

ISDA JOURNAL

STUDIES IN DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC POLICY



Institute for the Study of Developing Areas
Thiruvananthapuram



ISDA JOURNAL

STUDIES IN DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC POLICY

Vol. 28 Number 1

January - March 2018

Contents

The Political Life of Alcohol in Kerala Manoj N.Y.	1
Social Capital Formation Among MGNREGS Workers in Kannur and Kozhikode Districts Shaji Varkey	31
Higher Technical Education in Kerala: Efforts of Government in XI and XII Five Year Plans Praveen P	55
Situational Analysis of Communicable Diseases in Kerala Sreeja J & Lathika M	75
Gender Differences in the Victims and Perpetrators: A Study on Elder Abuse in Kerala Amala Mathew & Sobha B. Nair	87
The Impact of Madrasa Education in the Muslim Educational Scenario of Kerala Hassan J.	101
The Human Rights Issues of Refugees in Marad Vinodkumar C. & Pavithran K.S.	109
Incredible Opportunities Back Home Ansi Rahila	121
Social Factors, Eco-Friendly Practices and Waste Management in Urban Kerala Aruna U.G. & Bushra Beegom R.K.	131

Role of Tourism in Kerala's Economic Development Binu S	149
Transcendental Nature of Consciousness in Sankaracharya's Perspective Parvathy Jayan	157
Contemporary Relevance of the Philosophy of One Religion of Narayana Guru Betty Sunny	167

Instructions to Authors

Empirical studies, conceptual papers and review articles that fall within the scope of *ISDA Journal* are invited for publication. *ISDA Journal* is a multi-disciplinary, refereed and indexed journal. Research papers and articles are reviewed by experts and specialists, considering several aspects like originality, logical cohesion, language, citations and on the suitability of the article for publication in the journal. All research papers and articles are subjected to a strict plagiarism check. Authors are instructed to follow the instructions given below while submitting articles or research papers for publication. Please note that *ISDA Journal* is following the APA style (sixth edition) to enhance its international visibility and acceptability.

Maximum word limit

- (a) Papers based on empirical data: 5000
- (b) Conceptual paper and review articles: 6000
- (c) Research notes and brief reports: 1500.

Manuscript Format Instructions

Manuscripts should be sent as MS Word files, typed in Times New Roman, font size 12 with 1.5 line spacing.

Title of the article/research paper

The title should be short and accurate. A shortened version of the title in 2/3 words should be given to use as running head of the article/paper. The name of the author(s) may be provided below the title, and the institutional affiliation(s) as footer in the first page alone.

Acknowledgements if any, may be given at the end of the paper.

Abstract and Keywords

The abstract should be in about 150 words only and may encapsulate the background information, objectives, methods and findings. Key words should not be more than five.

Introduction: ('Introduction' should not be used as sub-heading).

The introductory paragraphs should be concise and pertinent to the area of research.

References

APA style should be followed for in-text citations and the list of references. APA 6th edition style sheet may be downloaded for the purpose.

In-Text Citation Examples

Single Author

- 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).

Two or more authors

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

List of References

Citing print sources:

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

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

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.

Citing DOI

Farrell, P. (2010). School psychology: Learning lessons from history and moving forward. School Psychology International, 31, 581-598. doi: 10.1177/0143034310386533.

Citing web resources

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

Intext numbering and giving 'endnote' should not be used

Structure of an Empirical Paper

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

Objectives/Hypotheses: Objectives and hypotheses may be made part of the introduction or given under a separate sub- heading.

Method (not 'Methodology'): This section should deal with Techniques, Sample, Tools/Measures, Procedure, etc.

Results

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

Discussion

Initially, the findings may be stated briefly. In subsequent paragraphs, the findings may be discussed in the light of relevant works in the past. In some cases, the results need not be given under a separate sub-heading and may be included along with the discussion so as to avoid repetition.

Conclusion

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

Structure of a Conceptual Paper

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

Mode of submission

Papers and articles may be sent to the Executive Editor through email: drvrajendran@yahoo.co.in, isdajournaltvm@gmail.com

The Review Process

All manuscripts undergo a three tier review process. The reviewer's comments will be communicated to the author. The manuscripts will have to be revised/redrafted as per the comments. The decision of the editor in respect of publication is final. At the same time, the authors have freedom to withdraw any manuscript at any time if the suggested modifications are not acceptable.

Publication Policy

Authors should not submit the same manuscript simultaneously to other publications for concurrent consideration. Authors will have to issue a certificate stating that the submitted paper is an original work and has not been published elsewhere fully or partially, and that they have complied with all ethical standards. Authors are solely responsible for the authenticity of the data, analysis and the conclusions arrived at. The ISDA Journal, its Editorial Board and the publisher (Institute for the Study of Developing Areas) are in no way responsible for the data and their interpretations. Permission for reproduction of an article or any part thereof should be obtained from the Executive Editor. All the editorial communications should be addressed to:

The Executive Editor, ISDA Journal, TC28/1161(1), Fort P. O., Trivandrum 695 023. Email: drvrajendran@yahoo.co.in, isdajournaltvm@gmail.com

THE POLITICAL LIFE OF ALCOHOL IN KERALA

Manoj N.Y.*

Abstract

This paper explores the specific nodes in the complex trajectory of the social life of alcohol in the context of Kerala. The scrutiny pivots on its transformation at the object level is-a-vis toddy, arrack and Indian made foreign liquor on one hand and the sociality galvanized around it on the other. The specific focus is on the materiality of alcohol as a commodity, in accord with the recent ontological shift that bestows privilege to objects and commodities. The social life of alcohol unravels disparate connections and strange players in its trajectory which cannot be reduced to any economic relations as it rather creates a network of unprecedented social relations.

Keywords: *Alcohol, Anthropology, Commodity, Consumption, Kerala, Material Culture, Objects.*

Unlike other commodities, alcohol is considered a pernicious commodity in the consumption regime of Kerala as it engenders irreparable wedges and cracks in the social fabric. The perils of alcohol consumption are often ironically contrasted with the much touted 'Kerala Model' i.e. cited as the paradigmatic case of potential sustainable development. The consumption of this addictive commodity generates enormous revenue to the government. However, the social life of alcohol creates cultural and social dysfunctions in the society ranging from domestic violence, child molestation to the sprouting of mafia culture in contemporary Kerala. Of late, the consumption of alcohol has emerged as an inevitable part of social gatherings, apportioning the differences between cataclysm and

*Assistant Professor, Centre for Culture, Media and Governance, Jamia Millia Islamia and General Secretary Deleuze and Guattari Studies in India Collective,
email: manojny.net@gmail.com, Mob. +919731746764

celebrations whether be it wedding functions or death ceremonies. Alcohol consumption is not generally endorsed by any cultural or religious events, except the offering of alcohol as a libation to specific gods in the Hindu fold, particularly that of subaltern origins. But several festive occasions in Kerala irrespective of their religious contexts turn out to be occasions for excessive consumption, as evinced by the augmented sale of alcohol during these times. In certain ceremonial circumstances, alcohol has even emerged as an object of remuneration for the help offered which cannot be otherwise negotiated monetarily. In précis, alcohol has become a vital object in the everyday social life of Keralites, especially among the male population.

Statistics provided by the government evinces the pervasiveness of alcohol in Kerala society. Kerala tops in alcohol consumption when compared with other states in India with an average per capita consumption of 8.3 liters per annum against the national average of 4 liters. The soaring revenue gained from the sale of alcohol has increased from 753.48 crores in 1997-98 to 8,283.46 crores INR in 2014-15. The annual turnover of Kerala State Beverages Corporation which sells alcoholic liquor has increased leaps and bounds from 55.46 crores in 1984 to 10,012 crores INR in 2014-15.¹ Going by government statistics, the steep rise in liquor sales only reveals a partial truth. This official figure is further compounded by the coexistence of a massive parallel liquor economy which includes tax evaded official seconds, the unofficial seconds which are known as '*chathans*'² in the drinker's local lexicon that refers to illicit brew, smuggled liquor from other states and duty-free liquor bought by expatriates. In contrast, the statistical data compiled on the ill effects of alcohol tell a different story. It is reported that at least 20% of hospital admissions, 59% of crimes, 40% of accidents and 80% of divorce and domestic violence are either directly or indirectly linked

to alcohol consumption (Krishnakumar 2015, 9). The striking fact is that there is an observable rapid decline in the age at which one is inducted into the habit of drinking. The finger is pointed at the younger (new) generation of Kerala society. There were instances in which lower primary students were found to be consuming alcohol on school premises but it can be considered as an exceptional case (Manoj 2017, p.135). The decline in the age at which one is inducted into the consumption of alcohol has nose dived to the age of ten (Ibid.) The festive occasions in school have of late turned to be instances of alcohol consumption by students inside school premises.

The question of prime import is how to address the enormous 'expenditure'. Does the mere statistical enumeration tell the whole story? On the flip side, alcohol is an integral part of aculinary culture which has created a rich text of material culture across societies and cultures. For example in Greece, alcohol is considered a special kind of food (Murray, 1990), whereas in British culture it is considered an "anti-food" (Douglas, 1975) belonging to "a discrete sphere of consumption" (Dietler, 2006, p.231). In the Indian context, alcohol is considered a pollutant as it brings a moral taint on the community involved in its trade (Mandelbaum, 1965), whereas the consumption of alcohol is argued to perform the function of social integration in Polynesian and Mexican societies. The psychotropic properties of alcohol bestow it a crucial role in rituals and thus generally considered as "crucial indexical sign of ritual" (Dietler 2006, p.232). As Heath (1987, p.100) rightly points out, "alcoholic beverages are not merely beverages" but a form of embodied material culture. The gloss of economic framework conceals a plethora of complexities that cannot be fruitfully analyzed by the statistical econometric method because it entails vital cultural and political dimensions which necessitate a unique approach.

The matrix of alcohol consumption in Kerala cannot be confined to a particular geographical niche or even to any particular caste, class or status group, occupational grid or age group. The space of consumption varies from ad hoc spaces created by drinkers to government offices, home spaces, and schools. The consumption pattern in Kerala varies from a 10-year-old school student to a senior citizen. The phenomenon of alcohol consumption is inclusive of all these categories but none of them seem to offer a vantage point to analyze it. It posits a challenge to traditional anthropological approaches that primarily focus on human relationships and thereby subsuming the role of objects in these human transactions, namely potlatch, Kula exchange, barter system, gift economy etc. The unique anthropological reality of alcohol consumption in contemporary Kerala necessitates a new and different approach as it does not fit into the ambit of traditional anthropology. The cultural coordinates associated with the social life of alcohol is of great importance in the analysis of alcohol consumption in contemporary Kerala. In this study of the complex trajectory of alcohol in Kerala, the onus is on the ontology of the object i.e. alcohol and the social life galvanized around it, as proposed by Arjun Appadurai (1986). However, this analysis does not comply with Appadurai's idealist conception of commodity-hood but rather focuses on other variables which determine the social life of objects including commoditisation. The social life of alcohol in Kerala is evinced through the transformation at the object level vis-à-vis toddy, arrack and Indian-made Foreign Liquor (IMFL). While mapping its trajectory, its transformation at the object level, the sociality galvanized around the object and the space of consumption are also explored.

Caste, Commodity and Knowledge

It was during the Temperance Movement when alcohol was articulated as a collective category that included beverages containing

the varying contents of ethyl alcohol (Blocker 1989; Dietler 2006; Harrison 1971; Heather and Robertson 1989; McDonald 1994). The different expressions of ethyl alcohol are considered as the fallout of various culinary techniques adopted at different times in history. According to the Kerala Excise Manual, toddy, beer and wine fall under the category of fermented beverages whereas arrack and Indian-made Foreign Liquor come under the category of distilled beverages. Fermentation is widely considered as a natural process and hence comparatively older than the process of distillation (Jennings et al. 2005, p.276). Mc Govern (2003, p.14-15) is of the opinion that alcohol might constitute the first use of the technique of fermentation by humans. With the process of distillation, mildly fermented drink – toddy, often considered a part of the diet is being replaced by a stronger distilled drink – arrack which has 42.8% of ethyl alcohol. This shift is identified as being “from pleasure to taboo”, from community drinking to a destructive, undisciplined individual drinking characterized by addiction (Menon 1995, p.143). In Kerala, it is connected to toddy’s reputation as a mildly alcoholic drink and being one of the indigenous cultural drinks of the state. Given its low alcoholic content, it is largely seen as a part of food culture rather than as an alcoholic drink, especially by the older generation. The sociality and communal character attributed to the consumption of toddy, often associated with celebrations, does not hold good for the new consumption pattern inaugurated by arrack. Toddy has become a symbol of cultural nostalgia among Keralites as fresh and unadulterated toddy has become a rarity.

Commodities in their social lives exemplify complex social forms and distribution of knowledge. In the case of toddy in Kerala, the technical knowledge that goes into its production is confined to Ezhava community (Mateer, 1883; K. P. Menon 1937; Nigam 1906; Thurston and Rangachari, 1909; Osella and Osella, 2000), creating

a discontinuity in its social distribution by the criterion of caste. Though standardized knowledge exists at the level of production, it is individual experience and ability to judge that define the craftsmanship of a toddy tapper. As toddy tapping is skilled labor, knowledge regarding the selection of trees, the process of tapping and other advanced skills in the process of tapping are considered to be experiential. The dissemination of knowledge about this craftsmanship is limited to a great extent by the caste criteria because toddy tapping as an occupation is confined to the community of Ezhavas. The knowledge, skill of toddy tappers is given a negative connotation as the collective is derogatorily addressed as “*kottikal*” and “*kallumutti*” irrespective of the occupational grid they belong to.³ As recounted by an informant, the proletariat figure known as *chethukaran* (toddy tapper) became a discredited figure within the community itself as the elite and traditional Ezhavas consider them equivalent to the status of scheduled castes⁴. It could be argued that the castigation of the Ezhava community can be considered as one of the negative aspects associated with alcohol as a commodity.

Despite attempts to disaffiliate themselves from their traditional occupation, the identification of Ezhava community with toddy and tapping annulled their social mobility. The elite among the community was cognizant of the stigma attached to toddy tapping and maintained a safe distance, vary of marital relationships from those involved in alcohol trade. The new affluent class emerged out of this affiliation with liquor trade ended their association with the trade for attaining social mobility by establishing connections with elite Ezhava families. The injunction of Sree Narayana Guru, a reformatory leader of the community, in the year 1921 to give up toddy tapping and withdraw from the manufacture, trade, and consumption of alcohol was an attempt to overcome the derogatory public identity of the community associated with alcohol. As

recounted by one of the senior toddy tappers, the toddy tapping community came across the adverse working and moral conditions in their struggle for minimum wages and increments, withstanding sexual exploitation of their wives by excise officers and upper caste consumers when toddy was sold in houses.

Unlike toddy, the knowledge concomitant with distillation (illegal) of arrack was not confined to a specific community. Yet, Ezhava community is retained in the structure of knowledge by creating a link between ayurvedic knowledge and alcohol trade. Osella and Osella (2000, p.59) point to the calculated motive of finding economic fortune in alcohol trade behind the affinity between alcohol traders and ayurvedic *vaidyans* in terms of marital relationships⁵. The knowledge of alcohol-based distilling ayurvedic medicines like *kashayam* and *arishtam* gave them an upper hand in the illegal distillation and manufacturing of ayurvedic medicines with high alcoholic content varying from 24.8% to 78.8% which are known as '*viplavarishtam*'⁶. Alcoholic concoctions in the guise of ayurvedic medicines were in vogue during the first phase of alcohol prohibition in Kerala⁷ and continue to exist even today. This proclivity towards the commodity in the case of Ezhava community is also applicable in the case of Ezhava elite who maintain asafe distance from those occupied with the job of toddy tapping. This vexed relationship between elitism and alcohol trade was acknowledged by KochePELLI Bharathan, one of the prominent *abkari* from the community. Osella and Osella (2000, p.52) cite the example of *Alummoottil Channars*⁸ who was heavily involved in the alcohol business but this practice was abandoned by the next generation to focus on agriculture which accorded them a higher status in the society.

With stigmatizations and ardor of internal reform, the number of Ezhava men employed in toddy tapping declined sharply from 20% in 1911 to 8% in 1921 and to 4% in 1931 (Kumar, 1994).

Chandramohan (2016, p.41) considered representing the “Ezhavas as toddy tappers and liquor distillers” as ‘erroneous’ and only as “part representing the whole” since the toddy tappers constituted only 3.8% of total Ezhavas by the end of 19th century. Ascribing toddy tapping as the traditional occupation of Ezhava community has been challenged by Aiyanapalli Aiyappan(1944) too. Mere statistics exemplifying the fall in the number of Ezhava toddy tappers has had hardly any impact on the stereotypic relationship established between caste and commodity as it possesses an ideological dimension. Moreover, the Ezhava community continued to dominate alcohol trade, arrack and bar restaurants. Nevertheless, the affinity between caste and commodity persists even today as it played an important role in fortifying the economic growth and social mobility of the community, making alcohol and Narayana Guru a paradox in Kerala.

Unraveling the Underbelly: Diversions

In its social life, a commodity tends to take unusual diversions from the enclaved niches or socially regulated paths in the context of regulations imposed by the state. In the political economy model, the flow of a commodity is determined by the stable or unstable relations meted out by its demand and supply in a given niche. This approach certainly overlooks the cultural construction of commodities which could be located in the diversion of its social paths. Appadurai (1986, 26) argues that these diversions are always symptomatic of a crisis or creativity in terms of either aesthetics or economy. The commodity moves from its predestined path and territory in certain exceptional contexts like theft, plunder, warfare and grabbing. In the case of alcohol in Kerala, the most pertinent diversion from the socially regulated paths is smuggling which explicates a genealogical node of disparate cultural affinities concerning the commodity. The phase of arrack in the social biography of alcohol in Kerala is

significant as it effected 'pathway diversion' in its social life; the most significant being the illegal distillation, smuggling of foreign liquor, diversion of industrial spirits for human consumption, the rise of mafia associated with the trade of alcohol, poisoning of alcohol due to crude adulteration methods and the retreat and return of toddy. Distilled liquor manufactured from the excess of toddy (*kalluvattiya charayam*) was later replaced by mass production of arrack from molasses under the distillery system. With the decline of sugar cane factories, the distilling units were all converted to blending units as production was confined to the illegal liquor economy in the case of arrack.

Liquor tragedy forms a singular event in the social life of alcohol that brings forth the functioning of illegal liquor economy and the vicious network it creates i.e. political nexus and influence of the liquor lobby. This symbolizes a catastrophic moment which claims the lives of many; appears as a traumatic gap in the symbolic order, breaking down the signification. The unrecognizable and alien rupture unfolds the corruptive grammar of the symbolic order characterized by the nexus between politicians, bureaucrats, and illegal vendors. This corruptive symbolic logic is crucial in the metamorphosis of 'devilish *abkari*' figure into an epitome of benevolence. Social acceptability and consent are gained through contributing immensely for local temple and church festivals, cultural meetings of local arts and sports clubs, donating to political parties and offering helping hand to the poor and needy of the locale. As one informant narrates, the immense profit that can be gathered by this business cannot be challenged even by the business of counterfeit currency. The illegal network involved in arrack business has generated a potent liquor mafia associated with crude adulteration methods and poisoning of alcohol, ergo a bevy of tragedies. The copious flow of alcohol constituted major streams

like professional smuggling and rivulets like small-scale production (illegal) of arrack known as *Kudikedappukalil vattiya charayam*.⁹ The flow of arrack created a symbiotic network of illegality in the form of smuggled spirit and the illegal manufacture of arrack on a large scale. The flow (illegal) of this commodity is restrained by the territorial divisions that marked the smuggling of liquor namely the southern, central and northern lobbies¹⁰. The radical fixity of these territories with impermeable boundaries and thus being a closed space often end up clashing with the flow of alcohol, eliciting fights among mafia factions and engendering feuds which precipitated in the form of liquor tragedies.

All the liquor catastrophes in Kerala including the major five¹¹ brought to the fore the unrequired presence of methyl alcohol, which if consumed above 30ml causes death and anything less than that causes irreversible loss of eyesight. The usage of methyl alcohol for adulteration is due to lower costs as there is a huge difference in taxes imposed on ethyl and methyl alcohol. Methylated spirit (ethyl alcohol mixed with 5% to 10% of methyl alcohol) which is widely used for medicinal and clinical purposes is diverted for human consumption as it attracts only a meagre amount of tax. The immense quantity of alcohol that can be manufactured out of mixing methyl alcohol and water with arrack (ethyl alcohol diluted with water) without much drop in the strength turned this into an immensely lucrative business. Medical preparations like surgical, driers like toluene used in the manufacture of paints and French polish which contain more than 90% of methyl alcohol were used to brew these illegal concoctions¹². But a small change in the proportion of methyl alcohol can create a catastrophic situation of tragic dimensions resulting in liquor tragedies.

The process of ensuring the edibility of brewed illegal concoctions brings in wildly diverse connections between animals,

humans, and machines in its transmutation from very crude methods to highly sophisticated technological means in recent years. At the manufacturing end, a very sophisticated chemist will determine the proportion according to the form of methyl alcohol used. But on the consumption end, instead of the highly sophisticated technologies available for testing its edibility, these illegally brewed concoctions were tested on animals like cats, fishes, frogs, lizards etc. and humans in the last phase. As one retired excise officer told me: “*Abkari* contractors in the past used to try these dangerous concoctions on animals. There were various crude methods to assess the desired strength. The spirit is mixed with water to the point till the fish die. This is considered as a safer concentration for human consumption.”¹³ The animals were later replaced by humans, unofficially known as ‘testers’, who are ignorant of the functioning of arrack vending shops. This human component never became officially part of the arrack shop but is assimilated purposefully by bestowing certain menial jobs. In most cases, the addicted drunkard of the neighborhood assumes the position of a tester who will be rewarded the test dose of concoctions for the labor performed. In the case of poisoning, the testers who are under strict surveillance were either found as ‘death by accident’ or ‘death by heart failure’ in most cases. The risk entailed in this testing method in the form of tester deaths necessitated sophisticated procedures of judgment which resulted in the introduction of alcohol meter. Thus, the role of the tester evolved from the domain of animals to humans and finally into technological parlance with the introduction of the alcohol meter which is considered to be more reliable and less risky.

This phase in the social life of alcohol marks the transition from communal and social drinking to the destructive mode of addictive drinking, as rightly pointed out by Dileep Menon (1995, p.143). This phase also witnessed the adoption of very crude adulteration and

testing methods associated with the illegal production of arrack and the subsequent sprouting of mafia culture. Alcohol sale in Kerala had reached an unprecedented scale during this phase. Due to its illegal flow from various sources, there are no accurate official estimates of arrack manufactured, circulated and sold. Government records are not authentic as they excluded the parallel liquor economy and thus only tentative estimates could be arrived at, taking in to account the partial information received from traders. Though this phase attests a massive sale of arrack, there exists a widespread sentiment against alcohol resulting in local protests against alcohol manufacture and sale. The anti-liquor sentiment was further augmented by dissent on the increasingly destructive and addictive effects of drinking arrack. As examined, later on, the prohibition of arrack is significant to the political economy of Kerala as well as the social life of alcohol.

Controlling the Commodity: Prohibition

The diversion in the case of politically charged commodity like alcohol in Kerala unravels a risky and morally ambiguous aura at work. In case of smuggling an important diversion in the social life of alcohol – a quasi-legal commodity, we have seen the surfacing of certain venal motives. In this context, alcohol emerges as a singular commodity as it carries an inherent moral taint and poses a problem for the state in encountering the explosion in the demand for alcohol. This ambiguity on the state's position on alcohol is well reflected in the ever-changing *abkari* policies adopted by various governments. The partial prohibition of alcohol lifted in 1967, the prohibition of arrack in 1996 and the closure of bars in 2015 were all regulatory measures adopted by the state in controlling this commodity. At the same time, all these events also unraveled the ambiguities in dealing with this particular commodity; considering the importance attributed to it by the nationalist discourse on prohibition and mythological discourses on its consumption.

In contrast to absolutist states where sumptuary laws are in force, the liberal society very often finds it puzzling to differentiate alcohol from other beverages. Appadurai (1986, 32) contrasts fashion system with sumptuary laws and argues for a morphological similarity between the two, the modern consumer is the victim of the velocity of fashion whereas the primitive consumer is the victim of the stability of sumptuary law. This applies to the social life of alcohol also when we compare changes in the consumption pattern before and after the prohibition of arrack in Kerala. It is the social construction of demand which can explain a sort of ‘conspicuous parsimony’ that exists in a society governed by sumptuary homogeneity or the velocity of fashion. The demand for a commodity can be politically construed as in the case of khaddar where Gandhi articulated the language of commodity resistance by linking politics, value and demand (ibid.,30). Commodities attained a deep symbolic play in the hands of Gandhi who construed alcohol, salt, and khaddar as important commodities associated with the civil disobedience movement. In case of these commodities, demand becomes a mere expression of the political logic of consumption, the value of which is determined by the larger regime of political interests.

