in a different sense than the usual. Dasein's existence contextual i.e., he can play as an active participant or as a passive observer and recipient of the tradition. Whether active or passive Dasein is not reckless resolution of either supernatural or historical forces. But fate is a paradoxical mixture and interlacing of freedom and determinism that is specific of Dasein's existence.

He says our freedom to choose our fate is limited because of our existential situation. Human life can express itself only within a certain spectrum of values and traditions. We realize that we cannot

be 'anything and everything' since our life is bound up with such and such historical roots. For the same reason, we have a destiny and our life is part and parcel of a broader current life of the historical community to which we belong. And since both our fate and destiny must be lived in a concrete possibility of our existence. "By having a fate, a destiny, and a hero, we can act with loyalty towards our historical past, the inauthentic Dasein- a Dasein bent of finding secure acceptance within the ever-shifting trends of the 'they' world- will remain disloyal to its past and helpless to resist the tyranny of the 'they'. But Dasein's link up with the historical community does not remove from Dasein's structure its dimension of subjectivity. On the contrary, Dasein reveals itself as rooted in its historical community only by exploring the full depths of its own subjectivity- of its finitude, its freedom, its guilt, and so on" (Hoffman, 1993, p. 213).

### **Authentic and Inauthentic Temporality**

According to Heidegger existence of Dasein (human being) is temporal. There are two main notions of temporality: 'authentic (primordial) temporality', which is exemplified by resolute Dasein; and 'inauthentic temporality', the temporality of everyday and/or fallen Dasein. 'ordinary time' or 'now-time', inauthentically understood as a sequence of 'nows'. (Watts, 2011, p.116). When time is understood in the ordinary sense it is the basis for inauthentic temporality. Because of the everydayness or fallenness or inauthenticity Dasein becomes disseminated and scattered.

Dasein's temporality is explained as 'ecstases' or structures by Heidegger. The structures of Dasein are ahead of itself (Understanding), already in (disposition), and alongside. In other words, they are existentiality or Existenz, facticity, and fallenness (Dostal, 1993, p.156). We cannot separate past, present and future. Moreover, the acquired things make the present and future life. This is what is called being-alongside. It cannot be chronologically determined



because the future sometimes may become the present and past become may the future etc. It is the unity of the 'ecstases' is the mainstay of Dasein. Authentic living is the understanding of these existential structures. Inauthentic existence is due to the avoidance of these structures. Inauthenticity preoccupies with the present whereas authenticity is the united view of the past present and future. The fallen existence appears to be a refusal to come to grips with one's own most possibilities. The inauthentic existence is man's forgotten Being.

Man can live life either in an authentic or in an inauthentic way. Thus there are two types of disposition and understanding. The most of Dasein are inauthentic and fallen and wedged in the present and cut off from the authentic future and the past. Dasein is Being-toward-death. It is the utmost possibility of every Dasein. Heidegger says, "The movement of life is stretched out between birth and death" (Heidegger, 1978, p.427). When we understand this and the acceptance of this tend Dasein to the authentic existence. He says that existence is potentiality for Being and this potentiality reveals at the time of birth. The new born child gradually becomes conscious of his problematic existence and his life-span between birth and death which reveal as totality full of possibilities. The very consciousness of one's own possibilities reveals Dasein in its ever new forms, and lends dynamism to its being for Dasein is ever changeful and ever dynamic in nature.

Heidegger holds that, authentic past is not that which is merely 'no longer' and the authentic future not that which is merely 'not-yet' so too is the authentic present not to be confused with the 'now' of objective time (Heidegger, 1978, p. 373). "Authentic present spreads out toward and includes the authentic past and future. In the authentic present, my past is stripped of its sheer facticity and, for the first time, is manifest as a field of possibilities that I can choose

to actively and resolutely take-up in 'running ahead' toward a future that is uniquely mine. The entire process is one of self-constitution, and speaks to the issue of how one may be said to become the 'who' that one already is as having-been" (Jalbert, 2003, p.269).

In the public view of time, it is infinite. But Heidegger is of the opinion that time is finite for Dasein and the end is death. "Dasein's authenticity requires the lucid acceptance of one's own death, it is precise because Dasein's totality can be revealed only in its being-toward-death...As long as a human individual is alive- as long as he continues to take a stand on what it means to be- his identity is not a settled matter, for it is open to constant revision and reinterpretation" (Hoffman, 1993, p. 196). The anticipatory resoluteness of Dasein is Being-toward-death, which is the authentic manner of Being-in-the-world. It signifies that Dasein has accepted it as an inescapable fact and thus made as a possibility exclusively of its own. Thus Dasein comes in positions with its finitude, freedom, and individuality.

Heidegger says, "The primary phenomenon of original and authentic temporality is the future" (Heidegger, 1978, p. 377). He again says, "Dasein has projected itself on definite possibilities of its existence" (Heidegger, 1978, p. 363). "At every stage of his life he can always take this rather than that option open to him- and, in so doing not only do he determine what the course of his life will be from now on, but he also reshape and redefine the meaning of what his life was all about until now. This is so because the options that he take shed light on what was important to him all along, on the endurance and the strength of his commitments (or lack thereof), and so on" (Hoffman, 1993, p. 196). According to him Dasein is defined by these 'possibilities'. The truth of Dasein cannot be captured within the ordinary notion of fixed conceptual boundaries; the open-ended 'nature' of the human being is defined by its 'existence'. When death

occur the possibilities extinguishes and his life becomes a settled matter.

Life is filled with instances of 'mine'. Hence the first person standpoint of death is unavoidable. But it is not possible since death is not at present and which is unpredictable. The realization of 'death as ultimate possibility' is a truth. The power of being of man is vulnerable to the face of death. The first person sense of death gives a uniqueness to everyone's life. Death totalizes and individualizes Dasein. Because there is no way to escape from it or can replace someone to avoid the tribunal. "Death imposes upon me the one and only experience that is inescapably mine" (Hoffman, 1993, p. 199).

Dasein is 'care' for it is always concerned about its being. Life matters to Dasein because of the realization that it is not forever or once for all. Dasein's ground is care because it is aware of its mortality. The possibility of death indefinite, for it is not confined to any particular moment or time span. This constant threat leads to anxiety. The world around him does not protect from that possibility. "The temporality of anxiety is the underlying ground for both. Inauthentic temporality expresses Dasein's flight from its anxious anticipation of death, authentic temporality is built upon a stance in which one confronts what is revealed in the temporality of anxiety and expresses this in one's attitude toward one's entire life, from birth to death" (Hoffman, 1993, p. 206).

Inauthentic temporality concerned with ordinary Dasein. The commonsensical Dasein tries to escape the ever threatening reality of death by engaging life-activities. The achievements and losses in everyday life is according to the worldly trends. He lives according to the public world and accumulates what he needs. He gathers things for the acceptance and a place in the public world and live in it. It is the blind acceptance of public conceptions and standards and the

failure to consider this acceptance as a choice among a number of alternative modes of existence.

Heidegger articulates authentic temporality as freedom. "It is a freedom for a world, in which Dasein always already finds itself, as something it can assume, but it is also something from which it can fall away or shun. And precisely due to its tendency to fall, Dasein will be tempted to interpret its situation as grounded in the world, and not the other way around, as itself the futural temporalizing disclosure in and through which the world is manifested. The entire analysis of Dasein as disclosedness and eventually as truth can be reinterpreted as a way of understanding what it means for Dasein to be free, and thus freedom can inversely be described as Heidegger's most fundamental concern" (Ruin, 2008, p.280). Freedom enables us a responsibility for ourselves, for the world and for the being. Freedom is towards the world not the other way around. Freedom indicates its involvement in and with the disclosure of beings, thus it is profounder than common conception of freedom. Freedom is the actualization of our authentic being, it is existence itself and not just its representation. "When we seek freedom as the ground of possibility of man, then freedom is more original than man. Man is only the keeper of freedom. Thus freedom should no longer be thought of as the property of man, but man as the possibility of freedom. For man is the being in that man is the property of freedom. The essence of man is grounded in freedom, as itself a fundamental determination of being" (Ruin, 2008, p.285).

In authentic temporality Dasein is aware of its finitude and limitedness. He brought back to his past. "We are what we were, and we will be what we receive and appropriate from what we were, and here the most important factor will how we do so" (Heidegger, 1997, p.158). In other words authentic existence always repeats some inherited possibility (Heidegger, 1978, p. 437).

He gets rid of the chase for social acceptance and live a life with immense potential for freedom in the present situation he actually in. "Dasein is free to choose any number of historical 'role models' of any type from among great philosophers, musicians, painters, saints, and so on: indeed anyone, even perhaps someone 'humble' and unknown, who inspires Dasein's admiration...an authentic person is no 'copycat', since Heidegger's concept of repetition refers to the act of appropriating freely and creatively a way of living derived from one's heritage" (Watts, 2011, p.139).

## Conclusion

Heidegger says that our approach to Being-in-the-world determines our attitude towards time. If we do not understand the importance of time, we cannot use it properly. We fall into the day to day activities and gradually to an inauthentic existence. The way out of this is the realization of the importance of life we have and ahead of us and have to make choices for an authentic existence. The concept of freedom and responsibility are the main factors in this temporal way of existence. Heidegger's philosophy is a phenomenological ontology on the foundation of human freedom as transcendence. In a world of discrete beings, there can be no responsibility, everything is already decided. When we choose to break social conventions we have to realize that the same can be allowed for other individuals also. Here the sense of responsibility is important. The living moments of man is actually are of choices. If that choices is based on our free will and authentic nature, it grounds authentic existence. Authentic Dasein will be of the disposition that his life is not in the hands of 'they' but it is his own responsibility. So the possibilities acquired by the thrownness he makes resolute choices rooted in heritage for the future.

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## ROLE OF WOMEN IN ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION

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### Abstract

*Socially and historically there is a strong relation between women and environment. The reality of this relation needs to be identified in order to find solution to the problems confronted by both the women and environment. The relation is universal. The study tries to find out the connection of women in families and their surrounding environment in Kerala and pose a question, why women perceived to be close to environment. It also canalizing the reasons of women's role taking as protectors and protestors in issues related to environment. This paper tries to analyze how women can act as an agency in family structure based on Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration.*

*Key Words: Women, Environment, Structure, Agency, Role*

### Role of Women in Environment Protection

The history of environment and the related activities were marked by the roles actively played by the women who lived during the time period. The situation is more or less similar at the national and the international level. There are several examples. Wangari Mathai of green belt movement in Kenya to Sugatha Kumari teacher of Silent Valley movement in Kerala clearly portray the lead role played by women in such movements. Several studies have revealed stark contrasts between men and women's engagement in environmental issues: One of the consistent finding in this area of

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research is that women are more likely than men to express concern for the environment and to support environmental protection. Prof. Lori M Hunter of University of Colorado, Dr. Alison Hatch of Armstrong State University, Prof. Aaron Samuel Johnson of Metropolitan State University of Denver, Aaron M McCright of Michigan State University & Prof. Aksel Sundström of University of Gothenburg, Sweden are examples.

Historical analysis of women's participation in environment related movements in India dates back to 18<sup>th</sup> century. The study uncovers the fact that women were empowered even in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. To cite a few examples, Bishnoi movement was led by an audacious woman named Amrita Devi. She can be considered as the first woman martyr for the green movement in India. The Maharaja of Jodhpur, Abhay Singh, needed trees to build a new palace near Jodhpur. Amrita Devi was killed by the king's soldiers when she tried protecting the Kejharli tress from being cut down by the king's men. ([http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/45037/7/07\\_chapter\\_01.pdf](http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/45037/7/07_chapter_01.pdf))

Women also played a major role in the Chipko movement which was launched in 1972 to prevent the Himalayan forests from destruction. The local women hugged trees to prevent them from being cut down. They had to undergo severe physical assault by the authorities. We have also extensively heard about Vandana Shiva and Medha Patkar of Narmada Bachao Andolan. We are aware of those women who established their life as an environmentalist. However, there are several other women who did not care about personal gains. They invested their time and life in such movements. They did not like publicity and remained behind the curtains.

### **Role of Women in Kerala**

Kerala too saw a number of mass movements in the name of environment protection and against environment pollution. Silent

valley movement was one among them. The movement was against setting up a dam across Kunthipuzha River for a hydroelectric project that runs through Silent Valley. The construction will submerge 8.3 sq km of untouched moist evergreen forest. There was huge participation of women social activists from different walks of life. Sugatha Kumari teacher was one of the icons of the movement and this succeeded in ensuring that women played a major role in such social issues. As a result of the movement, Silent valley was declared as a national park and the project was called-off (<http://www.conservationindia.org/case-studies/silent-valley-a-peoples-movement-that-saved-a-forest>). Such movements gradually turned as a breeding ground of women activists for a common cause. The fight against Plachimada cocoa cola factory, which dried the underground water resource in Plachimada village, was fought under the leadership of Mayilamma. Women were in the forefront of the endosulfan issue of Kasargod. Those women were housewives whose families were most affected by the endosulfan issue. Therefore we can clearly see that in Kerala also there were several movements related to environment issues where women played the lead role.

### **Why women are perceived to be close to the environment?**

In most of the movements for environment protection, apart from professionals, social activists and environmentalists, women from humble social backgrounds also ensured their participation. The simple reason which forced them to participate was existential crisis. When the very existence and life of the people especially the families become threatened, then women in those families will come out and fight against the forces which cause the situation. The fight is not for their better life or for personal gains but for the existence of their families as well as children whom they take care day in and day out. For women, raising their voice is ultimately for their own identity. They cannot exist without the identity of their family.



According to the article Standing up for trees: Women's role in the Chipko Movement, the victims of deforestation in the Himalayas were mostly women. Women were in charge of livestock, cultivation and children and they lost everything due to recurring floods and landslides. Women were able to link between their victimization and the denuding mountain slopes for commercial interests. Sheer survival made women support the movement.

Historically and culturally Indian women has been perceived to be closer to their families. Their life was dedicated for the betterment of the family members. Outside families, they had limited role to play. However when the existence of the family gets threatened, they come out in open to fight against it. This role has been backed by the events of history. It is quite natural that women in family turned to women for family.

According to Amartya Sen, one of key things to create a prosperous future is to empower women and girls. In the same lines, academician and UNDP association administrator Rebeca Grynspan (Secretary General of Ibero American conference and Associate Administrator of UNDP) said "women are the central actors making the case for sustainable development's triple win strategy i.e. economic growth, social development and economic sustainability. E.O Wilson (American biologist, researcher and naturalist) added that educating women is the best way to protect the environment. According to Mary Mellor, the relationship between women and the environment can help us to understand the relation between humanity and the natural world (<http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/presscenter/articles/2012/09/27/empowering-women-is-key-to-building-a-future-we-want-nobel-laureate-says.html> ).

### **Protecting Environment: Women in Families**

As a family oriented society, Kerala society considers women as

home makers. It is obvious that women in our society are persuaded to take the role of home makers in order to continue the existing family structure uninterruptedly. Therefore women in a family should be taken as a corner stone unlike any other institutions or establishments in the society. Women play multiple roles in a family. She is a daughter, wife, mother, caretaker for children and elders and ultimately a homemaker. Their multiple roles and status in a family structure has been strong enough to alter the rest of the lives in the structure. So changes driven by women of a family can make change even to the lives of future generation. According to theorists, if the idea of environment protection and the need to conserve nature successfully penetrates to women in families, then it starts to influence other members of the family and gradually make changes in them. It can be changes to their attitude or mindset towards nature, their actions towards protecting the surroundings and their behavior while dealing with everyday activities. Through women, it is possible to inculcate a positive understanding about environment in the families. Individuality of women in a family which is a breeding ground of individuals can act as a change agent for the cause of environment protection.

The role played by women in a family can be interpreted theoretically. According to the structuration theory by Anthony Giddens, family can be considered as a structure, women are the agents and their capacity to make changes within the family is the agency. The act or agency that she tried to bring into the family structure is more or less possible through the agent involved in the structure. According to Anthony Giddens, structure is both constraining and enabling. The duties and responsibilities of women in a family and socio cultural expectations are the constraints on women and the fact that she is the caretaker and the homemaker of the entire family is the opportunity. Therefore, an agency should be

equipped to meet the challenges as well as opportunities imposed by the structure. Altogether, women as an agent can make significant changes within the structure through her agency and that depends upon her level of determination.

The most important element has to be the realization of immense potential of the women (agent). If she or the agent is willing to conceive the pro-environment mindset of the family or structure then it will accelerate the protection of the environment. So it is obvious that women as an agent strengthen other members in the structure as well as women (agents) themselves.

'Educating women is the best way for protecting the environment' said world famous naturalist and biologist E.O Wilson. So educating women about the significance of environment friendly life to be practiced as a new method of lifestyle reinforces the very idea of structure as well as agent. Women as a nurturer of next generation can play a role in making her children aware and empathetic towards environment and eco-friendly practice. The potential of women agency has to be counted outstanding because of the diversity of roles she is playing in a family structure. Therefore by virtue of the multiple roles she has been playing in a family structure itself the hopes are on women for the conservation of nature and natural resources by following eco-friendly practices.

## Conclusion

Understanding reality is important while studying 'women in family for environment'. Though women are aware about ecofriendly practices and the need for leading an environment friendly life, the question is whether they are actually following it and helping the cause? To answer this question, we need to analyze the existing situation in families of Kerala society and understand how an agent (women) became an agency in a typical family condition. Women may be encompassed by paucity of time, heaviness of responsibility,

lack of time, space constraints, health issues and lack of support. These are the typical factors which impact women when they try to be the driving force behind initiatives. Women face the same challenges here as well. Encouraging women to lead such activities needs a social conscience which should be awakened to reality. The diversity of roles that is being played by women in family gives them a vantage point in leading eco-friendly practices. It provides them both a challenge as well as an opportunity. Men consider environment protection as "back to nature" whereas women consider it as "need for survival and existence". It is this connection with environment observed both historically, culturally and socially is what makes women's role in environment protection the most significant.

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## **NUTRITIONAL STATUS OF TRIBAL CHILDREN IN ATTAPPADY, KERALA**

**Shyju M K\***

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### ***Abstract***

*Child malnutrition is a widespread public health problem having national and international consequences. In Kerala, the prevalence of underweight, Stunting and Wasting in the age group of 0-5 is found among tribal children. The main objective of the present study is to assess the level of under nutrition among tribal children. A community based cross sectional study was conducted among tribal children in the age group of 0-5. Socio-economic and housing conditions were collected using semi-structured interview schedule. The prevalence of moderate to severe underweight, stunting and wasting is 37.4%, 82.7% and 2.7% respectively. An immediate remedial measure for the nutritional upliftment is the utmost necessity.*

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*Key Words: Tribal children, Kerala, Nutritional assessment, underweight, Stunting, Wasting*

Children are considered as the future of a nation. The nutritional status of infants and children under five years of age is of particular concern since the early years of life are crucial for optimal growth and development. Malnutrition is complex in its aetiology and cumulative in its manifestations. It not only impairs physical and intellectual performance, but also causes considerable ill health and contributes significantly to child morbidity and mortality ((Preschuleket al, 1999).) Child malnutrition is a wide spread public

health problem having international consequences because good nutrition is an essential determinant for their well-being. The most neglected form of human deprivation is malnutrition; particularly among Tribal children in the age group of 0-5. In January 2011, even India's former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said that, "the problem of Malnutrition is a matter of national shame" (Panagariya, 2013). Kerala is one of the few regions in the developing world, which has achieved substantial progress in the realm of education and health. This achievement has been surprisingly at a low level of per capita income. The demographic transition, morbidity prevalence, mortality rate, epidemiological etc. follow a pattern similar to that of many advanced countries. Kerala is known world over for its high human development achievements attained without much rural-urban disparities (Gangadharan et al, 2014.) But, the state is now facing serious threats, in the realm of health, especially in the field of nutritional status among tribal children. Kerala accounts for 18.5 percent of under-weight, 19.4 percent of stunted and 15.5 percent of wasted tribal children (Indian Health Report: Nutrition, 2015, RSoC, 2014).

Lack of food and nutritional security, poor health care and supplementary nutrition, malnutrition and anemia are prevalent among the tribal women and children of Attappady. In 2013, the death toll of infants due to malnutrition and related health problems has risen between January and December. The newspapers have come up with shocking estimates of infant deaths in Attappady. In 2013 there are 52 infant deaths were reported from Attappady (The Hindu, 2013). However, non-governmental organizations working in the region claim the number was 24. While the area reported 16 tribal infant deaths in 2012, the number rose to 44

in 2013. In 2014, the figure was 24 and further to 14 in 2015, as per the State health department. However Prime Minister Narendra Modi's comparison of the tribal situation in Attappady with the human development indices of Somalia has brought back national attention to the tribal belt, official figures confirm that infant mortality and neonatal deaths are coming down in the region. While half a dozen infant deaths have been reported since January 2016, only two are confirmed as the result of malnutrition and poor health of the mother (The Hindu, 2016). R. Prabhudas, nodal officer for tribal health in Attappady, said that "the multipronged approach of the Central and State governments since 2013 had brought down the infant mortality rate. The community kitchen scheme aimed at providing nutritious food to pregnant and lactating mothers, children, and the elderly had helped the cause." In 2013, as many as 299 tribal children in Attappady were found to have severe malnutrition. The number has reduced to 52 now. In 2013, the number of children with moderate acute malnutrition was 600 but now it's 296. The state government has initiated a number of steps to reduce child deaths in Attappady. So the aim of present study is to understand nutritional status of tribal children in the age group 0-5 years in Attappady block, Kerala.

## **Objectives**

1. To analyze socio-economic and housing conditions of the tribal children's family
2. To assess the level of under nutrition among tribal children of the study area
3. To identify the relationship between socio-economic conditions of the caregiver (Mother) and nutritional status of tribal children in the study area

**Method:****1. Area of study**

Attappady is a tribal development block located on the eastern sloping plateau in the Western Ghats, in Mannarkkad Taluk of Palakkad district of Kerala and covers an area of about 745 sq. kms. It is a part of the Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve, which covers parts of the three states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. There are 192 hamlets known as 'Oorus' in Attappady, which are habituated by both the Adivasis and the non-Adivasis; the three Adivasi communities being the Irul Muduga, and Kurumba (Survey Report, AHADS, Hamlet Survey, 2003). Attappady Block is divided into the three Gram Panchayaths - Agali, Sholayoor and Pudhur. According to 2011 census, total population of Attappady is 69723. Among them Scheduled Tribe population is 30460 inhabiting in 192 hamlets.