In India alcohol is often singled out as a commodity inherently ‘pernicious’, which necessitates government regulation. The hedonistic character of the society is morally over determined, especially in the case of alcohol and Gandhi. The curse of drink for Gandhi was “the most deplorable next to untouchability” (‘The Young India’ 1925, p.103) and thus prohibition was “first and foremost a moral reform”(‘The Young India’, 1930, 158). Gandhi compares the sin of drinking to be worse than a snake bite as drinking habit ‘poisons and corrupt the soul’, unlike the snake bite which has only physical ill effects¹⁴. He even went to the extreme of envisaging sin

in every leaf of the toddy producing palm tree, thus a poison and should be cut down ('CWMG Vol. 43' 1971, 182). It is in this moralistic realm that Gandhi construes alcohol as a political tool against British Imperium. But Gandhi's claim of alcohol as an alien culture associated with British was not accepted as it was criticised as an attempt to confuse the elite values with Indian culture as a whole (Hardiman 1987). Gandhi's call for alcohol prohibition faced resistance from the British Raj as this commodity garnered major source of income and was an attempt to challenge the status quo. In the case of khaddar, Gandhi's agitation was evidently against the British imported cloth whereas in the case of alcohol it was the indigenous industry including legal and illegal distilleries which were the worst affected. Nonetheless, Gandhi considered the struggle for alcohol prohibition as part of the peaceful struggle against British imperium and also as a means for moral self-improvement. It should be noted that anti-liquor struggles were given exception to Gandhi-Irwin pact regarding the interim suspension of civil disobedience movement in 1931 (Colvard, 2013, p.232–78). As the government crackdown and the peaceful picketing, the pact failed and resulted in the mass arrests of Congress leaders. With the Congress party's decision to form ministries in the provinces they had won a majority in 1937, the prohibition was in vogue in five provinces. The setback faced by the global temperance movement and the financial prudence weakened the prohibitionist imperative in due course of time (Ibid.). The moral, ethical and practical murkiness coalesced with the social life of alcohol reappears in different ways in contemporary discourses on alcohol in Kerala.

As the flow of an object is not completely determined by economic logic, cultural factors in certain cases could act as restraining elements against the economic tendency to broaden the boundaries of commoditisation. In this context, the retreat of arrack

was made possible by various cultural restraining factors pertaining to the moral and mythical framework. The prohibition of arrack was partially due to the imposition of a mythical framework that ascribes a denigrated position to arrack in the Indian context. Various scholars argue that the highly intoxicating drink '*sura*' was arrack and there were restrictions on its consumption, manufacture, and sale levied by the upper castes from an early time (Mitra, 2007, p.51). The moral restraint on this commodity imposed by the caste system partially explains its successful prohibition in 1996 which in turn had an impact on the flow of the commodity. The unproductive and subversive form of sociality generated by its addictive consumption also led to the effacement of arrack from the general consumption space.

The government of Kerala put forward various economic, social, medical and religious arguments in favor of the prohibition of arrack and proclaimed it as the initial step towards the complete prohibition of alcohol in Kerala. Dissipation of family income, domestic violence, neglect of material and moral needs of children and the disintegration of productive labor were highlighted as the reasons for prohibition by the authorities. In short, the position upheld by the government is nothing but a reiteration of moral, economic and medical discourses on the hazards of alcohol. At the same time, a few skeptical observers told me during the field work that the motive of prohibition was to sabotage the trade union movement associated with its trade. It was very evident that the illegal economy of alcohol operating totally outside state regulated channels emerged as a potent economic force adroit at controlling political parties. Apart from the vexed relation between alcohol and politics, the government's stance was nothing short of admonitory rhetoric, the spirit of which was carried over from anti-alcohol and temperance movement. But there occurred a significant change as the

rhetoric is no more articulated in the language of morality, but a new discourse of risk management and risk minimization strategies came in to being. In this new discourse, an alcoholic is no more a hysteric or a sinner, but a sick person and addiction is no more a moral disease. The change in the way of governing alcohol is symptomatic of the shift from direct disciplinary measures controlling the subject to less direct and intrusive measures intended for reducing the risks.

Alcohol is undoubtedly a commodity bestowed with negative connotations and caught up in the vortex of political dispensations across cultures and thus an important site of governance and investigation employing medical, religious and hybrid strategies. Like the discourses on sex, alcohol has always been a site in which the individual is discursively controlled by the techniques of governmentality conditioned by health and moral concerns of the national population. Various methods of taxation, restriction on the quota of production and sale of alcohol, introducing state monopoly in production, distribution, and sales of alcohol and restrictive measures for curtailing the availability of alcohol were employed as means of governance. What is more, the only constitutional amendment in the history of United States “to circumscribe individual liberty (eighteenth amendment) and the only amendment to nullify other (the twenty-first)” (Schrader, 2007, p.437) is in connection with the prohibition of alcohol and its repeal. Likewise, the directive principle of Indian constitution entrusts the state to bring about the prohibition of alcohol consumption in India and was included as an integral part of the five-year plan. The temperance movement was, in fact, a worldwide crusade against this commodity, enfolded the domains of religion, morality, ethics, and science. When the temperance spirit was in vogue, almost ten countries went dry along with the United States by adopting draconian rules and regulations concerning the prohibition of alcohol. No other commodity in

the world seems to have faced much adverse political controls, regulations and negotiations from the state, religious authorities, and scientific community. In Kerala, the situation is not too different as this commodity had swiveled in tune with the ideological stances adopted by the state.

Globalisation and the New Consumption Regime

The change in commodity ecumene in the case of prohibition of arrack can be evinced through the new network of relations that links its producers, distributors, and consumers. The prohibition of arrack was a singular event which had an enormous impact on the social life of alcohol in Kerala for a variety of reasons. It led to the internal transformation of alcohol as an object and a concomitant change in the space of consumption i.e. the return of toddy, the shift from arrack to Indian made Foreign Liquor (IMFL), the emergence of bar as general space of consumption which was hitherto an elite space, the modernisation of excise department and the new economy of simulations of alcohol.

The prohibition of arrack in 1996 coincided with liberalization policies which opened up the alcohol market to industry giants. Post liberalization, India recorded an unprecedented growth in alcohol industry by becoming the third largest liquor market in the world and a dominant producer (65%) in South East Asia (Mathur, 2014, p.1). Kerala becomes a state of exception in the case of alcohol consumption as its per capita consumption records almost double the per capita consumption at the national level. The indigenous liquor production was almost stalled, with the exceptional dwindle in the production of toddy, marginalizing it into the peripheries of consumption regime in Kerala. Yet it remains a potent signified of cultural nostalgia promoted as part of tourism. The new consumer culture set in with the post-capitalist regime of objects drew new relations and networks that crumble the taxonomy of objects in the past. Instead

of sumptuary limitations, the desire and demand for alcohol is reconstructed by the velocity of consumption based on the new sign system of objects. The logic of social differentiation also intrudes into the system of signs in such a way that it “affects the organization of needs as consumption becomes, not a function of harmonious individual satisfaction, but rather an infinite social activity” (Poster, 1989, p.4). This induction into the new hierarchically organized needs and commodities of consumer society places the consumer in a stratified world of objects where the need of a particular object goes beyond the aspect of utility to be comprehended as “a need for difference (the desire for social meaning)” (ibid., 44-45). The classificatory system – which includes persons, objects and actions symbolize the social order. With the implosion of the subject and the introduction of anew regime of objects in the post-capitalist sign system, the subject is being rhizomatically aggregated around the objects and not vice versa. This could explain the new regime of consumption kicked off with the retreat of arrack and wider acceptance of Indian Made Foreign Liquor.

During post-prohibition phase of arrack, consumption of alcohol slowly concentrated to the space of bar – an elite space of consumption until then, which became accessible to the general public. It should be mentioned that the disappearance of arrack which was not a privileged drink because of its affiliation with the lower castes, paved way for a new mode of consumption guaranteed by the state. The landscape of Kerala witnessed a substantial proliferation of bars after the retreat of arrack such that three-star and four-star bar restaurants were highly frequented even in the most remote areas of the state. The bifurcation of the country and foreign liquor is so vital in explaining the new mode of consumption as the foreign liquor was associated with modernity, sophistication, and westernization to an extent. The stigma attached with liquor at the level of trade

and consumption evanesced to an extent with the introduction of foreign liquor, as one engaged in the bar business is considered as an entrepreneur in the tourism and hospitality sector in opposition to the crude *abkari* contractor in the past. This change in the site of interaction related to drinking assimilates both collective drinking and independent destructive mode of drinking into its corpus. Moreover, this phase marks a strong tendency of convergence in the drinking of male and female, facilitated by new elite space of bars. But this doesn't necessarily imply that the moral taint associated with the trade of alcohol had disappeared completely.

The new mode of alcohol consumption has led to the formation of certain quaint socio-psychic behavior patterns which are referred to as '*ottal*' which can be loosely translated as 'sticking together for a drink, among the consumers. This phenomenon stands for the grouping of people from unknown quarters coming together for a drink in the vicinity of a liquor shop, pool money, share bottles, and then disperse, perhaps to come together for another provisional pooling at another place and time. The consumer is de-territorialized as being part of the provisional grouping and then re-territorialized to be de-territorialized again being part of another provisional collective¹⁵. Here the commodity, alcohol, has become the gravitational node to which human beings are affectively congregated in rhizomic formations to form a sociality which is fluid in nature. With the new mode of consumption emergent of this new space of interaction, the ceremonial aspects of ritual or communal drinking were eclipsed. The dissipation of controls based on social stigma offered the ubiquitous consumption of alcohol which has become routinized, recreational and habitual practice among the consumers. This could be contrasted to the Polynesian experience of integrative function associated with the drinking of alcohol against the dis-embedding nature of modernity (Donner, 1994; Lemert

1964; Mangin, 1957; Sangree 1995). Although it is evident that alcohol played a significant role in constructing masculinities, the bar also becomes a prime site of this construal as it is an exclusively male-dominated world. The norms of social hierarchy negotiated in this space, vis a vis race, ethnicity, caste and class differences can also flare up in contingent situations resulting in physical aggression like barroom brawls and fights.

The male desire and passion objectified in the commodity of alcohol characterize the affective relationship which is established between the rhizomatic aggregate and the object of alcohol. The crowding of the male population in front of liquor shops in Kerala is symptomatic of this obsessive lure, hinting at the gender segregation associated with the commodity. It is quite normal to notice gold shops being frequented by women, whereas liquor selling spots are ransacked by males. The socio-spatial behavior emergent of the consumption of alcohol is homo social in nature where the women are distinctively exempted from the public consumption of alcohol. The consumption of alcohol has always produced only exclusionary sociality, despite the claims of establishing solidarity and camaraderie among its consumers, especially in the communal drinking of toddy. Thus, consumption of alcohol has always been a gendered social practice and a marker of masculinity in Kerala. Consumption of alcohol is considered to be one of the few universal sites of gender difference in terms of the social behavior of humans, although it may vary in its magnitude in distinct societies and social contexts. The discernible normative drinking pattern in society evinces the ways in which gender roles are regulated and constructed socially and any digression in this is commensurable with the changes in expected gender roles. In short, drinking becomes one of the sites in which masculinity and male camaraderie are construed. Masculinity is constructed through social practices which are embedded in

the society pregnant with structural constraints. As Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p.836) cogently put it, "Masculinity is not a fixed entity embedded in the body or personality traits of individuals. Masculinities are configurations of practice that are accomplished in social action and, therefore, can differ according to the gender relations in a particular social setting." Though the hegemonic cultural ideals of masculinities are not complied with by most people, it remains as the aspiration or motivation for the majority (*ibid.*).

Apart from social practices, the culturally specific ways of using the body also reinforce these kinds of hegemonic masculinities. Heavy drinking becomes one of the activities through which male bodies embody hegemonic masculinity. The repertoire of ritualized social behavior associated with alcohol consumption like fighting, aggression, domestic violence, female degradation, and promiscuity all are linked with the construal of hegemonic masculinity. The affective rhizomic male congregation during drinking can be destructive in its virtual becoming ending up in bloodshed, hurting each other and unfolding many social evils like instances of patricide, matricide, fratricide, child molestation, domestic violence, incestuous relationships etc. In one instance which happened near Pala, Kerala, a mother had to flee in the night in order to protect herself from her son's attempt to rape her. As she told me, "My son becomes a beast after drinking, runs after me holding his penis in his hand to rape me. I have been raped five times by my drunken son. I came out to the public because of the deep disgust I have for myself as a mother raped by her own son." The cases of child molestation, the worst being a daughter molested by her father and his friends become part of the detrimental social behaviors associated with alcohol consumption.

Alcohol consumption has emerged as an important site of

social control. It is explicit in the context of caste-based regulations prevalent in ancient society regarding the trade and consumption of alcohol, although not widely practiced. The most relevant norm prevalent in contemporary society is the gender aspect which attracts social sanctions, apropos alcohol consumption. Male drunken behavior is considered to be normal or permissible even if it engenders violence, whereas alcohol consumption among women is construed to be a conspicuous activity. The traditional ideal of domestic femininity is very crucial in the construal of hegemonic masculinity associated with drinking. The social reaction to women drinking can vary from strict indifference to violent outrage including the efforts to publicly harass women. The intolerance towards the presence of women came to its most vulgar expression recently in Kerala when a woman who came to buy a bottle for her alcoholic husband convalescing at home after an accident, was beaten up in front of the liquor shop by conscientious male citizens who also came to buy liquor. The popular cultural epithets for indigenous illegal liquor like *bharyamarddini* (wife beater), *vettukathi* (knife) and *Kudumbamkalakki* (ruining the family) all signify the social behaviors associated with its consumption. The escalation in alcohol consumption among women is immediately identified as a familial problem or a traditional moral question. The increasing convergence of male and female drinking at least in urban situations and in certain workspaces such as information parks which demand non-traditional forms of work relations and timings are explained in terms of adopting male values. But this convergence is not yet considered as a natural part of sociability, rather it reinforces the onus on prohibition or social control as it is considered to be a moral threat to society. Thus, drinking among women is not a pathological condition necessitating medical intervention, but a moral threat in a society steeped in alcohol consumption at an escalated level to levy stringent moral restrictions on women drinking.

Alcohol at its objectal level created an economy of simulations that collapsed the relation between the real and copy. In the discussion on simulation and real, Baudrillard (1983) proposes three orders of simulation in which the first two are based on the relation between the real and simulation. In these two orders of simulation, reality and representation of reality become the criteria through which the relation is elaborated. In the third order of simulation, the difference that can be identified between the real and the copy is threatened in such a fashion that difference can no longer be negotiated. This is true in the case of the social life of alcohol in Kerala which can be explained in terms of the shift in the signified of alcohol. Coco brandy, *viplavaarishtam* (ayurvedic concoction turned alcohol), Indian made Foreign Liquor and the simulation of toddy form the economy of simulations in the social life of alcohol. In fact, coco brandy as an outcome of the excess of distilled arrack from toddy is none other than “arrack distilled from toddy, colored and flavored to *simulate* the foreign liquor brandy” (Namboodiripad 1972). The same is the case of Indian made Foreign Liquor which “is of the imitation type, viz., the rectified molasses spirit is diluted, artificial essences added and/or coloured or sweetened with caramel or syrup” (ibid.) that complicate relations between the real and simulations. Within this framework of simulations and copies, there exists an imitation of the IMFL known as “*chathans*” or “seconds” by drinkers, which is the copy of the copy. During the first phase of prohibition after Independence, Kerala witnessed another signified for alcohol namely *viplavaarishtam*— an ayurvedic recipe which metamorphosed into alcohol. The second phase of prohibition was marked by the return of toddy in an adulterated form “which could only generate a likeness of toddy in its flavor and smell”¹⁶. The internal constitution of adulterated toddy is quite different from “real” toddy as it is made from a concoction of various ingredients

like smuggled spirit, Sri Lankan paste¹⁷, chloral hydrate, diazepam tablets, extracts of cannabis roots, etc. Thus, in the case of alcohol in Kerala, the difference between the real and simulation is no longer explicable thereby threatening the very existence of the real effaced from the consciousness.

Post-prohibition phase witnessed the monopolization of alcohol trade by the state by controlling wholesale distribution of alcohol and regulating the role of private players. There occurred a shift in the regulatory system as it shifted from a disciplinary perspective to control oriented society based on risk management. In fact, there is little onus on disciplinary techniques aimed at normalizing individuals but the bio-political management of population through the implementation of risk-minimizing strategies. The alcoholic is no more a hysteric person but becomes a sick person with the medicalization of alcoholism. The recent mushrooming of de-addiction clinics in Kerala can be cited as the consequence of this approach. The onus now shifts from the contested figure of the alcoholic to the escalating aggregate alcohol consumption. The policy framework is largely focused not on disciplining the alcoholic (individual) but on risk-based management which affects the larger population (nation).

Conclusion

The ubiquity and homogenization which characterized the new consumption pattern that emerged in post arrack phase represent a new emergent culture. With the prohibition of arrack and the advent of a new consumer culture after globalization, the consumption of alcohol has become ubiquitous and attained homogeneity as its consumption cannot be confined to any particular caste, religion, occupational grid or socioeconomic class except gender. Though alcohol consumption overcame the cultural constraints in its later phase, the sociality galvanized around the consumption of alcohol

has invariably been homosocial. Any claim to social solidarity cannot be warranted, taking into account the excluded sociality in terms of gender that are derived out of its consumption. Like Gandhi's khaddar, alcohol has always been a site of protest and political resistance. It remains the central topic of debate apropos the changing values of society. As its scale of consumption is revealed, it remains most desired by Kerala's male society on one hand and identified as the most virulent on the other; as it unfolds a plethora of social evils associated with alcohol.

Alcohol has always been a politically volatile commodity in Kerala as it is always susceptible to political manipulations. The social acceptance or condemnation of this political commodity is not necessarily associated with medical or public health reasons; but more with the political and economic reasoning of authorities. The Kerala government's disparate positions on either banning or restoring the legality of this object show the political and social pressure imposed on alcohol. Its ambiguous legal status that levitated between the indiscernible frontier of illegality and legality made this object a more complex one to be analyzed in terms of commodity. Rather, it becomes a political symbol heavily dependent on the political discourse.

Notes:

- ¹ This recent data has been procured from Kerala State Beverages Corporation which sells liquor in Kerala.
- ² The word 'chathan' can be referred to as equivalent of elves in fairy tales. Here the connotation is that of its malicious or vicious nature, and mischievous magical power.
- ³ 'Kottikal' here denotes the people who are engaged in the profession of toddy tapping. Osella and Osella (2000) refer to it as being the one who lies, cheats and has a bad character. 'Kottuka' refers to the act of drumming the spathe of the coconut tree to prepare it for sprouting

toddy. '*Kallumutti*' also refers to the same act of procuring toddy from the spathe of the coconut tree.

- ⁴ This point was raised in an interview with Narayanan who played a vital role in anti-caste struggles and in the formation of the Toddy Tappers' Union. Currently, he is part of the Toddy Workers' Union associated with the Communist Party of India.
- ⁵ Vaidyan among the ayurvedic practitioners is equivalent to the position of doctors.
- ⁶ Arishtam, an ayurvedic medicine contains alcohol was popular among the people during the prohibition. This was named viplavarishtam as it brought sudden behavioural changes in person who consume analogical to the changes brought by revolution. Viplavam means revolution in Malayalam.
- ⁷ The first phase of alcohol prohibition was executed at the taluk level in post-independence Kerala spans from 1947 to 1967. By the year 1967, 58 % of Kerala had gone dry.
- ⁸ *Alummmoottil Channars* were one of the most illustrious Ezhava families in southern Kerala.
- ⁹ This locally distilled arrack is of different types. Certain people distill arrack for local sale and profit making, whereas others distill it for their own consumption using herbal medicines, fruits and at times meat of certain animals.
- ¹⁰ This information was collected from various excise officers, journalists who wrote a series of articles on spirit smuggling in Kerala and those who were in the field of spirit smuggling. Since not all of them were comfortable with revealing their names, they have not been mentioned here. The southern lobby is argued to be located around Kayamkulam, a place near the district of Kollam, whereas the district of Thrissur, which is hailed as the cultural capital of Kerala, forms its central zone. The northern lobby is located around Vadakara, which belongs to the district of Kozhikkode.
- ¹¹ The five major liquor tragedies that happened in Kerala were Punalur,

Vypeen, Kalluvathukkal, Kuppana, and Malabar. Out of these five, the three major liquor tragedies were in the district of Kollam and three of them occurred after the prohibition of arrack in 1996.

- 12 This information is collected from various judicial enquiry commission reports on liquor tragedies in Kerala and from those who are engaged in the illicit distillation of alcohol.
- 13 This was part of long conversation with P. Salim, retired principal of Excise Academy at Thrissur.
- 14 For further details please refer Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol 35, 1969.
- 15 Deleuze and Guattari(1987) explain it by citing the relation established between a certain kind of wasp and a particular species of orchid as a rhizome. For further details please refer *Capitalism and Schizophrenia: A Thousand Plateaus*.
- 16 This was revealed by a person involved in the illegal manufacturing and selling of alcohol, who is called 'Manga Santhosh'. His original name has been kept confidential because of his involvement in one of the major liquor tragedies that occurred in Kerala.
- 17 This ingredient is known as white paste or Ceylon paste in the lexicon of illegal manufacturers. The details of various combinations used for making adulterated toddy which has high alcoholic content was collected from different sources, including long discussions with illegal vendors, especially those who were punished after the Kuppana liquor tragedy (2003). Certain details were collected from newspaper reports on the smuggling of alcohol and the illegal vending of liquor.

References

- Aiyappan, A. (1944). Iravas and Cultural Change. *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum* 5 (1).
- Appadurai, Arjun. (1986). Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, 3–62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Blocker, J. (1989). *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform*. Boston: Twayne.
- Chandramohan, P. (2016). *Developmental Modernity in Kerala: Narayana Guru, SNDP Yogam and Social Reform*. New Delhi: Tulika Books.
- Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Vol. 35. (1969). Gandhi Heritage Portal. 1969. https://www.gandhiheritageportal.org/cwmg_volume_thumbview/MzU=#page/8/mode/2up.
- Colvard, Robert Eric. (2013). *A World Without Drink: Temperance in Modern India, 1880-1940*. University of Iowa.
- Connell, R.W., and Messerschmidt. (2005). Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. *Gender and Society* 19: 829–59.
- CWMG Vol. 43 (1971). Gandhi Heritage Portal. 1971. https://www.gandhiheritageportal.org/cwmg_volume_thumbview/NDM=#page/1/mode/2up.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. (1987). *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dietler, Michael. (2006). Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 36 (4): 229–49.
- Donner, William W. (1994). Alcohol, Community and Modernity: The Social Organization of Toddy Drinking in a Polynesian Society. *Ethnology* 33 (3): 245–60.
- Douglas, Mary (1975). Deciphering a Meal. *Dedalus*, no. 101: 61–82.
- Hardiman, David. 1987. *The Coming of the Devi: Adivasi Assertion in Western India*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Harrison, B. (1971). *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Heath, Dwight B. (1987). Anthropology and Alcohol Studies: Current Issues 16: 99–120.
- Heather, N, and Ian Robertson (1989). *Problem Drinking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jennings, Justin, Kathleen L. Antrobus, Sam J Atenico, Erin Galvich,

- Rebecca Johnson, German Löffler, and Christine Luu (2005). Drinking Beer in a Blissful Mood Alcohol Production, Operational Chains, and Feasting in the Ancient World'. *The University of Chicago Press* 46 (2): 275–303.
- Krishnakumar, R. (2015). Consumed by Alcohol. *Frontline*, 18 May 2015.
- Kumar, S. (1994). *Political Evolution in Kerala: Travancore 1859-1938*. New Delhi: Phoenix Publishing House.
- Lemert, Edwin M. (1964). Forms and Pathology of Drinking in Three Polynesian Societies. *American Anthropologist* 66 (2): 361–74.
- Mandelbaum, David G. (1965). Alcohol and Culture. *Current Anthropology* 6 (3): 281-288+289-293.
- Mangin, William. (1957). Drinking Among Andean Indians. *Quarterly Journal of Alcohol Studies* 18 (2): 55–66.
- Manoj, NY. (2017). Alcohol as Object: An Anthropological Study of Alcohol Consumption in Kerala (Unpublished Thesis). Manipal: Manipal University.
- Mateer, S. (1883). *Native Life in Travancore*. New Delhi: Reprint by Asian Educational Services.
- Mathur, Amit K. (2014). Alcoholic Beverages in India: An Exploratory Study. *Eduved Global Management Research* 1 (1): 1–7.
- McDonald, M. (1994). Introduction: A Social-Anthropological View of Gender, Drinks and Drugs. In *Gender, Drinks and Drugs*. Oxford: Berg.
- McGovern, Patrick E. (2003). *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Menon, Dilip M. (1995). From Pleasure to Taboo: Drinking and Society in Kerala. *India International Centre Quarterly* 22 (2/3): 143–56.
- Menon, KP Padmanabha. (1937). *History of Kerala (4 Vols)*. New Delhi: Reprint by Asian Educational Services.
- Mitra, Rajendralala. (2007). *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*. New Delhi: Indigo Books.

The Political Life of Alcohol in Kerala

- Murray, O. (1990). *Sympotica: A Symposium on the Symposium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Namboodiripad, K H. (1972). *Kerala Excise Manual Vol II*. Ernakulam: The Government Press.
- Nigam, Aiya. (1906). *The Travancore State Manual (3 Vols)*. New Delhi: Reprint by Asian Educational Services.
- Osella, Filippo, and Caroline Osella. 2000. *Social Mobility in Kerala: Modernity and Identity in Conflict*. London: Pluto Press.
- Sangree, Walter H. (1995). The Social Function of Beer Drinking in Bantu Tiriki. In *Society, Culture and Drinking Patterns*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Schrad, Mark Lawrence. (2007). Constitutional Blemishes: American Alcohol Prohibition and Repeal as Policy Punctuation. *Policy Studies Journal* 35 (3): 437–463.
- ‘The Young India’. (1925). Gandhi Heritage Portal. 26 March 1925. <https://www.gandhiheritageportal.org/journals-by-gandhiji/young-india>.
- The Young India. (1930). Journal Detail | Gandhi Heritage Portal. May 1930. <https://www.gandhiheritageportal.org/journals-by-gandhiji/young-india>.
- Thurston, E, and K Rangachari. (1909). *Castes and Tribes of South India 7 Vol*. Madras: Government Press.

SOCIAL CAPITAL FORMATION AMONG MGNREGS WORKERS IN KANNUR AND KOZHIKODE DISTRICTS

Shaji Varkey*

Abstract

In terms of its scale, architecture and thrust, NREGS is the largest public employment scheme ever implemented in India. Over the last nine years of its implementation, the scheme has come to be recognised as a potent instrument for inclusive growth with emphasis on livelihood security, social protection and participatory development. The participation of vulnerable groups like SC/ST and women is unprecedented. Some of the stated goals of the scheme, like empowerment of the socially marginalized, creation of durable assets, strengthening of the local self governments, participatory planning process and social audit are not unfamiliar for Kerala. Naturally the success rate of Kerala has gone up. What is noteworthy about the scheme has been that it provided succour to a section of lower and lower middle classes whose livelihood chances are endangered by variety of socio-economic factors.

MGNREGS is innovative and radically different from other centrally-sponsored, bureaucratically mediated schemes. A great deal of democracy, transparency and citizen intervention were provided in the scheme. An unemployed person above the age of 18 (no upper ceiling is fixed) and willing to take up unskilled manual employment can work in the scheme. Options of entry and exit are allowed. Participation of vulnerable classes (SC, ST, Women, Disabled and BPL) is ensured through special campaigns. Not only is that employment for 100 days for a household is ensured but that they have the freedom to take up jobs that improve the natural resource base of the community concerned. The nature, place and

**Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Kerala University, Kariavattam, Thiruvananthapuram*

priority are decided by the workers themselves. A wide variety of institutions have been used to promote participation of people and a bottom-up approach has been adopted in this regard. One of the major requirements of good governance has been the presence of a fair legal framework as well as its enforcement. The entire NREGS framework is based on the Act passed by the Parliament of India and the rules and executive orders framed there under. As every decision is made on the basis of the Act and rules, arbitrary interpretations have no place in the scheme. Judicial, quasi-judicial and non-judicial mechanisms are built into the scheme by which administrative lapses, corruption and work-related malpractices are dealt with.

Transparency can only be ensured when decision making and their enforcement are done in a perfectly legal manner. Free flow of information is essential for transparency. A variety of means are employed by which transparency is ensured in the scheme. Prominent among them are Social Audit, Vigilance, resort to RTI, Annual Reports, Citizen Charters, Grievance Redressal and Ombudsman. The more effectively the components of transparency work, the more will be the transparency. The second India Human Development Survey (IHDS) 2011-12, the Public Evaluation of Entitlement Programmes (PEEP) Survey 2013 and the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) 2011-12 point to the fact that a sharp reduction in the extent of embezzlement of NREGA funds has taken place (Dreze, 2014).

Good governance demands speedy delivery of service to stakeholders without elapse of time. This aspect has been meticulously followed in NREGS. Bureaucrats are made accountable for any lapse in finding employment and payment of salary. Similarly, the chain of command has very clearly defined powers and responsibilities and they are required to finish their assigned tasks on time. Good governance could only have relevance when it mediates social conflicts

in the most amicable manner. The Mahatma Gandhi NREGS has created a grass-roots development culture in several places. Despite its centralizing tendencies and rigidities on works, the scheme has opened up a space at the bottom where civil and political society could coverage.

The success of a welfare society hinges on how effectively it casts the social safety net across the society and sees that nobody falls through its mesh. A re-prioritization is therefore called for. The less privileged citizen on the other hand should also feel that they have been taken care of by the state in substantive ways. Apart from SC and ST, lot of other categories find mention in NREGS. Physically challenged persons, internally displaced people, adivasis of different social development, nomadic groups, de-notified adivasis, women in special circumstances and senior citizens stand to benefit from the scheme. Apart from the general directions the state governments can formulate special plans for such categories.

What is of important about good governance has been that it make use of the public resources to optimum use so that greatest number of people benefit from it. This is also significant from the sustainability point of view as well. The NREGS envisages an effective deployment of human and natural capital within the constraints of the scheme. The scheme is being implemented through the Rural Development Department of respective states. Competence and expertise of rural development personnel becomes an asset to the scheme. The scheme does not envisage the creation of a parallel top-heavy bureaucracy but works with the existing one and overcome its shortcomings through clearly spelt-out monitoring mechanisms. The coordination of a variety of stakeholders is mainly left to the state to deal. Rather than a post-facto analysis in similar employment guarantee schemes, the NREGA mechanism can identify and solve issues much more effectively.

Accountability is the central key to most definitions of democracy (Schmitter and Karl, 1991). A complex web of accountability structure exists in NREGA. The prime accountability of the government towards the poor is being supplemented and supplanted by a variety of institutions and processes at different levels.

Kerala has an unenviable position among the Indian states for its achievements made in the social sector over the last half century. These stunning achievements amidst low economic development caught the attention of policy makers, scholars and civil society activists across the world and received the official stamp as the Kerala Model of Development.

The achievements that Kerala state has made over these years was the result of a series of processes and actions: progressive legislations, comprehensive land reforms, state interventions, empowerment of the weaker sections and women, spread of education, creation of a public sphere, competitive party politics, radicalization of polity and secularization (Franke and Chasin 1994; Heller P. 1998; Jeffrey, R. 1992; Tharamangalam, J. 2006; Parayil, G. ed. 2000).

The success of Kerala lies in its ability to transform the demands made from the society into meaningful public policy actions. The radicalization of the political terrain has fuelled this process and that the political class accountability to the citizen has been under constant watch.

The spread of education in conjunction with the spread of political consciousness was the cumulative effect of demanding the rights so far denied to them by the system. While the benefits of modernity and social reform movements remained a privilege for the middle and upper classes in the rest of India, it was much more comprehensive and touched upon the lives of subaltern classes in Kerala. Participation of the underprivileged classes in the political process yielded rewards to them, in terms of employment and a more

equitable distribution of resources including land. Participatory planning is an inversion of the top-down, bureaucratically mediated and one-size-fit-all programmes imposed from above. The programme sought to unbundle the political social and economic potential of the local through meaningful participation of citizen. The areas identified for development are: infrastructure, industry and agriculture, development of the weaker sections (SC/ST and women) and social sector development. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendments came in handy for effecting the changes. A number of bottom-to-top projects were conceived during the 1990s and 2000s. It has been observed that social capital formation has occurred in the process of implementation of these projects. Kerala's female work participation rate is one of the lowest among the Indian states, lower than the Indian average. This reluctance in taking up manual employment has been gradually changing thanks to Mahatma Gandhi NREGS. Majority of those who have taken up Mahatma Gandhi NREGS employment are not, in the strict sense, manual workers previously. They have been attracted to the scheme for want of income. Secondly, it provided a sense of self-respect which the society also endorsed.

The NREGS report card for Kannur district is not very encouraging. During 2014-15 Kannur stood at the bottom among all districts in Kerala in terms of providing 100 days of employment. Regarding women employment, the district's position is 10th. Kannur was 10th among the districts in respect of work completion statistics (92.8%). The work completion rate during 2013-14 was 64.13%. 12. In terms of total employment, Kannur district had a negative performance during 2012-13 to 2014-15, from 1,17,895 to 93,677. However the SCs and STs had improved during the period.

The survey in Kannur district shows that on most of the counts, workers have a very high social empowerment score. The performance is mixed while considering the economic empowerment

indicators. Regarding political empowerment the respondents overall performance is positive. Regarding SC women empowerment, among the 13 social empowerment parameters 8 have more than 90 positive values. Concerning economic empowerment, only one parameter has 90+ positive value. Regarding political empowerment, none of the six parameters have 90+ positive score. The political empowerment found to be gained through the scheme contributed to better rights awareness and bargaining power. Additionally, this has enabled the workers to develop better socialization. Empowerment of women NREGS workers has occurred in Kozhikkode and Kannur. Social empowerment has occurred through a positive attitudinal shift, enhanced social interaction and learning, encouragement from family and society and increased socialization. Political empowerment was achieved through conscientization, acquisition of party/NGO membership and participation in grama sabha. The economic empowerment, an important component of the empowerment process, was achieved through savings, reduction of debt, independence in economic decision-making and enhanced awareness about governmental schemes. Empowerment of SC and ST women also has been occurred.

Social Capital Formation

The term social capital, as against private individual capital refers to shared social values formed through dense networks of formal and informal associations and the collective outcome of such relationships. Lin (2001) had identified three major determining factors about social capital. This includes the actor's relative position in the social structure, the actor's location in the networks and the intentionality of actions. Networks are important from the social capital framework as it provides additional opportunities to actors to engage in meaningful activities for the enhancement of livelihood opportunities. The trajectory of economic thinking has undergone

radical changes in recent decades when it recognised the embedded nature of interacting agents (Cowan and Jonard, 2004). Economic systems function more efficiently where norms and trust exist (Granovetter, 1985). Social capital can rehash and at times substitute the rigidities of economic thinking in novel ways. The density of social networks per se does not produce social capital. It is more important how actors utilize it to produce social capital. Dasgupta has rightly put it: “there is nothing good or bad about interpersonal networks; other things being equal, it is the use to which a network is put by members, that determines its quality.” (Dasgupta, 2005, p.510).

Social capital is commonly understood to include two factors: the networks of affiliation to which people belong (family groups, friendship ties, networks of professional colleagues and business contacts, membership of formal and informal associations and groups) and the informal behavioral norms individuals and groups rely upon in establishing, maintaining, and using those networks. There are divergent opinions about the nature and potential of social capital.

For Johnston and Percy-Smith, social capital is the contemporary equivalent of the philosopher's stone (Johnston and Smith (2003). Though it might appear to be far-fetched an imagination, social capital was identified as a magic bullet for all evils that confront the contemporary societies. From smaller neighbourhood communities to diverse trade and business associations, professional bodies, religious and ethnic groupings, governmental, intergovernmental and quasi governmental institutions, social capital is a *sine qua non*. The flexibility and adaptability of the idea of social capital has resulted in capitalism appropriating the term for its continued survival. Emphasis on social harmony, trust and cooperation has eliminated the chance for class antagonism and conflicts. Along with

the other catch words 'civil society' and 'participation', the western system has effectively implemented a vacuous revolution of sorts without effecting any meaningful structural transformation. The names of Pierre Bourdieu, French social theorist, James Coleman, American sociologist, and Robert Putnam, an American political scientist assume importance in this context. Each treated the concept differently leaving behind a rich theoretical inheritance for the succeeding scholars.

Social capital as social power

The French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu has provided a new meaning to the concept of capital. He comes to social capital while developing his ideas of social reproduction in the Algerian society. While elaborating on the idea of habitus, Bourdieu underlined the fact that embodied dispositions and tendencies shared by people with similar background, can contribute to the growth of social capital. According to him, "immaterial" and "non-economic" forms of capital have additional salience than the mere material exchanges. For Bourdieu, Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the institutionalized state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (Bourdieu, 1986).

From his long years of research among the tribes in Africa, Bourdieu found that 'connections' or cultural capital play a major role in social reproduction of classes. Membership in elite clubs provide gives an individual additional dose of social capital which

could more easily be translated into economic capital. According to Bourdieu, possession of cultural capital does not reflect their economic position in the society. He likened the 'social field' to a casino where people gamble not only with black chips (economic capital) but also with blue chips (cultural capital) and red chips (social capital) (Field, 2008)

While explaining the notion of social hierarchy, Bourdieu has elaborated the fact that economic capital has been at the root of all other varieties of capital. Yet he was fully convinced that the social world cannot be imagined in its fullness without taking into account the diverse manifestations of capital. Bourdieu was not of the view that society was originally made up of social capital. It is on the other hand a manifestation of the class differentiation. Looking from this perspective social capital is societal deployment of power.

The happening of social capital

James Coleman seeks to find a middle path between the rational choice approach that identifies social action as the result of purposive and axiomatically self-interested individuals, and a social-norm perspective, which explains social behaviour as dependent on the exogenous constraints imposed by norms (Coleman 1987, p.133).

His elaborate studies on American school system have enabled him to conclude that family and community background has greater influence on pupil performance and upward mobility than the nature of school itself. Coleman in a paper written in 1988 has emphasised that incremental social capital lead to enhanced human capital (Coleman 1988–89). Coleman treats social capital as a public good and contrasts it with human and physical capital which is purely private in nature and that the returns also go to private individuals. He privileges family and kinship as the central structures for the build up of social capital. Besides school, another institution that is

capable of providing intergenerational social capital is church. All others, including schools, lead to an erosion of social capital.

Bonding' and bridging: Robert Putnam

Robert Putnam has provided a decent grounding to the theory of social capital. His book *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, made a comparison between the northern and southern parts of Italy in terms of the density of associations and the horizontal bonds established to facilitate social capital. Departing from Coleman, Putnam was less emphatic on church and family in social capital formation.

Putnam's twin forms of social capital: bridging (or inclusive) and bonding (or exclusive) gained tremendous popular attention. Bridging social capital includes inclusive networks such as "the civil rights movement, youth associations, and ecumenical religious organizations". Bonding social capital on the other, include exclusive networks such as "ethnic fraternal organizations, church-based women's reading groups, fashionable country clubs, family and close friends" (Putnam, 2000, Pp.22–3). A distinction can be made between Coleman and Putnam in understanding social capital. While Coleman usually referred to social capital as a possession of individuals, Putnam treats it as a collective endeavour.

Assessing Social Capital

Assessing the social capital in NREGA is important as it is crucial to understand the non-economic factors that underpin functioning of the programme in Kerala. As it is documented by other studies, this is not a scheme that just provides economic security to a household. After going through the relevant literature on social capital and the various studies undertaken on NREGA in India, we have developed eight relevant variables to assess the social capital formation. The following questions contain an elaboration of the same.

Socio-Economic Background of Respondents

The study mainly relied on the responses of female NREGS workers besides opinions from mates, bureaucrats and other stakeholders. Using a structured questionnaire schedule, 1200 samples (of workers) were collected from 40 selected Panchayats in the two districts of Kannur and Kozhikode.

The study found that women have a disproportionately high percentage of participation in the scheme. Out of the total 1200 workers chosen for the study, 547 (95.55%) are women. The percentage of SC workers constitutes 14.4% while that of ST is 4.7%. About half of the workers (49.4%) are in the 36-50 category. This is followed by 51-60 age category (26%). As overwhelming majority (87.1) of the respondents are Hindus followed by Christians (7.3%) and Muslims (5.6). Among the various social categories, OBCs constitute the largest chunk (62.6%) followed by SC (14.4%). Kozhikode has a greater SC and ST participation (17 and 8 respectively). The participation of the general population is only 18.3%. The NREGS workers selected for the study have low educational achievements. Majority (83.4%) have education up to high school. Only 8.7% have higher secondary education. The percentage of graduates and above is a miniscule 0.4%. Majority (46.6%) belonging to the lower middle class followed by lower class (41%). Only 12.45% respondents come from middle class. The size of the middle class in Kannur is more than twice the number in Kozhikode district. Eighteen percent in Kannur said that they have at least one member in the family making income above Rs. 5000. The corresponding figure for Kozhikode is 8.2%.

The occupation structure provides some interesting insights. While 69.3% in Kozhikode said that they work only in n MGNREGA, the corresponding figure for Kannur is 45.8%. The shortfall in Kannur is compensated in the agriculture sector. About

28% respondents work in the agriculture sector in Kannur while the figure for Kozhikode is 3.2%. As far as land possession of the respondents is concerned, 56.8% in Kannur and 53% in Kozhikode are landless. A quarter of the respondents in Kozhikode possess less than 10 cents while this extent of land in Kannur is held by 18.2% workers. About 60% live in semi-pucca houses while the number for pucca house is 35.1%. About 8% live in Kutcha houses. Only 2% in Kannur don't have sanitary latrines while the figure for Kozhikode is 6.3%. About 70.2% in Kannur and 68.4% in Kozhikode are in debt.

Indicators of social capital

Assessing the social capital in Mahatma Gandhi NREGS is important as unlike other governmental schemes, the NREGS emphasises the non-economic factors as much crucial as economic aspects. As it is documented by other studies, this is not a scheme that just provides economic security to a household. After going through the relevant literature on social capital and the various studies undertaken on Mahatma Gandhi NREGS in India, few relevant variables were developed to assess the social capital formation in Kannur and Kozhikode districts. The following is an elaboration of the same:

1. Horizontal Associations

It was found that 53.55% of the respondents are sympathizers of one or another political party in both districts. However, the sympathy for political parties is much higher (69.8%) than that of Kannur district (37.3%). A question was asked to measure the political consciousness of workers as political consciousness is an inevitable result of a job guarantee scheme. The survey found that 22.45% had gained high political consciousness while 50.5% said this was achieved to "some extent" only. Only 8.35% had a negative opinion. A higher political consciousness is observed in Kannur

(24.9%) than Kozhikode (20%). Membership in political parties is an indication of a growing build up of social capital. While 41.2% in Kozhikkode district responded that they are members of one or other political parties, the corresponding figure for Kannur is 16%. Among the political parties, CPM has the highest acceptability- 27.1% in Kozhikode and 11.2% in Kannur district. Among the respondents, 11% has membership in trade unions. Electoral participation of women in both districts is very high. No marked difference is observed in the voting behaviour of SCs and STs. A vast majority of the Mahatma Gandhi NREGS workers are members of Kudumbasree as well. This above all has enabled poor and illiterate women to come out of their families, meet at a nearly place and take decisions collectively for their economic betterment. One of the lessons of cooperation that Kudumbasree has sought to institutionalise was trust and reciprocity among the participating members.

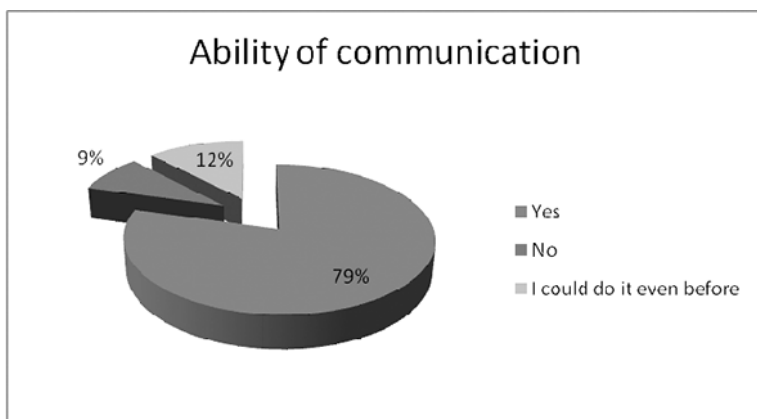
2. Social communication

The scheme is not only an income earning programme but also acts as a social collective where people meet and discuss various issues. It also provides opportunities for women to express themselves (for instance, the various committees convened by the village Panchayat). The social communication realm that Mahatma Gandhi NREGS opened up is open and democratic. Neither the Panchayat nor the officials can impede the communication process. On the other hand, they are by law, facilitators.

The Mahatma Gandhi NREGS workers communicate among themselves primarily. Beyond this, a variety of social institutions and actors are involved. Those workers who happen to be members of Social Audit team, VMC etc. have grater possibilities of social communication. Mates, being in a privileged position, have been the fulcrum of social communication in Mahatma Gandhi NREGS.

The survey found that for 79.4% of the respondents, communication skills increased in a substantial scale. Another 12.1% said that they could able to communicate even otherwise. Only 8.5% said they were not able to make any improvement in the communication skills. The scheme provided inspiration to workers to search for other jobs (60%). The workers are found to enrol new entrants into the scheme. About 90% workers dutifully undertake this task according to the survey. An equally good number of respondents said that they help the physically challenged and the old at work place. Cultivating friendship with the fellow workers and mates is being done by all participants.

Fig 1: Has ability of communication increased?



Source: Survey Data

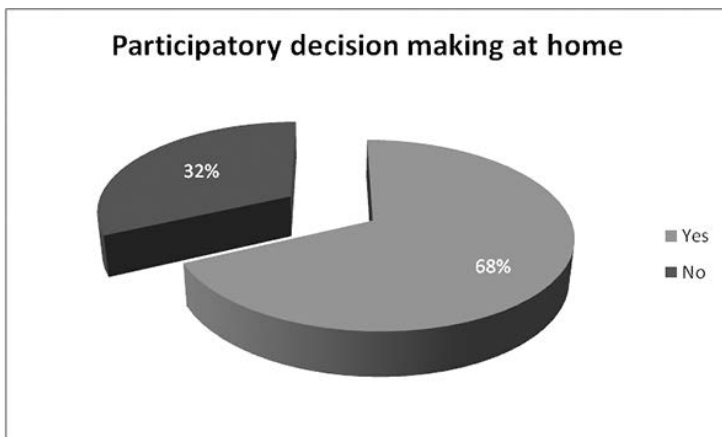
There is clear evidence to argue that the communication ability has increased across board regardless of caste/religion. "My ability to speak few words on stage is due to Mahatma Gandhi NREGS", to quote a worker from Perambra. "Mahatma Gandhi NREGS enabled me to involve more closely with society." - the comment of another worker from Atholy. It should be added that nearly all the respondents are unanimous in their opinion that the work guarantee

scheme has enabled them to establish friendship with others at the worksite. To the question whether the workers had improved their leadership quality as a result of the participation in the scheme, 39.5% said that a great extent it had happened. Another 50.9% said to some extent they could able to improve their qualities. Only 1.05% responded that their leadership quality did not improve at all. According to Kabani, BDO, Preambra, “the scheme envisages space for democratic communication. In several places the workers, mates and other stakeholders made use of it to the best of their capacity”.

3. Participatory decision making

Interestingly, there is evidence pointing that Mahatma Gandhi NREGS has played a positive role in freeing the women from the patriarchal structures. Traditional concepts about work and position of women have undergone a change in recent times with increasingly large number of women opting for jobs outside the households.

Fig 2: Participatory decision making at home



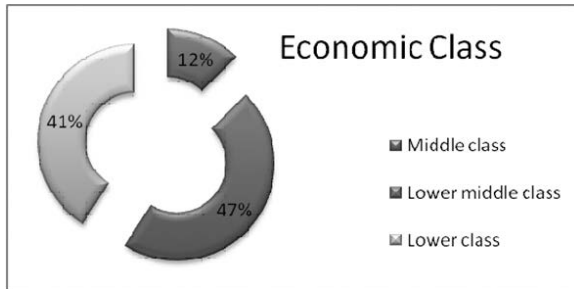
Source: Survey Data

Among the respondents from two districts, 68% said that participatory decision making at home is possible after joining the scheme. There exists a slight difference in terms of different religious groups on participatory decision making at home. Among the three religious groups the impact is highest on Muslims (79%), followed by Christians and Hindus (69% each). It was found that 67.75% could able to spend their income 'completely' and 27.55% 'to great extent'.

The comment by an Mahatma Gandhi NREGS worker from Kuttyadi is noteworthy. "My position in the family has definitely been improved. When you have money, even family members will honour you". It is quite natural that an earning member commands more respect in the decision-making process as the male head of the household has no other way but to give her the due. The Mahatma Gandhi NREGS was been instrumental in the creation of a deliberative and participatory realm in the villages. They are unconcerned about caste and social prestige (survey results). Jancy a mate in Maruthonkara Panchayat said "we have faith in our self. If we are united many things are possible. Kudumbasree and Mahatma Gandhi NREGS gave us courage". "On common issues, workers are united, no caste no political divisions", said a Reena mate from Thikkodi Grama Panchayat.

4. Economic homogeneity

Economic homogeneity among the Mahatma Gandhi NREGS workers is a crucial indicator of social capital as it is highly likely that people belong to the same economic stratum share similar collective values and could identify themselves in identical social networks. Lower class and lower middle class together constitute 87.55 percent of the total workers.

Fig 3: Economic class

Source: Survey Data

It should be added here that 57.55 percent are employed only in the Mahatma Gandhi NREGS projects, implying that it is not the regular wage labourers who are actively involving in the scheme. Rather it is a new emerging workforce, women drawn mainly from the lower and lower middle classes. The set of relationships, reciprocity, trust, and social norms involved here is a function of the identical class basis. The participation of a small percentage of middle class people shows these classes' vulnerability and willingness to network in a governmental scheme. The scheme has enabled workers to gain financially. The study shows that 78.15% had gained financial benefits from the scheme. Between the two districts, Kozhikode performed better than Kannur.