**2. Study Design and Sampling**

A community based cross sectional descriptive study was conducted in three panchayaths of Attappady block in Palakkad District, Kerala. The sampling unit for this study was tribal children aged 0- 60 months and the respondents were the mothers of the index child. A total of 75 children in the age group of 0-5 from the three panchayaths namely Agali, Pudhur and Sholayoor in Attappady were selected for the study by the simple random method. If in the family with more than one child in the aged group of 0-5 only one child was selected for the assessment randomly by lottery method.

**3. Data Collection method**

A semi structured interview schedule was designed to assess the socio-economic conditions of the family and its association with demographic, socio-economic characteristics of the families of the

tribal children. According to the WHO standards, stunting, wasting and underweight is defined as low weight for height, height for age and weight for age respectively. The anthropometric measurement by WHO standards (WHO) was used for the determination of nutritional status of tribal children (Table 1). Standard deviation of scores (Z-scores) for weight-for-age (WAZ), height-for-age (HAZ) and weight-for-height (WHZ), MUAC were calculated. The date of birth for each child was inquired from the mother and cross checked from immunization cards and recorded in months. The length/ height was measured with an appropriate length scale with minimal cloths. Weight was measured after minimizing clothing on the child using standard electronic weighing machine. MUAC was measured by using a MUAC tape. Any arm circumference exceeding 13.5 cm is sign of a normal nutritional status. Between 12.5 and 13.5 cm indicate Possibly Mildly Malnourished. Between 11.5 and 12.5 cm indicate Moderate Acute Malnutrition (MAM) and below 11.5 cm considered as Severely Acute Malnutrition (SAM). Circumference was measured without compressing soft tissues and recorded to the nearest 0.1 cm.

**Table: 1**  
**WHO Classification (Z scores)**

Cut-off Value	Nutrition Classification
<2 to > -1 Z score	Normal
<-1 to >-2 Z score	Mild under nutrition
<-2 to >-3 Z score	Moderate under nutrition
<-3 Z score	Sever under nutrition

**4) Data Analysis**

The collected data were entered and analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) version 16.0 to ensure that all



the information had been correctly entered. Frequencies for non-continuous data and the mean values for continuous data were obtained before carrying out statistical analysis and used in checking for outliers. Weight, height and age data were used to calculate weight-for-age, height-for-age and weight-for-height Z-scores based on the WHO reference data. The level of significance was estimated with  $P$  value  $< 0.05$ .

## Results

A total of 75 tribal children were studied (41 male; 34 female) were examined. In term of community/Tribe 42 percent were Irula, 36 percent were Muduga and 21.3 percent were Kurumba. About the family, 96 percent were belonging to nuclear family and 4 percent belong to joint family. The majority of the respondents were in the family size of 4-6 (90.7%), 8 percent were 7-10 family size and rest of them were 1-3 (1.3%) size (Table 3).

**Table: 3**  
**Family Details of tribal children (0-5 age group)**

Category	Number	Percent
<b>Name of Panchayath</b>		
Agali	43	57.3
Pudhur	10	13.3
Sholayoor	27	29.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Name of Community/Tribe</b>		
Irula	32	42.7
Muduga	27	36.0

Kurumba	16	21.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Type of Family</b>		
Joint	3	4.0
Nuclear	72	96.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Family Size</b>		
1-3	1	1.3
4-6	68	90.7
7-10	6	8.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100</b>

The housing conditions were studied and are presented in Table 4. In spite of their poor economic situation it is interesting to note that 100 percent were residing at their own home. 92 percent of the children living in Pucca house, 5.3 percent living in Semi-Pucca and only 2.7 percent of children living in Kutcha house. Families of 72 percent of tribal children family have Bathroom and 93.3 percent of them have toilet facilities. While 1.3 percent of the families of tribal children possess home with two rooms, 34.7 percent of possess home with three rooms and 64 percent of children possess home with above three rooms. Around 92 percent of the households have electricity facilities in the household. Majority of these houses were constructed with the help of various government plans.

**Table: 4**  
**Housing Conditions of Tribal Children**

Sl.No	Particulars	Number	Percent
<b>1</b>	<b>Type of House</b>		
	Kutcha	2	2.7
	Pucca	69	92.0
	Semi-Pucca	4	5.3
<b>4</b>	<b>No of room</b>		
	Two	1	1.3
	Three	26	34.7
	Above three	48	64.0
<b>5</b>	<b>Bath room</b>		
	Yes	54	72.0
	No	21	28.0
<b>6</b>	<b>Toilet</b>		
	Yes	70	93.3
	No	5	6.7
<b>7</b>	<b>Ration Card</b>		
	BPL	70	93.3
	APL	5	6.7
<b>8</b>	<b>Electricity</b>		
	Yes	69	92.0
	No	6	8.0

The survey also studied the drinking water facilities and practices. It is essential for better life. Different studies argued that more than 80 percent of all diseases are caused by lack of drinking water and poor quality of water. Here table 5 showed 61.3 percent of them are opined that the quality of drinking water is good and 38.7 percent opined that the quality of water is satisfactory. In the present investigation it was found that 38.7 percent of the families use drinking water from the public/private tap. And also the same percent (38.7%) depend on public well. While 22.7 percent of the families were depend on stream as the main source of drinking water. In 78.7 percent of cases, the source of drinking water was located within less than 1 km and 21.3 percent of cases were more than 1 km. Table 6 Present child care practices/ feeding among Attappady tribal children. It showed that 81.3 percent of the infants get their first feed as mother's milk with colostrums. Further 16 percent of infant received their feed within 24 hours of their birth. And 2.7 percent did not breastfed. But 46.7 percent of the infants are still breastfeeding, 28 percent of children were breastfed up to two years. 18.7 were up to three years and 2.7 percent were breastfed above three years. Only 1.3 percent new born infants leave their mother's milk by the end of first year.

**Table: 5**  
**Source of Drinking water and hygienic practice**

Sl.No	Particulars	Number	Percent
<b>1</b>	<b>Source of Drinking Water</b>		
	Public/Private Tap	29	38.7
	Well	29	38.7
	Stream	17	22.7

<b>2</b>	<b>Distance to the source of Drinking Water</b>		
	<1 km	59	78.7
	1-3 km	16	21.3
<b>3</b>	<b>Quality of Water</b>		
	Good	46	61.3
	Satisfactory	29	38.7
<b>4</b>	<b>Use boil water</b>		
	Regularly	49	65.3
	Often	16	21.3
	Never	10	13.3

**Table: 6**  
**Child Care Practices/ Feeding**

<b>Child Breastfeeding</b>		
<b>Variable</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Breastfed</b>		
Yes, Not Now	38	50.7
Yes, Still	35	46.7
Not Breastfed	2	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Initiation of breastfeeding</b>		
Just after birth	61	81.3
Within 24 hr	12	16.0
After 24 hr	0	0
Not Breastfed	2	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100</b>

<b>Duration of breastfeeding</b>		
still	35	46.7
0-12 month	1	1.3
13-24 month	21	28.0
25-36 month	14	18.7
Above 36 month	2	2.7
Not Breastfed	2	2.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100</b>

The socio-economic status of caregivers has been analyzed through the educational, occupational and personal habits of mothers of the tribal children in Attappady. According to the Table 7 of the study, it shows those about 37.3 percent of mothers were non-schooling, 26.7 percent were primary (up to class VII), 28 Percent were secondary (up to class X) and only 8 percent were educated at higher level (Above X). The table presents the pattern of occupation among mothers of tribal children. It can be seen that there is a great degree variability of the occupational pattern of mothers. Table shows that majority of them (48%) were thozhilurappu, 20 percent were Cooley, 5.3 percent were other kind of job such as nurse, Anganwadi helper, teacher etc. and 20 percent were house wife. And finally the table shows that the personal habits of mother among the mothers who have 61.3 percent were addicted to Tobacco/Bettle, 2.7 percent addicted to Alcohol/ Toddy and there were no smoking habits among mothers of the children.

Table: 7

## Socio-economic characteristics of caregiver (Mother)

Sl. No	Category	Number	Percent
<b>1</b>	<b>Education of Mother</b>		
	Nil	28	37.3
	Primary (up to class VII)	20	26.7
	Secondary (up to class X)	21	28.0
	Higher (Above X)	6	8.0
<b>2</b>	<b>Occupation of Mother</b>		
	House wife	15	20.0
	Agriculture	5	6.7
	Thozhilurappu	36	48.0
	Cooley	15	20.0
	Other	4	5.3
<b>3</b>	<b>Personal Habits of Mother</b>		
	Cigarettes/Beedi	0	(0)
	Alcohol/toddy	2	(2.7)
	Tobacco/Bettle	46	(61.3)

Table 8 is about age and sex wise distribution of sample population. Based on this study 28 percent of the children were belongs in the age group of 13-24 months (17.3 % male, 10.7% female) and 25.3 percent were belongs in the age group of 25-36 months (10.7% male, 14.7% female). Very less samples children were belong to 0-12 months (10.7%). It includes 4 percent male and 6.7 percent female).

Table: 8

## Age and Sex wise details of sample population

Age of children (Month wise)	Sex of Child		
	Male	Female	Total
0-12 months	3 (4.0)	5 (6.7)	8 (10.7)
13-24 months	13 (17.3)	8 (10.7)	21 (28.0)
25-36 months	8 (10.7)	11 (14.7)	19 (25.3)
37-48 months	7 (9.3)	4 (5.3)	11 (14.7)
49-60 months	10 (13.3)	6 (8.0)	16 (21.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>41 (54.7)</b>	<b>34 (45.3)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>

\*Results were expressed as number and percentage (%).

A number of studies were reported that the extent of malnutrition varies with the age of the child and the prevalence of underweight children varied by age. The table 9 showed the age-wise classifications were higher in 13-24 months age category (28.0 %) and 25-36 months age category (25.3 %). The table reveals that the cases of moderate underweight were 34.7percent. The prevalence of moderate underweight were found to be more in children in the age group between 25-36 months (16%) than compared to other age groups. Severe underweight were reported in study area were only 2.7 percent. Moderate and severe stunting were noticed in the age group between 37-48 month (10.7%) and 13-24 month (21.3%) as well as total percent of moderate wasting were 2.7 percent it noticed in the age group between 25-36 month (1.3%) and 49-60 month (1.3%). There is no severe wasting. Significant association was found in relation of age of child and nutritional status of Height-for-age ( $P=0.002$ ).

**Table: 9**  
**Relationship between Age of child and Nutritional Status**

Child Nutritional Status	Age of child (in month)					
	0-12 month	13-24 month	25-36 month	37-48 month	49-60 month	Total
<b>Weight-for -Age P=value 0.026</b>						
Normal	7 (9.3)	15 (20.0)	7 (9.3)	9 (12.0)	9 (12.0)	47 (62.7)
Moderate	0 (0)	5 (6.7)	12 (16.0)	2 (2.7)	7 (9.3)	26 (34.7)
Severe	1 (1.3)	1 (1.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.7)
<b>Total</b>	<b>8 (10.7)</b>	<b>21 (28.0)</b>	<b>19 (25.3)</b>	<b>11 (14.7)</b>	<b>16 (21.3)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>
<b>Height-for-Age P=value 0.002</b>						
Normal	0 (0)	1 (1.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.7)	3 (4.0)
-1SD	0 (0)	1 (1.3)	4 (5.3)	2 (2.7)	3 (4.0)	10 (13.3)
-2SD	1 (1.3)	3 (4.0)	2 (2.7)	8 (10.7)	6 (8.0)	20 (26.7)
-3SD	7 (9.3)	16 (21.3)	13 (17.3)	1 (1.3)	5 (6.7)	42 (56.0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>8 (10.7)</b>	<b>21 (28.0)</b>	<b>19 (25.3)</b>	<b>11 (14.7)</b>	<b>16 (21.3)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>
<b>Weight-for-Height P=value 0.060</b>						
Normal	7 (9.3)	19 (25.3)	9 (12.0)	5 (6.7)	8 (10.7)	48 (64.0)
-1SD	1 (1.3)	2 (2.7)	9 (12.0)	6 (8.0)	7 (9.3)	25 (33.3)
-2SD	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.3)	0 (0)	1 (1.3)	2 (2.7)
-3SD	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>8 (10.7)</b>	<b>21 (28.0)</b>	<b>19 (25.3)</b>	<b>11 (14.7)</b>	<b>16 (21.3)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>

\*Results were expressed as number and percentage, 2 test was performed and  $P < 0.05$  was level of significance.

The prevalence of under nutrition in tribal children in the age group of 0-5 according to Z-score classification and influenced by sex of the subject is presented in Table 11. According to this table moderate underweight and severe underweight has been equally distributed among male (17.3% and 1.3%) and female (17.3% and 1.3%).

**Table: 10**  
**Sex and Nutritional Status of Tribal children**

Nutritional status of Child	Male	Female	Total	P=value 0.822
Weight-for-Ages (Underweight)				
Normal	27 (36.0)	20 (26.7)	47 (62.7)	
Moderate	13 (17.3)	13 (17.3)	26 (34.7)	
Severe	1 (1.3)	1 (1.3)	2 (2.7)	
Total	41 (54.7)	34 (45.3)	75 (100)	
Height-for-Ages ( Stunting)				P=value 0.967
Normal	2 (2.7)	1 (1.3)	3 (4.0)	
-1SD	5 (6.7)	5 (6.7)	10 (13.3)	
-2SD	11 (14.7)	9 (12.0)	20 (26.7)	
-3SD	23 (30.7)	19 (25.3)	42 (56.0)	
Total	41 (54.7)	34 (45.3)	75 (100)	



Weight-for-Height (Wasting)				<b>P=value 0.306</b>
Normal	24 (32.0)	24 (32.0)	48 (64.0)	
-1SD	15 (20.0)	10 (13.3)	25 (33.3)	
-2SD	2 (2.7)	0 (0)	2 (2.7)	
-3SD	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	
<b>Total</b>	<b>41 (54.7)</b>	<b>34 (45.3)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>	

But moderate stunting and moderate wasting more prevalent among male (14.7%, 2.7%) than female (12.0%, 0%). While severe stunting was also high among male (30.7%) than female (25.3). and there is no sever wasting among the children in the age group of 0-5. The study shows that there is insignificant relationship between sex and child nutritional status of weight-for-age, height-for-age and weight-for-height ( $P=0.822$ ,  $0.967$  &  $0.306$ ).

\*Results were expressed as number and percentage (%), 2 test was performed and  $P<0.05$  was level of significance.

Table 11 shows frequency of under nutrition according to MUAC. It can be seen from the table that about 41.4 percent male and 27.1 percent of female children were normal according to the MUAC. But Mild under nutrition was more prevalent among female (17.1%) than male (14.3%). But there is no Moderate Acute Malnutrition (MAM) and Severely Acute Malnutrition (SAM). According to the study, there is no significant relationship between sex of child and MUAC ( $P=0.242$ ).

**Table: 11**  
**Sex and Mid Upper Arm Circumference**

Sex and Mid Upper Arm Circumference (MUAC)				
Child MUAC Status	Male	Female	Total	<b>P=value 0.242</b>
Normal	29 (41.4)	19 (27.1)	48 (68.6)	
Mild	10 (14.3)	12 (17.1)	22 (31.4)	
MAM	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	
SAM	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	
<b>Total</b>	<b>39 (55.7)</b>	<b>31 (44.3)</b>	<b>70 (100)</b>	

\*Children below 6 months were excluded ( $N=5$ ), Results were expressed as number and Percentage (%), 2 test was performed and  $P<0.05$  was level of significance.

There is strong evidence that poor growth or smaller size is associated with impaired development, and a number of studies have also demonstrated a relationship between growth status and socio-economic conditions of the family. However, this cannot be regarded as a simple causal relationship because of the complex environmental or socio-economic factors that affect both growth and development (Vinod, 2011). The relationship between nutritional indicators based on underweight, stunting and wasting, and other socio-economic characteristics mother are described. Table 13 is about the relationship between educational status of mother's and child nutritional status. The table shows that moderate underweight

(16.0%), Stunting (9.3%), and wasting (2.7%) as well as severe underweight (1.3%), stunting (21.3%) of children were highest among mothers who were illiterate. There is no severe wasting according to this study. Even though, according to this study there is no significant association between mothers education and child nutritional status of weight-for-age, height-for-age and weight-for-height ( $P=0.837, 0.920$  &  $0.144$ ).

Table: 12

## Education of Mother's and nutritional status of study population

Child Nutritional Status	Education of Mother				
	Nil	Primary up to class VII	Secondary up to class X	Higher above X	Total
<b>Weight-for -Age <math>P=</math>value 0.837</b>					
Normal	15 (20.0)	13 (17.3)	15 (20.0)	4 (5.3)	47 (42.7)
Moderate	12 (16.0)	6 (8.0)	6 (8.0)	2 (2.7)	26 (34.7)
Severe	1 (1.3)	1 (1.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.7)
<b>Total</b>	<b>28 (37.3)</b>	<b>20 (26.7)</b>	<b>21 (28.0)</b>	<b>6 (8.0)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>
<b>Height-for-Age <math>P=</math>value 0.920</b>					
Normal	2 (2.7)	1 (1.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (4.0)
-1SD	3 (4.0)	3 (4.0)	4 (5.3)	0 (0)	10 (13.3)
-2SD	7 (9.3)	6 (8.0)	5 (6.7)	2 (2.7)	20 (26.7)
-3SD	16 (21.3)	10 (13.3)	12 (16.0)	4 (5.3)	42 (56.0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>28 (37.3)</b>	<b>20 (26.7)</b>	<b>21 (28.0)</b>	<b>6 (8.0)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>

<b>Weight-for-Height <math>P=</math>value 0.144</b>					
Normal	14 (18.7)	12 (16.0)	16 (21.3)	6 (8.0)	48 (64.0)
-1SD	12 (16.0)	8 (10.7)	5 (6.7)	0 (0)	25 (33.3)
-2SD	2 (2.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.7)
-3SD	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>28 (37.3)</b>	<b>20 (26.7)</b>	<b>21 (28.0)</b>	<b>6 (8.0)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>

\*Results were expressed as number and percentage, 2 test was performed and  $P<0.05$  was level of significance.

Table 13 is about the occupation of mother and nutritional status of the children. According to the table 48.0 percent of the mothers were doing Thozhilurappu (Kudumbasree). The table showed that moderate (-2SD) underweight (16.0%), stunting (16.0%) of children were highest among Thozhilurappu workers (Kudumbasree). But the moderate wasting of children were equally distributed among the mothers who were doing thozhilurappu (1.3%) and Cooley (1.3%). The severe underweight of children were equally distributed among mothers those who were house wife (1.3%) and thozhilurappu (1.3%). As well as severe stunting (20.0%) of children were highest among mothers who were doing Thozhilurappu. And there are no severe wasting children. according to this study the Insignificant association was found in relation of mother's occupation and child nutritional status of weight-for-age, height-for-age and weight-for-height ( $P=0.559, 0.407$  &  $0.346$ ).

**Table:13**  
**Occupation of mother's and nutritional status of study population**

Child Nutritional Status	Occupation of Mother					
	Housewife	Agri-culture	Thozhil-urappu	Cooley	Other	Total
<b>Weight-for -Age P=value 0.559</b>						
Normal	12 (16.0)	3 (4.0)	23 (30.7)	7 (9.3)	2 (2.7)	47 (62.7)
Moderate	2 (2.7)	2 (2.7)	12 (16.0)	8 (10.7)	2 (2.7)	26 (34.7)
Severe	1 (1.3)	0 (0)	1 (1.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.7)
<b>Total</b>	<b>15 (20.0)</b>	<b>5 (6.7)</b>	<b>36 (48.0)</b>	<b>15 (20.0)</b>	<b>4 (5.3)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>
<b>Height-for-Age P=value 0.407</b>						
Normal	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.7)	1 (1.3)	0 (0)	3 (4.0)
-1SD	1 (1.3)	0 (0)	7 (9.3)	2 (2.7)	0 (0)	10 (13.3)
-2SD	2 (2.7)	3 (4.0)	12 (16.0)	2 (2.7)	1 (1.3)	20 (26.7)
-3SD	12 (16.0)	2 (2.7)	15 (20.0)	10 (13.3)	3 (4.0)	42 (56.0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>15 (20.0)</b>	<b>5 (6.7)</b>	<b>36 (48.0)</b>	<b>15 (20.0)</b>	<b>4 (5.3)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>
<b>Weight-for-Height P=value 0.346</b>						
Normal	12 (16.0)	4 (5.3)	18 (24.0)	10 (13.3)	4 (5.3)	48 (64.0)
-1SD	3 (4.0)	1 (1.3)	17 (22.7)	4 (5.3)	0 (0)	25 (33.3)
-2SD	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.3)	1 (1.3)	0 (0)	2 (2.7)
-3SD	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>15 (20.0)</b>	<b>5 (6.7)</b>	<b>36 (48.0)</b>	<b>15 (20.0)</b>	<b>4 (5.3)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>

\*Results were expressed as number and percentage, 2 test was performed and  $P < 0.05$  was level of significance.

Table 14 is showed the personal habits of mother and nutritional status of children. The table analyzed three personal habits of mothers (Cigarette/Beedi, Alcohol/Toddy and Tobacco/Bettle) and nutritional status of their children. According to the table 100 percent of mother does not use cigarette/beedi. And 97.3 per cent of mother doe not consume alcohol/toddy. But moderate and severe underweight, stunting and wasting were exist among the mothers. But consumption of tobacco/bettlewas highly taking mothers. It affected their child nutritional status. The table shows moderate underweight (24.0%), stunting (17.3%) and wasting (2.7%) of children seen among mothers who were taking tobacco/ bettle. And also sever underweight (2.7%), stunting (34.7%) of children were seen among the mothers were taking tobacco/bettle. There is no severe wasting among the children whose mothers having the personal habit of tobacco/bettle.

**Table: 14**  
**Personal habits of mother's and nutritional status of study population**

Child Nutrition- al Status	Personal Habits of Mother					
	Cigarette/Beedi		Alcohol/Toddy		Tobacco/Bettle	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
<b>Weight-for -Age</b>			<b>P=value 0.542</b>		<b>P=value 0.264</b>	
Normal	0 (0)	47 (62.7)	2 (2.7)	45 (60.0)	26 (34.7)	21 (28.0)
Moderate	0 (0)	26 (34.7)	0 (0)	26 (34.7)	18 (24.0)	8 (10.7)
Severe	0 (0)	2 (2.7)	0 (0)	2 (2.7)	2 (2.7)	0 (0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>0 (0)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>	<b>2 (2.7)</b>	<b>73 (97.3)</b>	<b>46 (61.3)</b>	<b>29 (38.7)</b>
<b>Height-for-Age</b>			<b>P=value 0.658</b>		<b>P=value 0.268</b>	
Normal	0 (0)	3 (4.0)	0 (0)	3 (4.0)	3 (4.0)	0 (0)

-1SD	0 (0)	10 (13.3)	0 (0)	10 (13.3)	4 (5.3)	6 (8.0)
-2SD	0 (0)	20 (26.7)	0 (0)	20 (26.7)	13 (17.3)	7 (9.3)
-3SD	0 (0)	42 (56.0)	2 (2.7)	40 (53.3)	26 (34.7)	16 (21.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>0 (0)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>	<b>2 (2.7)</b>	<b>73 (97.3)</b>	<b>46 (61.3)</b>	<b>29 (38.7)</b>
<b>Weight-for-Height</b>		<b>P=0.561</b>		<b>P=0.324</b>		
Normal	0 (0)	48 (64.0)	2 (2.7)	46 (61.3)	27 (36.0)	21 (28.0)
-1SD	0 (0)	25 (33.3)	0 (0)	25 (33.3)	17 (22.7)	8 (10.7)
-2SD	0 (0)	2 (2.7)	0 (0)	2 (2.7)	2 (2.7)	0 (0)
-3SD	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>0 (0)</b>	<b>75 (100)</b>	<b>2 (2.7)</b>	<b>73 (97)</b>	<b>46 (61.3)</b>	<b>29 (38.7)</b>

\* Results were expressed as number and percentage, 2 test was performed and  $P < 0.05$  was level of significance.

## Discussion

Based on the results of the study, it appears that under nutrition in the form of underweight, stunting, wasting along with different grades of malnutrition and nutritional deficiency signs was found among tribal children in the age group of 0-5 in Attappady, Kerala. Moderate (-3SD to <-2SD) to severe underweight (<-3SD) were 37.4% and 62.7% study subjects had normal weight for their age. Moderate (-3SD to <-2SD) to severe (<-3SD) stunted children were 82.7% and 17.3% of children were normal to mild. Moderate to severe wasting were 2.7% whereas normal to mild child was 97.3%. In the latest report, RSoC-2014 shows that the level of underweight,

stunting and wasting among tribal children in the age group of 0-5 in Kerala are 21.9%, 20.7% and 28% respectively. According to the result of the study, which show that stunting is higher among tribal children as compared to underweight and wasting. The observation that the prevalence of stunting in the first year of life is low, whereby the prevalence of moderate and severe stunting was highest among children belongs to 37-48 (10.7%), 13-24 (21.3%) month respectively. This could be attributed to poor weaning and complementary feeding practices resulting into inadequate energy and protein intake. The poor feeding practices may be due to either lack of knowledge by the mother or lack of adequate food. There is no such studies like this has been conducted on tribal children in Attappady. But various nutritional studies on different tribal children were studied. Different studies show that education, occupation, personal habits of mother are directly affecting their child nutritional status especially under nutrition. But the present study, insignificant association was found between mother's education, occupation, and personal habits. The association between child nutrition and certain socio-economic characteristics such as parental education, occupation, and household economic status has been recognized in several studies. A study by Gangadharan (2014) argued that malnutrition is associated with maternal literacy, socio-economic condition, living environment, accessibility of infrastructure especially social infrastructure and morbidity.

## Conclusion

The nutritional status and dietary intake of tribal children in Kerala is very poor. This study demonstrates that malnutrition among tribal children in Attappady is on a decreasing trend, although both the prevalence of moderate underweight, stunting

is still very high in Attappady and a severe public health problem in this developing society. Urgent remedial measures are required in this context particularly on a war footing in the vulnerable block Attappady, Palakkad. Different programmes are needed to improve nutritional status of tribal children and socio-economic conditions through incomegenerating activities such as an employment guarantee scheme, food for workprogramme, community kitchen etc.

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## LEARNING IN INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY ASSISTED SERVICES AND ACTIVE AGEING.

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### Abstract

*Information is the basic resource and product in all spheres of life and in all sects of society. Information technology and related devices brought drastic and tremendous changes in the social life. In this age of fast tracked technological development, the aged people also have to be equipped with the requirements of the digital age. E-payment, internet banking, ticket booking and other personal requirements can be met through internet assisted operations. Successful ageing occurs when the elder people stay active and maintain social interactions. Awareness in information technology is largely depended on its access. This paper tries to observe the access and attitude of the elderly toward IT assisted services.*

*Key words- Learning, Information Technology, Active Ageing,*

In the present era learning is happening anywhere and everywhere and the credit for it necessarily goes to technology. Smart phones, iPod, and roidphones and laptops have become integral part of everyday life of individuals. Digital devices and IT enabled apparatuses are remarkably useful tools for knowledge acquisition and information dissemination. Today societies all over the world are deploying various social media platforms to meet and satisfy various communication needs. The ubiquity and rapidity of new media have made them become very visible all over the world. They have led to revolutions like jasminerevolution, occupyWall Streetagitation



and anti corruption campaigns. Production and transmission of information increasingly depends digital technology. Individuals are in large scale require sufficient access and technical competency in digital support professions and opportunities. Computer proficiency and related skills on various operations are important in personal and professional success. Citizen of today are 'netizen' also.

Present day society has undergone rapid transformation in to the digital age with over an estimated 7 billion mobile users and around 2.4 billion internet users worldwide (Sanou, 2014). At the sometime, there are 775 million young people and adults who are illiterate in the digital world. (UNESCO 2014). The illiteracy in IT among the elderly is really pathetic. Information and communication technology resulted in globalization. It is the global circulation of messages and symbols in the shortest possible time. It infuses homogenization of consumer products and market process in the realm of commodity, cultural symbols, lifestyle and behavior pattern sense of cultural identity and distinctiveness (Singh, 2012). Growth of knowledge-based economy recognizes the importance of knowledge and innovation along with reliance on technology and demand for both (Khanna, 2017). In our society the aged people doesn't get ample opportunities for awareness in information and communication technology. Proper initiative from the part of the society and the government is necessary in this regard. Present paper tries to observe and analyze the informal learning styles of the elderly, their problems in IT related operations in daily life and the attitude of the elderly towards the IT enabled devices and social media.

As per the 2011 census, Kerala has 40.2 lakhs aged people with more than 60 years of chronological age. This represents the 12.5% of the whole population of the state. Kerala is having the most number of old age homes. The changing patterns of family from joint to atomized type, the caring of the elderly become a big question

to the civic society and the government. Lifelong learning now becomes an integral part of human life. Education is an investment in human capital. Human capital means the knowledge, skills and attributes acquired by investment in learning and health throughout life. In learning process, continuity is a crucial factor. A person who is over educated now, may be under educated after a couple of years, because of the lack of updating of skills and knowledge. Access to various services rendered by our public institutions like bank and government offices, is a crucial factor in determining the daily time schedule of the elderly. In Kerala, more than 200 government services are available in online mode. Digitization of certificates is implemented in Kerala. In such a situation it is the need of the moment to acquaint with the information technology assisted services available in our society.

## **Learning**

Learning is the need and condition for improving the capacities and empowering an individual to be efficient in various fields. It is a potential instrument of individual well being as well as social development. Socialization is one of the essential prerequisite of any type of learning. Learning takes place through the interaction of an unlearned person with a more knowledgeable, competent and experienced person or system. Socialization as a way life predicated choice of products and desire for goods. Bourdieu (2010) suggests that way of life of an individual is more influencing than income in this process. There are so many ways for socialization in the old age. Proximity and mobility are very important in physical socialisation. At the same time modern communication devices lessened the geographical distance among the individuals. In this context awareness in IT assisted services is highly useful to an older person to interact and keep in touch with others around him. It is different socialization, not the income which functions the

distinctive lifestyle and social distinction. Technology is bringing the world to remote villages opening new horizons and options and changing life styles. Most telephones in the world are cell phones and many of them using satellite connections. Cell phone becomes a personal item of individuals. Inter dependence of specialized skills determine the solidarity in an industrial society. Learning means any relatively permanent change that occurs as a result of practice and experience (Woolfolk, 2006). Frequent practice in any field is supportive to learning. Quality of life directly or indirectly relate with lifelong learning. As a continuing process learning has no limit. We should realize that learning is not confined to the familial context. The social and situational theories see learning as an interaction in social process as performing positive changes in behavior. Familiarizing with information technology, elderly is capable to operate computers, smart phones and such instruments. This will help them in many ways. The digitalized public services and facilities can be best utilized only when a person is literate in the IT. In 1996 UNESCO's Delors report acknowledged the need to rethink and update the concept of lifelong learning so as to reconcile three forces. Competition which provides incentives, co-operation which gives strength and solidarity which unites. Functionalism views that maintenance of social solidarity and cooperation in the social system is the main goal of education (Haralambos and Mead 1980). Society is changing in all parts of the globe. Technological inventions and innovations are the determining factors of social mobility. Innovation is one of the functions of education (Abraham, 2010). Since learning is a cradle to grave process age is not a barrier for it. Readiness, need and interest are the important factors of learning. Continuing education becomes an integral part of human development. Awareness and skill development in computer assisted services is helpful to the elderly people in many ways. Kerala is the most literary state in India. Functional literacy in IT assisted devices

is a necessity for successful ageing.

#### Population - Selected age group in India

Age Group	Census - 1991	Census - 2001	Census - 2011
0-4	12.2	10.7	9.3
5-9	13.3	12.5	10.5
10-14	11.8	12.1	11.0
15-59	55.4	56.9	60.3
60+	6.8	7.4	8.6
Age not stated	0.6	0.3	0.4

(Source: [www.censusindia.gov.in/2011.../census\\_2011\\_age\\_data\\_final-12-09-20](http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011.../census_2011_age_data_final-12-09-20))

In India demographic transition taking place rapidly. The above table shows that the percentage of 60+ people has increased from 6.8 to 8.6 during the period of 20 years. The incremental growth indicates that graying process is a reality in Indian scenario. And hence we have to introduce policies and mechanisms for the elderly in India. The fact is that there is a global digital divide. In our high-tech age, functional information technology literacy is essential for meeting daily requirements in an easy and cheapest way in connection with knowledge acquisition. Societies should use education to generate new knowledge, technology and ideas to produce individuals with up-to-date skills and knowledge to lead successful life. Acquaintance with technological devices like computers, smart phones and internet resources become a critical survival skill of the moment. Lack of skills and training in these areas reduces chances for social mobility. It fosters division of social classes- the IT haves and have-nots. This leads to digital divide. The role of technology in learning process is expanding and the

technological cyber gap may be closing in some societies. However differences can be seen in the new implementation of innovation and ways computers are used. Information technology and learning have enjoyed a meaningful partnership. Information technology has demonstrated the potential to support national and state goals for improving education (Bell and Flick 2005). Nowadays adult and continuous lifelong learning become an integral part of human life. Information technology has a predominant role in the dissemination of knowledge and information. . Information is the basic ingredient of any society in its development process. Individuals are living in a society where information generation and consumption are necessary. It is the basic resource and product in all spheres of life. Computer and information based systems that are mediated through electronic communication and integrated in to the activities of individuals and groups. It is the crucial component of a modern virtual organization. But unfortunately the fact is that usually our elderly don't get proper access to IT learning. Mere number of laptops, computers, smart phones and internet cafes do not always translate in to access and learning opportunities for individuals (Colleen swain 2005). It is the responsibility and task of a civilized society to provide equality of opportunity to every citizen irrespective of age, status and rank. Elderly are repositories of knowledge, wisdom, family love, social life and resource for information about the past tradition (Goody 1976). And hence it is necessary to find and analyze the potential skill of elderly in IT related activities and their attitude towards it.

#### Penetration of Internet Users in India

Year	Internet Users	Penetration Percentage
2000	5,557,455	0.5
2001	7,076,031	0.7

2002	16,765,756	1.5
2003	18,692,542	1.7
2004	22,259,583	2.0
2005	27,327,370	2.4
2006	32,602,386	2.8
2007	46,597,582	4.0
2008	52,431,671	4.4
2009	62,166,128	5.1
2010	92,323,838	7.5
2011	125,617,813	10.1
2012	158,960,346	12.6
2013	193,204,330	15.1
2014	233,152,478	18
2015	354,114,747	27
2016*	462,124,989	34.8

Source :(<http://www.internetlivestats.com/internet-users/india/>)

\*estimate for 1st July 2016

Above table shows that big and drastic jump of internet users have been taking place in India between 2014 and 2016. Fast growing information and communication technology, growing awareness about internet services are the basic reason for this phenomenon. People choose any one of the service rendered by internet. In Kerala, the government claims that 2500 Akshaya centers providing internet access and E-service delivery throughout the state. As per this, average 179 centres are there for each district in Kerala. 40.18 internet subscribers per 100 people can be seen in

Kerala. This represents the 60% of total population of the state. More than 200 government services are available in online mode. Kerala government claimed that more than 2.5 crore digital certificates are issued through the Akshaya centres.

### **Theoretical framework**

'Active ageing' one of the concepts in gerontological studies is originally inspired by the work of Robert Havighurst on activity theory. Staying active is key to successfully ageing. Active ageing is the process of optimizing opportunities for health participation and security in order to enhance quality of life as people age. Active ageing allows people to realize their potential for physical, mental and social well-being throughout the life and vigor to participate in society. It provides the elderly adequate protection, security and care ([//en.wikipedia.org](http://en.wikipedia.org)). It refers to continuing participation in social, economic, cultural, spiritual and civic affairs. It is not confined to physical activity only. It aims to extend healthy life expectancy and quality of life for all people as they age. Maintenance of autonomy and independence for the elderly is the aim of the concept (WHO 2002). The terminology 'active ageing' was adopted by the WHO in the late 1990s. Independence, participation, dignity, care and self-fulfillment are the principles behind this concept. It is based on a 'right-based' approach rather than 'needs-based approach'. It recognizes the rights of people to equality of opportunity and treatment in all aspects of life as they grow older. An energizing, impelling and activating force within the individual and around the individual is essential pre-requisites for active ageing. It is the responsibility of a society to provide opportunities to the elderly for activating themselves. Informal way of learning is one of the best methods to be adapted for this purpose. Information Technology based learning practices can be implemented in the grass root level necessitates the needs and wants of the elderly in a meaningful

way. Present study is based on the following hypotheses. There is a significant inadequacy among the elderly in IT enabled activities. Significant differences can be seen among IT knowledgeable and non knowledgeable individuals in their life satisfaction during old age. Efficiency in IT enabled devices help the elderly for keeping better social relations and personal accomplishments. As the normal theory of ageing, 'activity theory' assumes that successful ageing occurs when elder people stay active and maintain social interaction. Satisfaction in old age depends on active maintenance of personal relationships and endeavors. The theory proposes that there is a positive relationship between activity and life satisfaction. It reflects the functionalist perspective that the equilibrium that an individual develops in middle age should be maintained in later years. In 1961, Robert Havighurst proposed the theory. Any type of learning in assistance of information technology is helpful to the elderly keeping them active and engage. Production and transmission of information today increasingly depends digital technology. Individuals are in large scale, require sufficient access and technical competency in digital support operations.

Symbolic Interactionism assumes that humans construct meanings that agree with or diverge from what others around them think. The way in which an individual defines the reality he/she is experiencing makes a huge difference in how he/she will respond to it. Individuals are trying to make sense of the things they experience. Experiences are highly influenced by the sensation, perception and conceptualization of a human being. Normally persons figure out what an event or interaction means. Individuals are thus capable to determine what action is required of such interactions. Construction of meanings on the basis of experiences is varies person to person. Traditional media like radio, television, newspaper were widely used as primary sources of information in pre-technology era. In

the present day media scape, the situation is changing as news websites, user-generated content (USG) based websites, blogs, social networking sites and wikis are becoming alternative news sources on the internet. Media like Whats App, blogs, become space for sharing news, opinions and dissemination of information. Symbolic Interactionism assumes that societies are composed of interacting individuals who not only react but perceive, interpret, act and create (Francis Abraham 1982).

According to Marshal McLuhan, modern technological innovations are having the scope to bring about visible tremendous changes in society in many forms. He summarized his ideas as 'technological determinism theory'. The thinking style of individuals, social structure and the creation of forms of culture to a greater extent, depends on technology. The central crux of the theory is that change in communication technology inevitably produces changes in both cultural and social order. Communication technology is fundamental to society. Communication revolution subsequently leads to social revolution. The prevailing method of responses of society to events of phenomena can be altered by the invention of new technology. Thus traditional or conventional way of social response are changed or modified in new forms and styles. This theory is relevant in the present study because of it provide alternative method for individuals in the usage of modern technology assisted operations to meet individual's communication, information, entertainment and learning requirements.

## Method

For the present study 50 elderly respondents were selected from Trivandrum city by using simple random method. The age range is in between 60 and 80+. The elderly were selected based on following chronological criterion.

1. Young old 60-70
2. Middle old 70-80
3. Old-old 80 and above

The educational qualification of the subjects varies from elementary to post graduate level. 5 respondents out of the 50 have qualified Post Graduate degree and 5 of them are Under Graduates. Most of the employees and retired persons from government services are well aware about the uses and merits of IT enabled services in individual and social life. 18 respondents usually use Face book and What app as a mean for their personal and social communication. Retired persons are using Whats app for conveying messages in relation with the meetings, conventions and annual get together of their pension Organizations and Resident Associations. They are enjoying this facilities and usually they save time by adapting this mode of communication. Working employees and retired persons are using internet banking facility for the financial needs and requirements. All the respondents under Employed and Retired category use Credit cards and Debit cards for purchase except one woman respondent.. 10 respondents use online purchase facility at their home. They have opted the online sites such as Amazon, Flip kart, Myntra. They are having the opinion that the products they are purchasing, by using these types of online agencies, the things and objects are cheaper than the markets. Selection and choice is comparatively better in their opinion. Some of the respondents know about online ticket booking in Cinema theatres and Railway services. The low educated daily workers are dimly aware about such services. However they heard about internet services and they received certificates from various Government offices for the purpose of medical, agricultural, community and education purposes of their children and grand children. 8 respondents from the daily workers category, use bank debit cards in ATM services. At the same



time they are partially known about other internet based services. Their daily workload, lack of knowledge and insufficient working experience with computers, felt them obstacles in their skill based experience in computers and other devices. Fortunately they are ready to know more about Information Technology based services. If work site orientation is available they offer willingness towards such type of learning practice. The same opinion has been expressed by the retired employees also. They like to know more about the recent trends and development taking place in the field of internet and computer assisted services. 42 respondents are having cell phones. 24 of them have smart phones, and they are partially aware about all of the operations installed in the instruments. 24 of them usually use SMS services for communication. They use the instrument for taking selfies and groupies in occasions like their get together, agitations and festive occasions. Functional literacy in computers and other IT enabled devices is to be enhanced among the elderly. Even among the highly educated elderly, they are reluctant to computer assisted operations due to physical illness, lack of muscular coordination, lack of interest and poor health. Respondents are using traditional media like radio, television, newspapers as primary source of news. In the present day IT supported media world the situation is changing. Nowadays User Generated Content (USG) based websites, blogs; social networking sites are becoming alternative news sources on the internet (Sony Raj 2016). But the problem is that the access of such services is not distributing in a democratic and decentralized way. Finance capitalism determines the limits and paradigms of the usage of such services. Common man in our society is not well aware about the cut throat competitions and interests that is playing behind the curtain. In the present study all the respondents are having the opinion that accessibility should be the prime concern of the society with regard to Information Technology. Some of the elderly are know and realize the visibility, ubiquity and rapidity of

new media in the society.

#### Details of the 50 respondents in the present study

Age	Gender	Employment status	Aware	Unaware	Awareness Total%
60-64	Male	Employed	5	0	100
	Female	Employed	5	0	100
65-69	Male	Daily workers	2	3	40
	Female	Daily workers	2	3	40
70-74	Male	Daily workers	2	3	40
	Female	Daily workers	2	3	40
75-79	Male	Retired	3	2	60
	Female	Retired	3	2	60
80 +	Male	Retired	2	3	40
	Female	Retired	0	5	0

#### Findings

Following are the major findings of the study

1. 52% of urban elderly are well aware about Information Technology and social media operation such as WhatsApp, Face book, YouTube etc.
2. Low income group elderly are totally unaware or dimly aware about such media
3. Among the retired group, 40% elderly have usually opted internet banking for their requirements for payment of bills, booking of tickets etc.
4. 60% elderly who are engaged in private daily manual works are unaware about IT enabled activities.
6. The retired women who belong in the oldest-old category, i.e., beyond 80 years of age do not choose computer assisted services for their requirements due to unawareness in the devices.
7. Respondents are knowledgeable about the positive effects of

the IT enabled services in their daily life.

8. Respondents are opined that their family members are engaging in computer related activities.
9. Health related weakness like visual impairment, poor muscular coordination, lack of memory etc. are the factors which makes hindrances in their interest in IT operations
10. As far as daily workers are concerned, low level of their income become a hurdle in their interest towards IT related activities.
11. The cost of desktops, laptops and other gadgets discourage them to own such devices at home.
12. The monthly tariff of the internet service providers cannot be afforded by the ordinary people at their homes.