5. Faith in government/ bureaucracy

The efficiency of government or bureaucracy is a crucial variable as it can determine the success or failure of any development project in India. The negative outcome of most of the public-funded schemes, including in Kerala where there is relatively well-functioning state machinery, emanate from the government/ bureaucratic inefficiency. However, in the case of Mahatma Gandhi NREGS more than eighty percent of the respondents are of the opinion that the officials of the local self-government bodies adopt a helpful stand in favour of the

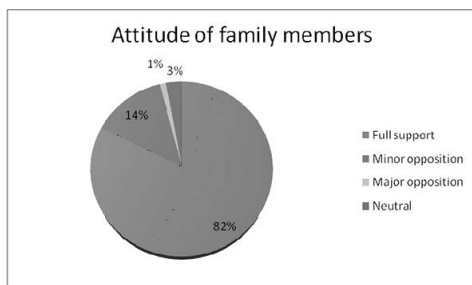
programme. Moreover, the very structuring of the scheme prevents excessive bureaucratic delay.

Reciprocity between the state and citizen is the basis of democracy and good governance. It implies that the diverse demands articulated by the citizen are translated into policy outcomes and implemented through the bureaucratic structure. Faith in government and bureaucracy is a crucial variable as it can determine the government/bureaucratic efficiency. When asked whether bureaucratic hegemony affects the scheme, 27% of the politicians interviewed said 'to a limited extent' it exists. About 3% opined that a 'great extent' it exists.

6. Family support

Though Kerala has much advanced in terms of most of the quality of life indicators, the attitude towards women employment remains conservative. The trend pervades across class and caste. Though it is a requirement for several lower class families, their men folk don't permit them to go out in search of manual jobs. Surprisingly, 82.4% of the respondents interviewed said that their families provide full support to them. About 13.6% of workers had minor opposition while 1.2% had major opposition. About 2.8% of the workers family was rather neutral on the issue.

Fig 4: Attitude of family members towards the scheme



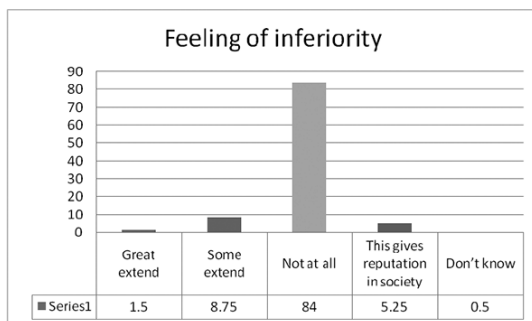
Source: Survey Data

During the field survey we were told that the women receive enough support from their partners for joining the programme. “My husband was all support to my joining the Mahatma Gandhi NREGS”, remarked a women from Chelannur. “I get more recognition in my family thanks to Mahatma Gandhi NREGS”, said another worker from Thamarasseri.

7. Social esteem

It was surprising to find that only 1.5 percent felt any inferiority in joining Mahatma Gandhi NREGS. Despite being a scheme tailored for unskilled manual labour, 84% did not feel any lowliness at all. About 8.75% had inferiority to ‘some extent’. Among 17% of the SCs, there exists some kind of inferiority. The values for OBC and General category were 9.05% and 10.25% respectively.

Fig 5: Feeling of inferiority while working in the scheme



Source: Survey Data

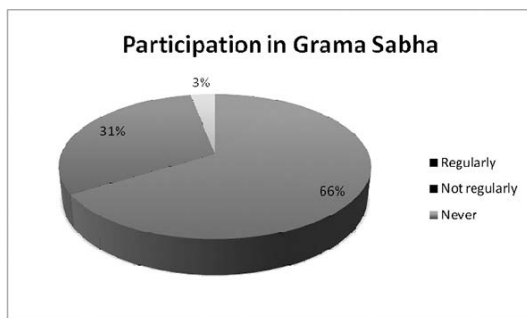
Several respondents we met remarked that their societal recognition has increased after joining the scheme. Almost 75.35 percent of the sample population is proud of being employed under government of India. “We pride ourselves to be employees under a Government scheme” said by a worker from Chelannur. Chiruthakutty (55) of Edacherry Panchayat said “I used to go for coolie work. No deep friendships developed during this period.

Mahatma Gandhi NREGS work is different. Here workers have great cooperation. Now I have more friendship with workers even outside of my Ward. We used to visit co-workers homes during social occasions. We go for protest struggles together. We have no hesitation in sharing tools”.

8. Decentralized governance

Participation of grama sabha in a regular manner is an indication of social capital. The survey found that Muslims have a relatively higher rate of participation (85.9%) than Hindus (66.9%) and Christians (46%). The survey contains a question to measure the significance of grama sabha. About 82% said that grama sabha plays a major role. Eighty four percent of the respondents opined that grama sabha plays a crucial role in the implementation of Mahatma Gandhi NREGS. Several participants in the FGD held in Panchayats like Chorode, Atholy, Kuttiyadi, Panagadu, Kakkodi, held that the level of grama sabha participation in general has increased due to Mahatma Gandhi NREGS. About 88.9% Muslims admit the significance of grama sabha while 80.8% Christians and 84.05% Hindus hold the same opinion. SCs have a high regard (88.1%) for grama sabha followed by OBC (86.8%). STs trail behind at 34.4%.

Fig 6: Participation in Grama Sabha



Source: Survey Data

Mahatma Gandhi NREGS provided additional boost to grama sabha. The survey showed that 66.25 percent of the respondents participate in the grama sabha regularly. “I too participate in grama sabha. I demand for flexibility of working time and more days of employment” said a worker from Thuner. Seventy seven percent of the respondents replied that grama sabhas discuss the projects to be undertaken under Mahatma Gandhi NREGS. Grama sabha also used to check the documents/receipts/muster roll related to the Scheme. All decisions pertaining to the work are taken in the grama sabha.

9. Right Awareness

There have been a lot of rights and privileges associated with Mahatma Gandhi NREGS. The survey showed that 98.2% of the respondents are aware of their right to get 100 days employment in a year. As far as the minimum wage for work is concerned, 95.25% know about it. It should be added that about 94 percent know about equal wage for equal work for men and women. Mahatma Gandhi NREGS contains provision for extra wage if the work site is beyond 5 kilometres. However, only 43.1% know about this right while two thirds of the respondents are unaware of this right. Likewise, only 66.4% of the respondents know about compensation for work site accidents and deaths. As far as the workers’ right to get unemployment allowances is concerned, 40% of the respondents have no information. The Mahatma Gandhi NREGS Act is very specific about the workers right to wages within 14 days. But a greater number of respondents (54.85%) were completely unaware about their right for compensation for delayed payment. However, about 77% know about the provision of medical aid for work site accidents.

Table 1: Awareness about Rights

Sl. No	Particulars	Awareness about rights		Average
		Kannur	Kozhikode	
1	Right for 100 days work	96.7	99.7	98.2
2	Minimum wages	96.5	94.0	95.2
3	Equal wage	91	97	94.0
4	Role of Grama Sabha	86.2	82	84.1
5	Accident compensation	69.8	63	66.4
6	Medical aid for accidents	77	77	77.0
7	Worksite facility	64	64	64.0
8	Right to demand work anytime	72	72	72.0

Source: Survey Data

The Mahatma Gandhi NREGS provides for work site facilities like drinking water, crèche shade etc. Nonetheless, only about 64% know about this right. The Mahatma Gandhi NREGS has a provision for demand for work throughout the year. However, when explored further, it came to us that only 72% know about it. About 91% says that muster roll is a public document. Dated signed receipts are required for getting unemployment allowance and arrear wages. Regarding this provision, only 66.25% have some clue. The scheme provided an opportunity for several people whose life was mainly being spent at home. By joining the scheme women for the first time could come together and exchange information. About 92% said that they became aware of the various governmental schemes after joining the programme. Only 5% said negatively. The high levels of awareness also emanate from the fact that the respondents had fairly good reading habits. About 65.1% said they regularly read newspapers.

Conclusion

Social capital formation is positively related to economic capital formation. Majority of the NREGS workers in both districts is poor,

possessing limited resources to pursue their lives. The scheme with all its limitations provided succour to thousands of women who, for various reasons, could not earn a stable income before. The scheme provided an opening to many rural women whose destiny previously was confined to home. The opportunity for collective labour has brought many women together constituting small communities where public affairs were discussed and opinions formed. The absence of a substantive political process in the villages together with the withdrawal of the welfare arm of the state has left a substratum of people whose life chances for survival are limited. The NREGS has touched this class, though in a limited manner. Social capital formation would collapse if the energies and resources so generated are not channelized and ploughed back into the community where it originated. Several Panchayats have devised innovative schemes to tap the resources some laggards too could be identified in the lot.

Bibliography

- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The Forms of Capital, in Richardson, J. (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, Ithaca: Greenwood Press pp. 241-58.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Wacquant, Loic J. D. (1992). *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Coleman, J. (1990). *Foundations of Social Theory*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Coleman, James S. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94, pp. S95-S120.
- Cowan, R., and N. Jonard (2004). Network structure and the diffusion of knowledge, *Journal of Economic Dynamics and Control*, 28(8), 1557-1575.
- Dasgupta, P. (2003). Economics of social capital, *Economic Record*, 81, S2-S21, Sp. Iss. SI. cited in Akcomak I.S (2008), *The Impact of Social Capital on Economic and Social Outcomes*, Maastricht: University of Maastricht.

Dreze Jean (2014). Learning from NREGA, *The Hindu*, August 23.

Field J. (2008). *Social Capital*, Oxon: Routledge.

Franke, Richard W. and Barbara H. Chasin, (1994). *Kerala: Development Through Radical Reform*, San Francisco, Promila & Co. and Institute for Food and Development Policy.

Granovetter, M. S. (1985). Economic Action and Social Structure: The problem of Embeddedness, *American Journal of Sociology*, 91(3), 481–510.

Granovetter M. (1983). The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited,

Sociological Theory, 1, no. 1, 201-233.

Grootaert C. (1998). *Social Capital: The Missing Link?*, World Bank, Washington DC.

Jeffrey, Robin (1992). *Politics, Women and well-being: How Kerala Became 'a Model'*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Johnston, G. and J. Percy-Smith (2003). In Search of Social Capital, *Policy and Politics*, vol.31, no.3, pp.321–34.

Lin N. (2001). *Social Capital: A Theory of Structure and Action*, London: Cambridge University Press.

Parayil , G. (ed.) (2000). *Kerala, The Development Experience: Reflections on Sustainability and Replicability*, London and New York: Zed Books.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Simon & Schuster, New York.

Schmitter P. and Karl T. (1991). What Democracy is and is Not, *Journal of Democracy*, 3 (1), 75-88.

Tharamangalam, Joseph (2006). Understanding Kerala's Paradoxes: The Problematic of the Kerala Model of Development, in *Kerala: the Paradoxes of Public Action and Development*, New Delhi: Orient Longman.

HIGHER TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN KERALA: EFFORTS OF GOVERNMENT IN XI AND XII FIVE YEAR PLANS

Praveen P*

Abstract

Education is considered to be a vital component of development discourse all over the world. Sustainable educational development can be achieved only through investment in human capital. The growth and development of education is also inter-twined with the policy decisions of the government. Through the Five Year Plans the Central Government had earmarked reasonably a better share towards the development of education, specifically the higher technical education in the country. This tactical move of the central government was followed by the planners and policy makers in Kerala also. This is well-reflected in the sector-wise allocation of plan fund in Kerala. The efforts of the state government in the XI and XII Five Year Plans are also commendable and model to other states. The land mark of the opening and widening of Public Private Partnership model in education in Kerala through the last two Five Year Plans especially in the technical education sector has strengthened the educational base of the state. In Kerala, the funds earmarked and expended through the Annual Plans and Five Year Plans carry the growth and development of the sector.

Higher education, especially the higher technical education is highly demanded and needed in the modern world due to the increased quest of knowledge and scientific advancement of the nations. As far as in the present higher education scenario in the world, India occupies the third position in the global scenario. United States is the leading country, where higher education is advancing in a faster pace, which is followed by the great China.

*Research Scholar in Economics, University of Kerala

The Indian experience in higher education shows that the expansion of higher education along with the enrolment shows a less than one per cent increase in early 1950s, further which registered a 10 per cent hike in 2006 (Thorat, 2010).

Role of Planning

(a) Indian Scenario

India after attaining the independence, the radical development strategy of Five Year Plan was initiated. Through the plan efforts special attention and provision is made in all the Annual Plans for the development of all the major sectors including the education. At the centre the Planning Commission co-ordinates all the plan activities of both the Centre and States up to the last span of the XII Five Year Plan. In the last phase of the XII Five Year Plan, the Government of India start to think of the reshaping of the planning process in the country and restructured the Planning Commission to the present NITI Ayyog.

In the history of Planning in the country, the first three Five Year Plans earmarks a better share to the education sector. Allocation towards education in various Five Year Plans shows an increasing positive trend. The priority shown towards education sector in various Plans has boosted the expansion and the growth of higher education in the country. This shows the signs of radical human development in the country. Funds earmarked to education sector in various Five Year Plans are given in the following table 1.

Table 1
Allocation to Education in Five Year Plans in India

Five Year Plan	Allocation to Education (Amount in crore)
First	169
Second	277

Third	560
Fourth	822
Fifth	1285
Sixth	2524
Seventh	5733
Eighth	7443
Ninth	24908.38
Tenth	43825
Eleventh	269873
Twelfth	453728

Source: 1. J C Aggarwal, *Development and Planning of Modern Education*, 1997.

2. *Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.*

3. *Midterm Appraisal, Five Year Plans, Planning Commission, Government of India.*

4. *Appraisal Document of Twelfth Five Year Plan 2012-17, National Institution for Transforming India (NITI Aayog).*

At the national level, it is recommended to allocate at least 6 per cent of the plan fund for the development of education. In the first Five Year Plan, an amount of Rs. 169 crore has been earmarked for the development of education sector. In every plan, the ruling government have increased the allocation towards the growth and prosperity of the education sector. In the eleventh plan period an amount of Rs. 269873 crore and during the twelfth plan it had increased to Rs. 453728 crore. The government again divided the plan funds to university education and technical education according the need raised by the concerned Departments. In the initial Five Year Plans (I Five Year Plan allocation to University education -Rs. 15 crore and technical education Rs. 23 crore) the allocation to technical education sector was quite high as compared

to the university education, then from the fourth plan onwards the university education gained importance (IV Five Year Plan allocation to University Education – Rs. 183 crore and technical education Rs. 125 crore).

The Government of India have given greater importance and thrust to higher education in XI Five Year Plan. During the plan period the government have laid four major goals – expansion with inclusiveness, quality relevant education, academic reforms and governance reforms. At the outset, the policy makers along with the ruling government had given importance to the inclusive growth strategy. This will be achieved only through widening the higher education system there by promoting economic growth. The ultimate result will be the better economic climate in the country and which will reduce the poverty. This will be visible in the preview of gross enrolment ratio. According to the 2006 estimates, the enrolment ratio in higher education in India is 10 per cent, where as the world average is 23 per cent. In the middle income countries the enrolment ratio in higher education is 35 per cent and in developed countries it lies in between 40 per cent to 85 per cent (Sukhadeo, 2010).

Important initiatives of Government of India during the Twelfth Five Year Plan

The Government of India favoured higher education in the country in macro perspective. The following are the important initiatives considered during the plan period, which will be beneficial to the masses in the stipulated time frame.

- Develop central institutions as quality leading institutions.
- Strategic support should be given to the higher education in the States.
- Qualitative private growth of education especially the higher education.

- Expansion of skill based educational programmes.
- Importance to open and distance learning in higher education.
- Introducing multi disciplinary research in universities.
- Creating centre of excellence.
- Promoting collaborative research.
- Establishing national level governance in higher education.
- Importance to state level governance in higher education.
- Creating institutional level of governance.
- Developing academic leadership and student services.

The central government has been allocating separate provision for technical education by considering the needs of the Department. An amount of Rs. 23 crore was provided during the first Five Year Plan. The provision set apart in the XI and XII plans are given in the following table 2.

Table 2

Allocation to Technical Education during XI and XII Five Year Plan in India

Five Year Plan	Allocation to Technical Education (Amount in crore)
Eleventh	27334
Twelfth	110700*

**Including allocation to Higher Education*

Source: 1. Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India.

2. Midterm Appraisal, Five Year Plans, Planning Commission, Government of India.

3. Appraisal Document of Twelfth Five Year Plan 2012-17, National Institution for Transforming India (NITI Aayog).

During the XI Five Year Plan, the government of India had earmarked an amount of Rs. 27334 crore for the development of

technical education. As per the estimates of Ministry of Human Resources Development, Government of India during the plan period an amount of Rs. 1724.51 crore has been expended (63.09 percent). During the XII Plan period an amount of Rs. 110700 crore has been earmarked to education consisting of higher education and technical education and expended Rs. 53888.82 crore.

(b) Kerala Scenario

Kerala State Government has also followed the planning in the Centre, that is, the Five Year Planning process by setting the allocation and target through various Annual Plans. The state also set apart special packages and provision for education in all the Plans. In the third five year plan onwards the state governments have given greater priority to education, specifically the higher education. The state achieved its strength in education by setting up new higher education institution – Universities, Colleges and other institutions. The growth of technical education institutions, especially the engineering colleges was clearly visible, which ultimately paved way for the Public Private Partnership (PPP) models, which the Central Government makes the sparks of new light. Kerala Government has reviewed the planning process initiated in the state so far and maintained the Five Year Planning Model in the state, even though the Central Government moves away. Kerala initiated the steps toward the framing of XIII Five Year Plan and the state Government has approved the XIII Plan. That is the state government followed the Five Year Planning process by incorporating the directions of the new initiatives started at the Centre.

The XI Five Year plan projects that, 'higher education needs to be viewed as a long term social investment for the promotion of economic growth, cultural development, social cohesion, equity and justice'. During the plan period the major initiatives taken are to improve access, equity and quality of education.

Technical Education in Kerala

Technical education in Kerala is under the control of Directorate of Technical Education, which is the nodal agency for technical education in the state. Technical education in the state is provided through the seven major institutions. These institutional details are included in the table 3.

Table 3
Institutions of Technical Education in Kerala

Sl. No.	Institutions
1	Engineering Colleges
2	Polytechnic Colleges
3	Fine Arts Colleges
4	Government Technical High Schools
5	Government commercial Institutes
6	Tailoring and Garment making Training Centres
7	Vocational Training Centres

Source: Economic Review 2015, State Planning Board, Government of Kerala

As far as technical education is considered, engineering education occupies a prominent place in the state. This is due to the increased importance given to higher technical education and faster growth of science and technology. The details of technical education in Kerala are given in the table 4.

Table 4
Technical Institutions in Kerala

Sl No	Institutions	Numbers
1	Government Engineering Colleges	9
2	Aided Engineering Colleges	3
3	Self Financing Engineering Colleges	168
4	Government Polytechnic Colleges	45
5	Private Aided Polytechnic Colleges	6
6	Government Women's Polytechnic Colleges	7
7	Fine Arts Colleges	3
8	Government Technical High Schools	39
9	Government Commercial Institutes	17
10	Tailoring and garment making training centres	42
11	Vocational Training Centres	4
	Total	343

Source: Economic Review, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, State Planning Board, Kerala

Among the technical institutions in Kerala, engineering colleges are dominated, that is, it constitutes nearly 52 per cent. This means that the state has to address the increased demand in the higher technical education by creating engineering colleges in the state. There are 168 engineering colleges in the state with a sanctioned intake of 57544 (Economic Review, State Planning Board, Kerala, 2016: 210). Out of them, 168 are self financing engineering colleges (93.33 per cent), 9 are government engineering colleges (5 per cent) and the remaining 3 are private aided engineering colleges.

Distribution of Engineering Education Seats in Kerala

In Kerala, the education institutions/ engineering colleges and the student enrolment have increased. During 2006, there are 84 engineering colleges in the state and it had increased its number to 140 in 2011. This accounts to around 67 percent increase in the number of engineering colleges (Twelfth Five Year Plan, State Planning Board, Kerala, 2011). The student intake has also increased during the same period, that is, during 2006 the student intake was 24452 and it further increased to 38009 students in 2011. The highest intake of students in 2010-2011 was registered in Electronics and communication course, that is, 9060 students and the lowest of 25 students are recorded in the course Dairy Science and Technology. The details of course wise sanctioned student strength in engineering colleges in Kerala are given in table 5.

Table 5
Course wise sanctioned seats in Engineering Colleges in Kerala
(2005-06, 2008-09 and 2010-11)

Sl. No.	Name of Course/Branch	Total Sanctioned Seats 2005-06	Total Sanctioned Seats 2008-09	Total Sanctioned Seats 2010-11
1	Applied Electronics and Instrumentation	1200	1200	1380
2	Agricultural Engineering	46	46	46
3	Architecture	130	100	180
4	Automobile Engineering	240	240	300
5	Bio-medical Engineering	100	100	180
6	Bio-Technology	240	240	300
7	Civil Engineering	1712	1892	4472
8	Chemical Engineering	150	150	170
9	Computer Science and Engineering	4760	4940	7460

10	Diary Science and Technology	23	23	25
11	Electronics and Communication	5795	6035	9060
12	Electrical and Electronics	3450	3870	5460
13	Electronics and Instrumentation	300	300	300
14	Food Technology		60	60
15	Instrumentation and Control Engineering	120	120	120
16	Industrial Engineering	30	30	30
17	Information Technology	2295	2415	2715
18	Mechanical (Automobile)	240	60	60
19	Mechanical Engineering	3291	3441	5181
20	Mechanical (Production Engineering)	90	90	90
21	Polymer Engineering	60	60	60
22	Production Plan Engineering	90	90	150
23	Printing Technology	30	30	30
24	Bio Technology & Bio Chemical Engineering	60		
25	Aeronautical Engineering			180
	Total	24452	25532	38009

Source: Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-17), State Planning Board

Eleventh and Twelfth Five Year Plans in Kerala

Five Year Plans earmarks funds to the various sectors in the economy. Education is one of the major sector received a healthy share from the plan allocation. Annual plans earmarks better share to education sector. This judicious pattern of allocation of funds to sub sectors is also observable. Detailed Annual Plan allocation to

the education development in Kerala in XI and XII Five Year Plan is given in the table 6.

Table 6
Plan Allocation for Education in Kerala (XI and XII Five Year Plans)
(Amount in crore)

Sector	XI Five Year Plan Outlay		XII Five Year Plan Outlay	
	Outlay (BE)	Percent	Outlay (BE)	Percent
School Education	716.84	54.10	1809.37	40.10
Higher Education	340.17	25.67	1921.25	42.57
Technical Education	268.08	20.23	782.03	17.33
Total Education	1325.09	100.00	4512.65	100.00

Source: Annual Plans (2007-08 to 2016-17), Kerala State Planning Board

During the XI Five Year Plan, an amount of Rs. 1325.09 crore has been earmarked for the development of education in the state. This accounts to 2.91 percent of the total state plan outlay. Out of this allocation, an amount of Rs. 268 08 crore has been allocated to technical education, this constitutes to 20.23 per cent of the outlay to the education sector. During the XII Five Year Plan, an amount of Rs. 4512.65 crore has been set apart towards education sector from the gross plan of Rs. 95010.00 crore. This amount forms 4.75 per cent of the state plan provision. From the total allocation of XII plan, an amount of Rs. 782.03 per cent has been provided to the technical education.

Progress of Eleventh Five Year Plan

During the eleventh Five Year Plan, out of the total allocation of Rs. 1325.09crore to the education sector an amount of Rs. 1474.92 crore has been expended. About 54.09 per cent of the earmarked allocation to education was set apart for the development of general education. Secondly position was obtained by the higher education,

that is, about 25.67 per cent of plan fund. The share of technical education was limited to 20.23 per cent occupies the last position.

As the technical education is considered, the expenditure in all the annual periods of XI Five Year Plan shows that the expenditure exceeds the allocation. This reflects the fact that the sector needs huge amount of plan fund rather than the regular allocation. The expenditure recorded in the Annual Plan 2007-08 was Rs. 38.49 crore, Annual Plan 2008-09 was Rs. 59.46 crore, Annual Plan 2009-10 was Rs. 70.98 crore, Annual Plan 2010-11 was Rs. 99.95 crore and in the last Annual Plan 2011-12 was Rs. 115.09 crore. The detailed Annual Plan allocation and expenditure towards the three different sectors of education are given in the following table 7.

Table 7
Plan Outlay and Expenditure on Education in Kerala during XI Five Year Plan

(Amount in crore)

Annual Plan	School Education		Higher Education		Technical Education		Total Education	
	Outlay	Exp.	Outlay	Exp.	Outlay	Exp.	Outlay	Exp.
2007-08	73.44	40.03	38.42	41.07	29.96	38.49	141.82	119.59
2008-09	91.75	120.16	49.64	58.16	44.41	59.46	185.8	237.78
2009-10	102.56	127.34	55.98	84.48	50.06	70.98	208.6	282.8
2010-11	217.09	176.45	89.45	161.18	64.46	99.95	371	437.58
2011-12	232.00	184.07	106.68	98.01	79.19	115.09	417.87	397.17
XI Five Year Plan	716.84	648.05	340.17	442.90	268.08	383.97	1325.09	1474.92

Source: Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-12), State Planning Board

Progress of Twelfth Five Year Plan

During the twelfth Five Year Plan, out of the total allocation of Rs. 4512.65 crore to the education sector an amount of Rs.