### Suggestions and Conclusion

Self directed learning is based on the felt need of an individual. It is the responsibility of the civic society and democratic governments to provide ample opportunities for maximum development of personality. Meyersohn (1972) identified four functions of leisure directly tied to the concept of work. One function is rest, respite and restoration to recover from work. The second is self realization. Contemplation or spiritual renewal is the third form of leisure, presumably solitary and seldom pursued. The fourth function of leisure is related to the growth of mass media that is entertainment. The entertainment utility of mass media is a part of information technology. Our policies and schemes meant for the welfare of the elderly should meet the edutainment needs also. In Edutainment Education and entertainment go side by side. New programs are to be chalked out at implemented in grass root level exclusively meant for the elder population of our society. Because their population is fast growing. It is the need of the hour to address such issues of demographic transition taking place in the digital era.

By using the platforms of new media the users and listeners can empower themselves socially and minimize the effort in various walks of human life such as payment of bills, borrowing tickets, contacting others and engage in edutainment and infotainment .Most of the pensioners are aware about the usefulness of information technology in their life. They know to maintain net banking, e-payment and e-ticket booking. At the same time some of them like to go treasuries for getting their monthly pension only due to strengthen and maintain their friendship among their friends. They opined that they manually fulfill such type of needs and wants through physical proximity and approach till the health permit them to do so. Engaging in personal and social activity during old age is an essential pre-requisite in the process of active ageing. Sedentary style will make the life of the elderly monotonous and boring. Doing, learning and earning are the three slogans which can be adopted by the elderly for activating themselves in the old age. Co-operation and collaboration make them active in social settings. Lethargic pattern of daily life will adversely affect the mind, physique and spirit of the elderly. Active ageing is not a myth but it is a reality. As rightly observed by Jurgen Habermas(2001) the traditional mode of integration among societies based on value orientation, norms and mutual understanding has been changed to market orientation and administrative use of power. Competence, knowledge and experience can only alter the situation. Strengthen the elderly should be me the motto of a civilized society. Because at least in numerical sense their generation is growing. Quality is to be equated with quality. This may be the need of the time.

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## **SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: EMERGENT THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO MUNICIPAL SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT**

**Anupa Leela George\***

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### ***Abstract***

*The world is facing a strong sustainability challenge due to accelerating environmental degradation. There are limits to the substitutability of certain forms of natural capital, and thus to the extent to which technologies will be available to overcome environmental and planetary challenges in future. As many forms of this natural capital are absolutely essential to human survival in the long run, its preservation is critical. Agenda 21 incorporates environmentally sound management of solid wastes as a major concern in maintaining the quality of earth's environment and especially in achieving environmentally sound and sustainable development in all countries. The present paper briefly introduces the various approaches to waste management.*

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*Keywords : Sustainable development, environmental degradation waste hierarchy, eco-efficiency*

The concept sustainability and sustainable development was launched by World Conservation Strategy of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and World Wild Fund (WWF) in 1980 in their report "World Conservation Strategy: Living Resource Conservation for Sustainable Development" (Till Koglin 2009). Lester Brown's book "Building A Sustainable Society" describes environmental problems in detail and ways to manage it for more sustainable society (Brown

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1981). But the term sustainable development became popularized with the report "Our common future" by the World Commission on Environment and Development, also called the Brundtland Commission and published in 1987. "Sustainability is a concept which combines post-modernist pessimism about the domination of nature with almost Enlightenment optimism about the possibility to reform human institutions." (Dresner, 2002: 164) Two key conceptual approaches were clearly evident in this debate, namely: Strong sustainability - a position which accepts that the ecosphere must be protected absolutely, 'there is no substitute to the planet' - a planet over people approach; Weak sustainability - a position that propounds that human made capital (e.g. technology) will substitute for natural capital so this can be run down, providing a critical minimum level is maintained.

Sustainability implies three dimensions namely social, economic and ecological or environmental sustainability. Those aspects are the basic element or three pillars of sustainability and sustainable development (Munier 2005, Basiago 1999). The economic component of sustainability requires that, societies pursue growth paths that generate optimal flow of income while maintaining their basic stock of man made capital, human capital and natural capital. Also requires internalizing all costs including the environmental costs associated with production and consumption (Basiago 1999). The social dimension of sustainable development is built on the twin principles of justice and equality. For a development path to be sustainable over a long period of time, wealth, resources and opportunity should be equally shared. The environmental component requires sustainable resource use, efficient sink function and maintenance of stock of capital (Bhattacharya 2001).

Another popular approach, the environmental utilisation space concept popularized by Siebert, 1982 and adapted by Opschoor

1987 in early Dutch policies for sustainable development (Bruyn 2000). The study reflects limits or thresholds to the amount of pressure that the ecosystem can withstand without irreversible damage and to use these to determine the operational boundaries of the environmental space that can be utilized.

Conceptually, in 'The Three Pillars' model sustainability is seen as the merging of economic enterprise, social well-being and environmental integrity. In an alternative model 'The Russian Doll' or embedded model of understanding there has been some movement towards greater sophistication of understanding (O'Riordan et. al 2001). The Russian doll model upholds the basic principle that all economic activity should be bent towards social progress and that this must be achieved within environmental limits. There is, therefore, suggestion of a slight move away from the 'weak sustainability' model that was originally put forward by Brundtland towards a more eco-essential approach. The potential to achieve 'win-win-win' scenarios is increasingly being rejected as over-simplistic and practicably unattainable.

The sustainable development is focusing on a divergent set of policy goals, at the international level, is highly evident in the more recent academic literature (Ayre and Callway, 2005). The Northern sustainability agenda is predominantly focusing on an environmental protection e.g. climate change, biodiversity, protection of species and habitats), while the South struggles to secure improvements to human health, develop its enterprise-bases and achieve the necessary economic growth for its development.

Accelerating environmental degradation indicates that the world is facing a strong sustainability challenge; that is to say, there are limits to the substitutability of certain forms of natural capital, and thus to the extent to which technologies will be available to overcome environmental and planetary challenges in future (Ayres,



2007). As many forms of this natural capital are absolutely essential to human survival in the long run, its preservation is critical. Agenda 211 incorporates environmentally sound management of solid wastes as a major concern in maintaining the quality of earth's environment and especially in achieving environmentally sound and sustainable development in all countries. Chapter 21 of Agenda 21 on solid waste management and sewer-related issues comprises of four programme areas namely waste minimization, promotion of waste recycling and reuse, promoting environmentally sound waste disposal and extending waste disposal service coverage. Waste minimization is linked to reducing unsustainable consumption patterns, and requires national level policies. Promotion of waste recycling and reuse requires collaboration of local authorities with the local informal sector particularly in the developing countries. Promoting environmentally sound waste disposal requires the collaboration of local and national authorities, based on appropriate and sustainable legal instruments and their effective implementation. Such legal instruments may need to re-consider the application of the "polluter pays principle" to the case of solid waste management.

Extending waste disposal service coverage is an area of joint programming with both the formal and informal waste management sectors playing a key role. A future global agenda has to address this strong sustainability challenge and facilitate transformative change at all levels—local, national and global (World Eco Survey 2013).

### **Municipal Waste Management: Various Approaches**

One of the objectives of sustainable economic development is to control the level of waste generation up to a limit which is less than that of natural and human augmented assimilative capacity and hence implying non-accumulation of any waste (Chakrabarti Snigdha 2005). This needs a balance between minimization of

waste, recycling and disposal. The cost of achieving this integrated method is not negligible. This section briefly introduces the various approaches to waste management.

### **Waste Diversion & Waste Minimization: The waste hierarchy Model**

Waste hierarchy developed in 1970 s has been introduced for the first time in to the European Union's Waste Framework Directive. Accordingly the most environmentally sound strategies for Municipal Solid Waste (MSW) are associated with the three R's commonly used in waste management - "reduce, reuse, and recycle". The three R's become a central theme in sustainable waste management efforts as waste generation rates and processing costs have increased while available landfill space decreased ((ElHaggar, 2007; Tudor et al., 2011). Waste reduction is placed at the top of waste hierarchies and reduction emphasize on not producing waste. It can be achieved through careful shopping like purchasing in bulk to avoid over packaging, buy durable goods and the reuse of products. Reuse offers several advantages including saving the scarce natural resources and reducing costs associated with waste disposal. Examples include single-sided paper for notes, reuse grocery bags, or using boxes as storage containers. Recycling products offer benefits like displacing virgin material usage, but also requires energy and the input for conversion placing it lower on the waste hierarchy than reduction and reuse (UC Davis, 2008). In the UK, North America, throughout Europe and in parts of Asia, waste hierarchies are being incorporated (Allwood et al., 2010). Recover can refer to methods which include recovering energy from waste. Waste can be processed into a fuel and used to produce a usable form of energy include incinerating waste to generate electricity, breaking waste down with (high temperature) pyrolysis to produce usable sources of fuel, or breaking down organic matter with anaerobic digestion to produce



biogas. These additional concepts do not need to be limited to 4 R's.

El-Haggar (2007) proposes that to achieve sustainable waste management, a 7R methodology should be adopted include Reduce, Reuse, Recycle, recover, Rethinking, Renovation, and Regulation. Renovation refers to taking action to develop innovative ways to process waste, while regulation is added in recognition that it is a driving force behind ensuring the implementation of responsible waste management practices.

### **Industrial Ecology**

Industrial Ecology (IE) is defined as “an approach to the design of industrial products and processes that evaluates such activities through the dual perspectives of product competitiveness and environmental interactions” (Graedel & Allenby, 2010, p. 391). IE popularized in 1989, has a strong engineering oriented focus on redesigning, integrating, and adapting technology to be in a more sustainable fashion. An eco-industrial park is a networking of firms to cooperate with each other to improve economic and environmental performance by reducing energy and raw materials through the planned exchanges. One of the most notable examples of industrial ecology is Denmark's Kalundborg Industrial Park, praised as being a leader in environmental and economic performance. This is an eco-industrial park where industries exchange byproducts and energy for mutual benefit. It is comprised of a power plant, an oil refinery, a manufacturing plant, a pharmaceuticals plant and the Kalundborg municipality. By working together, the byproducts or wastes from one industry are used as a resource by one or more of the other industries.

### **Cradle-to-Cradle / Cradle-to-Grave**

Cradle-to-grave (C2G) is a term used to describe the one-way flow of materials from raw resources into waste that requires

disposal. Cradle-to-cradle (C2C) initiated by Michael Braungart and colleagues at the Environmental Protection Encouragement Agency (EPEA) in the 1990s focuses on designing industrial systems through innovation, planning and design to minimize waste, stresses on recycling and reuse (McDonough et al., 2003). The model has been implemented by a number of companies, organizations and governments around the world, predominantly in the European Union, China and the United States.

### **Eco-Efficiency**

An eco-efficiency is a management philosophy encourages the creation of value with less environmental impact. The concept of eco-efficiency has 3 broad objectives focusing on reducing resources consumption by minimizing material inputs, reducing environmental impact by minimizing pollution and fostering the sustainable use of resources. The term was coined by the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD) in its 1992 publication “Changing Course,” and Earth Summit 1992, endorsed eco efficiency as a new business concept and means for companies to implement Agenda 21. For example, larger national players such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2002), European Commission (EU 2005), European Environment Agency (EEA) and the National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy (NRTEE) have all recognized that eco-efficiency is a practical approach that businesses should adopt in setting and achieving their environmental performance objectives.

### **Zero Waste Management**

Zero Waste Management is a unique waste management Approach originated from a working group of the Zero Waste International Alliance in 2004. Waste become a source of innovation rather than a source of economic drain and Zero waste model

promotes not only reuse and recycling, but also prevention (C.Y. Young et al., 2010). It stresses on product design that consider the entire product life cycle. Such product designs will strive for reduced material use, use of recycled materials, longer product lives, repairability and ease of disassembly at the end of their useful life. Zero Waste Management emphasizes on community's self-sufficiency for resources and resource management, developing a system that will ensure that the natural resources are not modified to forms (such as plastics) that degrade nature, going by the nature's cyclical flow of resources, i.e., from natural resources reincarnation and also simplicity, utility and aesthetics. There are many successful cases around the world which resulted from the implementation of the zero waste philosophy.

### Integrated Solid Waste Management (ISWM)

Solid waste management is a complex process requiring varied and integrated activities. ISWM Model was developed by WASTE advisers on urban environment and development (WASTE, 2004) and partners or organizations working in developing countries in the mid-1980s and further developed by the Collaborative Working Group (CWG) on solid waste management in the mid-1990's (Anschütz et al., 2004).

Integrated solid waste management is a way of handling municipal solid waste through a variety of interrelated activities. Integrated solid waste management refers to the strategic approach to sustainable management of solid wastes covering all sources and all aspects, covering generation, segregation, transfer, sorting, treatment, recovery and disposal in an integrated manner, with an emphasis on maximizing resource use efficiency. An integrated system also incorporates technical and political issues, including human health, safety and welfare, environmental protection, public acceptance and efficient and economic management ((McDougall et

al., 2001; Tchobanoglous & Kreith, 2002).

The concept of ISWM is based on three perspectives, viz., lifecycle, waste generation and waste management (UNEP 2009). The first concept of ISWM is based on lifecycle assessment of a product from the point of its production and consumption. The consumption reduce and substituting discarded products for resources can reduce the waste generation and thereby final disposal. The second concept of ISWM is based on source generation including domestic, commercial, industrial and its composition like hazardous and non-hazardous. The former has to be segregated at source and disposed with strict regulations. 3R approach (reduce, reuse and recycle) is applicable both at source as well as at the different levels of solid waste management chain including collection, transportation, treatment and disposal. The third concept of ISWM is based on its management by introducing financial mechanisms, strengthening institutions and regulations, developing infrastructure and technology, and integrating various stakeholders in the waste chain.

ISWM is a systems approach that recognizes three important

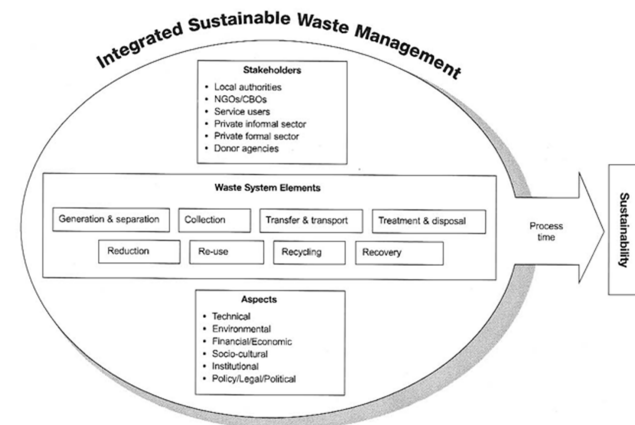


Figure 2. The ISWM model

dimensions namely the stakeholders, the elements and the aspects. The essence of the ISWM is integrating various stakeholders, socio cultural, legal, technical institutional, policy, economic and environmental linkages present to enable the overall system to functioning. The challenge is to make this theory work.

## Conclusion

There is no universally accepted definition and approach of sustainable development that captures its multifaceted nature. Choice of an approach depends upon the suitability and adaptability in different environments. Of all the approaches, Integrated Solid Waste Management seems to be the most appropriate to developing economies. Generally speaking, in responses to such threats of sustainability, a new paradigm of sustainable development necessitate radical changes in conventional economic planning and policy making.

## Note

Agenda 21 is a global action plan for sustainable development into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, adopted by more than 178 Governments at the “Earth Summit” in 1992. The implementation of the agenda is primarily the responsibility of Governments, with public participation and active involvement of non-government organization and other groups are encouraged.

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## **LESSONS LEARNT FROM KERALA'S DEVELOPMENT EXPERIENCE: HOW TOURISM CAN BE A POTENTIAL GAME CHANGER?**

**Anand Jayakrishnan K\* & Nedumpana Anil \*\***

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### ***Abstract***

*Kerala was able to achieve high living standards matched with high developed nations despite being a consumerist state and registering a relatively lower economic growth with respect to them. This development experience has been christened as 'Kerala model of development' in academic circles. Three decades passed and earlier euphoria no longer exists, as the state is entrapped in a 'Vicious Circle' due to serious resource crunch and other exogenous factors. A series of academic discussions began around late 1980s highlighting the unsustainability of such a model and the need to develop alternative 'engines of growth'. The present article makes an attempt to analyse the long run implications of 'Kerala model of development' and seeks out to establish the role of tourism as alternative development strategy.*

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*Key words: Kerala Development Model, Return Migration, Tourism, NITAAQAT law, Environmental issues within and beyond Sociology.*

Kerala was able to achieve significant progress in the fields of education, literacy, health etc...and was able to garner the applaud of world for high living standards experienced by its people. The achievements of the state conceptualised by scholars as Kerala model was regarded by many as an example to follow. A civic sense for collective wellbeing played a pivotal role in making this happen. From

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Rajas to successive state governments, every one carried this further. However the repercussions of the 1991 new economic reforms had its impact on the state too, like the country. Reforms presented Kerala with the enormous opportunities, but it also exposed the state to many unforeseen challenges, raising the question of unsustainability of Kerala model of development like never before. This made policy makers to rethink their development strategies and need of adopting alternate development paths. The present study aims to trace out the origin, development and problems faced by Kerala model of development and how far tourism can be a game changer in the development prospects of the state. The study has been organised into four sections. Section I traces out the history and development of Kerala model. Section 2 deals with the main challenges of Kerala model and discuss how it became unsustainable in detail. Section 3 explains how far tourism can be a game changer in Kerala's development prospects and also analyse the perils or challenges for becoming tourism as an alternative development strategy. Section 4 includes concluding remarks.

The development experience of Kerala is some sort of a riddle for the social scientists across the globe. Kerala, with relatively low per capita income was able to achieve high living standards like high literacy, high life expectancy and low infant mortality rate. It is to be noted that the state had literally jumped from the first stage of demographic transition to the third stage, without developing a strong and vibrant industrial sector. This put the state at the centre of much academic attention, especially after 1970s. Generally when we analyse the literature associated with the Kerala's so called paradoxical development experience, we will understand that western scholars at large, had been the admirers of Kerala model, while indigenous scholars, more or less are sceptical about the achievements of the state. Earlier studies considered Kerala as synonymous with the poverty.

Many statistics like Dandekar and Rath (1971) also reinforced this. At the same time, stark images of poverty like pot-bellied children, beggars and destitute in public spaces are quite hard to find in Kerala, compared to the rest of the India (Krishnaji, 2007). Centre for Development Studies project sponsored by United Nations in 1975 solved the riddle to an extent. Path breaking study entitled as "Poverty, unemployment and development policy: A case study of selected issues with the reference to Kerala" (1975) demolished many preconceived notions about the poverty in state by bringing out the false benchmarks used in the previous studies like calorie intake requirements, different from what is used in the rest of India. The study also touches upon policies relating to the education, health, poverty, unemployment as the title of the study itself suggests. The study says that the conventional development policies appear to have been exhausted in the state. Though it fails to give an explicit solution, the study was significant in the sense that it raised some important questions for future studies.

Many academicians brand Kerala's' development experience as lopsided development, the term they borrowed from the Human Development Report, ie, high achievement in social development despite stagnancy in economic growth. Naturally questions were raised about the way such a development pattern was carried out in the state, did such a pattern is caused by public action, the sustainability of such a model and alternative way outs. Most of the future studies focused on the solutions to these questions.

The basic explanation for the state's economic trajectory is to be found from relatively long visioned erstwhile kings of Travancore and Cochin to successive right wing and leftwing governments who carried this agenda further. For example, in 1865, steps were taken to eliminate jenmis or intermediaries in Travancore. Cochin also adopted the system towards the turn of the century. This was



nearly 90 years before the first ministry of the state decided to implement the land reforms. Similarly, the state had also given due importance to the education as evident by the establishment of the first arts and science college at Kottayam during the beginning of nineteenth century. However it didn't mean the mere provision of social infrastructure will be matched by the economic development. Instead it is to be understood that the so called Kerala model of development is the result of this civic sense for collective wellbeing present in Keralities from ancient times itself, rather than assuming it as an achievement of any particular government like mentioned before.

Kuznets (1957) says that a macro economy with a few dominating sectors is more prone to be unsustainable in long run. When we analyse the sectorial composition of Kerala economy, it is crystal clear that the sectorial contribution of primary sector had been declining over the decades. Interestingly this is not matched by an increased share of secondary or industrial sector, but a growing tertiary sector backed by a strong transport, banking and communication sectors (Table 1).

**Table 1**  
**Sectorial contribution of primary, secondary and tertiary sectors to the GSDP of Kerala from 1960-61 to 2012-13**

Sectors	Sectoral Shares In GSDP At Constant Prices							
	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1993-94	2000-01	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13
Primary (Agriculture)	56.0	49.4	39.23	32.23	25.30	10.42	9.71	9.34
Secondary (Industry)	15.2	16.4	24.37	20.32	19.50	22.01	21.81	23.94
Tertiary (Services)	28.8	34.2	36.40	47.45	55.20	67.57	68.48	66.72

*Source: Various issues of economic reviews, Government of Kerala*

Huge migration remittances and a good tertiary sector were the

key strengths of the economy. But as many Middle East countries are seriously considering revamping their migration policies in order to give more job opportunities to their local people with the implementation of NITAQAT laws, the question of sustainability of Kerala model brings into limelight.<sup>1</sup> Before considering the issues associated with the Kerala model and its unsustainability nature, it is imperative to understand what sustainable development itself means. The idea was mooted in World Commission on Environment and Development report entitled as "Our Common Future" in 1987. Although there is a lot of ambiguity surrounding the concept, the most widely accepted definition of sustainable definition is "development which meets the needs of present without comprising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs". Much of the literature associated with the development economics reveals that maximising economic growth in an environmentally prudent way has become synonymous with sustainable development (Parayil 1996). However this traditional view overemphasis on the growth and consider development as a by-product of growth. The conventional take on sustainable development is not followed by Kerala. On the other hand, the state had always put development at its focus. Govindan Parayil (1996) lists out four reasons for which Kerala model should be considered as sustainable like increase in standard of living brought out by the improvements in life expectancy and reduction in infant mortality rate and birth rate, decline in political strife, improvements in environmental stability and social and economic justice. Subrahmanian and Azeez (2000) says that Kerala after new economic reforms was expected to set off on the path of industrialisation, but on the contrary, it set off on servicetisation and deindustrialisation. New economic reforms which were expected to carry the states' dream further turned into a daring nightmare providing opportunities along with new challenges. The optimism and euphoria of good old days have given way for serious doubts regarding the sustainability.

## II

Human Development Report (1996) opines that no country can follow a course of lopsided development for such a long time-where economic growth is not matched by advances in human development, or vice versa. Kerala however was a paradox for nearly three decades, until pessimistic views regarding its sustainability and crisis began to surface on an unprecedented scale in the post reform period. The issues associated with the Kerala model became manifested at first in the fiscal sector. Scholars were always curious about how Kerala was able to achieve high human development given its economic deficiencies. But the academicians were more or less ignorant about the more important question why Kerala's human development did not translated into economic development. State seemed to be reached at a breaking point at 1990s when slow growth eventually became a constraining factor in financing welfare expenditure. Fiscal map provides a real picture of the situation. After incurring social service expenditure from its plan funds in the previous periods, Kerala was forced to carry out these expenditures in non-plan account increasing the cost of living (George 1990). This will eventually lead to a point where no further social expenditure can be made. The state is caught in a cob web of problems or in better words "Vicious Cycle" i.e. low economic development will lead to low human development which in turn lead to low economic development further. How the state caught up in such a cycle and how to break it are the big questions before Kerala.

The answer lies with the basic problems with the model. Kerala had been facing the problem of educated unemployment, which is qualitatively different from the rest of India. This becomes more interesting as this happens in a state which boasts of high level of literacy. The short visioned policy to setup unaided colleges especially in engineering and science fields putting enormous stress

on our employment sector is a main reason for this. Lack of periodic revisioning of curriculum also adds more. Moreover other states are catching up with Kerala in terms of literacy and higher education institutions. So the present comparative advantage that is enjoyed by the state is sure to disappear in near future. Policymakers who seems to be still living in Kerala's educational legacy, failed to take into account this.

High occurrence of suicides in the state also questions the sustainability of model. How a state which cannot make its people happy can be regarded as a sustainable model? Apart from the suicides, the state also witness high incidence of lifestyle related diseases like diabetes, obesity etc...

Changing demographic profile of the state is another concern. The state was able to brought down its death rates and improve its life expectancy rates. High proportion of senior citizen or aged group in population means high level of pension bills. However the state's already vulnerable budgetary situation makes these second generation problems of Kerala model graver.

Agricultural sector of Kerala had been on a declining phase from late eighties onwards. There was a substantial decline in the output of major crops like paddy, tapioca, coconut, arecanut etc... More disappointing issue is there had been a gradual shift towards the cash crops. This also coincided with the general agricultural decline of the state. This made the state more vulnerable to the supply shocks and inflationary tendencies. The sustainability of any economic model which cannot ensure food security to its citizens is dubious. Average annual percapita food grain production of Kerala is an indicator of food security. It was only 38.38 kg per annum against national average of 175.20 kg in 1987-88, which further declined to 21.6 kg at present level. Recent visit by boiled rice mill owners expressing serious concerns about the profitability of their business to Chief

Minister of Kerala should be considered as an earlier indication of upcoming food insecurity crisis. Proper rain water management is a prerequisite for agricultural development, especially in areas like Kerala, which is dependent on monsoon rain. Though there are many programmes for rain water harvesting, Kerala is still wasting 1.11 lakh cubic meters of rainwater a year. According to the data, about 2.5-3 lakh litres of water can be collected from the terrace of house with 1000 sq.ft which is more than enough for a family for a year.<sup>2</sup>

Ever since the formation of the state, public sector dominated industrial organism of Kerala. This had seriously eroded the asset creation capacity of the state. However policy makers of the state failed to check the unhealthy practices of the state like tendency to start up some industry so as to get easy bank credit without creating any productive asset and also to devise a proper regulatory system for registration of small scale units (Jeromi 2003). Small Scale Industries dominated Kerala's industrial sector. Medium and large scale sectors are highly underdeveloped in the state. Land density is quite high in Kerala, which limits the scope of development of those industries. Both left wing and right wing trade unions are quite strong in Kerala and played a pivotal role in raising the wages periodically. This drastically affected the investor friendly image of the state by increasing the production cost. Inability of the state to finding alternate power sources apart from relying on hydroelectric power and poor infrastructure facilities add further to the problem. Lack of qualitative expansion of education which already mentioned, is affecting Industrial sector adversely.

Thus a critical analysis of Kerala economy, reveals that the proximate reason for the sustainability of model, if any, is huge migrant remittances and a vibrant tertiary sector. It is the failure of policymakers to check underlying issues in these, put Kerala in a

cobweb of economic problems and also forced to seek out alternative development routes. With the market determined floating exchange rates in the post reform period, the influence of migrant remittances had increased manifold due to rupee depreciation. An argument in favour of this tendency is that Kerala's rich social sector infrastructure enabled them to migrate. However that line of reasoning had flaws. Many of the migrants from Kerala especially to Middle East nations are unskilled labourers, who did not even have proper education. Moreover why should they migrate on first place when their own state is a paradise of social development? With the onset of reforms, the consumption choices of Keralities have significantly increased. Steady flow of remittances ensured the effective demand shoot up to the new levels. Thus economy witnessed the phenomenon of 'jobless growth', as in many households, only single migrant member earnings enable the rest of the family to continue their consumption standards without any jobs. This also paved the way for strong transport, banking and tourism sectors. But since a major part of these consumption goods comes from other states, lion share of revenue accrued will be foregone.

All these aspects of Kerala Model of Development points towards its unsustainable nature. Model suffers from serious sustainability issues, even if we use traditional 'eco-friendly' terminology of 'Sustainability'. Environmental issues are a matter of concern in the state. There are frequent newspaper reports concerning the unlawful felling of trees. There had been a decline in forest cover over the years. Economic review of 2014-15 reports that this decline is much more pronounced in very dense and moderate dense forest areas. Pollution in major rivers like Bharathapuzha, Pampa, Periyar and Chaliyar had reached alarming proportions. Daily monitoring of state pollution control board found that every 100 ml of water in Pampa contains 5, 50, 000 coliform bacteria against the permissible level of 500 per 100 ml.<sup>3</sup>

While many developed nations are seeking out new renewable eco-friendly power sources, Kerala is still relying on hydroelectric projects for its energy requirements predominantly. Damming and channelization affects the normal flow and is a threat to various riverine species. For example, Bharathapuzha and her tributaries are subject to numerous dams, affecting its normal course to a great extent, thereby virtually dry for most of the year. The frequent reports about the presence of Sand mine mafia is also a threat.

All these issues highlight the need to rethink Kerala's much acclaimed development experience so as to cope with new challenges and adopt alternate development strategies.

### III

Tourism is a major global economic activity which is now estimated to contribute nearly 10 per cent of world GDP. Since its modern beginnings, tourism had been promoted as an engine of growth and as a game changer for developing nations including India. In many developing nations, with limited economic options tourism had been put forwarded as a panacea for all their economic maladies. While tourism's role in development has been acknowledged by many researchers, it is equally criticised too by others. Rather than glorifying tourism, nor degrading it, this section attempts seeks out to establish how tourism can be the best alternative for Kerala economy in present circumstances. Instead of listing out the merits of tourism, we analyse the things in reverse order by taking the major criticisms directed at tourism first like negative impact of tourism on our environment, cultural degradation, influence of lobbying and pressure groups.

A major argument put forwarded by critics of tourism as an alternative growth option is that it can lead to environmental pollution. Although there is some truth in this argument, the common wisdom says there is not any human activity which is cent

per cent pollution free. Any industry and even agriculture can lead to ecological degradation sometimes. So this cannot be taken as something which is applicable to tourism only. The central point is how can we minimise them or use this in a positive manner. For example, under responsible tourism in Kumarakom panchayath, linking up with Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA), waste ponds had been cleaned from weeds, fallow lands were converted to agricultural land, thereby adding to ecological conservation. Uddhammar (2006) narrates an example of using tourism to protect mountain gorillas in Bwindi National Park in South Western Uganda. Similar examples in other nations prove that the problem is not with tourism, but our approach with it. Eco tourism and recently launched Responsible Tourism is at right direction by making a consensus between tourism and environment.

Another criticism directed at tourism is that it will lead to cultural degradation. Sexual exploitation, prostitution, alcoholism, spread of drugs are commonly highlighted negative cultural impacts of tourism. But it is equally true that tourism played a major role in showcasing Kerala's traditional handicrafts and arts before the world. Tourism played a key role in popularising Kathakali, the state's most important artform among westerners. Tourism thus assured reasonable remunerations to the people associated with these art forms, thereby giving a fillip to otherwise 'could have been' dying artforms. Negative influences of tourism like prostitution, increase in crime rates should be dealt with proper law and order mechanism.

Arguments like tourism is subject to lobbying, pressure groups etc... also lack any significance as there is nearly no economic activity which is not free from these activities. A closely related argument is that the host or local community did not get substantial share in the revenue generated. But these arguments lack a basic understanding

about the very nature of tourism. Tourism encompasses many different economic activities which involves many stakeholders operating at different levels. A lot of research studies prove that the benefits of tourism can trickle down to the local populace. For example, Rogerson (2006) in his study gives a detailed idea about how tourism led to local economic development in South Africa. Moreover Kerala Tourism had launched a benefit sharing programme aimed at ensuring a reasonable share for the local community.

Now we can consider why tourism can be the potential gamechanger for Kerala. Firstly and most importantly, it is because of the geographical considerations. It is a well-known fact that, being one of the most densely populated states in India, land availability is an issue in Kerala. This is evident from the frequent newspaper reports about the agitations between local people and authority over the land acclamation. Being such a land-deficit state, the establishment of heavy industries requiring large acres of land is not feasible in Kerala. But if we could preserve our natural resources well as a part of tourism, apart from providing income this will give an alternative way to attain pro-poor development. Such a strategy is relevant in the context of United Nations arguing the fulfilment of Sustainable Development Goals. Many writers have acknowledged the beautiful landscape of Kerala which offers tremendous potential for tourism development (Jeromi 2003). Owing to its emerald backwaters, beautiful seashores and its precious biodiversity, Kerala has been described as “one of the must see destinations of a life time” (Kokkranikal and Morrison 2002). Often stylized as “Gods’ own country”, Kerala had emerged as one of the most acclaimed destinations over the period of three decades.<sup>4</sup> Tourism’s importance in Kerala economy is of past, present and future. Statistical data released by the department of tourism is a testimony to this fact. Revenue or income aspect is shown by two main indicators like

foreign exchange earnings and the total number of tourist arrivals (See Table 2, Table 3 and Table 4). Total revenue (including direct and indirect) from tourism during 2014 is Rs.24885.44 crores, which showed an increase of 12.11% over the last figure. Foreign exchange earnings owing to tourism witnessed an increase of 15.07% from the previous figure and reached Rs. 6398.93 crores in 2014. In 2016, foreign exchange earnings reached Rs.7749.51cr.

**Table 2**  
**Foreign Exchange earnings from tourism (2003-2016)**

YEAR	EARNING (Rs. in crs)	% OF VARIATION OVER PREVIOUS YEAR
2003	983.37	39.35
2004	1266.77	28.82
2005	1552.31	22.54
2006	1988.4	28.09
2007	2640.94	32.82
2008	3066.52	16.11
2009	2853.16	-6.96
2010	3797.37	33.09
2011	4221.99	11.18
2012	4571.69	8.28
2013	5560.77	21.63
2014	6398.93	15.07
2015	6949.88	8.61
2016	7749.51	11.51

*Source: Kerala Tourism Statistics 2016*



**Table 3**  
**Total earnings from tourism from 2010 to 2016**

Year	Total Revenue Generated From Tourism (Direct & Indirect)	Percentage of Increase
2010	17348	31.12
2011	19037	9.74
2012	20430	7.32
2013	22926.55	12.22
2014	24885.44	8.54
2015	26689.63	7.25
2016	29658.56	11.12

Source: Kerala Tourism Statistics 2016

**Table 4**  
**Tourist arrivals to Kerala from 2002 to 2016**

Year	No. of Domestic Tourists	% of Increase	No. of Foreign Tourist Visits	% of Increase	Total No. of Tourists	% of Increase
2002	5568256	6.27	232564	11.37	5800820	6.47
2003	5871228	5.44	294621	26.68	6165849	6.29
2004	5972182	1.72	345546	17.28	6317728	2.46
2005	5946423	-0.43	346499	0.28	6292922	-0.39
2006	6271724	5.47	428534	23.68	6700258	6.47
2007	6642941	5.92	515808	20.37	7158749	6.84
2008	7591250	14.28	598929	16.11	8190179	14.41
2009	7913537	4.25	557258	-6.96	8470795	3.43

2010	8595075	8.61	659265	18.31	9254340	9.25
2011	9381455	9.15	732985	11.18	10114440	9.29
2012	10076854	7.41	793696	8.28	10870550	7.48
2013	10857811	7.75	858143	8.12	11715954	7.78
2014	11695411	7.71	923366	7.60	12618777	7.71
2015	12465571	6.59	977479	5.86	13443050	6.53
2016	13172535	5.67	1038419	6.23	14210954	5.71

Source: Kerala Tourism Statistics 2016

From these statistics, it is very clear that tourism contributes in a positive manner as shown by the general trend of increasing foreign exchange earnings and total number of tourist visits over the years.

Many other states are catching up with Kerala in terms of literacy and educational achievements like remarked earlier. The development of Hyderabad and Bengaluru as IT hubs hints that Kerala cannot no longer live in the shadow of its educational legacy by ignoring alternative development pathways. Kerala needs to adapt itself according to the changed circumstances. Tourism is something unique for Kerala. For example, Ayurveda, traditional healing methodology using nature for curing ailments is such a knowledge treasure in which Kerala has unique advantage which should be preserved. Ayurvedic Tourism should be promoted to reap its benefits to the maximum.

Thirdly, tourism is an industry which has powerful linkage and multiplier effects. In 2001, Government of Kerala appointed Tata Consultancy Services to make an in depth analysis of impact of tourism on the rest of the Kerala economy. The study found that every one rupee of tourist expenditure creates a total output of Rs.2.07 in the open model and Rs.8.83 in the closed model.

The study also found that the type I employment multiplier is 4.62 while type II employment multiplier is 15.19. Tourism can promote agro based industries and thereby positively contribute to agriculture and industry. Farm tourism of Kumily and ecotourism project of Thenmala are relevant examples, which can give a boost to traditional agricultural sector which was once, the backbone of Kerala economy.<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly, tourism has a key role in our future.

But our analysis of tourism as a potential gameplayer would be incomplete without considering the perils or challenges faced by the industry. Firstly, it is related to the lesser role of local self development institutions in tourism development. At this juncture, we need to revisit one of the fiercest criticisms launched against tourism related to environmental degradation. Frequent newspaper reports about the different stands taken by panchayath or municipal bodies and state governments on tourism related issues make this issue clear. The proper solution lies with the devolution of power and funds from state and central governments to local self-governments. This should begin from the choice of destination to the distribution of revenue generated as the panchayath and local bodies have a better idea regarding the destination and its areas of potential.

Secondly, the challenge before our tourism is of structural one. Department of eco-tourism is functioning as a different entity from department of tourism. This often results in overlapping of functions and wastage of resources.

Kerala also needs to rethink or diversify its tourism in order to cater to the changing needs of tourists. State needs to give more emphasis on promoting adventure tourism, tourism related sports and popularise novel ideas like responsible tourism. For example, Kovalam which offers calm sea and crescent shaped sand dunes is a perfect destination for promoting water sports and other adventure activities. Yet the government still remains ignorant.

The state still lacks a proper coordination and integration between its various departments, which adversely impact tourism. For example, a proper coordination between transport department and tourism department could have boosted both. It is a common fact that most of the tourists coming to Kerala are interested in backwater voyage. But apart from some houseboats, the government still did not seem to be interested in developing inland water transport system in Kerala. Water transport is also the need of hour due to heavy road congestion and associated problems. It is a fuel efficient and eco-friendly mode of transport. As many tourists visit Kerala not only to see the natural beauty of Kerala, but also to experience our culture, which is better provided by passenger boats, as there is more possibility for communication. This can also positively contribute to the booming revenue generated by the tourism. The condition is no better for road transport. Roads in the state including national highways are in dilapidated condition. The acquisition of land for 45 m highway is still not completed due to vehement opposition from local populace hurting the tourism prospects badly. All this makes clear that Kerala should seriously consider developing alternative transport systems like inland water transport as said before.

Hartals and agitations are part and parcel of any democracy. There is no denying the fact that undeclared hartals often cause a lot of troubles for tourists and have brought the state nothing but bad reputation.

A main complaint which is often raised against Kerala's tourist destinations is that many of them lacks from basic amenities like sanitation facilities. Even in the destinations, where it is provided, no assurance is guaranteed about their regular maintenance and repair.

Another challenge for tourism to become as an engine of growth is infiltration of many unaccredited tourist guides operating illegally and without any substantial knowledge of the destination.

Instead of exploiting a tourist, a guide should cater to his/her needs persuading to revisit destination. Only such a strategy can contribute in long run positively.

A well-disciplined civic sense is a necessity to become a world renowned destination. As tourists often visit a destination, in order to experience the culture of the local populace, it is necessary to behave properly and treat them like 'AditiDevoBhava'(Guest as God). But in recent times, the sexual violence like rape attempt against tourists was reported by newspapers in some areas. These have serious implications on the reputation of Kerala tourism as a global brand.

#### IV

Developmental experience of Kerala was a puzzle for the social scientists across the globe. The state was able to achieve high living standards despite lower per capita income. Labelled as Kerala Model of Development in academic circles, the state received much scholarly attention for many years. Nearly three decades had passed and earlier euphoria surrounding the model no longer exists. The pessimistic views regarding the unsustainability of the model began to surface significantly in the post-reform period, as the economy exposed to external shocks. Return migration and passing of NITAQAT laws by many Middle East nations increased long run doubts regarding the sustainability of model. Growing fiscal crisis and resource crunch means Kerala could not continue their social sector expenditure without increasing the pace of economic development. The state is caught in a cob web of problems or in better words "Vicious Cycle" i.e. low economic development will lead to low human development which in turn lead to low economic development further. How the state caught up in such a cycle and how to break it are the big questions before Kerala. With an underdeveloped agricultural sector and a nearly stagnant industrial

sector, the answer lies within the tertiary sector. It is in this context, that the authors examine how far tourism can be a potential game changer in the future of Kerala. Rather than opting for listing out the positive aspects of tourism, we used a reverse approach by listing out the main criticisms against tourism as an alternative development strategy. The authors then illustrated how these criticisms doesn't seem to be valid as it seems to be using examples from the state and other regions. We then listed out the positive aspects of tourism like income and employability factor, geographical advantage etc... Finally we listed out the challenges or perils for tourism against its role as an 'engine of growth'. From our analysis, we conclude that tourism can be a potential game changer for Kerala and can play a significant role in future growth prospects of the state in spite of its drawbacks. Undoubtedly, the role of tourism is of past, present and future.

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## **SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGES OF WOMEN LEADERSHIP IN LSGS: A POST-RESERVATION ANALYSIS AT THIRUVANANTHAPURAM DISTRICT**

**Ashly K Ramachandran\***

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### **Abstract**

*This paper examines the socio-political changes of women members of LSGs in Kerala after the introduction of Women Reservation in LSGs. The study inquire the changes happened in their decision making power, improvement in confidence level, awareness about programs and schemes in the panchayat after becoming members. The researcher selected ten panchayats in Thiruvananthapuram district, having high women elected members for conducting the study. The study reveals that introduction of reservation has opened up political arena for large number of women and offered them opportunity to express their social strength and become close participants in local governance.*

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*Keywords: political participation, women reservation*

The study is aimed to evaluate the socio-political transformation of women representatives in the Local Self Governments (LSGs) of Kerala based on an empirical observation of selected LSGs in Thiruvananthapuram district. Compared to earlier times, the strength of women representative has substantially increased after the introduction of 50% reservation (Political Reservation) in local bodies. Quantitative increase in the number of women representatives at least in the local self-governments has created a thriving experience among women community. It is argued that this viable move has ultimately caused to stimulate their concern

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and confidence in civic affairs. The study is intended to examine the progress and empowerment of women members in the social, political and economic spheres of life based on qualitative analysis of secondary and primary data.

### **Method and objectives**

The method used for the study is basically descriptive, empirical and analytical. Primary data were collected from selected ten Grama Panchayats in Thiruvananthapuram district viz, Balaramapuram, Chirayinkizhu, Kadinamkulam, Karakulam, Kunnathukal, Manikkal, Mudakkal, Pangode and Parassala. These Panchayats were selected because it is in these Panchayats that the highest numbers of women representatives were seen elected during the recent election to the local bodies. Selected number of women representatives of these Panchayats were surveyed on the basis of a questionnaire. Individual respondents were selected on the basis of convenient sampling method. Secondary data were collected from various textbooks, articles, journals, office records and reports of various constitutional and extra-constitutional bodies like State Election Commission, State Planning Commission and officers of local bodies.

Objectives of the study are mainly to observe the socio - political changes of women members in LSG after their election to the civic bodies and to examine the change of status of women in decision making process, level of confidence accomplished, awareness about various duties and functions they have to perform and organizational capacity they have attained after becoming members of LSG.