3605.56 crore has been expended. About 40 per cent of the earmarked allocation to education was set apart for the development of general education. Secondly position was obtained by the higher education, that is, about 42 per cent of plan fund. The share of technical education was limited to nearly 17 per cent occupies the third position.

The first, second and the fourth Annual Plans of the XII Five Year Plan show that the expenditure of the technical education sector exceeds the allocation. This shows that through the Annual Plans the state government able to provide the sufficient funds toward the technical education sector. The detailed expenditure of Annual Plans of XII Five Year Plan are given the table 8.

Table 8
Plan Outlay and Expenditure on Education in Kerala during XII Five Year Plan

(Amount in crore)

Annual Plan	School Education		Higher Education		Technical Education		Total Education	
	Outlay	Exp.	Outlay	Exp.	Outlay	Exp.	Outlay	Exp.
2012-13	287.15	286.54	202.00	154.15	101.09	142.33	590.24	583.02
2013-14	333.15	220.20	247.99	154.15	117.86	96.95	699.00	471.30
2014-15	336.81	226.63	367.97	207.29	143.22	106.44	848.00	540.36
2015-16	349.75	223.11	510.42	439.10	184.45	246.00	1044.62	908.21
2016-17	502.51	493.41	592.87	442.28	235.41	166.98	1330.79	1102.67
XII Five Year Plan	1809.37	1449.89	1921.25	1396.97	782.03	758.70	4512.65	3605.56

Source: Economic Review, 2014, 2015 and Annual Plan (2012-13 to 2016-17), State Planning Board

Outcomes of the XII Five Year Plan

Twelfth Five Year Plan proposed to start the Public Private Partnership (PPP) in higher education by establishing more educational institutions with the support of the private sector. In the

case of technical education in Kerala, the Public Private Partnership operates in the following manner.

a. Advanced Diploma in Automotive Mechatronics (ADAM)

As part of the programme of Advanced Mechatronics, a excellence centre was established in Government Engineering College, Barton Hill,

b. Started a Centre of Excellence in Automation Technologies in College of Engineering Trivandrum,

c. Started a Centre of Competence in Automation Technologies in Government Polytechnic College, Kalamassery and

d. Initiated M.Tech Course in Translational Engineering in Government Engineering College, Barton Hill, Thiruvananthapuram for two years.

Establishing Kerala Technological University

In order to strengthen the higher level technical education in the state a new Technological University was established. The university co-ordinates, the under graduate, graduate, higher engineering education and research. The important features of the university are detailed below.

a. A University of excellence which would be at par with any renowned University.

b. Colleges having prescribed norms and standards of academic quality would be affiliated.

c. Major emphasis will be given for research and innovations.

d. Simple structural organisation to avoid procedural complexities.

e. E-platform based general and academic administration.

f. Tie-up with foreign Universities.

Transportation Engineering Research Centre

Transportation Engineering Research Centre was established

for applied research and technology transfer to increase the scientific knowledge in transportation engineering sector. It also emphasised to provide wide range of labs, equipments and study related materials. Transportation Engineering Research Centre was started in the College of Engineering, Thiruvananthapuram. The broad objectives of the centre are given below.

- a. To conduct research in highway material.
- b. To conduct research in pavement engineering.
- c. To conduct research in traffic engineering.
- d. To conduct research in transportation planning.
- e. To promote regional level consultancies.
- f. To promote facilities for research and training in urban transportation planning.
- g. To conduct training programmes and short term courses to engineers, academicians and employees in Government/Semi Government Transport Organisations.

Strengthening of Libraries in Engineering Colleges and Polytechnic Colleges

For strengthening and modernising libraries in the educational institutions/colleges the following activities are proposed.

- a. Digitalisation of Library.
- b. Digitalisation of Books
- c. Availability of Online Journals
- d. Library Information Management System Software
- e. Updating Records
- f. Digital enquiry of Books
- g. Purchase of Books
- h. Purchase of Journals

Educational Resource Centres in all Engineering Colleges

Through the scheme aims to convert the traditional class rooms in Government Engineering Colleges to modern smart class rooms with projectors and internet connectivity as part of Information Communication Technology (ICT) initiative. Expansion of e-learning initiative called K-Base is also envisaged in the programme. The K-base – knowledge or learning management system supports the creation, organization, storage, decimation and preservation of the digital information assets of the engineering colleges and other institutions under the Department of Technical Education.

Faculty and Staff Development Training Centre

For providing training to staffs and faculties in engineering educational institution, two engineering colleges, namely, College of Engineering, Thiruvananthapuram and Government College of Engineering, Thrissur were selected as training centers for providing training to faculty and staff of all Engineering Colleges.

Scholar Support Programme

During the XII Five Year Plan period it is observed that the pass percentage of SC/ST engineering students has reduced considerably. It is also observed out that, 30 to 40 students per batch in this category failed. (Twelfth Five Year Plan, State Planning Board, Kerala). This resulted in highlighting the need for special attention, especially to certain subjects. Remedial classes for the various subjects are also addressed through the programme.

Quality Improvement Centers

Quality Improvement Centers (QIP) provides opportunity to the existing faculties in the technical education for Ph.D programme. This scheme started in two engineering colleges namely, College of Engineering, Thiruvananthapuram and Government College of

Engineering, Thrissur. Further the AICTE has approved one more centre Rajiv Gandhi Institute of Technology, Kottayam to conduct QIP.

Additional Skill Acquisition Programme

Through the programme it is proposed to conduct courses for secondary students as outreach programme through various engineering colleges. This enables the students to select a carrier in engineering by creating mathematical aptitude and affinity towards the course.

New Indian Institute of Technology in Kerala

The overall development of technical education is possible only through research and strong collaborative links with industries. IITs ensure a constantly evolving curriculum, which ensures better dissemination of technical knowledge and skills to the young engineers of the State. The setting up of national level institutions in Kerala will foster research and development in the science and management fields. The establishment of IIT in Kerala could inspire more girl students' participation in the IIT system which is currently very low. (Twelfth Five Year Plan, State Planning Board, Kerala, 2011)

Trivandrum Engineering Science and Technology

Trivandrum Engineering Science and Technology (TREST) is a Research Park aimed to mobilise industry – institute interaction which will promote qualitative research activities. The Research Park is modelled in lines to Techno Park for qualitative research and work closely with College of Engineering, Thiruvananthapuram. Through the programme it is proposed to start their research centre in the College of Engineering, Thiruvananthapuram and promote faculties and students for studies and research.

National Vocational Education Qualification Framework

The programme proposed seven certificate level programme for vocational competency based skill modules for simultaneous general learning. A student in the institution can avail competency based skill learning along with general education according to his or her choice without losing the possibility of changing course and moving at any certificate level into a formal system of education and vice versa. This would provide a full multi entry exist system between vocational education, general education and the job market. (Twelfth Five Year Plan, State Planning Board, Kerala)

Schemes coming under Public Private Partnership Mode

The XI Five Year Plan had given importance to Public Private Partnership (PPP) mode in higher technical education. During the period three schemes are selected and being considered under the PPP mode.

The schemes, namely, Advanced Diploma in Automotive Mechatronics (ADAM); Centre for Excellence in Printing Technology for Micro-printing and Thin Film Deposition in Government Engineering College, Thrissur and Centre of Excellence and Centre of Competence in Automation Technologies in Rajiv Gandhi Institute of Technology, Kottayam are being considered under the PPP mode in the state.

These are the broad achievement of XII Five Year Plan in Kerala. Besides these, there are other continuing programmes and scholarship schemes are also being implementing in the state with greater pride.

Conclusion

Through Five Year Plans, the Government of India have given priority to education sector by providing a healthy plan fund allocation. This had remarkably contributed toward the growth and

development of education, especially the higher technical education in the country. The detailed plan allocation to education sector in the country shows the political and educational commitment of the governments. The effort taken by the Kerala State Government is also commendable and this was visualised in the higher education. Sector wise and year wise plan allocation to various sub sectors of education enables the planners in the education field to adopt suitable long term policies in education. Through the XII Five Year Plan, the state Government has given thrust and importance to the Public Private Partnership model. This had been visible in the new courses started in the existing engineering colleges. This idea was conceived in the XI Five Year Plan itself, particularly in the education sector. Five Year Plan provisions through various Annual Plan to education sector, especially the higher education and technical education enables the policy makers and planners to adopt suitable strategies for sustainable growth and development of higher education. In Kerala this was evident from the establishment of technological university in the state for better coordination and effective implementation of technical education. The state now looks forward for perspective planning and Thirteenth Five Year Plan.

References:

- Handbook on Engineering Education (2016). New Delhi Association of Indian Universities.
- J C Aggarwal (2004). *Development and Planning of Modern Education*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd,
- M.R Kolhatkar (2012). *Survey of Higher Education (1947-2007)*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd.
- Meera Bai M, (Ed.) (2009). *Technical Education in Kerala: Emerging Trends*, New Delhi: Serials Publications.
- Mishra A (1967). *Financing Education in India*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

Higher Technical Education in Kerala: Efforts of Government in XI and XII...

All India Survey on Higher Education (2016). Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Higher Education, New Delhi.

Annual Technical Education Review, Kerala, 2008 (2009). Delhi: Institute of Applied Manpower Research.

Economic Review, Kerala, (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016). Kerala State Planning Board.

Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-12) (2007). Vol. III, Planning Commission.

Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-17) (2011). Report of the Working Group on Technical Education, Kerala State Planning Board.

Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-17) 2014, Expert Committee on Education Report, Kerala State Planning Board.

Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-17) (2012). Vol. II, Planning Commission.

Thirteenth Five Year Plan (2017-2022) (2017). Working Group on Technical Education.

UGC Annual Report, 2010-11, 2011-12, 2012-13, New Delhi: University Grants Commission.

SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS OF COMMUNICABLE DISEASES IN KERALA

Sreeja J * & Lathika M**

Abstract

Kerala is renowned for her achievements in health and human development indicators that are at par with developed countries. The persistence of communicable diseases and resurgence of formerly eradicated diseases poses a new challenge in the health scenario of Kerala. This paper attempts an assessment of the communicable diseases in Kerala since 2006 with the help of secondary data. During the recent years arthropod borne diseases such as Dengue, Leptospirosis, Chikun Gunya, etc are on the rise in the state. The prevalence rate and the percentage of growth of such diseases are analyzed in this paper. Among the communicable diseases, dengue fever has become an endemic with an alarming growth rate, especially during the last six years. The distribution of dengue between the different districts and the seasonal trends are also discussed.

Keywords: *Communicable diseases, Health, Living environment, Prevalence rate*

Health is a common theme in most cultures. Traditionally it was viewed as an 'absence of disease'. The contemporary developments in social sciences recognize the strength of social, economical, political and environmental influences on human health. The human interaction with the community and within the society in which he lives has a pronounced effect on health of individuals.

The planned and deliberate action by the governments and the different social reform movements have led to a significant record

*Department of Economics, St Joseph's H SS, Thiruvananthapuram-695 001, India.

**Department of Economics, HHMSPB N S S College for Women, Neeramankara, Thiruvananthapuram-695 040, India.

in the human development indicators and general quality of life in the state of Kerala. The health indices of Kerala has been the best among the

Indian states, which includes lower birth rates, higher female sex ratio, low infant mortality rates and higher life expectancy. But the achievements in the health sector have been at a plateau in the recent years. There have been significant changes in the morbidity and the mortality pattern in Kerala. (Panikar,1999). The prevalence rate of chronic diseases like cardio vascular diseases, diabetes mellitus etc are significantly higher than that of the rest of the states in India. Infectious or communicable diseases like diarrhoea, respiratory infections, hepatitis and typhoid also pose serious problems in the state. The prevalence rate of mental diseases is also on the rise in Kerala (Ekbal, 2006).

Kerala's health scenario faces a new challenge in the form of emerging and re emerging diseases during the last two decades (Kumar, 2012). Changes in physiography, climatic and environmental conditions have led to the emergence of several diseases related to environmental hygiene such as dengue fever, chikun gunya and Japanese encephalitis. There has also been the re-emergence of eradicated diseases like malaria. The key to man's health lies largely in his environment; much of the ill health can be traced to adverse environmental factors. Environmental status including drinking water, sanitation facilities and waste disposal do have a significant role in Kerala's morbidity pattern.

The present paper tries to analyse the trends in certain communicable diseases in Kerala, especially dengue. Secondary data on various communicable diseases published by Integrated Disease Surveillance Project, Directorate of Health Services, Kerala have been used to analyse the prevalence of communicable diseases since 2006.

Communicable diseases in Kerala since 2006

Communicable diseases are transmitted from the source of infection, termed as the reservoir, to the susceptible host. It can be transmitted from the reservoir to the host in many different ways such as direct transmission, transmission through vectors, air borne, water borne etc. Overcrowding, poor sanitation, contaminated food and water, low standards of personal hygiene, lack of education and awareness are some of the reasons which intensify the problem. Fevers, Typhoid, Influenza, Diphtheria, Rubella, Tuberculosis, Acute Respiratory Infections, Hepatitis A and B, Cholera, Acute Diarrheal Diseases are some of the common communicable diseases. Along with this, during the last few years a large number of arthropod borne viruses have emerged as public health problems. Arthropod borne diseases are transmitted by arthropods such as insects, spiders, mosquitoes, fleas, ticks and flies, which usually act as vectors for various disease causing micro organisms. The transmission of such micro organisms can cause a variety of diseases like Yellow fever, Dengue, Japanese Encephalitis, Kyasanur Forest Disease, Chikun Gunya, Leptospirosis, Scrub Typhus etc. (Park, 2000). In this study we are considering only certain communicable diseases for which reliable data is available.

Table 1
Distribution of affected cases of major communicable diseases in Kerala during 2006 –2017

Diseases	2006-2011		2012-2017		Percentage growth between the periods
	Number of cases	Percentage	Number of cases	Percentage	
Acute Diarrhoeal Disease	2049505	95.63	2537135	96.15	123.8
Dengue Fever	7735	0.36	44496	1.68	575.25

Leptospirosis	13328	0.62	6398	0.24	48
Typhoid	17919	0.83	11463	0.43	63.97
Malaria	12199	0.56	9287	0.035	76.12
Hepatitis A	36206	1.68	19295	0.73	53.29
Hepatitis B	3824	0.17	6674	0.25	174.52
Scrub typhus	0	0	2517	0.09	--
Cholera	69	0.003	73	0.0027	105.79
Suspected cholera	125	0.01	319	0.01	255.2
Chikun gunya	2178	0.1	917	0.034	42.1
Total	2143088	99.963	2638574	99.6517	123.120

Source: *Compiled from data on Communicable Diseases, various years, Integrated Disease Surveillance Project, Directorate of Health Services, Government of Kerala.*

Table 2: Distribution of the number of deaths due to major communicable diseases in Kerala during 2006 –2017

Diseases	2006-2011		2012-2017		Percentage growth between the periods
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	
Acute Diarrhoeal Disease	22	2.52	38	6.71	172.72
Dengue Fever	43	4.93	142	25.08	330.23
Leptospirosis	627	71.82	185	32.68	29.5
Typhoid	13	1.48	3	0.53	23.07
Malaria	27	3.09	18	3.18	66.66

Hepatitis A	69	7.9	48	8.48	69.56
Hepatitis B	63	7.21	93	16.43	147.61
Scrub typhus	--	--	29	5.12	--
Cholera	4	0.45	4	0.7	100
Suspected cholera	5	0.57	6	1.06	120
Chikun gunya	0	0	0	0	--
Total	873	99.97	566	99.97	64.83

Source: *Compiled from data on Communicable Diseases, various years, Integrated Disease Surveillance Project, Directorate of Health Services, Government of Kerala.*

The distribution the number of affected cases of certain communicable diseases in Kerala during 2006 to 2017 is given in the Table 1. Acute diarrhoeal diseases constitute 95.63% of the total communicable diseases in Kerala during the period 2006- 2011 and 96.15% during 2012- 2017. The distribution of other diseases forms only a small part of the total. The growth percentage of each of the diseases is calculated with respect to the two time periods. The percentage growth of different diseases shows an increasing trend. It can be seen that the growth percentage of Dengue fever is the highest compared to other communicable diseases and is quite at an alarming rate. Also a new type of fever - Scrub Typhus has made its appearance with a significant number of cases being reported during the last six years.

An analysis of the death pattern (Table 2) shows that during the period 2006 to 2011, 71.82% were due to leptospirosis. The number of deaths due to Hepatitis A and B comes to 7.9 % and 7.21 % respectively. The deaths due to dengue were lower compared to

leptospirosis and Hepatitis during 2006- 11. But this situation shows marked changes in the next six year period. The total deaths due to leptospirosis came down to 32.68%. The percentage of deaths due to hepatitis A and B shows an increase. The number of deaths due to dengue fever shows the largest growth percentage. There has been almost a four time increase in the deaths due to dengue during the last six years. The deaths due *Scrub Typhus* come to about 5.12 % of the total number of deaths.

Distribution of Dengue cases

Dengue fever surfaced as a new problem in the state in 1997, with 14 cases being reported in Kottayam district. A more severe outbreak of 67 cases and 13 deaths occurred in

1998 in the same district. Since 2003, there has been a rapid increase in dengue affected cases and deaths in the state. It is one of the most serious and fast growing diseases transmitted generally through various day breeding mosquitoes. Dengue viruses can lead to three different states of disease- Classical Dengue Fever, Dengue Hemorrhagic Fever and Dengue Shock Syndrome. The case of fatality is low in the first case, but can lead to death in the other cases if it is not identified and treated properly. The climatic and geographical factors, accumulation of solid wastes and the unhygienic practices followed are the reasons for the breeding of mosquitoes which led to situation of dengue becoming endemic in the state.

When considering the pattern of growth of dengue in the state, there has been more than five times increase in the number of dengue affected cases in the state. The district wise analysis of dengue (Table 3) shows significant increase in the number of cases reported between the two time periods: 2006-2011, 2012-2017, especially since 2012. While considering the percentage growth of the number of dengue affected cases in different districts, Malappuram records the highest

growth percentage. The number of cases in Malappuram were only 72 in 2006-2011 period, which rocketed to 2058 during 2012-2017 period, recording a growth percentage of 2858.33. Similarly in districts like Kollam, Alappuzha, Pathanamthitta, Palakkad, Wayanad and Kozhikode, there is a shocking increase in the percentage of growth of dengue affected cases, recording a growth percentage higher than that of the state. The number of dengue affected cases reported in Trivandrum is very high compared to the other districts, which constitute 45.16 % of the total cases reported in Kerala during the period 2006-2017.

Table 4
District-wise distribution of the number of deaths due to
Dengue during 2006 – 2017

Districts	2006-2011		2012-2017		Percentage growth between the periods
	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	
Trivandrum	4264	55.12	19321	43.42	453.11
Kollam	284	3.67	4742	10.65	1669.7
Pathanamthitta	244	3.15	2276	5.11	932.7
Alappuzha	173	2.23	2579	5.79	1490.7
Kottayam	587	7.58	1605	3.6	273.42
Idukki	246	3.1	882	1.98	358.53
Ernakulam	521	6.73	1865	4.19	357.96
Thrissur	425	5.49	1988	4.46	467.76
Palakkad	89	1.15	1305	2.93	1466.29
Malappuram	72	0.93	2058	4.62	2858.33
Kozhikode	178	2.3	2483	5.58	1394.94

Wayanad	101	1.3	919	2.06	909.9
Kannur	122	1.57	1121	2.51	261.3
Kasaragod	429	5.54	1352	3.03	315.15
Total	7735	99.86	44496	99.93	575.25

Compiled from data on the *District Wise Situational Analysis of Communicable Diseases 2006-2010, Integrated Disease Surveillance Project, Directorate of Health Services, Government of Kerala.*

The number of deaths due to dengue also shows an increasing trend (Table 4). While only 52 deaths were reported during the period 2006-11, it has become 142 during the last six years. Corresponding to the largest number of cases reported in Trivandrum district, the number of deaths is also the highest in the district. The deaths due to dengue in Trivandrum accounts to about 28.16 % of the total dengue death cases.

The month wise analysis of dengue affected cases shows a seasonal trend, with most of the cases occurring in the south west monsoon period. The average number of cases hikes during the period May to August. Another worthwhile point that is revealed is the rapid increase in the cases since 2012, with the average number of cases shooting up to 4000 in May to August, 2017. Corresponding to the hike in affected cases the number of deaths too shows a seasonal trend, with maximum number of deaths occurring during May to August. This is quite vivid from Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1: Seasonal trend of the average number of dengue affected cases in Kerala during 2006- 2017 period.

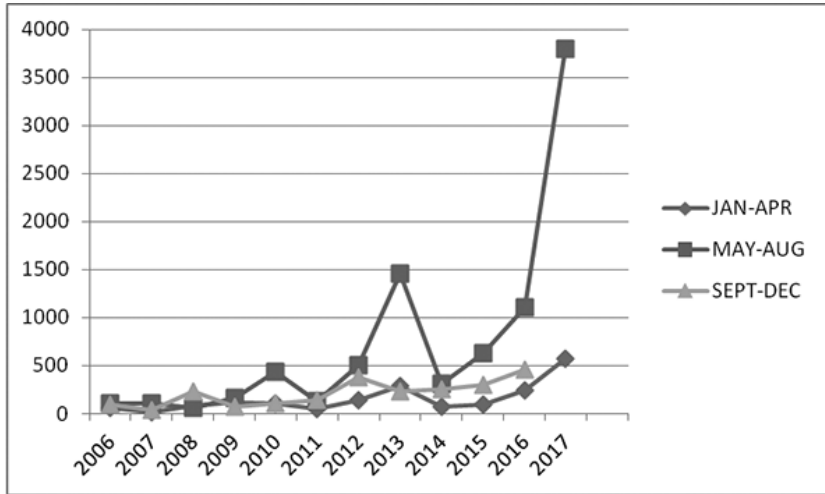


Figure 2: Seasonal trend of the average number of death due to dengue affected cases in Kerala during 2006- 2017 period.

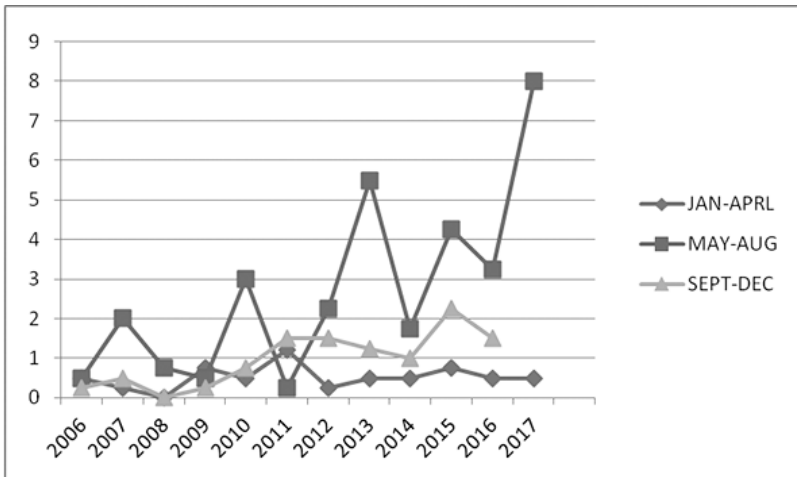
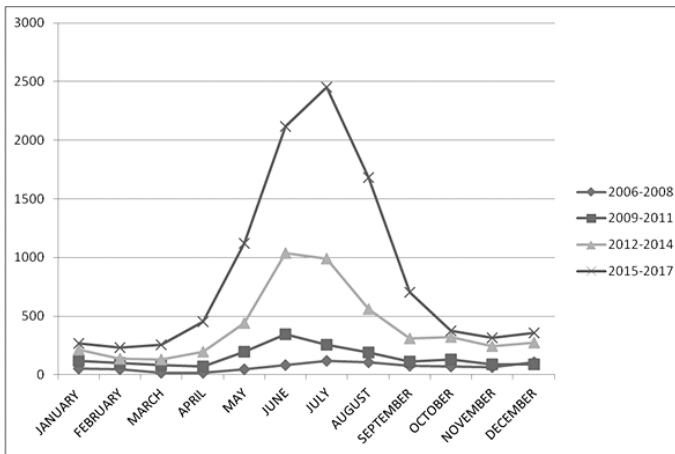


Figure 3: Month-wise average number of dengue affected cases in Kerala during 2006- 2017 period.



The month wise distribution of average number of dengue affected cases shows a significant shift from the previous three year period (Figure 3). The difference in the scale of increase of dengue during the monsoon period seems to increase at an excessive rate, which is quite an alarming situation. Dengue is an enigmatic disease because it does not have a specific vaccine or antidote against this infection. Such developments signal for strict vigilance and call for immediate improvements in surveillance, identification and the prevention of such a disease.