### **Changing role and status**

The women in ancient India were quite well respected. It got deteriorated with the passage of time and happened shift of mentality of people towards women. Gradually the practice of

polygamy, Sati, dowry system, Female infanticide etc., conquered the society and resulted in the formation of a male dominated society. The thinking process which existed at that time was that women should be confined to their homes for their entire life. Their main duty has been confined to managing household duties and bearing of children. This pathetic role of women has been continuing for centuries. It is true that reformers and social activists had worked a lot and fought against superstitions and evil practice that affected women in the society and in the post-independent India, the constitution has put forward various effective laws for the safety and empowerment of women. Constitutional enactments provided equality of opportunity and equal rights before law for both men and women. However, experiences from the real life shows that women are deprived of their rights and equality which the constitution guarantees to them. The same is the case in the arena of power politics. Till recently women are denied of sufficient role in the process of administration and development of their society. The entry of women in a political institution has raised series of questions; of equality, leadership quality and experience, cultural and religious dogmas, traditional and ethnic canons etc. Because, India is a male dominated society and has a long prevailing tradition of patriarchal pattern of family and social structure. Most parts of country followed a patriarchal system, in the sense that women are being deprived to participate in the public life and that important issues related to local politics have been an area of men (Mishra, 1999).

Globally, there has been 'considerable progress in developing women's capabilities, but their participation in economic and political decision making remains limited (UNDP, 1995:4). However, in recent years there is a positive trend in the political process and lot of change occurred in the attitude of society and those in the regime

towards the role of women. The Panchayat Raj system was introduced in 1959 following the report of Balwant RaiMetha committee. The 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendments have provided 33% reserved seats for women in the local self-government bodies. The women reservation bill was first drafted in the parliament on September 12, 1996 at the time of H. D. Deva Gowda Government (81<sup>th</sup> constitutional amendment bill). The bill did not get approval though it was introduced in several occasions .Finally, in 2008 the UPA Govt. reintroduced the reservation bill. Later it got passed in the Rajya Sabha on March 9, 2010 after fourteen years of women's struggles. This historical moment was celebrated not only by the women in India, but also by anyone who likes to discard the gender discrimination from our society. This paved the way for women empowerment. The 73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> constitution amendment enhanced women reservation in local self Govt.from 33% to 50%.

The decentralization process introduced in Kerala was one of the drastic decisions towards that direction. The first attempt to decentralization came Kerala in 1957 (Chathukulam, 1991). It is a multifaceted activity, it consist devolution of functions, organizational structure, distribution of powers and responsibilities, allocation of resources in each tier of Government. Kerala is the first state in the country to implement the New Panchayatiraj Legislation in its full spirit and determination. It gave reservation for women not only in the process of election but in reserving fund for gender development with necessary norms and instructions. Women were given adequate opportunities to take part in the process of planning and implementation of gender related projects and also in general programmes. Women were encouraged to take part in Gramasabhas and women's neighborhood forums. The experiments in that direction took place during the 9th Plan period in Kerala ultimately resulted in the implementation of the globally reputed movement

for women empowerment called 'Kudumbashree' movement.

Political Participation is not just electoral processes, but it involves much more than just voting. Political participation derives from the freedom to speak out, assemble and associate; the ability to take part in the process of public affairs; and the opportunity to report as a candidate, to campaign, to be elected and to hold office at all levels of government. Politics is hitherto considered as a male territory. Women's political involvement has caused to drastically change that notion and the new situation has created strong political awareness for women and their huge participation can be considered as bench mark of empowerment. In the initial stage, women representation was very less in politics. After the implementation of women reservation the political status changed drastically. This act is a landmark in the march of women towards the ultimate goal of self- fulfilment.

Table 1.1

The percentage of respondents who have decision making power at Family and Workplace

Level of decision making	Frequency	Percentage
To a great extent	34	27.2
Some extent	55	44
Not at all	36	28.8
<b>Total</b>	125	100

Source: survey data

The table examines the decision making power of respondent's at family and workplace. Women play a significant role in decision making process related to domestic matters and work place. 27.2 percentage of respondents said that the family members mostly agree with their decisions related to domestic matters. Similar to

men, women are also involved in decision making at work place. Around 44 percentage of respondents stated that they have a say in the final decision and 28.8 percentage respondents said that male members and family members did not agree much with respondent's decisions.

Decision making of women within the family has been looked upon as one of the important factors which may affect the well being of the family. Malkit (1998) conducted studies on decision making power among women. Decision making is related to social commitment. The decision making process is influenced by many factors, such as age, education, income, job, family size etc. The role played by women in the decision making process in the family and outside expressed women empowerment. Sultana (2011) explores factors affecting women in self-sufficiency and decision making power within the household in Bangladesh rural communities. The results showed that respondent's depth of education, occupation and income were positively related to women's decision-making power at household level.

Table 1.2

The percentage increase in the level of decision making power of the respondent (After becoming a member)

Increasing decision making power	Frequency	Percentage
To a great extent	47	37.6
Some extent	56	44.8
Never	22	17.6
<b>Total</b>	125	100

Source: survey data

Women's participation in the decision making process is vital

for the improvement of their empowerment. Decision making is an important parameter indicating degree of participation. Attaining the goal of equal participation for women and men in decision-making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society. It will strengthen the democracy and promote its proper functioning. The low proportion of women decision makers among the political and economic levels reflects the blockade for them in coming in to the mainstream society as well as political activities. After becoming a member, women became more advanced in the matter of the decision making process related to their profession. 37.6 percentage respondent revealed that, their decision were mostly agreed by their colleagues at the work place. Around 44.8 percentage respondents said that their decision, were considered by their colleagues. 17.6 percentage respondents said that their decision was not accepted by their colleagues to a great extent.

Table 1.3

Public activities of the respondents before becoming a member

Public engagements of the respondents	Frequency	Percentage
To a great extent	28	22.4
Some extents	35	28
Not at all	62	49.6
<b>Total</b>	125	100

Source: survey data

Globally, women engage less than men in public activity, and this is even more correct in developing societies. Today Women assume multi-faceted roles in society. Women are engaged in many civic activities along with household duties. Kerala has the highest literacy rate among several other states. Women are more advanced

than earlier. Most of them are presiding in leadership positions in the social and cultural area. Majority of them play active roles in social activities or are members of social organizations like Kudumbasree, ADS, CDS, MNREGP, Jananidhi programme, and Asha worker etc.

The table 1.3 shows that 22.4 percentage of respondents actively participated in public activities before becoming a member. Around 28 percentages of respondents were engaged in social activities only to some extent. 49.6 percentages had no participation. However all members actively participated in Kudumbasree unit.

Table 1.4

**Respondent's attitude and confidence level of public speaking**

Attitude of public speech	Frequency	Percentage
Very comfortable	29	23.2
Comfortable	45	36.0
Not comfortable	51	40.8
<b>Total</b>	125	100

Source: survey data

The level of confidence can be perceived as a major factor in measuring empowerment. Women members have dual role in the society. The major obstacle which women faced in the past to come to mainstream are many which includes lack of education, strong opposition from family, household duties, child grooming etc. However, at present, they come in front of the stage and participate in almost all social and political activities. During the initial days as a member, they were not having sufficient confidence to attend public programs and do public speaking. Gradually they earned confidence to do such programs. The state Government provided training for enhancing women's participation. There are several mandatory training programs conducted by the various agencies of state

government for the members of LSG with the objectives of creating capacity building, empowerment, leadership, communication skills, stress management and awareness programs. Table 1.4 gives details of the respondent's attitude and confidence related to public speaking. 36 percentage of respondents were comfortable in public speaking and attending meetings. However, 40.8 percentage has not secured confidence to face public. 23.2% of respondents could face public without hesitation. They were also leading various programs launched by the panchayats.

Table 1.5

**Respondents' knowledge about various schemes**

	To a great extent		Some extent		Not at all		Total
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
Govt. programmes	38	30.4%	64	51.2%	23	18.4%	125 (100)
Functions of panchayath and other Govt offices	73	58.4%	35	28%	17	13.6%	125 (100)
Various funds and utilizations	41	32.8%	59	47.2%	25	20%	125 (100)
Understanding the opportunities and challenges of the development of LSG	38	30.4%	57	45.6%	30	24%	125 (100)
Views and features of developments in Rural area	72	57.6%	38	30.4%	15	12%	125 (100)
Preparation and presentation of Govt. projects	48	38.4%	53	42.4%	24	19.2%	125 (100)

Source: survey data

The table 1.5 shows that 30.4 percentage respondents

were active participants in several programs introduced by their panchayats. 51.2 percentage participated to some extent in these programs. At the same time, 18.4 percentage of members had no experience in such programs.

### **Awareness of a woman member regarding availability and utilization of panchayath funds**

58.4 percentage of members attended the various programmes of grama panchayaths and other tiers of local government. 28 percentage of respondents participated only to some extent. At the same time, 13.6 percentage members have no experience in these programs. 32.8 percentages of respondent expressed that they have full awareness about various funds and made of utilization of them. Initially they started involving in various works such as road construction and various other development projects under the initiative of the panchayat. After several months of gaining experience, they started questioning the criteria of distribution of funds. 47.2 percentage of respondents submit that they only slightly involved in the allocation of funds and its procedure in the panchayats. Remaining 20% women representatives were open to say that they were not having awareness about various funds and their utilization. 30.4 % respondents were to some extent aware about the many opportunities available in the panchayat and they took effort in the development process of the panchayth sector. 45.6 percentage of respondents had only slight experience in those fields. 24 percentage of the respondents were never aware of this development process. 57.6 percentage respondent were actively involved in almost all the development process in the panchayat and related offices. 30.4 percentage of members have a certain degree of experience in those development process. 12 percentage of respondents have no idea about such fields and development process. Around 38.4 percentage of respondents actively participated on the various projects of the governmental and non governmental organizations (NGOs). 42.4 percentage of members were only partially aware and had only limited exposure in this area. 19.2 percentage of members have no awareness and no contribution to the development process.

**Table 1.6**  
**Organizing capacity of respondents**  
**(various programs in panchayat level)**

Organizing capacity	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	98	78.4
No	27	21.6
Total	125	100

*Source: Survey data.*

Table 6 shows that 78.4 percentage of women agree that they have actively organized various programs in their respective panchayats. Around 27 percentage of respondents responded negatively. Every year all members conducts and participate in different type of programs such as awareness (health awareness and socially awareness programs for women and children) and also coordinate many fares and fests (food fest, cloth fest etc.) during the festival season. The state Govt. organized many training programs for all elected members in LSG. The ministry of rural development has provided financial assistance (additional funds) for quality improvement programs and capacity building initiatives for all members in the LSG. NGOs also undertook initiatives for the betterment of political and public activities of members especially those of women members in LSG. These initiatives helped women members to improve their confidence socially as well as economically. This in turn lead to women empowerment.

### **Conclusion**

The paper tried to analyze the socio political status of women after becoming a member in LSG. The active participation of women members in LSG helped them to change their social and political life. The implementation of political reservation for women (73<sup>rd</sup> and 74<sup>th</sup> women reservation), has far-reaching effect on the women's activism in politics. It marked a historic change in the development movement of the nation. The researcher observed that after becoming members of local bodies and being part of political process, women have changed a lot both in power as well as in



domestic role. (increase of role in decision making, confidence level, awareness, organizing capacity etc.) Today, far from their secluded and solitary past, they are aware and stand as part and parcel of the day-to-day affairs of their society. They involve in social affairs, political campaigns and each and every aspect of life in their locality. In addition, they are engaged or are active participants in the various cultural and organizational functions and developmental activities. Women are able to lead and guide the society without reluctance. However a few of them are yet to involve actively in such fields. The state government and the respective authorities should take initiative for the betterment of women in the political process and improve their proficiency as a member not only in the present day but also in future.

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## IMPACT OF MALLS ON SMALL RETAILERS AND HAWKERS IN KERALA

Nisand P\*

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### Abstract

*The study reveals that corporate retail chains have had a significant impact on the traditional retail trade sector, particularly on business outcomes such as sales and profit margins. The significant decline in the business of the small retailers due to the influence of corporate retail outlets could lead to a decline in current employment levels in the traditional retail sector in Kerala. In fact, the retail sector in Kerala is facing the onslaught of domestic corporate retailers. The study suggests that existing corporate retailers should be regulated through licensing arrangements by the local government bodies. Measures should also be taken to domestic production of both agricultural and non-agricultural products. This will strengthen the condition of existing traditional retailers.*

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Retail is one of the world's largest industries and is controlled by a handful of powerful corporations, mainly from the US and Western Europe. In India, it is considered as an important source of livelihood for Lakhs of people. The new economic world order has brought about many changes in the society as a whole. The retail sector is not an exception to it. The entry of capitalist forces into the retail trading has brought about drastic changes in this sector. In course of time the traditional retail sector began to acquire a corporate character. The increasing influence of corporate retail on traditional retail sector is a matter of concern. This is the classic example of the negative effects of globalization in the third world context where political bargaining power of the workers gets loosened and

their economic hardships increased. The post liberalization period witnessed a drastic change in the attitude of the government towards trade, which has negatively affected the trade and agricultural sector all over India.

Kerala economy is primarily based on agriculture. But the agricultural sector does not provide enough job opportunity to the people because of the peculiar socio economic and political condition of Kerala. Here comes the importance of retail trading.

More than 80 Lakh of people are engaged in retail sector. It is considered as the second largest employment provider after agriculture. Retail sector acts as an important shock absorber for the society. Thus when a factory shuts down rendering workers jobless, or farmers get evicted from their land, the retail sector absorb them all. Today it is facing the onslaught of national and Multi-national Corporation. Entry of corporates in to the field of traditional retail sector is a threat to the livelihood of thousands of hawkers and small retailers who make a subsistence income on this work. Our retail sector is being hijacked by the heavy weight corporates. Retailers like Reliance, Adithya Birla, Spencer (RPG), Pantaloon (Future Group) and some others have opened their outlets throughout Kerala.

## **Method**

This preliminary study is aimed at investigating the impact of malls on small scale traditional retailers in Kerala. The data for this study was collected both from primary and secondary sources. The methodology used for this study is predominantly empirical.

Comparative and analytical methods are also adopted. The respondents are classified in to two, urban retailers and rural retailers. A detailed questionnaire was also prepared for collecting information from the respondents. Separate questionnaires were also prepared for consumers of rural and urban areas of Kerala. 360 small

scale retailers were identified on random basis from six different districts of Kerala for the purpose of collecting primary data. The samples were selected from 18 urban markets and 18 rural markets. Samples were collected on random basis. 60 samples were collected from each district for the study. The respondents are categorized in to four, i.e., street vendors/hawkers, vegetable retailers, grocery retailers, and textile retailers. The interview was conducted among 72 street vendors/hawkers, 72 small scale textile retailers, 108 vegetable retailers, and 108 grocery retailers based on the random sampling method. Researcher also visited a number of prominent small scale retail shops and shopping malls to have a direct experience with them. This observation and experiences provided much insight in to the problem and helped to enrich the source of primary data for the work.

## **Political, economic and social environment of Kerala**

It necessary to have a basic understanding of the political economic, social and demographical nature of present Kerala, which has an influential role in determining the nature of trading activities that are taking place in contemporary Kerala.

Kerala is a highly politicized state in India and is often labeled as India's "political laboratory". The influence of politics is visible in every walks of life of Kerala society. For the last several decades Kerala has accepted the coalition politics as a permanent feature of this small state. The coalition government in Kerala is centered on two major political parties in Kerala viz., Congress and CPI (M), and their allied form is known as UDF (United Democratic Front) and LDF (Left Democratic Front) respectively. The congress party always took a pro neo liberal stand in its approach towards governance, whereas the left wing stood against this approach. With the implementation of new economic reforms (1990s), various developments have taken place in the world economy. Since then

India has been following a neo liberal policy, and the congress party in Kerala was also extending its support to the central government's liberal stands. Governments failed to meet the negative impacts of globalization on the trade and agricultural sector. The traditional retail sector and other unorganized sectors are worst affected by the impacts of globalization. The left political parties were also failed to address the problems faced by the people of agricultural and traditional industrial sector.<sup>1</sup> In fact, Kerala's political atmosphere was in favor of the entry of giant retailers.

In social sphere the influence of new world order is visible. It has brought about drastic changes in the social life of the people all over the world including India. The effects of globalization have restructured the society. One of the important factors which restructured the Kerala society is the influence of large scale migration from the state. Contributing much to the economy, migration from Kerala helped bringing new social class in the society. The class division plays a significant role in Kerala society. The upper class, middle class and lower classes have their own way of life and consumption pattern. The two new classification has also came in to being, i.e., upper middle class and lower middle class. The rise of strong middle class has created positive and prosperous avenues for the business firms and manufacturers. Purchasing power and consumption pattern of Kerala society attracted organized retailers in to its domain. The growing disposable income availability of finance through loans, higher level of urbanization, etc are some other impelling factors of trading sector.

The consumption pattern of Kerala played a significant role in inviting corporate retailers in to its field. According to the report of Central Statistical Organization, there exists a clear and positive correlation between per capita income and consumption expenditure. The following table shows the overall picture of consumer expenditure on food and non food items in Kerala.

**Table No: 1**  
**Consumer Expenditure in Kerala from 2000 to 2010**

Period		Rural		Urban	
		Expenditure on Food item	Expenditure on non food item	Expenditure on Food item	Expenditure on non food item
2000/01		49.63%	50.37%	43.22%	56.78%
2002/03		50.23%	49.77%	40.25%	59.75%
2003*		44.92%	55.08%	38.36%	61.64%
2004**	Scheduled 1	46.54%	53.46%	40.76%	59.24%
	Scheduled 2	50.23%	49.77%	40.92%	59.08%
2004/05		44.97%	55.03%	39.97%	60.03%
2005/06		43.95%	56.65%	37.38%	62.62%
2006/07		40.43%	59.57%	34.43%	65.57%
2007/08		40.79%	59.21%	36.10%	63.90%
2009/2010		45.94%	54.5%	40.20%	59.81%

\*59<sup>th</sup> Round of NSS, January to December.

\*\*60<sup>th</sup> Round of NSS, January to June. Scheduled 1 and 2

Source: NSSO and the Report of State Planning Board, 2012

The table clearly shows that is no significant difference in the rural consumption expenditure on food item during the period. The highest consumer expenditure was recorded during 2002/03 and 2004 periods. Year 2005 onwards, it began to decrease and reached at 40% in 2007, and then again it increased a little. In fact, around 50% of income is spent on food items in rural Kerala. This consumption pattern has influenced the domestic corptailers to enter this sector.

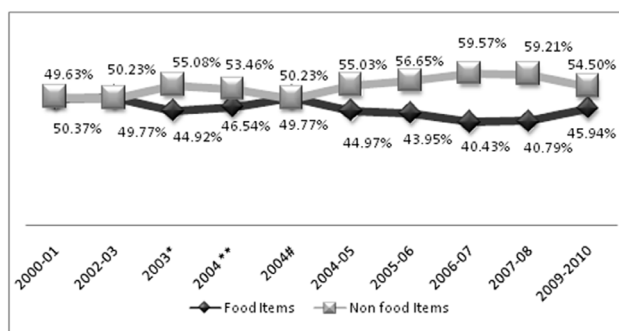
Consumption pattern of non food items is entirely different from that of food item in rural Kerala. The lowest consumer

expenditure was recorded in 2002/03 period, and the highest expenditure was recorded in 2006/07 period. It shows the increasing tendency of consumer expenditure on non food items in rural Kerala. It is to be noted that Kerala's retail sector witnessed the entry of giant corporates in to its domains in 2007. The study reveals that the consumer expenditure on non food item is much higher in urban areas than that of rural.

It is obvious that there exist mainly two types of consumption pattern in Kerala. The following figure portrays the consumer expenditure on food and non-food items in rural Kerala.

Figure no: 1

## Rural Consumer Expenditure on food and non-food items



\*59<sup>th</sup> Round of NSS, January to December.

\*\*60<sup>th</sup> Round of NSS, January to June. Scheduled 1

#Scheduled 2

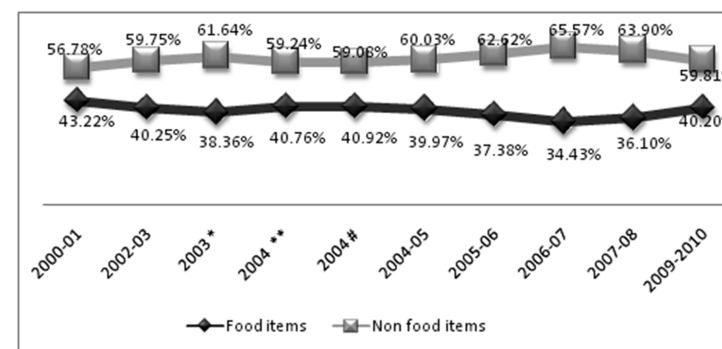
Source: NSSO and the Report of State Planning Board, 2012

The study shows that the rural consumers spend a significant portion of their income on non food items than food item. It is clear that there is no significant variation in the consumer expenditure on food and non food items as both are approximately stable in their performance during the period.

The following figure presents the details of spending on food and non food item in urban Kerala.

Figure no: 2

## Urban Consumer Expenditure on Food and Non-food Items



\*59<sup>th</sup> Round of NSS, January to December.

\*\*60<sup>th</sup> Round of NSS, January to June. Scheduled 1

#Scheduled 2

Source: NSSO and the Report of State Planning Board, 2012

As per the statistical evidence urban consumers spend a significant portion of their income on non food items than food item. Here also, there is no significant variation in the consumer expenditure on food and non food items as both are more or less stable in their performance during the period. It is this stability of urban expenditure, which positively influenced the retail sector, especially the corporate retailers, in Kerala.

The analysis of consumption pattern of Kerala reveals that the consumer expenditure on non food item is much higher in urban areas than that of rural, and that there exist two types of consumption pattern in Kerala. It is observed that the peculiar features of consumption pattern that exists in Kerala created a favorable condition for the retail sector. These economic factors

have helped the entry of new retail giants in the field of Kerala's retail sector.

### Changing Nature of Retail Trade in Kerala

The history of retail trade in Kerala begins with the weekly market system that existed in the state, where all the traders gather at one particular place to sell their products every week. The people come to these weekly markets to buy the household items for the next one week. Due to the increasing demand of the people the weekly market had to transform to daily market system. As has been pointed out, retail sector is the second largest employment guarantor after agriculture in India. In Kerala also, large number of people depends on retail sector for their livelihood. Kerala's traditional retail sector includes small scale retailers, hawkers, street vendors etc.