Concluding remarks

Human health is greatly influenced by the character of the environment of everyday life and the specific features of the place we inhabit. By constantly altering his environment or the ecosystem by such activities such as urbanization, deforestation, land reclamation etc, man has created for himself new health problems. Man's

intrusion into ecological cycles has resulted in the persistence and resurgence of many acute and communicable diseases. Kerala, with commendable achievements in health indicators, near universal literacy and personal hygiene, needs to pay special attention to curb the spread of communicable diseases. The absence of basic civic amenities such as safe and adequate drinking water with proper storage facilities, sewerage and sanitation facilities, proper waste management and disposal are some of the prominent issues which need to be addressed immediately. Proper coordination between the government and different health departments, urgent measures to ensure proper waste disposal, spread of awareness among the community, training of medical personnel to handle such situations, and up gradation of health infrastructure facilities are to be urgently effected to reduce the intensity and spread of communicable diseases in the State.

References

- Ashokan, A. V. (2009). *Perspectives of health economics*, New Delhi: Serials publications,
- Government of Kerala (2017). *District Wise Situational Analysis of Communicable Diseases 2006-2016*, Integrated Disease Surveillance Project, Directorate of Health Services,
- Ekbal, B (2006). Kerala's Health Sector ;Crying For Cure, *Kerala Calling*. Pg 37-39.May 2006
- Government of Kerala (2013). Epidemiological Situation of Communicable Diseases in Kerala 2006-2012, Integrated Disease Surveillance Project, Directorate of Health Services.
- ICMR Bulletin, Vol 36, No. 45, April- May 2006.
- Kumar, S. R. (2012). Emerging and Reemerging Infectious Diseases in Kerala, *Health Sciences*, Vol 1, Issue 1, April-June.
- Navaneetham, K., & Krishna Kumar (2009). The Levels, Patterns and Determinants of Morbidity in Kerala, *CDS, Working paper* 411, 1- 50.

Panikar, P. G. K. (1999). *Health Transition in Kerala*, Discussion, Paper No, 10, Trivandrum: Kerala Research Programme on Local Development, Centre for Development Studies.

Park, K. (2000). *Park's Text Book of Preventive and Social Medicine*, Jabalpur: Banarsidas Bhanot Publishers, India.

Government of Kerala (2014).

Report on Health in Kerala (2014). NSS 71 Round, January June 2014.

Government of Kerala (2016). Universal Health Coverage In Kerala Through a Primary Care Pilot Project Report. Department of Health and Family Welfare,

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS: A STUDY ON ELDER ABUSE IN KERALA

Amala Mathew* & Sobha B. Nair**

Abstract

Ageing is a matter of great concern in the post-modern society. The emerging issue faced by the older people in the present day society is the increasing number of elder abuse and neglect both from the public and private spaces. Gender difference exists in the abuse of the elderly is a major factor which added the depth of the problem. Thus, the present paper tries to analyse various dimensions related to the elder abuse with a gender perspective and gender differences in the perpetrators of elder abuse within the household. The study was conducted with the quantitative method using descriptive research design with 246 samples empirically collected from three districts of Kerala. From the present study, it is found out that the women are more vulnerable to the abuse than men. Loss of life partner, lack of financial stability and dependency on children were the contributing factors for the increasing abuse of older women.

Key Words: *Elder abuse, Gender differences, Victims, Perpetrators*

The number and proportion of older population in India is increasing. The effects of population ageing reflect differently in every part of the nation. According to the 2011 census the total old age population constitute 8.6 percent in India and Kerala stands as the greying state of India. According to 2011 census the proportion

*Research Scholar. Department of Sociology, University of Kerala, Karyavattom Campus, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, Email: amalamathewkunnil@gmail.com

** Associate Professor & Head, Department of Sociology, University of Kerala, Karyavattom Campus, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala-, Email: sobhabnair@gmail.com

of older people in Kerala constitute 12.6 percent, it is more than that of the national average. The population growth in Kerala is very low when compared to the other states of India. According to the latest Economic Review by the State Planning Board, the national growth rate of population in the last 10 years is 17.6 percent. At the same time, the growth rate of population in Kerala is 4.9 percent which is the lowest rate among Indian states (The Times of India, March, 28, 2015).

The decreasing rate of population growth reflects on the ageing of Kerala's population. Looking after of the growing older population is great duty vested in the younger population. The younger group of people have to manage the dependency of two groups of dependent population. One is the dependent population of people aged 14 years and below and another category is the people aged 60 years and above. In this situation the younger population were under stress of managing the care taking of dependent population, especially the older generation. This creates an abusive attitude among the caregivers towards the elderly. Elder abuse is an important issue which needs more attention in the present day society.

According to the International Network for the Prevention of Elder Abuse; "Elder Abuse is defined as a single or repeated act, or lack of appropriate action, occurring within any relationship where there is an expectation of trust which causes harm or distress to an older person"(Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, and Lozano, 2002). The main types of abuse were physical, psychological, financial, and sexual abuse and neglect. The types of abuse were well known but its impact on the elderly was not addressed properly. The impact of abuse on elderly were emotional distress, loss of self-confidence and self-esteem, depression, social isolation, financial loss, physical problems etc. (Christine, 2008). The types of abuses and its impacts affect the male and female elders differently.

The nationwide report on “Elder abuse crime in India”, which was released on “World elder abuse awareness day” (June 15) by HelpAge India shows that abuse of the elderly was gendered in nature, where elderly women faced more abuse than that of elderly men (Karthikeyan, 2012). A study on abuse and neglect of elderly in Indian families by Sebastian and Sekher conducted in Kerala shows that women were the victims of higher risk of abuse because they do not have sufficient economic resources and were dependent on their off-springs for their economic needs. Women's age and widowed status increases their vulnerability toward abuse. The extent of abuse among elderly women was almost three times higher than that of males (Sebastian, & Sekher, 2010). This shows a clear picture about the gender differences exist in elder abuse.

The abusers or perpetrators of elder abuse within the family settings are mostly their children itself. In our families children were the care takers of the elderly parents. The abuse of older parents by their children is increasing in the modern family structure. A study conducted by HelpAge India shows that daughters-in-law constitute 44 percent of the abuse followed by daughters (32 percent) and sons (24 percent). The study was conducted in 24 cities of India which also included Thiruvananthapuram in Kerala (The Hindu, June.15.2013).

The gender dimensions of elder abuse both from the victims and the perpetrators are a major area of concern in the present day society. In this situation the present paper tries to analyse the various dimensions of elder abuse with a gender perspective. The paper also goes through the gender differences in the perpetrators of elder abuse within the household.

Objectives

1. To analyse various dimensions of elder abuse with a gender perspective.

2. To find out the gender differences in the perpetrators of abuse within the house hold.

Method

The study was conducted with the quantitative method using descriptive research design with the aim to analyse the gender differences in the perpetrators and victims of elder abuse in Kerala. The population of the study involves those elderly who filed case under the Senior Citizens Act 2007, selected from three districts of Kerala, viz. Thiruvananthapuram, Ernakulum and Kannur using simple random sampling. Total 246 samples were selected for the present study. These districts were selected as sample because the number of cases filed under the Senior Citizens Act is higher in these districts. Equal numbers of male and female were selected as samples from each district. The cases were selected on the basis of the number of cases registered in 2014 under the Senior Citizens Act, 2007. From this, Thiruvananthapuram records the highest number of cases of elder abuse in Kerala following with Ernakulum and Kannur.

Results and Discussion

The present paper deals with the analysis of elder abuse with a gender perspective. As the earlier study shows that older women were facing more vulnerable condition with regard to the risks of abuse. The risks of elder abuse are different among both men and women. In this situation the present paper tries to make a detailed analysis on the gender differences in various dimensions of old age abuse in the domestic settings.

Dimensions of elder abuse with a gender perspective

The factors like age, living arrangements, marital status and dependency may stands as the risk factors of elderly abuse in households. In the post-modern society with the improved health

facilities, the life expectancy of people became higher than that of the past years. The life expectancy of women is more than that of men. This creates a risk situation among elder women. They were forced to live alone after the death of their life partner till the end of their life. So age of the elderly plays an important role in the analysis of different dimensions of elder abuse with gender perspective.

Table-1
Age and Gender

Age of elderly	Gender of elderly		Total
	Male	Female	
60-69	43(17.5%)	43(17.5%)	86(35.0%)
70-79	46(18.7%)	44(17.9%)	90(36.6%)
80-89	32(13.0%)	29(11.8%)	61(24.8%)
90 and above	2(0.8%)	7(2.8%)	9(3.7%)
Total	123(50.0%)	123(50.0%)	246(100.0%)

Source: Empirical Data

Age determines the risk and vulnerability of elderly to abuse. Majority (35.0%) of the elderly belongs to the 70-79 age groups. Here male constitute 18.7% and female belongs to 17.9%. The elderly come under the 90 and above age group comprises 3.7 percent, out of this 2.8% were females whereas males constitute only 0.8%. This shows the fact that the longer life expectancy of women brings them to live more than that of men. As age increases their living conditions become more and more complex and it causes the chances of more abuse among elderly women.

Another important factor which determines the intensity of elder abuse is the living arrangement of the elderly. Changes in the post-modern society affect the living arrangement of elderly. The

care giving to the elderly is vested upon their children as per our culture. This is an age-old practice that any one of the children has to look after their parents in their old age. The living arrangements thus act as the determining factor of elder abuse.

Table-2
Living arrangement and Gender of elderly

Living arrangement	Gender of elderly		Total
	Male	Female	
Alone	23(9.3%)	18(7.3%)	41(16.7%)
With spouse	27(11.0%)	11(4.5%)	38(15.4%)
With son	48(19.5%)	67(27.2%)	115(46.7%)
With daughter	25(10.2%)	27(11.0%)	52(21.1%)
Total	123(50.0%)	123(50.0%)	246(100.0%)

Source: Empirical Data

In the living arrangement of the elderly, majority (46.7%) of the elderly live with their sons, from which elderly women were in the highest proportion i.e. 27.2% and only 19.5% comprises elderly men. The elderly who are living with their daughters include 21.1 percent, of which elderly men and elderly women constitute 10.2% and 11.0% respectively. Only 16.7 % of the elderly are living alone. Majority of the elderly are living with their sons because sons are considered as the primary care giver of elderly parents.

Another pertinent factor which contributes the risk of elder abuse is the marital status of the elderly. The death of any one of the partner may lead to the loneliness of elderly and they have to spend their life alone with their children.

Table-3
Marital status and Gender of elderly

Marital status	Gender of elderly		Total
	Male	Female	
Married	59(24.0%)	25(10.2%)	84(34.1%)
Divorced	1(0.4%)	1(0.4%)	2(0.8%)
Separated	1(0.4%)	0(0.0%)	1(0.4%)
Widowhood	62(25.2%)	97(39.4%)	159(64.6%)
Total	123(50.0%)	123(50.0%)	246(100.0%)

Source: Empirical Data

Regarding marital status of the elderly, 34.1 percent of the elderly were married and currently living with their spouse, out of whom 10.2percent were females and 24.0 percent were males. The widowed elderly comprises (64.6%) in which most of them were elderly women (39.4%) and elderly men constitute 25.2 percent. From this it is clear that there are more elderly women widows than their counterpart elderly widower men. In this situation they will have to be dependent on their children for support and care. They have to depend on their children for their basic needs. Widowhood thus increases the vulnerability of abuse among elderly people.

Dependency is another important factor that contributes to the risk of abuse of the elderly. In the case of elderly, dependency is more crucial because the elder people above the age of 60 are a major group of dependent category in the modern society. As age increases the chances of dependency of elderly also increases. When they get weak and frail they are forced to dependent on others for their day to day activities.

Table-4
Dependency and Gender of elderly

Dependency of elderly	Gender of elderly		Total
	Male	Female	
Yes	115(46.7%)	120(48.8%)	235(95.5%)
No	8(3.3%)	3(1.2%)	11(4.5%)
Total	123(50.0%)	123(50.0%)	246(100.0%)

Source: Empirical Data

Regarding the dependency of the elder people, 95.5 percent of the elderly were dependent on others. In this most of them were females (48.8%) and the males constitute 46.7%. Most of the abused elderly were dependent on others for their basic needs. The dependency and widowhood of the elderly widen the risks of abuse from the children. They should have to depend on the children for their physical, emotional and economic needs. Sometimes the over dependency of the elderly creates a conflicting situations among them and which may lead to abuse.

Another important question that arises with the dependency of elderly is with whom they depend on? The elder people are largely dependent on their children or their grandchildren. In some cases, they may be dependent on their sons-in-law or daughters-in-law. This kind of dependency of elder people to their children is a realm of great concern as this kind of dependency may lead to abuse of elderly within the households.

Table-5
Category of dependency and Gender of Elderly

Category of dependency	Gender of elderly		Total
	Male	Female	
Son	74(31.5%)	79(33.6%)	153(65.1%)
Daughter	33(14.0%)	36(15.3%)	69(29.4%)
Son-in-law	0(0.0%)	1(0.4%)	1(0.4%)
Daughter-in-law	5(2.1%)	1(0.4%)	6(2.6%)
Others	3(1.3%)	3(1.3%)	6(2.6%)
No dependency	8(3.3%)	3(1.2%)	11(4.5%)
Total	123(50.0%)	123(50.0%)	246(100.0%)

Source: Empirical Data

The dependency of elderly with various categories of people like their son, daughter, son-in-law and daughter-in-law reveals that, most (65.1%) of the elderly are dependent on their sons, in which 33.6 percent were females and 31.5 percent are males. The increasing number of abused elderly is dependents on their sons for their day to day activities, especially the elderly women are showing more dependency than that of the elderly men. The over dependency of elderly with children increase the chances of abuse among elderly women when compared with the elderly dependent men.

Gender difference seen in the perpetrators' abuse within the households

In the case of elder abuse in the households, the abusers are generally belong to the category of the perpetrators of abuse i.e. the abuser himself/herself is the perpetrator. According to the study conducted by Sebastian, D & Sekher, T. V in 2010, the perpetrators

were mostly adult children especially sons (Sebastian & Sekher,2010). The family system and living arrangements of the Indian families shows that the elderly are staying with their adult son and daughter-in-law. This may stand as the reason behind the abuse of elderly by their son. In this regard, the age of the perpetrator is an important factor to know the depth of the problem

Table-6
Age of Perpetrator

Age of Perpetrator	Frequency	Percent
20-29	5	2.0
30-39	65	26.4
40-49	123	50.0
50-59	49	19.9
60-69	4	1.6
Total	246	100.0

Source: Empirical Data

The perpetrators in the age group of 40-49 (50.0%) constitute the majority of abusers. They are in the middle age group and considered as the bread winners of the family. In most of the cases both sons and daughters-in-law are employed. They have to manage the needs of their children and parents. They have to give support and protection for their children and parents at the same time. This creates stress on them and naturally they are forced to neglect the needs of their elderly parents and this creates mental stress and strain among them to abuse. The relationship of the abuser with elderly is an important factor to know about the perpetrators of abuse. In most of the cases the abusers were the intimate relative of the elderly.

Table-7
Relationship of abuser with elderly

Relationship of abuser with elderly	Frequency	Percent
Son	89	36.2
Daughter	46	18.7
Son-in-law	7	2.8
Daughter-in-law	41	16.7
Others specify	4	1.6
Both son and daughter	7	2.8
Son and daughter-in-law	38	15.4
Daughter and son-in-law	14	5.7
Total	246	100.0

Source: Empirical Data

The majority of perpetrators abusing the elderly are their sons which constitute 36.2 percent and followed by daughters consisting of 18.7 percent. Most of the elderly are living with their sons and this increases the chance of abuse from their son. In some cases those who have lived with their sons faced abuse from their daughter-in-laws also, which constitutes 16.7percent.

All the above mentioned factors are interlinked with each other and increase the chances of abuse of elderly. The increased rate of life expectancy among women brings them to live a longer period of life than the elderly men. As a part of the Indian family culture, looking after of the aged parents is the responsibility of their sons. Majority (27.2%) of the elderly women were living with their sons and at the same time most (39.4%) of them were widows. The older parents have the expectation that their sons will look after them at the time of disabilities. Most (48.8%) of the elderly women were dependent for their day to day activities. Among them majority (33.6%) of them were dependants of their sons on their physical, emotional and economic matters. Majority of the perpetrators belongs to the age group of 40-49. The people in this age group have to manage

the dependent needs of their children and parents. They have to act as the bread winners of the family and the care takers for both dependent generations. This makes stress and strain in their life and they were showing abusive behaviour towards their older parents especially towards their widowed elderly mothers. All these things increase the risk and vulnerability of abuse among older women.

All these things show that the patriarchal attitude of our society is also existed in the case of elder abuse. As a part of our family tradition the parents' house may be given to the son and he has to look after the parents. All the properties and belongings of elderly parents are given to sons with an expectation that they will look after them at the time of their disabilities. The gap between the parent's expectations and real experience after getting old age were creating problems among them and it leads to elder abuse.

Conclusion

Elder abuse is an emerging problem in Kerala society especially in the case of abuse of the elderly within the households. In our culture family has an important place in catering the needs of each and every member. In the family itself, the older people who are dependent on their children are facing abuse and neglect. This is an alarming issue in the context of post-modern changes in the family structure as well as in the relationship pattern. The elder abuse and its perpetrators in the gender perspective are much more concerned in the milieu of Kerala society. The present study gives an insight into the pertinent problem of elder abuse and its gender dimension both in the case of victims and perpetrators.

From the analysis it is clear that the factors like age, living arrangements, marital status and dependency have important roles in determining the different dimensions of elderly abuse with gender perspective in households. Women are more vulnerable to abuse

than their counter parts. The women who are living with their sons and are widows and elderly at the same time are dependent on their sons for their day to day activities. An interesting fact is that most of the abusers are sons followed by daughters. As per the Kerala family culture and tradition majority of older parents live with their sons and the daughter-in-laws and sons are the primary care takers. From this we can state that a clear cut gender difference exists in the elder abuse.

Reference

- Christine H. (2008). McAlpine; Elder abuse and neglect, Age and Ageing. Retrieved on September 12, 2017, from- <https://doi.org/10.1093/ageing/afn008> 37(2), 132–133
- Karthikeyan (2012). India's elder abuse graph is rising. Retrieved on March 08, 2017, from:-www.thehindu.com/news/cities/madurai/indias-elder-abuse-graph-isrising/article3536112.ece
- Krug, Etienne. G, Dahlberg, Linda.L, Mercy, James. A, Zwi, Anthony. B and Lozano, Rafael (2002). World report on violence and health. World health organization. Geneva. 127-128. Retrieved on September 12, 2017, from-http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/chapters/en/
- Sebastian, D & Sekher, T. V (2010). Abuse and neglect of elderly in Indian families: findings of elder abuse screening test in Kerala. Journal of the Indian academy of geriatrics. 2010;6:54-60. Retrieved on February 12, 2017 from: - www.jiag.org/pdf/15/1.pdf
- The Hindu. June. 15. (2013). Daughters-in-law abuse elderly more, says HelpAgeIndia study. Retrieved on October 12, 2016, from: <http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Thiruvananthapuram/daughtersinlaw-abuse-elderly-more-says-helpage-india-study/article4817075.ece>
- The Times of India, March, 28 (2015). Kerala to become Zero population growth state. Retrieved on September 02, 2017 from-<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Kerala-to-become-zero-population-growth-state/articleshow/46727534.cms>



ISDA PUBLICATIONS

Thiruvananthapuram

ISSN 0971-2550 ISBN

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.

Contact

Dr. V. Rajendran Nair

Editor & Hon. Director

ISDA Journal, ASHWINI

TC 28/1161(1), SREEKANTESWARAM

Fort P.O., Thiruvananthapuram

Kerala - 6950 23.

E-mail:

isdajournaltvm@gmail.com/drvrajendran@yahoo.co.in

drvrajendran2013@gmail.com

Mob: 09447260047

Website: **www.isdajournal.com**

THE IMPACT OF MADRASA EDUCATION IN THE MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL SCENARIO OF KERALA

Hassan J*

Abstract

The commencement of Islamic education has on track at the first time when a few Masajid were recognized in Kerala primarily. The evolution of the whole system over a period of thousand years and for a century; there is a very positive wave on modern education. The survival and progressive nature of the Islamic education system and its novel experimentations and trends reveals the power to continue towards thrive. Beyond the level of equipping people towards the goal of enriching the particular religion, it gives the liberation of acquiring knowledge meaningfully. Madrasa system of education promotes thinking and perception of subtle truths related with religion, spirituality and the real life in the universe. It broadens horizons of mutual understanding without any limit. Ultimately the curriculum of Madrasa Education is meant for developing the quality of Humanity in human beings and the unchanging faith in God works as an underlying power of miracle. An arbitrary nature of the system of Islamic education helps to update the concepts and ideals according to the demands of the contemporary world.

Introduction

The heart of every education process is character; and the very end of education is also character. Madrasa education system gives a thorough attention in moulding a good pattern of behaviour and it helps the individual to set his philosophical principles and ideals related with his life. Muslims play a vital role in the educational scenario of Kerala through a lot of educational establishments

*Research Scholar, Dept. of Islamic Studies, University of Kerala

Mobile: 9747648310E-mail: hassankallara@gmail.com

managed by them. Madrasas are doing as wonderful job in the domain of providing free education to a lot of Muslim students in Kerala. Madrasas have a unique system of their own. The key strength of Madrasa education system lies on the transformation of a common man to a perfect human being. It equips a person cognitively, affectively and spiritually. The distinctive feature of Madrasa curriculum is nothing but its rich and deep knowledge that ensures empowerment. The receptors of this system acquire such an ability to take him forward. But it is a notable fact that, like the curriculum of other institutions, Madrasas also do not take an initiative to teach all the areas related to every art. The system of Madrasa curriculum does not mean that it is the epitome of all things concerned with education and after this there is no need of learn more. Nobody even the teachers of Madrasas can claim that this learning stream provides the ultimate knowledge of *Deen*. It only scaffold ample opportunity and the ability that enables the students to experience the true power and depth of knowledge.

Madrasa acts as a leading light to give proper insight to Muslim to percept the religious ideals. Madrasas have initiated a dynamic role in constructing and modelling the outcome of Muslim community from the very launch of the Islam. These Madrasas influenced in donating amplechene of blimey to religious education, which supports Muslims to discern profoundly about Islam. Madrasas not only accomplish grave necessities of Muslims on condition that an inordinate role to the field of awareness and art; but also try to make them comprehensive human beings from every perspective of growth and development. It is an escalating fact that Madrasas were amid the first institutions onto the track of overview of modern education with a revolutionary visualisation. The amenity solidified by Madrasas in the endurance of Islamic applies, publication and communications of Islamic literature, defence of Islamic belief and

elaboration of culture and civilization helped an elaborate way in the development of the country. These irreplaceable amenities given by Madrasas can't be disregarded and elapsed because its impacts were mirrored universally.

Discoursing the pedigrees of Madrasa Education scheme, the dictionary denotation of the word Madrasa is school. The word is resultant from Arabic word "*darasa*" which resources to bang teachings. Maktabas as well as Madrasas are usually situated within or very near the Muslim majority areas, and are part and parcel of the Muslim community. Most Muslims have a soft corner for Madrasas. Even middle class Muslims who do not send their children to Madrasas are also very protective about them. Madrasas have succeeded in their aims and objectives. They are trying to spread knowledge to every section of people, especially weaker section to promote them to the main streams of the society.

Islamic education in Kerala was principally mosque-based. The curriculum formerly comprised of a series of chastisements, counting the 'transmitted' sciences and streams like geometry, mathematics, astronomy, logic, history and medicine. Far ahead, nevertheless, it was predominantly focused to the Quran, Hadith and Fiqh. In Kerala these Madrasas have lead an imperative role in guarding human, Islamic and social principles. The initial twentieth century beheld the occurrence of a number of authoritative campaigner arrangements core the Muslims in Kerala, whose intention was the modification of the Islamic education system. One of the forerunners in the pitches of Islamic educational transformation in Kerala was Moulavi Chalilakath Munmuhammad Haji.

Vakkam Muhammad Abdul Qadir Moulavi (1873-1932) recognised a manacle of present Madrasas in the significant state of Travancore and likewise organised for government schools to teach Arabic to Muslim learners. Similarly, in Cochin, Sanaullah

Makti Thangal and Shaikh Muhammad Mahin Thangal unwrapped a numeral of schools where Islamic subjects were taught along with 'novel' castigations.

The co-ordination of Islamic education in Kerala benevolences an extensive contrast to its corresponding item somewhere else in India. Kerala avowals of the uppermost savvy proportion in India, and the Kerala Muslims, appraised at all over the place a fourth of the state's inhabitants, is the maximum well-educated Muslim public in the country. Madrasa education amongst Muslims of Kerala can be present separated into two dissimilar styles- *Ottupalli* and *Dars*. *Ottupalli* is a category of prime school for pious and Arabic education for Muslim boys and girls. *Ottupallis* are sole teacher schools which situated near mosques. The Imam of the mosque also performances as the teacher of the *Othupalli* and provides undeveloped Islamic education to the Children of that extent.

Kerala's *Dars* structure is distinctive. Its structure is virtuoso and it exploits the possessions accessible in the civic for the dissemination of knowledge. The advanced religious classes which were conducted inside the mosque were called *Dars*. *Dars* system produced many great scholars, theologians, religious leaders and reformers. It helped the diffusion of Islamic knowledge in different parts of Kerala. This spreading of knowledge brought a feeling of bonding and togetherness having a clear knowledge and an aim towards which everybody wants to work together.

Renovations in Methodology

Renovation in the methodology refers the inevitable alterations and updates to be included in Islamic education system. Madrasa education classification in Kerala has embark on prompt systematic vacillations for the most current two-three epochs, predominantly that the application of Islamic reformist movement, who were the

influential in transmuting the *Dars* system into a modern Islamic education structure casing several characteristics of educational philosophy. They embraced educational psychology and as simulated diverse topics more logically. In this present age of science and technology, one cannot progress without being aware of modern sciences and arts. Therefore Madrasas should start to impart contemporary education as well. The reason of changing curriculum is that, if Madrasas introduce modern subjects their students will be employable and can earn much livelihood. In short, different opinions are being given from time to time to change the system, its syllabus, subject matter and teaching methodology. It acted as a changing tool in the revision of whole system of education.

There was a need of a change in the current system of curriculum and the Reformist movement understood the need to revise the curriculum and started the combination of Islamic modern education system. This structure originated accomplishments and homilies like discussions, deliberation, literacy meeting, student parliament and sport meets for the inclusive improvement of learners. The Madrasa boards on track in private like Majlis Madrsa Education Board and KNM Vidhyabhyasa Board accomplished by these campaigner appointments demeanour dissimilar varieties of working out sequencers for teachers and unify workshops for appropriate modification of curriculum and syllabus. School ancillary Madrasa system is a significant influence announced by these engagements.

A notable thing happened in divergence to Madrasas in much of the abode of India, maximum Kerala Madrasas are conglomerated to and track by consolidated societies, which has ready for a homogeneousness of standards and more resourceful supervision. The most central of these associations are the Kerala Nadwatul Mujahidin, the Jama'at-e-Islami and the Samastha Kerala Jamiathul Ulama. Mainstream of the Madrasas in Kerala are bring about and

controlled by Samastha Kerala Jamiathul Ulema. The Darul Huda Islamic Academy functioning at Chemmad in Malappuram district has made its presence felt in the educational field. The degree holders coming out from these institutions are well qualified in English, Arabic, Urdu and Malayalam. Many courses of this institution are affiliated to universities like Al-Azhar of Egypt and Zaithoona of Tunisia. The educational experiments in Kerala Muslims have already stimulated the interests of the educationists and social scientists. And it uplifted the standard of existing system of education.

Impact of Organisations and movements in education

Certain organizations and movements also influenced the field of Madrasa Education positively and this new wave gave a stimulating effect to the reformation process of education. Among the many Muslims organisations and movements in Kerala, the Kerala Nadwat-ul Mujahideen, frequently mentioned to merely as the Mujahid movement, intricate in endorsing 'modern' as well as Islamic education. Reputable in 1950, the programme developed out of the campaigner exertions of the Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangha, premeditated in 1922, and then the Kerala Jamiat-ul-Ulema, set up in 1924. The Mujahid incontestably represent only a fringe of the state's Muslims, but they have occupied automatically a prominent role in endorsing didactic alertness and social restructuring, manipulating other Muslim groups in Kerala in shot. All the welcome deviations familiarized in Madrasa education had been unoriginal by the conventional segment also and it contain sun varying Madrasas and Arabic colleges too.

Jama-ath-e-Islami had its own unique approach towards education. Realising of the fact that people who came out of the religious seminaries would become mullahs and they are totally detached from the modern world and the products of secular education would become mere misters with no indications towards

religious teachings, prompted Jama-ath-e-Islami to come up with new strategy for education integrating both religious and modern aspects. At present, they run so many institutions based on their own curriculum and syllabi in addition to the schools and colleges recognised by the government.

In connection with the literary standards, Kerala relishes the utmost levels of female literacy in India, and the distinguished entity is of the state are among the most educated women in the country are none other than the Muslim women. The Mujahid movement has been at the vanguard of Muslim women's education in Kerala, emphasizing the requirement for in cooperation Islamic as well as 'modern' education for girls. Jama-ath-e-Islamias well efforts to women education and it unshackles the women soul from mental passivity.

A common belief among teacher and student in relation with teaching and learning of Islamic education is *Ibadah*. It is the heritage left by the messengers of Allah for Muslims. This is the means of protecting our beliefs and faiths. This is a pathway leading to prosperity in this world and hereafter. It makes a person human being with enough kindness and humanity. It gives the sense of living in this world and preparing for the next. It shows the practical ways to meet the challenges of this world and to meet the forthcoming levels of next.

Conclusion

A model society is possible through Madrasa education which accepts the greatness of God which works for the goodness of humanity. Islam aims at some sort of pure and religious education. A warrior without weapon is nothing in the battle field likewise a man without proper education cannot win in the battle field of his life. Islam regards education is a compulsory principle in order

to live one's life in the right way. Quran says "God will raise the position of believers and knowledge amongst you". Knowledge is an invaluable treasure which leads man to greatness while ignorance leads darkness and knowledge lightens the path of greatness. The ultimate aim of education is transformation; transform a coal into a diamond; transform paddy into edible rice...this type of transformation ensures the curriculum and mode of teaching by the Madrasa Education System. It reflects its positive awakening beam to the whole world.

Reference

- Abdul Samad M.(1998).*Islam in Kerala Groups and movements in the 20th Century*, Kollam:Laural Publications
- AzizuddinHussain S.M. (2005).*Madrasa Education in India,Eleventh to Twenty First Century*(ed.), New Delhi:Kanishka Publishers.
- Mathew K.S, Sebastian, T.K (2010).*Indian Constitution, Education and Minorities in Kerala*(ed.),Irish Publishers.
- SaralJhingran (2010).*Madrasa Education in Modern India*, New Delhi:Manohar Publishers.
- Abdul Salim&Gopinathan P.R.(2002).*Educational Development in India: the Kerala Experience since 1800*, New Delhi:Anmol Publication.
- Engineer, AsgharAli.(1995). *Kerala Muslims of a Historical Perspective*, Delhi: Ajantha Publications.
- Muhammad U., (2007) *Educational Empowerment of Kerala Muslims: A Socio-Historical Perspective*, Calicut Other Books.
- Muhammad Ali K.T.(1990).*The Development of Education among the Mappilas of Malabar, 1800-1965*, New Delhi: Nunes Publishers.
- Muhammad Koya C.H.(1952).*Reminiscences of an Ottupally, Mathrubhumi Weekly*, 1st June 1952.
- Jaleel, K.A.(1997). *Kerala Muslimkalude Vidhyabhyasam Innale, Innu, Nale*, Calicut Farook College Golden Jubilee Souvenir, 1997

THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES OF REFUGEES IN MARAD

Vinodkumar C* & Pavithran KS**

Abstract

The paper focuses on Human Rights issues of displaced Muslims of Marad after the communal riots in 2nd May 2003. To live in the birthplace is a basic Human Right of an individual. These Human Rights of refugees are denied by the communal forces. Here, to provide security of life and shelter is the primary duty of the Government. But the State government machinery miserably failed to do so. It is the Gandhians who tried to take up the situation to a peaceful end.

Keywords: *Human Rights, Refugees, Rehabilitation, Gandhians, communalism.*

Human Rights simply means some essential rights, that are worldly adopted for humanity and ensured to each individual without considering their religion, colour, creed, language, gender etc. The significant aim of Human rights is the safeguard of human life and to preserve their basic status. Human Rights violation is really shameful to modern cultural society. Human Rights should be protected by the State for the smooth functioning of democracy as a form of Government and a way of life.

The civil rights movements from the 1960 onwards seriously took rights as the cornerstone upon which the restructuring of our society was to be based. Every human being is born with similar freedom and rights. These privileges are expressed and created clearly in what we mention today as human rights and these rights are transformed into constitutional or legal rights in both national and

*Research Scholar (PhD) Department of Political Science, University of Calicut.

**Professor and Head, Department of Political Science, University of Calicut

universal level. The right of equality is accepted in natural law for a long past in many social systems. Even though disparities prevail in the society due to the injured, depressed and distorted principles that loudly supports the inequality. The creation and efforts of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in 1864 resulted greatly in the uplift of human rights.

The charter of the United Nations vehemently stood for the existence and encouragement of fundamental freedom and basic rights of human beings. With this purpose, United Nations General Assembly passed and approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) on December 10, 1948. It would appear that they have interpreted very differently their common understanding “to strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedom and by progressive measure, national and international to secure this universal and effective recognition and observance.”

Based on the Historical Theory of Rights, Ritichie says that “those rights people think they ought to have are just those rights which they have been accustomed to have, or which they have a tradition of having once possessed, custom is primitive law” (Ritichie, 1952, p.66). The Legal Theory of Rights, describes that Rights are created and enforced by the State and it adds that there are no rights inborn with man. Neither they are no anterior to the State. This argument was denied by Laski. He says that the state does not create rights, but only recognizes them and he added that individual has rights against State. The state must observe the rights of man and ...”it must give him those conditions, without which he cannot be that best self that he may be (Laski, 1925, p.93). The Idealist Theory of Rights or the Personality Theory argues that rights are the exterior conditions necessary for the interior and actual well being of man. The utilitarian’s were the strong supporters of Social Welfare Theory. This theory launched that rights are conditions for

social welfare and well being. They also argued that socially desirable factors are the greatest happiness of the greatest number. They measured everything on the basis of utility.

The chief exponent of the Economic theory of Rights was Karl Marx. This theory treated that State is an embodiment of force. The State is a weapon in the hands of Capitalist class. They used the State to exploit the labours and working class. Marx succinctly mentioned that the present economic structure of the society controlled by the bourgeoisie. They ruthlessly exploit the poor and common people. And they deny the basic economic rights of the larger sections of the society. In such society, the aim and nature of the right are to be safeguarded and nourish the interest and privileges of the exploiting economic group that owns productive force but is in minute numbers in the society.

India and Human Rights

India, despite, the largest Sovereign, Secular, Democratic, Republic in the world, having an impartial judiciary as well as the vigilant system to observe and view the issues of Human rights, still have the serious violation of human rights. Perhaps a large number of population, poverty, illiteracy, superstitions, religious animosity and multi-various culture, regionalism, narrow linguistic dispute, ethnicity and moreover intolerance might have made the human rights issues more deteriorated and inhumane. This human rights violation is a curse to the Indian society and severe blow to the democratic norms which are embedded in the constitution.

At the time of framing of the constitution of India, religious, cultural, educational and political claims of communities were considered and presented as the rights of minorities in a democracy. Religious freedom, including the liberty to worship, propagate and practice one's religion, was a right given by the Indian constitution to

each individual citizen (Article 25(b)). In the Constituent Assembly, members justified the need for minority rights by arguing that in a situation rife with communal animosity and contestations, these rights had to be given in order to win the goodwill of minorities. Besides, the Communal Awards had legitimized and buttressed these claims; hence, for the sake of keeping all religious communities within the Nation-State, it was necessary to consider and accept their claims. In fact, the need to assuage the fears of minorities was reflected in the Constituent Assembly's decision to ask the subcommittee on fundamental Rights to consider their rights in addition to those of citizens (Mahajan Gurpreet, 1998, p. 81).

Minority religious communities wanted safeguards in the field of religion, culture, education and politics. Though these safeguards they wanted to ensure three things.

- Freedom from the state
- Expression of their community identity without fear
- A Non-homogenizing nation-state

India, unlike her neighbours, chooses the above-mentioned stand. It sought to ensure that as a nation-state, the country would not reflect any one religion or cultural identity. Instead, its public life would be a cultural plurality.

Problems of Refugees in India

A refugee is defined in Article 1 of the 1951 United Nations Conventions as "a person who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.

Much before the independence, the possibility of refugees' arrival was imminent in Bharatpur. The co-operation of the state was

requested in rehabilitating them; numerous enquiries were made of the possibilities of colonization. Refugees from the Punjab and North West Frontier Province(NWFP)began pouring into Bharatpur in the summer of 1947.A refugee committee was set up and efforts initiated to resettle them. Recently the central government announced that Chakma and Hajongrefugees near about one lakh and staying in the upper region of Arunachal Pradesh for nearly half a century now will get Indian citizenship. The numbers of these refugees have increased from about 5000 in 1964-69 to at least one lakh. According to the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees(UNHCR),India had a refugee population of more than 2 lakh by the end of 2018. India has given shelter to Tibetans, Chakmas from Bangladesh and refugees from Afganistan, Tamil refugees from Srilanka, Pakistani Hindu refugees, Rohingya Muslim Refugees from Myanmar etc. India does not have any law dealing with refugees. An utterly humanitarian matter likes the refugees has come to be influenced by considerations of national security or diplomatic relations between countries. In recent times ethnonationalism has been a significant factor in many violent conflicts; Minorities, who form a significant sector of the contemporary refugee population, are particularly affected.

Refugees in Marad

The notorious riots on 2nd May 2003 at Marad, near Kozhikode District in Kerala is an eye-opener in this respect. Soon after the riots, the majority of the Muslim families fled from area fearing the retaliation from the side of Hindu organizations. The Muslims who give up their homes were taking asylum in their relative's house outside the Marad. Their houses and properties were plundered and destroyed by anti-social forces. Those who expressed their willingness to come back to their houses were not allowed; even to enter the area, by Hindu organizations and Araya Samajam.

Political parties like Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) and Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI (M)) took initiative to open refugee camps in different areas. They provide food and shelter to the Muslims who fled from the Marad region. The situation and conditions in the camp were deteriorated day by day as the people wished to return to their homes. Religious indoctrination was so worse that one would turn communal even if one has no such feeling in mind. Almost the entire Hindu community was more or less in the same way as the fundamentalist who prevented the Muslims their fundamental rights to live in the homeland. This peculiar atmosphere tactfully exploited by Muslim communalist organizations. And they further injected into the minds of Muslims a feeling of animosity and hatred against Hindus. At the same time, the Hindus in Marad were hijacked by the Hindu fundamental forces. The *Sangh Parivar* stood as the chief spokesman of the whole Hindu community in Marad Beach. The Araya Samajam was unconditionally supported by Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) in creating resistance against the return of Muslim refugees. Again communal friction propaganda created by fundamentalist, the notion that the Muslims migrated to other places from the Marad, directly or indirectly involved in the violence against Hindus. The Muslim communal forces, on the other hand, criticized the Hindu stand of objecting the Muslims the right to reside in their homes.

Rehabilitate the Muslims in Marad became stalemate due to the stiff attitude of Araya Samajam. Then the Araya Samajam President, T Suresh stated that most of the Muslims in Marad was aware of the retaliation being planned. He pointed to the evacuation of the Muslim men from the place two or three days before to the incident as evidence to the arguments. The resistance made by the women and children in front of the mosques when the police tried to enter Masjid to arrest the assistants who took shelter them, proves the role of local Muslims fundamentalists.

Under these circumstances, Araya Samajam objected the return of Muslims. They also submitted some demands in front of Government.

1. An enquiry into the incidents and massacre by the Central Bureau of Investigations (CBI)
2. Adequate compensation to the dependents of the killed.

But the State Government refused the first demand while the government ready to negotiate the compensation of the dependents. The Hindu Fundamentalists declared that they will not attend the discussion without the CBI enquiry. And RSS State Secretary AR Mohanan opined that National Development Front (NDF) might have been involved in the killings. The Marad attackers have attempted 'ethnic cleansing of Hindus, he added.(The Hindu Daily, 2003).

The State Government was in a helpless situation because of the arrogant attitude of the BharatiyaJanata Party (BJP) and Araya Samajam. Rehabilitation of Muslims who wished to come back to their homes from the refugee's camp was a prestigious problem of government. Human Rights Organization and secular forces in and out of state entered into the issue and sharply criticized the government for its inefficiency in the rehabilitation process. The government could not wait for more, to get Muslim families rehabilitated. The attempt of the government to rehabilitate the refugees with police force was also failed due to the aggressive attitude of Hindu organizations. I came to know from the field survey, one Khadeesa, who was attacked by Hindu women with the supporters of RSS and was rehabilitated with the help of police. From these kinds of incidences, government realized that rehabilitation process was not possible without the co-operation of Araya Samajam.

From my field survey, I understood that more than 110 houses were not suited to reside and about 30 wells around were contaminated

which means the houses were not suitable for residing, repairing and renovation works was impossible without the co-operation of the local residents of Marad. Araya Samajam stood on the demands to raise the amount of compensation to the dependents of victims, handover the enquiry to CBI, allow financial aid to seriously injured persons and give compensation to whom houses and household articles were lost. (Malayala Manorama, 2003).

The IUML, on the other hand, opposed any possibility of CBI enquiry. The anti-Muslim stands taken by the BJP and the demand for CBI enquiry made doubtful for IUML. This was evident from the statement given by NP Rajendran, who was the then, news editor of *Mathrubhumi Daily*, to Marad enquiry Commission. P K Kunhalikutty, the IUML leader raised the apprehension that if the investigation was handed over to the CBI, there was no guarantee that the Central BJP government would not shut, Panakkad Shihab Ali Thangal, the President of IUML himself behind the bars. (Joseph, 2006, p.7)

The stand taken by Araya Samajam was that they cannot co-operate the rehabilitation process without giving proper justice. They opinioned that, without even providing adequate compensation to the victims, the government is helping the opposite side. (*Malayala Manorama*, 2003). The Secretary of Araya Samajam, T Suresh, pointing a women screaming and cursing a family which came back to Marad from the refugee camp explained the reason behind the woman outburst to M P Mathai, a Gandhian activist present at the scene. 'The woman's son and returned family members were friends and the day before the carnage, the boy belonged to the other family and the woman's son, both of them were fed by the women in her house, on the next day her son was betrayed by the other one by showing him to the assistance for killing.

The conflict situation remained unresolved despite many

attempts from different sides. The Araya Samajam expressed their disagreement to attend the peace talking and State Government was not responding to Hindu Organizations demand for CBI enquiry made again a chance for bloodshed and violence.

The Mediation of Gandhians

Without any formal invitation, the *Sarvodaya* workers took it as their responsibility to enter into the issue to pacify the conflicting groups. As a part of the peacekeeping process, initially, the *Sarvodaya Mandalam* president Rahim Master and a group of Gandhian activists tried to visit the affected area of Marad and refugees camp. But both side denied meeting the people and camps. According to P Gopinathan Nair, a renowned Gandhian, the conflict situation was getting worse day by day. In his notion, the interference of the political parties in the situation has further made it complicated.

The active involvement of Human rights Organization and political parties, championing the cause of innocent Muslim families of refugees denied the right to return their homeland seemed to be affecting the decision of the Araya Samajam. The general public began to view it as a negation of legitimate human rights. The initial sympathetic view towards Araya Samajam began to be shifted to the refugee's camps from Marad. The Muslim communal elements also came forward for a negotiation realizing that they could not go along with the frustrated people living in the camps. By this time the Gandhian activities were allowed to visit the refugee camps.

Taking all the above-mentioned factors into consideration, the *Sarvodayamandalam* decided to request for a CBI enquiry in the matters. "State Executive of Kerala Sarvodaya Mandalam unanimously passed a resolution demanding to the Government to take positive steps for a CBI enquiry into the massacre of Marad".

In this circumstances Sarvodaya workers obtained acceptability.

The Araya Samajam declared their co-operation to accept the mediation of Gandhians. P Gopinathan Nair was the Chief Mediator who was also the Chairman of *Gandhi Smaraka Nidhi*. Officially the State Government invited the Chairman to conduct talks including all the concerned parties and their problems. Chief Minister A K Antony has given the task of rehabilitating Muslim families, and other affected section by the violence in Marad near Kozhikode to a group of Gandhians. These groups are working hard to ensure that the fishing village does not get stripped of Violence again'. (Iype, 2003)

The initiative of the Gandhian Organizations was limited to the rehabilitation process only. The Gandhians tried their maximum to avoid the interference of police in the rehabilitation process. Gandhians created a good rapport with the families to be rehabilitated. In the first phase, those who suspected directly take part in the massacre were avoided.

The tiresome efforts of Gandhians created a friendly atmosphere among the people of Marad. In the words of Sarvodaya leader M P Mathai, "Many Hindu families in the neighbourhood of rehabilitating Muslim families cordially invited them to their homes. The hospitality they showed to the returned neighbours proved the fact that all Hindu family did not keep antagonism towards the Muslims or they have decided to forget the quarrels and co-exists with them peacefully". The rehabilitation process took more than two weeks and the report reveals that "285 displaced families were rehabilitated that included 280 Muslim families, 4 Hindu families and one Christian family that involved a total number of 1320 persons-308 males, 588 female and 424 children" (Joseph, 2006, p.32)

The Sarvodaya workers continued their service in the riot area in addition to the rehabilitation process. They actively involved maintaining peace among the conflicting groups. Gandhian workers

visited the homes in the area of Marad to propagate the need and importance of mutual trust and friendship. Some politicians and academicians criticized the mediation of Gandhian and Gopinathan Nair. They argued that Gopinathan Nair did not play any significant part in the agreement. The package was formed by the government. The government intended to stop the conflicting situation in Marad at any cost. According to them, the agreement was resulted in the understanding of the leaders of both communities and government.

Conclusion

After the communal riot, a majority of Muslims sought asylum in different places as refugees. In this complicated situation, no one can deny the meaningful role played by the Gandhians. Still, some refugees are settled in Chaliyam, Kadalundy and Farooq. Even some refugee families were suffering severe economic and social in justice. There is a dire need to sensitize different religious groups on the importance of cooperation and co-existence in a democratic country.

References

- Iype George (2003). Muslims unwelcome in Kerala's Marad Village, Retrieved on 2003 October 13 from <http://rediffnews.com>.
- Joseph, Thomas P (2006). *Commission of Inquiry*, Lakshadweep building, Court Complex, Kozhikode, Vol.I & II.
- Laski, Harold J (1925). *A Grammar of Politics*, Harper Collins Publishers Ltd.
- Mahajan Gurpreet (1998). *Identities and Rights-Aspects of Liberal Democracy in India*, Delhi: Oxford University Press
- Malayala Manorama* (2003). 14th September, Kottayam
- Malayala Manorama*, (2003). 22nd September, Kottayam
- Ritichie D G, (1952). *Natural Rights* (philosophical series), George Allen and Unwin publishers, London
- The Hindu (2003). May 4th Kozhikode
- The Sunday Tribune (1958). December 14, Ambala Cantt

MANPOWER JOURNAL

Quarterly Journal of
the Institute of
Applied Manpower Research

IAMR

A-7, Narela Institutional Area
Delhi-110 040

Editorial E-mail : editorial_iamr@yahoo.com
IAMR Email : iamrindia@nic.in

INCREDIBLE OPPORTUNITIES BACK HOME

Ansi Rahila*

Abstract

Kerala, the God's own country has got a diversified group of diaspora which include people ranging from unskilled to professionals and big businessmen. A recent study report shows that 2.24 million Keralites are spread in different parts of the globe. The role of Non Resident Keralites is worth mentioning for the development of the state. Each year crores of rupees are flushed and deposited in the banks of Kerala without being channelized into productive avenues. There are many of the NRIs, even those successful as entrepreneurs in the host countries find reluctant to make investments in their own home state. The main factor that pulls them back is the lack of confidence and fear of losing the results of their hardships. The governments at the central and state have to take serious efforts to safeguard the interest of these investors. This paper tries to throw light on the need for promoting investment friendly climate in Kerala and the areas towards which huge NRI deposits and remittances can be utilized for the better development of the state.

Keywords: NRIs, Expatriates, Remittances, Entrepreneurs.

India-the fastest growing economy has become the investment destination over the last decade. Investors worldwide are looking forward for the buoyant investment opportunities available within the country. Low labor cost and richness in various resources helps India to be one step ahead of her counter parts and made her one of the favorite destination for investment. Non Resident Indians (NRIs) too are earnestly searching for the opening up of investment chances in the country.

*Assistant Professor (FIP), Department of Commerce, All Saints' College, Trivandrum

From the investment point of view, Foreign Exchange Management Act 2000 defines an NRI as a person who has gone out of India or who stays outside India for the purpose of employment or carrying on business or vocation outside India or any other circumstances which indicate his intention to stay outside India for an uncertain period. NRIs are considered to be the backbone of Indian Economy. The remittances they send home has emerged as the dynamic factor for the socio- economic development of the nation. Official data for the past three years show that while FDI inflows fluctuated, inward remittances were upwardly mobile. The World Bank report shows that in the year 2017, NRI remittances were \$66 billion, against an FDI inflow of \$60.1 billion into the country. The money remitted by emigrants is utilized unproductively for the purchase of consumer durables and luxurious items. Now, the Indians abroad are ready to park their funds back home. In view of this, the Government is taking a number of initiatives to promote investment by the Indian Diasporas living abroad. The Government plays a vital role in attracting NRI investments by giving information on the investment climate and opportunities available in India. They also advise the prospective investors about the investment policies and procedures existing within the country. Now, the Non Resident Indians are allowed to make investments in all categories. Previously, the NRIs were only permitted to invest in Housing and Real Estate sectors. As per the RBI's Circular known as Press Note 2 of 2005 dated March 3, 2005 and Press Note 4 of 2006 dated February 10, 2006, the FDI openings for NRIs have widened vastly by including investments in "townships, housing, infrastructure and construction/ development projects."