The development of markets gave birth to town and villages in Kerala. Kerala's retail sector is mostly located in two areas, i.e., villages and towns/cities. Even now most of the people who live in rural and urban areas mostly depend on these traditional retail traders for their daily needs. In rural area most of the shops are working in old structures. Modernization process has not fully touched the Kerala's rural retailing. For example, in rural market the use of credit and debit card is not seen; they still keep credit notebooks for each shop. In other words, the rural credit system and the 'regularity of customers' are the two major characteristics of traditional market system. Kerala has been following a daily market system for years. Most of the retail market is opened for 7 days in a week. Usually they do not leave the shop closed. It shows the vigorous character of Kerala's retail sector.

The changes that occurred during 1990s had negatively affected the existence of various traditional sectors. The implementation of new economic reforms and the impact of globalization on socio

economic and political sphere have weakened the primary sector. The political decision to implement the neo liberal policies has been proved to be detrimental to the various sectors of the state including trading sectors. Now it is facing the onslaught of domestic corporate retailers.

Making use of favorable socio-political and economic conditions, new players have entered Kerala's retail sector threatening the livelihood of lakhs of small scale retailers. Since cities are the barometers of development, most of the modern retailers are located in urban areas. Empirically, urban areas have always acted as a catalyst for the development of any industry, largely because of the availability of better infrastructure. The empirical study shows that one of the important reasons for the decline of their business is the entry of new retail player in to this field. It is evident from the table given below. Here, samplings of 258 retailers, who have more than 20 years of experience in this field, were directly approached. The traders of both rural and urban market were asked to express their views regarding loss suffered by them, and their responses are crystallized here.

**Table No: 2**  
**Causes of Customer Loss Suffered by Small Scale Retailers in Kerala**

Reasons for customer loss	Frequency	Percentage
Competition among small traders	62	24.3
Entry of corporate retailers/ Changes in consumer attitude	158	61.24
Influence of Govt stores	34	13.18
Rising price of commodities	4	1.55
Total	258	100.0

*Source: Survey data*



The table clearly shows that the presence of corporate retailers is the major reason for the consumer loss in Kerala. It is not a single factor but a lot of other factors that determine the consumer loss. Preference for quality goods and the belief that quality products will be available in the corporate retail shops are the reasons for the consumer shift. The causes are to be analyzed in the context of globalization. Globalization has, to a greater extent, influenced the life style of people; it is because of this influence, the attitude of consumer has also been changed. Therefore, the changing attitude of consumers and the entry of corporate retailers are the major force which influenced the nature of market.

Studies conducted in different parts of India proved that the major reason for the decline of traditional retail sector is the result of entry of corptailers. A sample survey study, conducted among the small scale retailers by AnuradhaKalhan in Mumbai, shows the negative impacts of the Corptails on the small shops and hawkers. It points out that 71% of small retailers are suffering from heavy decline in their business soon after the opening up of a domestic corporate retail outlet. A report of Navdhanya Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology (NRFSTE) reveals that in Delhi city 73% of retailers belong to small retailers (small retailer, hawkers, push cart vendor etc) whereas 27% constitutes big retailers. The study shows that 88% of small retailers are suffering from huge decline in their business. The impact of the entry of Corporates in to retail was huge and the brunt of it was faced maximum by the low income group retailers. There was a huge decline in the business of most of the retailers in and around corporate retail out lets (Reliance Fresh stores).

### Corporate Hijack of Traditional Retail in Kerala

Kerala's traditional retail sector is under the strong influence of heavy weight retailers. The presence of new players is visible in all

cities and towns of this state. Even though they have huge capital, they cautiously kept away from giving wide range of advertisement through visual and other print media as done by other shoppers, like jewellery shops and textile shops. According to many traders and marketing experts, it is a strategy of corporate retailers to silently capture the market. It is only to prevent and minimize the influence of opposite forces from getting united. They assume that the advertisement may lead to mobilization of an anti-corporate feeling in the society. It is not possible for the corporate retailers to continue their business without a strong popular local support.

The street vendors, vegetable retailers and food grain retailers are the victims of new retail phenomena. The table shows the consumer loss suffered by different types of retailers in Kerala. The Percentage share of street vendors, vegetable shops, food grain shops and small textile shops who suffer customer loss is separately given here.

**Table No: 3**  
**Customer Loss Suffered by Different types of Small Scale Retailers in Kerala**

Type of shops	Responses		Total
	Customer loss for the last six years	No Customer loss for the last six years	
Street Vendors	51	21	72
	70.83%	29.17%	(100.0)
Vegetable shops	77	31	108
	71.30%	28.70%	(100.0)
Food grain shops	88	20	108
	81.48%	18.52%	(100.0)
Small textile shops	44	28	72
	61.11%	38.89%	(100.0)
Total	260 (72.22%)	100 (27.78%)	360 (100.0)

Source: Survey data

The study shows that majority of street vendors are suffering customer loss in Kerala. They are the poorest among the retailers; hence the loss in customer will have severe impact on them. Majority of vegetable retailers responded that the decrease in the number of customer caused a serious threat to their existence. It is empirically proved that the food grain retailers suffer significant loss in their customers. The small textile shops are also facing the same problem. The present study establishes that the decline in customer flow is a serious problem faced by small scale retailers in Kerala.

The study shows that a significant majority of food grain/cereal retailers (81%), vegetable retailers (71%) and street vendors (70%) suffer customer loss. For 28.70% of vegetable retailers there has been no loss in customer since 2007. 61% of textile retailers maintained that customer loss had affected their business badly, and 39% of respondents refuted this argument. The study proves that the food retailing is worst affected by the customer loss which leads to the closure of the shop and finally resulted in the unavailability of food items. These problems pose a threat to the 'food security', which leads to social distress in a thickly populated state like Kerala.

It is important to identify the location where the customer loss is severe. There is a clear difference in the pattern of consumption between rural and urban societies. The consumption pattern of a society is closely linked to the social life of that society, for example the 'use and throw' culture adopted by the society, is a byproduct of consumption pattern followed in the market. The urban and rural market produces two different kinds of social outputs in Kerala as corporate retail outlets are situated in urban areas. The respondents were asked about whether they suffer customer loss.

The study further shows the extent of the loss in customers suffered by different types of retailers. The response of retailers are mainly categorized in to three viz., 'significant loss', 'less significant

loss' and 'no loss'. The table given below shows the details of responses given by the retailers with regard to the extent of consumer loss suffered by them.

Table No: 4

Location	Significant loss	Less significant loss	No loss	Don't know	Total
Urban	109	32	38	1	180
	(60.56%)	(17.78%)	(21.11%)	(0.56%)	(100.0%)
Rural	9	134	36	1	180
	(5.00%)	(74.44%)	(20.00%)	(0.56%)	(100.0%)
Total	118	166	74	2	360
	(32.78%)	(46.11%)	(20.56%)	(0.56%)	(100.0%)

*Extent of Customer Loss suffered by small scale retailers*

*Level of significance .05 Chi square 147.475 P value=.000 Source: Survey data*

The study shows that the retailing in urban market faces significant loss in their regular customers than that of rural. It is important to note that in urban retailing the percentage share of "less significant loss" of customers is very less than that of rural market. In both markets, the percentage of traders who suffer "no loss" of customers is more or less same. The study shows that the majority of urban retailers (60.6%) have been

suffering significant loss of customers since 2007. 17.78% of retailers face only a less significant loss of customers for this period, and 21.11% of retailers have no loss in customers in urban centric retailing. A microscopic percentage of respondents have no clear idea about their loss. In rural market only 5% of retailers are the victims of significant loss in customers, whereas 74.4% of them suffer less significant loss. 20% of retailers are not facing the loss in their regular customers in rural market.

The study shows the negative impacts of the corporate retailers on the small shops and hawkers. It points out that a significant majority of small retailers are suffering heavy decline in their business soon after the opening up of a domestic corporate retail outlet. The findings of the survey are given below.

**Table No: 5****Sale Performance since the Start of Mall Operations**

Sales level	Number of small retailers/ hawkers		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Increased	22	26	48
	12.2%	14.4%	13.3%
Declined	130	121	251
	72.2%	67.2%	69.7%
Remained the same	28	33	61
	15.5%	18.3%	16.9%
Total	180	180	360

Source: Survey data

The study shows that 72% of urban small scale retailers suffer from decline in their sale. Only 12% reported an increase in sales, 15% of the shops/hawkers are unaffected by the large retail chain malls. In rural market 67% of retailers face the problems of sales decline. It gives a clear picture of impact of corporate retailers on traditional markets. The empirical study substantiates the argument that Corptailers usurp the market and poses a threat to the small retailers. It is clear from the table that 69% of traditional retailers in Kerala face decline in their sale. The following cross tabulation table shows the extent of sale decline in Kerala.

**Table No: 6****Extent of decline in sales of the retailers/hawkers since the Start of Mall Operations**

Extent of sales decline	Location		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Significant decline in sale	89	16	105
	68.5%	13.4%	41.8%
Moderate decline in sale	25	79	104
	19.2%	65.8%	41.4%
Insignificant decline in sale	16	26	42
	12.3%	21.6%	16.7%
Total	130	121	251

Source: Survey data

It is found that urban small scale retailers are the worst sufferers of mall operation. Majority of urban traditional retailers are having significant decline in their sale. Since there is no shopping mall in the rural markets its impact on rural retailers is not visible there. It does not mean that the rural retailers are completely free from the clutches of corporate retailing. The bulk sourcing of products by the corporates creates synthetic shortage of goods in the wholesale markets which negatively affects the rural retailing<sup>2</sup>. The cross analysis of above data further reveals that the main reason for the sale decline suffered by the small scale retailers of urban market is their proximity to Corptail shops. This is evident from below given table.

Table No: 8

**Extent of Decline in sale /Earning Suffered by the Small Scale Retailers of Urban Market**

Radius/ location	Significant decline in sale	Moderate decline in sale	Insignificant decline in sale	Total
Closer to the corporate retail shops(1 Km radius)	61	4	6	71
	81.33%	20.00%	17.14%	54.62%
Far from corporate retail shops(more than 1 Km)	14	16	29	59
	18.67%	80.00%	82.86%	45.38%
Total	75	20	35	130
	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)	(100.0%)

*Source: Survey data*

The study finds out the major reasons for the sale decline of the urban retailers by identifying the locations of the small scale retail shops, i.e., retail shops closer to the shopping mall (in 1 Km radius) and far from shopping mall (more than 1 Km radius). Majority of urban retailers who suffer significant decline in sale are located closer to the shopping mall. A small portion of retailers (18.7%) whose shops are located far from shopping mall suffer heavy profit decline. The other two categories of retailers are bearing limited decline. The comparative study of retailers of two different locations proves that there exists a crucial difference in the profit decline of retailers closer to and distant from malls. But the margin of difference in percentage share is very high. In fact, the retailers beside the shopping mall are the direct and immediate victims of sale/profit decline.

### Conclusion

The above discussion reveals that corporate retail chains

have had a significant impact on the traditional retail trade sector, particularly on business outcomes such as sales and profit margins. It has been proved that the major reason for the decline of Kerala's traditional retail sector is the entry of corporatellers. However, the significant decline in the business of the small retailers due to the influence of corporate retail outlets could lead to a decline in current employment levels in the traditional retail sector in Kerala. In fact, the retail sector in Kerala is facing the onslaught of domestic corporate retailers. The corporates are the big business firms controlled by the private capitalist forces, whose main aim is to make maximum profit. In Kerala no foreign retailers have been able to open up their shopping malls so far. But it is under the strong influence of domestic corporate retailers. If the number of malls and retail chains multiply, the sales impact on small shops is likely to be intensified and earnings will keep falling. However, new welfare measures have to be implemented to save small scale industries, traditional employment sectors, trading sectors and agricultural sectors from their deteriorating conditions. A new banking system should be introduced exclusively for the welfare of traditional retail sector on the line of IDBI. It will solve the problem caused by the unavailability of mortgage. The existing corporate retailers should be regulated through licensing arrangements by the local government bodies. Through strict regulations on the massive sourcing of products, the problem of shortage of goods can be minimized. Measures should also be adopted to domestic production of both agricultural and non-agricultural products. This will strengthen the condition of existing traditional retailers. The non-cooperation and boycott will be a powerful tool to tackle the ill effects of corporates. However, the role of the state is very significant in this regard.

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## LEFT-WING EXTREMISM' IN INDIA: A CRITICAL REVIEW

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### Abstract

*The paper attempts to understand the popular discourses on Left-Wing Extremism (LWE) phenomenon in India. It analyses and reviews the dominant narratives such as Civil War, Insurgency, Left-Wing Extremism, Maoism, Naxalism and Revolution on methodical, historical and etymological basis. In analysing the LWE political phenomenon the paper employs 'discourse analysis' method to unfold the meaning of dominant concepts. The paper explores that although these popular constructs are even relevant now to some extent and identifies that they are incomplete to understand the intricacies of the psyche of insurgents. To fill this epistemic gap, the paper proposes the use of term 'insurrection' to describe the ongoing socio-political conflict as these terms are inadequate to capture the social reality.*

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**Keywords:** Governance, Insurrection, Left-wing Extremism, Revolution

During the last seven decades of Independent period, India has undergone changes in demographics, social, economic, political, ecological and cultural aspects. It has enhanced economic prosperity, life expectancy period, and established a well functioning democracy by following a socialistic pattern of development path. India has largest youth population which is a potential resource of human asset. The political outcome of governance depends upon the engagement of youth as responsive citizens in the functioning of democracy. This is even more important in the case of youth of those who are living

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in the areas where most of the population are adivasis. According to Census of India 2011, there are 86.14 million adivasis in India which make up nearly a quarter of the world's indigenous population.

Youth unrest is widely evident in the ongoing Kashmir political unrest, various insurgencies of North-Eastern region and in Central India. It is important to note that other than North-eastern States, the States of Central and Eastern region consist of major share of adivasis population. In terms of geography, this centrally located region has become a contentious site because of the ongoing war by the insurgents with the Union of India. Left-Wing Extremism is an official connotation to describe the socio-political conflict in Central and Eastern States. It is regarded as the 'largest internal security threat' that the country is facing as asserted by the former Prime Minister of India Manmohan Singh in 2006.

This paper attempts to understand the phenomenon of Left-Wing Extremism (LWE) in India. It critiques the dominant narratives such as Civil War, Insurgency, Left-Wing Extremism, Maoism, Naxalism and Revolution on the basis of methodical, historical and etymological basis. In analysing the LWE political phenomenon the paper employs 'discourse analysis' method to unfold the meaning of dominant concepts. In doing so the paper explores the 'pros' and 'cons' of the each popular construct and their shortcomings in explaining socio-political discontent and unrest in Central India. The aim is not to discard the above concepts as such; yet to have a better perspective of what is actually taking place in the villages of armed resistance. While analysing each concept in a critical manner the paper explores the use of term insurrection in order to fill in the epistemic gap in the discourse.

### Research Questions

1. Why the Union and State governments are still framing the policies/ programmes to deal with the armed resistance on the lines of

security/militaristic perspective?

2. Why the popular constructs (Civil War, Insurgency, Left-Wing Extremism, Maoism, Naxalism, and Revolution) are not adequate to explain the socio-political conflict. What is the politics behind these constructs?
3. How the current discourse/s on the so called 'Maoism' in India excludes the perceptions of the participants of armed struggle towards the existing governance systems?

### Historical Context

To understand how the government has responded to the internal conflicts related to the land issues, mode of development in Central and Eastern States, it is necessary to have a historical perspective on the evolution of 'modern nation-state' in India. The parliamentary democracy in India has evolved through a lengthy (almost three years) Constituent Assembly debates.

When India became Independent in 1947 some of the provinces were refused to join the Union of India. Hyderabad State is one among them; the ruler of Hyderabad State Nizam has declared Hyderabad as an independent country on September 11, 1947. At the same time, the Telangana region of Hyderabad was experiencing peasant armed struggle led by the Communists against the Nizam's exploitative rule.

The new born Indian State has grappled with two challenges at a time; one is to annex the Hyderabad State into the Union of India and the other is to suppress the peasant armed struggle. The police action (Operation Polo) has made the Nizam ruler to concede with the demand of integrating Hyderabad State with the Union of India at the same time the Indian Army was successful in suppressing the peasant armed struggle. The way in which the Government of India has responded to the Telangana armed struggle (1946-51) gives an

indication of the State's intent and perception to the agrarian issues, relationship between the tiller and land owner, land reforms and dismantling feudal practices in agrarian sector.

The role of Indian Army in suppressing the peasant movements is militarily successful and remains unsuccessful in resolving the land issues. The unaddressed agrarian issues has resurfaced during the Naxalbari (West Bengal), Srikakulam (Andhra Pradesh), Bihar uprisings in the mid of 1960s. The respective State governments have suppressed these uprisings by using force as primary instrument in resolving the issues pertaining to land inequality. The current military/police actions in the States such as Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, and other States has to be seen in this historical context and the role of State in constructing and reducing the people's movements involving genuine issues of land, livelihood, rights over natural and forest resources to law and order/security issue.

The States in Central and Eastern India, Jammu & Kashmir and North-Eastern region are heavily militarised and occupied by the security forces. The deployment of forces has been done in the name of security. One need to ask a question how does the deployment of security forces ensures the security of local people. Theoretically this may sounds good; practically security deployment prevents the normal life of the citizens and threatens people by restricting free movement of the people. The reductionist approach of the State characterising legitimising people's issues to national security aspect is problematic and it violates the right to life, liberty and security of the people.

### **Politics of Popular Constructs on Left-Wing Extremism**

The social discontent and political unrest is prevailing in the 106 districts of ten States consist of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. According to Sundar (2011:48-58) the Indian government has converted the Naxalite 'problem' almost

exclusively into a security issue, with an 'effective police response' overriding all other solutions. Why the Indian Government does adopt security strategy to reduce the so called Naxalite problem? The answer is simple and straightforward; the Indian State does not want to address the root causes of the socio-political conflict. It is curious to note that till mid 1980s there was a research and policy division in the Ministry of Home Affairs to provide inputs to policy making.

A worthy contribution of the research and policy division is an unpublished report on "the causes and nature of current agrarian tensions" in 1969. The report cautioned the Government of India and said that 'the Green Revolution could turn into a Red Revolution if appropriate land reforms were not undertaken'. Later on this research and policy has become dysfunctional making the Ministry deficit of information/knowledge on various social conflicts. This has handicapped the Ministry of Home Affairs and reduced it to a body of police, intelligence, security experts to oversee the law and order and internal security of the nation.

The security aspect predominates even now in all the initiatives of the measures by Ministry of Home Affairs. It is a serious policy deficit in terms of government and its processes. The current discourses on Left-Wing Extremism are grounded in the serious epistemic gap.

### **Taxonomy and Discursive Analysis of Dominant Concepts on Left-Wing Extremism**

Six major concepts are used to explain/understand the people's uprising in the Central and Eastern region. They are Civil War, Insurgency, Extremism/Left-Wing Extremism, Maoism, Naxalism and Revolution. These concepts are still relevant however they are inadequate in giving a complete picture of what is actually happening in the ground especially in the villages. Discourse is a socially embedded interaction legitimised by the institutions of State in society.

The social discontent, political exclusion, cultural denial,

economic deprivation and ecological destruction in Central India have to be seen from the perspective of State formation and its functioning in adivasis society which is different from that of mainstream society. Without detailing the tensions between the traditional and modern systems of governance any attempt to explain the ongoing war like condition in adivasis society remains incomplete.

**I. Civil War:** it is a war between the citizens of same country. One of broad operational definition of civil war was given by Sambanis (2004:829-831). An armed conflict can be classified as civil war if it meets the following conditions,

- a. the war has caused more than 1,000 battle deaths
- b. the war represented a challenge to the sovereignty of an internationally recognised state
- c. the war occurred within the recognized boundary of that state
- d. the war involved the state as one of the principal combatants
- e. the rebels were able to mount an organized military opposition to the state and to inflict significant casualties on the state.

On the basis of above definitional criteria, the situation in Central and Eastern India qualifies to be called civil war. However it does not explain the underlying processes/events which are responsible for the occurrence of civil war. One problem with the term civil war is it is State-centric concept. It perceives uprisings without appreciating the legitimate and just demands in it. The situation in Central India resembles a civil war like condition yet it is an unjust war in terms of democracy. The State and insurgents are engaged in killing each other and death has become an end goal itself to the both parties. Both are contesting each other for the legitimate sovereignty over the resources and territory. The human component is missing in the politics of both State and insurgents.

The Constitution of India has laid down a governance framework

for the Fifth Scheduled Areas under the Article 244(1). Governor has given specific responsibilities to administer these areas with the assistance tribe's advisory council. The legislations, Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas (1996), Forest Rights Act (2006) are the potential instrument of the State's to fight the ideological battle. Ineffective implementation of the constitutional provisions with regard to adivasis communities, other backward sections of the society is one of the main reasons for the local youth to turn towards radical groups. The people who are dying in the armed struggle come from adivasis, scheduled castes and other backwards sections particularly youth population of the society. It is curious to note that the local youth are systematically excluded from taking over the leadership of the movement.

The term civil war does not explain why an adivasi youth or youth from other backward sections of society take armed path to fight with the State? What are the day-to-day experiences of those youth with the State? It shortfalls in unearthing the structural and institutional factors of the State violence and in unfolding the revolutionary organisations idea of applying violent means to solve the problems.

**II. Insurgency:** is an occasion when a group of people attempt to take control of their country by force (Cambridge Dictionary). It is a protracted armed struggle which aims to overthrow the existing socio-political order. Its objective is to alter the existing social fabric by making fundamental changes in the social, economic and political institutions. The problem with the 'insurgency' term is its heavy reliance on changing the institutions negating the perception, perspectives of insurgents who are trying to take control of the country with force or violence.

Stirner (2005:319) argues that while focussing on altering the institutions we lose the sight of individuals and their psyche towards the existing governance systems. The insurgents argue that State in

India resorting to 'structural violence' and they are countering it with 'revolutionary violence'. Why the Indian State is not addressing the elements of violence operating through structures of society? The structural issues pertaining to the alienation of land from adivasis to non-tribal groups through social structures such as jati (caste), functioning of modern institutions of governance such as police, forest bureaucracy, intelligence, paramilitary force, security agencies, role of State in reproducing the structural inequalities through education, employment sectors, disempowerment of youth, injustices via state development policies, etc do not find space in the sanitised discourse of an imported binary model of insurgency-counterinsurgency.

An important shortcoming in using the term 'insurgency' is its reliance on the agency/institution/party/structures which aim to organise the armed struggle with the State. It does not take into consideration of the psyche/perception/perspective of the individuals who organise and take part in the insurgency. It is important to remind the fact that, a vast literature has attested to the complex interaction among individual interpretations of interest, values, ideas and collective action in shaping civil conflict (Rotberg, 2004: 94). The term insurgency does not explain the individual socio-psychological factors which influence a person to take armed path to fight with the State. In what way using the term insurrection will help the government in reducing the conflict in these areas? How does it influence policy making processes?

Indian State will have two advantages by identifying the ongoing political conflict in Central India as 'insurrection' and not as 'insurgency'. One it reflects the ideological struggle and ascertains the role of individuals who are motivated ideologically to wage armed struggle. The larger goal of ideologues of seizing power through armed struggle remains intact; however too much emphasis by the Indian State on the distant vision of the ideologues does not provide right

diagnosis of the problem. Even if the State considers the ideologues as enemies of the nation in principle, it is very important to have insights of the individuals who actually organise the masses into their party.

**III. Extremism/ Left-Wing Extremism:** The three letters 'ism' connotes an inclination to certain kind of ideologies. It is one of the ways to look at the social order prevailing in a given society with extreme ideas radically different from that of mainstream society. India has successfully stood the test of democracy and is evident through the general elections conducted in every five years. The CPI (Maoist) party argue that the "Parliament is no democratic institution (as in countries that have been through a democratic revolution – a bourgeois democracy) but has been instituted on the existing highly autocratic state and semi-feudal structures as a ruse to dupe the masses (Azad, 2006: 4379)".

The insurgents are of the opinion that they were resorting only counter violence to the State instituted structural violence. The failure of the State in India to acknowledge, accommodate the contrasting ideas about democracy coming from the radical ideologues says a lot about the actual democratic culture. The strength of democracy lies in integrating multiple voices especially from opposition groups and to engage them in decision-making process to enrich the spirit of democracy. Replacing the existing socio-political order may not be the short term goals of ideologues. The ideologues are fighting with the deficiencies of Indian Democracy particularly with the structures of inequality in economic, political and social institutions.

The State needs to understand the behavioural tendency of an individual's extreme kind of political action to frame proper policies. "A study of politics which leaves man out of its equations is a rather barren politics (Eulau, 1963:3)". The behavioural approach to understand the conflict, political violence gives scope to get insights from local people who are experiencing day-to-day struggle with the



State institutions. Local/regional political contexts are very critical in understanding the patterns of collective action of politically excluded communities.

Left Wing Extremism (LWE) is a new terminology in the policy domain of the Government of India that has come into existence in 2014. It is an official term used by the Ministry of Home Affairs, to describe the situation in central and eastern states. Until 2014, it has been referred as 'Naxalism' by the Government of India. The word 'wings' has evolved from the perspective of military doctrine. The usage of 'leftwing' is traceable to an army of 1707 (Safire, 2008:385). The left wing, right wing denotes ideological spectrum which is perfect from a democratic point of view.

Caught in this ideological spectrum between two extremes (right, left), the state centric paradigm of 'Left-Wing Extremism' hardly gives space and scope to deliberate the democratic issues such as engaging local people in decision-making process, enhancing political representation of adivasis in legislatures, changes in the 'mode of production', monopoly of the state on land and resources, questions of territorial autonomy etc. do not find place in the ongoing discourses.

**IV. Maoism:** is the unofficial name for Mao Tse-tung's political thought. The current war in Central India can be seen from the perspective of Mao's path of armed struggle to seize power in India to establish 'New Democratic Revolution'. The Indian Communists has made an attempt to understand the social realities of India with that of conditions prevailed in China preceding the 'Cultural Revolution' under the leadership of Mao.

Mao's political thought is important in the context of the problems faced by developing or third world countries in the realm of social transformation especially from agrarian to industrial society, mode of socialist development. There was a considerable intellectual debate that have taken place among the communist parties in India

on how to apply the methods adopted by Mao particularly the path of armed struggle of Chinese revolution to the Indian agrarian situation. It has continued for almost four decades from the mid of sixties to the mid of 2000 and is still evolving in its nature, method, organizational strategy.

The formation of CPI (Maoist) 2004 by integrating both CPI (ML) People's War Group (PWG) with Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI) is one of the outcomes of such intellectual discussion and practical realities of India. From an ideological point of view, identifying the gaps between theory (Mao's political philosophy) and practice is very critical for the revolutionaries in India. What does it mean by 'adopting Mao's revolutionary line of political philosophy to the specific circumstances/conditions to India?'

Jeffrey (2012:342-43) questions 'why did they (Maoist ideologues) do so when a good Indian label, 'Naxalite', was available? According to Jeffrey the use of 'Maoism' is a kind of marketing strategy/tactic for both sides. For ideologues it gives a historical legacy of successful Chinese revolution of Mao and its continuity; for government it is easy to arrest/suppress the genuine people's democratic struggles by labeling them as activities of 'Maoism' thereby reducing the issues to a patriotic sentiment.

The politics of using Maoist/Maoism by both sides needs to be understood in the overall struggle for political power and ideological supremacy without losing the sight of concrete situations among the excluded local communities of Central India in the process of development and governance apart looking from the perspective of Mao's political philosophy.

**V. Naxalism:** It is an Indian local name given to the communist ideologues who believe in the ideology of overthrowing the Indian State through protracted armed struggle. The term 'Naxalite' refers to Communist revolutionaries who sprung up after the agrarian



disturbances in the Naxalbari area of Darjeeling district in West Bengal in May-June, 1967. From there onwards those who involved in the revolutionary activities are referred as 'Naxalite'/s and the movement is called as 'Naxalism'.

The word Naxalism has occupied a dominant place in the literature for almost four decades since from 1967 and it is still a major naming tag. But the question to be asked what is the rationale behind using this village name to connote all kinds of activities that are taking place in Central India? How can it be proper to make use of only Naxalbari village when the peasant, adivasis uprising also has been taken place equally in Kharibari, Phansidewa villages? This is not to undermine the historical significance of the uprising took place in the Naxalbari village, but to utilize the name of the village we should have taken the consent of the villagers as a rule of law. It will be like using someone's writing without proper acknowledgment and informed consent from the author. Though the term Naxalism gives Indian specific name to the combined political philosophies of Marx-Lenin-Mao it does not appreciate the changing conditions that have taken place from 1967-2016 from a spatial and temporal dimensions.

**VI. Revolution:** is a fundamental change in the existing socio-political order. It is "the overthrow of existing ruling power and the dissolution of existing social relationships and is essentially a political act. The political aspect of a revolution consists in the movement of politically uninfluential classes to end their exclusion from political life and power" (Bottomore, 1961:243). According to the theory of Marx and Engels, the bourgeois State cannot be superseded by the proletarian State (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through the process of "withering away", but as a general rule, only through a violent revolution.

In the context of Central India, a simple question needs to be answered; To what extent the social relationships has got changed

among landless peasants, agricultural labourers, adivasis and other backward sections of the people by the communist movements in India. Gupta (1984: 23) says that the Telangana armed struggle (1946-51) altered the balance of forces in the rural areas in such a way that the worst forms of domination were rendered illegitimate.

Are there any such indications or social patterns of equality emerging out of the so called 'revolutionary war' as argued by the insurgents in Central India? How one does characterises the state and insurgents fight in the ten states. While writing on Telangana Armed Struggle Gupta (ibid:22) asks a critical question "Is the movement best characterized as 'revolt', 'insurrection', 'rebellion', 'uprising' (and similar terms) or as a revolution? The issue is not merely academic-it has very important implications for practice". The question is very valid and much more relevant in the present context of highly fragile, politically sensitive environment that is prevailing in India. It is observed that "we are left with the modest conclusion that the most striking aspect of the idea of revolution in the developing world is the diversity of its usage. In many contexts, it can be best understood as ritualized rhetoric, divorced from policy decisions (Anderson & et.al (1967: 174)".

Fundamentally revolution is a political act. The term revolution indicates a socio-political outcome and does not explain the various process/incidents that provokes human's behaviour to apply violent means to bring socio-political change. The analysis of the popular terms/concepts on so called Left-Wing Extremism in India clearly indicates an epistemic gap in describing the happenings in the villages of Central India. The epistemic lacuna is one of the major reasons for the security-centric policies to deal the socio-political, economic and cultural issues by the successive State and Union governments. The gap has widened in the wake of liberalisation, globalisation, privatisation and role of State from being regulator to facilitator in governance.

To appraise the local conditions/specifics of Central India in a better manner the paper proposes the use of term 'insurrection'. The Oxford Learner's Dictionary defines the term insurrection as "a situation in which a large group of people try to take political control of their own country with violence". In definitional terms it almost resembles with that of insurgency, however it differs from it in focusing on the individuals act who take part in uprising and not on the institutions meant to organise insurgency. It scores over the other terms in explaining the individual political behaviour/act in a given circumstances. The following paragraphs provide insights as to why and how the term insurrection suits better in place of other existing concepts in providing explanation to the socio-political conflict of Central India.

### **Propositions of the term 'Insurrection'**

**1. Insurrection as a legitimate resistance to institutional injustices:** In the context of Fifth Scheduled Areas, "it is truly ironical that the Indian State in practice mocks the grandiose intent of the Constitution to provide adivasis with a protective shield by actually collaborating with super-profit-driven companies seeking the exploitation of the mineral resources of the region (Chakravarthi, 2012: 34)".

The CPI (Maoist) party argue that Indian State is resorting to structural violence in a systematic manner through variety of institutions including the parliamentary democracy. The arguments are mainly based on the class antagonism and economic inequality. In India the class divisions, economic inequalities are appropriated by the neo-liberal economic policies, extractive mode of productive systems.

There are other types of institutional injustices such as cultural denial of adivasis by mainstream society, jati (caste) based social

deprivation, landholdings among dominant caste, depeasantization, commercialisation of agriculture, political 'alienation' of disadvantaged sections of society, land alienation from adivasis to non-adivasis leading to the dispossession of land, erosion of livelihood, denial of traditional rights over forest and other natural resources through forest bureaucracy, displacement induced by development etc. All these processes are taking place systematically through State institutions in the name of democracy, development. It is also observed that "it is state violence and structural violence that is provoking Maoist counter-violence in the country (Subramanian, 2010: 23)".

The upsurge is not against the government as it thinks but it is the dissatisfaction towards the injustices in the institutions of governance. The government need to ascertain this fact of institutional limitations to rectify/correct the structural deficits of the Indian State. The people's resistance towards the institutional injustices is a legitimate and just democratic demand.

**2. Insurrection as 'out of the box thinking' approach to the Constitution:** Article 39(c) of the Constitution of India promulgates that "the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment" as part of Directive Principles of State Policy. The Indian State has not been able to satisfy the conditions of providing welfare of SC/STs even after seven decades of Independence. It is a clear abdication of the constitutional responsibilities by the State and Union governments. When a constitutionally elected government neglects/denies its own duties and responsibilities then what are the options left for the citizens to protect their rights?

The ground on which State acquires legitimacy to govern is also base for resistance if the State fails to fulfil the objectives of the constitutional mandates. A cursory look at the social demographics, basic needs, poverty levels, economic growth of the areas of Left-

Wing Extremism show extreme backwardness in all the human indicators. This is a clear indication of the State's failure in fulfilling the conditions of providing the welfare to the people especially to the politically marginalised sections of the society. The Constitution of India does not delineate provisions relating to the options in case of failure of the State in executing the Directive Principles of State Policy. The participants of the insurrection are known as insurgents. An Insurrectionary works forth out of the system (i.e. Constitution) or institutions.

The anger is self-constructed and self-construed by denial of the structures of the social, economic and political orders which are patterned to reproduce anger/violence among the citizens. This self denial and working forth out of the constitutional framework has theoretically grounded on Stirner's theoretical work "The Ego and His Own".

**3. Insurrection as human art of being 'rebellious':** Being and becoming rebellious is an inherent human nature especially when the circumstances are operating in an opposite direction to the social progress. Insurrection is inevitable when the social conditions are in contrast to the human advancement and development. According to Trotsky "insurrection comes into being at exactly that moment when direct action alone offers a way out of the contradictions (1930)".

The various conditions, developments, events and processes in Central India more particularly in the interior forest villages such as starvation, hunger, malnutrition, lack of safe drinking water, dispossession of land, economic deprivation, loss of traditional rights, displacement induced by modern development, cultural denial etc. are all in contradiction to the humanity itself. Given these conditions it is natural of the people to resist the government set up. "Humane governance has thus been a casualty at the central, state and local levels (Subramanian, 2010:23)".

It is necessary to take measures to ameliorate the extreme poverty, hunger among the people particularly the adivasis communities in Fifth Scheduled Areas. It is worth to reiterate an observation made by the expert group committee in the context of extremism is as follows,

"Though its professed long term ideology is capturing state power by force, in its day to day manifestation it is to be looked upon as basically a fight for social justice, equality, protection and local development. The two have to be seen together without overplaying the former. Its geographical spread is rooted in failure to remove the conditions which give rise to it (Government of India, 2008:60)". The actions of Union and State governments are inclined more towards the ideological struggle without appreciating the root causes that gave rise to the political ideology to spread in the form of radical politics. What it required is the politics of humanity or anthropolitics in which the human component is given central place in the politics to bring normalcy/order in the conflict areas.

**4. Insurrection as natural people's 'upsurge' to imposed/intrusive governance system:** Adivasis communities in India have a rich tradition of self-governance. Community has given prominence over individual rights. The resources are governed by customary rules and regulations. The informal governance practices of the adivasis communities are unique in nature and local specific; they were able to sustain the natural resources such as forest, land, mineral and water for generations together.

The systems of self-governance of adivasis are slowly become extinct with the introduction of colonial governance framework in post independent period. Even the Panchayati Raj Institutions have not been able to bring many changes in the life of adivasis. The evolution of modern State in adivasis society has brought intrusiveness into their life and culture, extractive/exploitative nature of the State are in conflict with the ethics/values of primitive society.

The ongoing conflict in Fifth Scheduled Areas may be attributed to the tensions between the traditional/informal and modern/formal governance apparatus. The future depends upon how best we marry both these practices of governance to resolve not only the local governance issues and also to reduce the inclination of adivasis and other disadvantaged sections towards the radical political ideologies.

**5. Insurrection as precedent for Revolution:** The following discussion is based upon the Striner's theoretical distinction between insurrection and revolution as propounded in his famous work 'The Ego and His Own'. For Stirner both are not synonyms and "they can actually be at stark odds with each other in terms of their ontological, epistemological, and practical assumptions and implications (Muller, 2012:6)". To quote from Stirner, "Revolution and insurrection must not be looked upon as synonymous. The former consists in an overturning of conditions, of the established condition or status, the State or society, and is accordingly a political or social act; the latter has indeed for its unavoidable consequence a transformation of circumstances, yet does not start from it but from men's discontent with themselves, is not an armed rising, but a rising of individuals, a getting up, without regard to the arrangements that spring from it." (Stirner 2005: 316)

One of the strong observations made by Stirner is that, insurrection is not an armed rising, rather it is the rising of individuals. What is happening in the villages of Central India is not to be seen as armed rising as thinking by the Union and State governments rather it has to be seen from the perspective of individuals who are participating in the resistance to government.

Etymologically the term insurrection does not constitute armed component in it. Is it true that the local youth in Central and Eastern States of India have not left any other options to get their due of legitimate rights over land, forest and other resources than resisting

the government by taking armed path with the radical ideologues? The ongoing discourse on Left-Wing Extremism fails to understand the behavioural/psychological perspective of the ideologues. How can we accommodate the voices of ideologues who are fighting with the State to bring 'New Democratic Revolution' on the basis of combined political ideologies of Marx-Lenin-Mao?

The term insurrection does not exclude the possibility of 'revolution' while it focuses upon individual's voluntary act 'to rise'. Insurrections are a kind of subordinate to broader revolutionary process. The support of local populace to the CPI (Maoist) party may be attributed to 'revolutionary upsurge' of the masses especially from the adivasis and other backward sections of the society. "It was not armed insurrection that would lead to the revolutionary upsurge but the revolutionary upsurge that would lead to the insurrection (Sen, 1969: 1274)". The CPI (Maoist) party is gaining support from the revolutionary upsurge of adivasis people who are constantly being denied of their rights and justice by the Indian State particularly with land issues.

There is a thin line of distinction between insurgency and insurrection which the Indian State needs to ascertain in order to build trust among the local communities. In what way the term insurrection affirms the conditions for 'New Democratic Revolution' as argued by the ideologues? It is observed that, "the insurrectionist is not out to overthrow the system and will settle some specific adjustment in the system, such as a change in political leadership, increased representation in the system, repeal of an objectionable law, or abandonment of an inequitable policy (Conant, 1968: 429)".

Insurrections are small efforts towards revolution. Without preparing for the insurrections revolutions will not succeed in a complete manner. Theoretically insurrections are embedded in the realm of revolutionary politics. The term 'insurrection' does not

blur the vision of CPI (Maoist) party of bringing 'New Democratic Revolution' in India. In one way it strengthens their theoretical base and practical scope of revolution as 'insurrection is an art' and 'subordinate of revolution' as expounded by Marx and Engels respectively.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The epistemological analysis of the discourses on so called 'Left-Wing Extremism' and its related popular concepts reveals that there is a gap between rhetoric and reality, theory and practice. The gap has widened when the Ministry of Home Affairs dissolves research and policy division in mid 1980s. This has made the Ministry deficit of critical inputs on various social disturbances and conflicts. The policy paralysis in Ministry of Home Affairs has percolated to the State governments in Central India is one of the reasons for not coming with the proper policies to deal with the internal conflicts. The uni-dimensional (security centric) approach to deal with multi-faceted problem has failed so far, now the Union government has come up with a new policy in 2014-15. It is known as 'National Policy and Action Plan to address LWE problem' adopting four pronged strategy in the areas of security, development, ensuring rights & entitlement of local communities and management of public perception.

This is a good sign from policy perspective. Policy making process is an act of expertise. It requires adequate and necessary information to draw proper policy inputs to develop an action plan. To deal with the insurrection, India needs grounded knowledge and expertise to look into the areas such as structural deficits of state formation in adivasis areas, mode of governance by the 'modern nation-state', deficiencies in the imposed governance systems, and more importantly power of discriminating legitimate resistance of the people with that of insurgents.

In the new policy also we see security giving top most priority in the enlisted strategies. This is again gross error/ flaw in policy

prescription. The State needs to understand a critical factor in security is that, people feel secure in liberal, free conditions and not in a military/ police rule under the shadow of guns from both side's insurgents and the State security apparatuses. The reversal of the strategy is more preferable i.e. management of public perception, ensuring rights and entitlements of local communities, development and security. In spite of the deficiencies with the security centric approach, negligence of security component is not advisable. At the same time it should not negate/overflows the other aspects of human security (political and economic rights). All must go hand in hand in a sequential manner according to the local conditions.

The popular constructs such as civil war, insurgency, extremism, left-wing extremism, maoism, naxalism and revolution all these concepts systematically alienates the other democratic voices and discourses which fall beyond the State and non-State categories. The dominant narratives left-wing extremism, civil war, maoism, naxalism are state centric and does not appreciate/recognise and accommodate the ideas of communist ideologues who are fighting with the State. Naxalism does not explain the changing spatial and temporal dimensions of the conflict in the wake of changes in policy economy of India. Revolution still a distant vision and remains as a utopian outcome. Insurgency does recognise the power of ideologies in radical politics yet shortfalls in explaining 'why' component of it. Both parties, the Indian State and Communist ideologues are engaging in politics without appreciating the human rights, civil life of the local people. Local contextualisation of violence from the perspective of people is largely missing largely in both parties' arguments and discourses.

The so called Maoism in the context of India requires a more detailed, delicate understanding of the specifics of Indian rural conditions which are different from that of China in particularly the land issues. While characterising the happenings in Central India



and trying to see them through the lenses of 'Maoist' ideologues, the Government of India is losing the sight of plight of adivasis, their rights on land and livelihood, discontents arising from the development processes, youth unemployment, inequality in education, abuse of human rights, displacement, dispossession etc. All these critical issues of the conflict do not find space in the political elite discourse.

In this puzzling situation where we caught ourselves having more problems than solutions at hand in the discourses construed by political, bureaucratic elites. The first and foremost step to come out of this kind of ambiguous situation is to refine, reinterpret the concepts and to identify appropriate terms to describe what actually happening in the remote villages of Central India.

The dominant discourse on left-wing extremism in India as pursued by policy makers, bureaucracy, academia, civil society organisations, human rights organisations, donor agencies, media seem to be still in the mode of diagnosing the reasons for conflict and far from solving the issues of economic justice and political rights in a democratic governance framework. Insurrections are rising up of the individuals on voluntary basis who are dissatisfied with the constitutional governance.

An inward looking by the Indian State may provide appropriate kind of policies to be framed to reduce the intensity of the socio-political unrest. The question is whether the Indian State lends ears to the self-judgemental approach to come out of the imported ideas of counter-insurgency methods to suppress democratic uprisings? The functional experience of 'modern nation-state' in India shows that the Indian State is weak when it comes to the question of resolving its own structural constraints and institutional deficits to contain the social disorder. The psychoanalytic understanding of radical ideologues will help the government to frame better policies to improve the socio-economic and political conditions of local communities in conflict areas.

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