Indian Diaspora is the largest expatriate community in the world. The International Migration Report 2017 shows that more than 16.59 million Indians reside in the various foreign countries like Middle East, Africa, the Americas, Australia, and the Europe and

so on. It is also worthwhile to point out that the major proportion of the expatriate population is from Kerala. Kerala can be placed among the top twenty remittances receiving countries or regions, when an international comparison is made (Congressional Budget Office (CBO), 2005). Majority of this amounts are deposited into banks without ample avenues for investment. As such the banks are flushed with funds, due to slow pace of industrialization. As per State Level Bankers' Committee's (SLBC) report as on September 2017, the NRI deposits lying idle in the nationalized banks in Kerala are above Rs. 1.5 lakh crore. However, due to many factors, this huge fund is not being tapped for enhancing an all-round economic growth and development of the God's own country. Ironically, these funds are invested in the States outside Kerala, where Business and Industry are thriving.

Objectives

- To know the rate of external migration and resultant remittances to the state of Kerala.
- To understand the need for promoting investment friendly climate in Kerala.
- To understand the areas towards which remittances can be utilized for the better development of the state.

Methodology

This paper is based on the information collected from various secondary sources such as books, magazines, newspaper articles, research journals available online and various websites in order to achieve its objectives.

Discussions

Migration Statistics of Kerala

The Centre for Development Studies (CDS), Thiruvananthapuram is one of the few research organisations in India, which

carries out periodic surveys to monitor migration to and from the state of Kerala. This initiative was started in 1988. Since then, CDS has completed six more such Kerala Migration Surveys (KMS), in the years 2003, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2014 and finally in 2016. According to the Kerala Migration Survey-2016, there is an absolute decline in the total number of Kerala emigrants abroad from 2.4 million in 2014 to 2.24 million in 2016, constituting a drop of 1.54 lakh. (Table 1)

Table 1: Emigration from Kerala (1998 -2016)

Year	Emigrants (in lakhs)	Annual Increase/ Decrease	Annual percentage increase / decrease
1998	13.6	-	-
2003	18.4	96,000	7.1
2008	21.9	70,000	3.8
2011	22.8	30,000	1.4
2014	24.0	40,000	1.8
2016	22.4	(1,54,000)	(6.4)

Source: Kerala Migration Surveys

A comprehensive survey named PravasiMalayali Census (PMC) 2013 was conducted by the State Government's Department of Non Resident Keralites' Affairs (NORKA) with the assistance of the Bureau of Economics and Statistics to get a true picture of Pravasi Malayalis from Kerala. Pravasi Malayali Census estimated that the Kerala have emigrants of 16.3 lakhs in the year 2013. Table 2 shows the distribution of emigrants by Destination Countries.

Table 2: Emigrants by Destination Countries

Country	No. of Migrants
USA	53642
Canada	6350
UK	30291

Germany	1920
Other European Countries	3809
Nigeria	850
Libya	811
Other African Countries	4122
Saudi Arabia	421313
UAE	507087
Kuwait	91780
Oman	89238
Qatar	113395
Bahrain	61408
Iraq	763
Iran	473
Singapore	5931
Malaysia	5546
Other Asian Countries	8987
New Zealand	2189
Australia	10709
Other Countries	6239
Total	1426853

Source: Pravasi Census, 2013

Magnitude of NRI Remittances

The remittances from abroad have a major impact on the socio-economic development of the state as it receives large amount of money from abroad as remittances. Remittances are the amount of money or goods that are send home by the people working abroad. As per the latest State Level Bankers' Committee's (SLBC) report on September 2017, the bank deposits by NRIs has crossed Rs. 157926.03 crores which was Rs. 143721.35 crores as on September 2016. The State Bank of India received the major portion of the deposits, attracting 33.48 percent of the total deposits to the state, while the share of Nationalised and Private Banks are only

21.51percent and 38.48 percent respectively. Regional Rural Banks (RRBs) and Co-operative Banks could attract only a small percentage of the total Non-Resident Deposits (See Table 3).

Table 3: NRI Deposits to different banking groups for September 2017 and September 2016

Banking Group	Non Resident Deposits (in Lakhs)							
	Rural		Semi-Urban		Urban		Total	
	2017	2016	2017	2016	2017	2016	2017	2016
State Bank of India	171755	153205	3545668	3295392	1570787	1701910	5288210	5150507
Nationalized Banks	99663	74266	2215707	1908936	1081229	1103485	3396599	3086687
RRBs	4001	3319	69434	50169	5874	4113	79309	57601
Private Sector Banks	193712	256448	4943586	4017607	1891174	1803271	7028471	6077326
Total of Commercial Banks	469131	487238	10774394	9272104	4549064	4612779	15792590	14372121
Co-operative Banks	0	14	0	0	13	0	13	14
Total	469131	487252	10774394	9272104	4549077	4612779	15792603	14372135

Source: State Level Banker's Committee Reports

The above given figures of Non Resident deposits represent the funds that remain in different bank accounts as on the closing date and they do not truly represent the total of remittance to the state . The actual remittance may be many times the official figures. The NRIs especially the unskilled labourers and other small income earning NRIs may not depend on the banking channels to remit the money to their loving ones back home. They may send it by-hand through friends or relatives who come home for visit. They may also send money through the illegal modes such as *Hawala or Hundi*. They NRIs might also be interested to send jewellery and

other luxury goods to their home state. All these figures if recorded by the officials would give another figure of some other crores.

The Need of the Hour

The World Bank data on remittances show that after India the other top five remittances receiving countries are China (USD 61 billion), the Philippines (USD 33 billion), Mexico (USD 31 billion), and Nigeria (USD 22 billion). The countries of China and Philippines which lags behind India in terms of its inward remittances, is in its upfront in terms of the schemes and programs to tap and invest such overseas funds in the origin country. The Chinese Economy was boosted by giving special benefits for the hard working overseas Chinese who brought technology and investment to their home land. Excellent decision making power with proper planning in a swift manner as well as the successful execution of the schemes by the Government has made China a promising business destination for many European and American Companies.

The state of Kerala stands at par with the developed countries of the world for physical quality of life index, high literacy, high life expectancy, low infant mortality and minimum rural-urban differences, while the others states of India could not achieve these parameters. Its high social and human development indicators, abundant natural resources, highly skilled human resources can work wonders if these factors synergized. Keralites are found to be a brilliant and excellent workforce once they are outside of their homeland. They are very much dedicated to their own country, honest and hard-working and are equally admired by the people in the host country. But, it is a difficult situation where many of the NRIs, even those successful as entrepreneurs in the host countries find reluctant to make investments in their own home state. There is urgently a need to inculcate work ethics and high productivity among people of the State, as the outflow of migrants is in its declining

level and the return migration is in its full swing due to nativisation in the Gulf Countries. The new generation of NRI professionals and businessmen are ready to be the partners in Kerala's growth in the upcoming future. To make it a dream come true, Government, bureaucracy and the general public including media should join hands and work as a team for achieving the common agenda of creating an Investor friendly Kerala. The huge NRI deposits and remittances can be utilized for the better development of the State in areas like NRI Town ships in each district of Kerala, Petrochemical and LNG base plants, Desalination Plants, Rubber/Coconut products, Infrastructure and Hospitality Projects, Eco friendly projects and also in the field of Information technology.

Recognizing the contribution made by the Non Resident Keralites, the Government of the state has implemented many welfare schemes like the Pravasi Kshema Nidhi, Pravasi Pension, Insurance coverage and schemes like Santhwana for the benefit of the poorer sections of Non Resident Keralites. Recently by the end of the year 2017, the Kerala Government has also come up with a promising KSFE Pravasi Chitty with the main aim of raising an amount of Rs.10,000crores out of a total of Rs.50,000 crores for various developmental activities that is to be carried out for the next five years in the state. The NRKs can make their monthly remittances, where the entire money will be invested automatically in NRI bonds being issued by the Kerala Infrastructure Investment Fund Board (KIIFB) on behalf of KSFE. The funds invested by the NRKs will also get a state guarantee.

The inevitable convergence of talent, international expertise and experience gained by the diaspora can be well tapped if all the stakeholders can work together with each other and create an investor friendly scenario in the state. Even if numerous discussions and debates are carried in different parts and at different points

of time, no deliberations could so far provide serious rethinking and audacity to the Non Residents Keralites to invest their hard earned money in their own State. The stakeholders must travel a long way so as to provide a world class infrastructure, business friendly policies and the unflinching commitment of its people for growth. The government in collaboration with the Kerala State Industrial Development Corporation (KSIDC) shall arrange for entrepreneurship development programs for the NRIs in order to inculcate the entrepreneurship skills and to provide support for setting up of business enterprises in Kerala. If the right opportunities are generated, NRI/PIOs could become solid and lifelong partners for the development of India and its states.

References

- Government of Kerala (2013). *Pravasi Census*. Thiruvananthapuram: Department of Economics and Statistics.
- Government of Kerala (2016). *Economic Review*. Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala State Planning Board.
- Congressional Budget Office (CBO) (2005). *Remittances: International payments by Migrants*. Retrieved from www.cbo.gov.
- MOIA. (2015). *Annual Report 2014-15*. New Delhi: Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, Government of India.
- World Bank (2016). *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016*. Washington: The World Bank.
- Zachariah, K. C., & Rajan, S. I. (2012). *Kerala's Gulf Connection, 1998-2011*. Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- Zachariah, K. C., & Rajan, S. I. (2013). *Diaspora in Kerala's Development*. Delhi: Daanish Books.



Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR)

*As part of its activities ICSSR publishes the following
journals, which are available for sale as per details
given below:*

Indian Social Science Review (Half-Yearly)
ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews: Economics
ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews: Geography
ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews: Political Science
Indian Psychological Abstracts & Reviews:
ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews:
Sociology and Social Anthropology

For Subscription/Order and trade enquiries please write to:

Assistant Director (Sales)
Indian Council of Social Science Research
national Social Science Documentation Centre
35, Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi - 110 001

SOCIAL FACTORS, ECO-FRIENDLY PRACTICES AND WASTE MANAGEMENT IN URBAN KERALA

Aruna U.G.* & Bushra Beegom R.K.**

Abstract

Environmental issues are getting more prominence in the current world. Kerala is also confronting issues related to environment and climate change. Among the major environment related issues observed in Kerala, urban Kerala is facing more issues such as pollution, water scarcity, dumping of degradable and non-degradable waste etc. For addressing such issues, people should adopt to an eco-friendly living. They, especially the urbanites, have to adopt systematic and responsible waste management habits in their daily life. To adopt eco-friendly practices and responsible waste management methods, social factors are playing an important role in both family and society. This study is an attempt to analyse the role and impact of three major social factors in determining eco-friendliness and waste management habits of urbanites in Kerala.

Key Words: *Eco-friendly practices, Waste management methods, Urbanites in Kerala*

Eco-friendly practices and waste management has a close connection with the social factors involved in it. Study proved that major social factors such as age, education and occupation played cardinal roles in determining persons' eco-friendly practices and waste management habits. This study incorporates three social factors and its fundamental influence with such eco-friendly practices through analysing data and using statistical tools. Major objective of this study was to analyse the impact of social factors in determining eco-friendly practices and waste management habits among urbanites in Kerala.

*Research Scholar, Department of Sociology, University of Kerala

**Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Kerala

Data Source and Method

Study was conducted by collecting primary data from four corporations of Kerala namely Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam, Kochi and Kozhikode. Interview and focus group discussions were the tools mainly used for collecting data. Women between 30 to 60 years of age were the respondents of the study which included both employed and un-employed women.

The study was descriptive and exploratory in nature. Stratified random sampling was used for the study. The sample size was fixed as 384 which were generated through descriptive research formula. The sample size of each Corporation was taken by calculating the proportion of the population of each Corporation.

Age and its social impact on Eco-friendly Practices

Table 1: Age and People Hear about e-waste

Age	Hear about e-waste		Total
	Yes	no	
30-40	33 37.9%	54 62.1%	87 100.0%
40-50	75 40.5%	110 59.5%	185 100.0%
50-60	29 25.9%	83 74.1%	112 100.0%
Total	137 35.7%	247 64.3%	384 100.0%

Source: Empirical Data

The table explained the relation between age and heard about e- waste or electronic waste by respondents. It was clear that out of 384 respondents only 35.7 percent heard about e- waste and the majority had not heard about e-waste or its effects. 'As age increases the awareness of e- waste decreases' was the impression that was getting while analysing the table. Younger generation due to various

reasons like higher education opportunities, exposure to public life, easily accessible information or influence of social media heard and knew about e-waste. The respondents aged 50-60 years of were not much exposed to such an issue, only 25.9 percent knew about it. This could be proved by using chi square test in order to analyse relation between these variables.

Table No. 2: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.772 ^a	2	.034
Likelihood Ratio	6.977	2	.031
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.675	1	.055
N of Valid Cases	384		

Source: Empirical Data

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 31.04.

According to Chi square test the p value was 0.034 which was less than 0.05(significant value). So here the test proved the relation between age and awareness about e- waste.

Table. 3: Age and Challenges to Manage E-waste

Age	Challenges to manage e-waste		Total
	Yes	no	
30-40	42	45	87
	10.9%	11.7%	22.7%
40-50	74	111	185
	19.3%	28.9%	48.2%
50-60	39	73	112
	10.2%	19.0%	29.2%
Total	155	229	384
	40.4%	59.6%	100.0%

Source: Empirical Data

This table analysed age and challenges related with e- waste management at home. The data revealed that percentage of respondents who confronted challenges while managing e-waste (40.4%) was more than that of respondents' who had awareness about e-waste (35.7%). The significant finding with these tables was that awareness alone could not make any positive changes to the house and society; e-waste is a very serious issue with respect to the social health. Dumping of e- waste is a product of a series of social activities such as thoughtless consumption, over consumption or conspicuous consumption, peer group pressure to buy the product and so on. From these tables, it could observe that educated younger age group also faced challenges to manage e-waste at home (10.9%). So education alone could not be a change factor but active participation of each person should be ensured to eliminate the issue of e- waste which is capable enough to cause all type of pollution and cancer like serious health issues.

A positive sign from the table was that the respondents who were not aware of e-wastes also realised e-waste as a challenge to manage which caused space constraints or unnecessary expense. The issue of e-waste start affecting the life of people if it is not addressed immediately. The urban society of Kerala is already facing solid waste management issues in a big way. Therefore more issues like e-waste will turn urban life unbearable in limited space cities with high density of population. E-waste is not addressed as a serious issue till now, but it has got the capacity to affect the social life and social health at an unexpected range. While analysing the ill effects of e-waste, it could be more harmful than the dumped waste. This is because it is a non- degenerating waste and also a harmful product formed by using dangerous elements which can cause emissions.

Table No. 4: Age and Segregation of waste

Age	Segregation of waste		Total
	Yes	No	
30-40	12	75	87
	13.8%	86.2%	100.0%
40-50	19	166	185
	10.3%	89.7%	100.0%
50-60	14	98	112
	12.5%	87.5%	100.0%
Total	45	339	384
	11.7%	88.3%	100.0%

Source: Empirical Data

A vast majority of respondents (88.3%) were not segregating waste in their house. A meagre percentage of respondents (11.7%) were following waste segregation in their house. This table mainly revealed two findings. One was majority were not ready to follow systematic waste managing methods even in their houses. Segregation is a scientific method to dispose waste as degradable and non- degradable before disposing it. Once segregation is done then appropriate disposing methods could be adopted to manage the waste. Respondents said that “sometimes we used to separate plastic waste and food waste but at the time of disposal we took all in a single carrier. This is for burning”. This means that the main objective for segregation were yet to reach to the respondents of the study.

The second finding was there were no relation between age and segregation of waste. Irrespective of age, respondents showed little aptitude to manage waste systematically through segregation of waste in their houses. This finding too underlined the unreachability of systematic waste disposal to the urbanites. Even the younger age group (30-40) showed any interest to segregate waste in houses,

very less percentage of respondents said yes to waste segregation (13.8%). Unscientific waste management methods lead to dumping or burning of waste especially non-degradable plastic waste, e-waste etc. which cause pollution and health issues to people in that society.

Table 5: Age and Burning of Plastics

Age	Burning of Plastics			Total
	always	sometimes	never	
30-40	23	36	28	87
	26.4%	41.4%	32.2%	100.0%
40-50	25	113	47	185
	13.5%	61.1%	25.4%	100.0%
50-60	11	85	16	112
	9.8%	75.9%	14.3%	100.0%
Total	59	234	91	384
	15.4%	60.9%	23.7%	100.0%

Source: Empirical Data

The table explained a relation between age and burning of plastics. The trend of the table was that 'as age decreases plastic burning practices also decreases'. There were changes in the practice of plastic burning from each age group. 32.2 per cent of respondents between 30 to 40 years of age revealed they 'never' burn plastics as part of their waste disposal or using as fuel. There was a slight change in following this practice from the 30-40 age group to 40-50 age group in terms of burning plastics. Though comparing with the 30-40 age group there was noticeable difference in the plastic burning practice of 50-60 age group. The observation was that there were around 18 per cent more ($32.2-14.3=17.9$) of plastic burners in this group. While analysing the table, the trend was that younger respondents avoided plastic burning as it could emit poisonous gases like 'diopsin' which caused serious health issues to the people in the society. The older generation was following generation long practices or old methods to manage plastic waste as part of their habit.

Another significant finding in relation with these variables was that the burning of plastic, one of the dangerous act which causes deaths due to air pollution, was very much higher i.e. an unavoidable majority of respondents were, either 'always' or 'sometimes', burning plastics which constitute 76.3 percentage, mainly as part of waste management. The social stigma that causes plastic burning is inevitable if the situation do not reverse. The most important point is a single act which is against environment can cause serious effects on it and affect large group of people knowingly or unknowingly because air is not just confined to any limited place. So polluting air through plastic burning by a single respondent had its own degenerating effects on the entire atmosphere. Here more or less a noticeable percentage of respondents following plastic burning in their houses which definitely led to serious health problems among people in the society.

Table 6: Age and Leader of Eco friendly Practices

Age	Leader of Eco friendly Practices				Total
	Elder Male Member	Elder Female Member	Adolescents	House Maids	
30-40	38 43.7%	40 46.0%	5 5.7%	4 4.6%	87 100.0%
40-50	65 35.1%	84 45.4%	14 7.6%	22 11.9%	185 100.0%
50-60	29 25.9%	80 71.4%	0 .0%	3 2.7%	112 100.0%
Total	132 34.4%	204 53.1%	19 4.9%	29 7.6%	384 100.0%

Source: Empirical Data

The table underlined the fact that the persons who led eco-friendly practices in their houses were elder female members of that family (53.1%). They were the leaders of eco-friendly practices of both level -1 or beginner level and level-2 or creative level. Woman as a house wife extended active participation in all level of eco-friendly practices by regulating, monitoring, reducing, implementing different activities in the family in order to make it eco-friendly. Elder male member of family constitute 34.4 per cent in leading eco-friendly practices. They were also active in both levels of practices.

Adolescents' leadership in eco-friendly practices was not hopeful so far and only 4.9 per cent showed interest to lead eco-friendly practices. New generation's participation in eco-friendly practices turned as a necessity in the current world. Therefore the younger generation has to be ensured their co-operation, participation and leadership for an eco-friendly living style.

House maids led eco-friendly practices in a family constitute 7.6 per cent which was more than that of adolescent's contribution. Unfortunately house maid's leadership effects as a third party interference in a house. Their contribution had been counted as valuable but if there were no involvement of family members the message of being eco-friendly had been lost. House maid led practices might not be influenced or passed to the next generation and if he or she lose interest or retired the entire family stops following it; but a family member led practices could be continued due to various reasons like economic, social or emotional.

The age of respondents had prominent role with eco-friendly practices. Within the 30 to 40 years age group, 46 per cent of elder female members were leading eco-friendly practices in their houses. At the same time in the 40 to 50 years of age group and 50 to 60 years of age group, the percentage of elder female member constitute

45.4 per cent and 71.4 per cent respectively. The table showed a gradual decrease in young female leadership in eco-friendly practices compared to 50 to 60 years of age group. Carrier orientations among females, other responsibilities in family and lack of support from other family members were the reasons of their decreasing leadership. Another significant change was gradual increase of elder male leadership in eco-friendly practices. From 50-60 group to 30-40 group the increase was 17.8 per cent.

Education and its social impact on Eco-friendly Practices

Table 7: Education and Heard about Eco-friendly Practices

		Heard about Eco-friendly Practices		Total
		yes	No	
Education	up to Plus Two	53 66.3%	27 33.8%	80 100.0%
	Graduation	171 66.5%	86 33.5%	257 100.0%
	Post-Graduation and Above	25 53.2%	22 46.8%	47 100.0%
Total		249 64.8%	135 35.2%	384 100.0%

Source: Empirical Data

All respondents were educated and they possessed basic educational qualification. Here 64.8 per cent heard about eco-friendly practices through different media. An interesting fact was that education played very limited role in penetrating the idea into the society. More than that social conscience could do pivotal role in developing a pro- environment attitude. Here 66.3 per cent of respondents up to plus two qualifications heard about eco-friendly practices, but only 53.2 per cent of highly qualified respondents with PG and above heard about such practices. It was showing a positive

aspect of being eco-friendly, here getting higher education need not be necessary to follow eco-friendly practices. Beyond educational qualifications interest and attitude played leading role to eco-friendly practices. A hypotheses have already proven that education played little role in becoming eco-friendly. Above all attitude played significant role of being eco-friendly.

Table No. 8: Education and Heard about E-waste

		Heard about E-waste		Total
		yes	no	
Education	up to PlusTwo	20 25.0%	60 75.0%	80 100.0%
	Graduation	97 37.7%	160 62.3%	257 100.0%
	Post- Graduation and Above	20 42.6%	27 57.4%	47 100.0%
Total		137 35.7%	247 64.3%	384 100.0%

Source: Empirical Data

From the table it was clear that 35.7% respondents heard about electronic waste or e- waste. Majority of respondents (64.3%) did not hear about e-waste. Majority of the people who heard about e-waste constitute respondents with post- graduation and above qualifications (42.6%). The other two categories did not hear about e- waste and that constituted the majority.

Problems of e-waste were not counted as a serious issue by the people or the authority till date. Even educated people showed any interest to know about e-waste and its harmful effects. There was hardly any concern to such issues beyond family level. Educated people have responsibility to the society, so they need to act accordingly. Higher educational qualifications did not regulate the purchase of electronic goods. There were no significant difference between respondents with higher and lower educational qualifications in terms of e-waste management.

Primary level understanding of e-waste was lacking among respondents from all categories including Post Graduates and above qualifications. This reality showed the seriousness of e-waste and its impact in society in different aspects. Unregulated purchase of electronic goods and less durability of products resulted in economic problems among respondents. Increasing amount of e-waste dumping affected peaceful living of respondents. Emissions from these waste and chemicals used in it damage the health of all living things and even contaminate atmosphere and water bodies. E-waste in itself has a political aspect. The e-waste from developed nations was dumped in third world and fourth world nations. Poor countries financial constraints to purchase new made them allow dumping e-waste to use it as second hand electronic goods and its parts for satisfying their limited electronic needs. Managing of e-waste is considered as a very serious issue because of the hazardous elements used while making it. Developed countries are yet to find a practical and harmless solution for e-waste management. Therefore unawareness of e- waste and its degenerating effects drove peoples' life into threat. Awareness creation and action to reduce the amount of e-waste became an important proceeding to ensure the safety of the society.

Table 9: Education and Proper Segregation and Disposal of waste

		Segregation and disposal of waste		
		Total		
		Yes	No	
Education	Up to plus two	2 2.5%	78 97.5%	80 100.0%
	Graduation	38 14.8%	219 85.2%	257 100.0%
	PG and above	5 10.6%	42 89.4%	47 100.0%
Total		45 11.7%	339 88.3%	384 100.0%

Source: Empirical Data

The table clearly showed that education was playing notable role in waste segregation in houses. Out of 11.7 per cent of waste segregating respondents, major contributors were respondents who were graduates, post graduates and above. A slight difference could be seen among graduates and post graduates who dealt with segregation methods at home. Compared to respondents up to plus two qualifications, segregation of waste was found slightly more among the other two higher educational categories. That difference was not to be taken as a noticeable impact of education in urban household waste segregation. This was because the total waste segregating respondents were only 11.7 per cent. Segregation is the fundamental principle of waste management.(<http://www.sanitation.kerala.gov.in>.)

According to this study, segregation alone made no difference in proper and scientific waste management in urban area but disposal played a vital role. Therefore segregating and disposing waste accordingly demand attention of urbanites. Waste could be degradable or non-degradable in a household. Such waste has to be segregated according to the nature of the waste and to be disposed separately through eco-friendly methods. The widely seen practices about waste management were respondents segregating waste into food waste and plastic waste or other non-degradable waste and at the time of disposal they put all types of waste into one pit and burn it right away. Some respondents said they segregated their food waste from other waste and put it in a pit or land and plastic waste were kept in a big carry bag and to be burned later. Some respondents said they segregate and dumped no-bio degradable waste to 'somewhere else' or sold to scrap dealers or rag pickers.

Some respondents agreed that they did not segregate waste or dispose it by following any eco-friendly methods. Kerala Suchitwa Mission, a Government venture to combat waste management issues

and promote eco-friendly practices, suggested waste management techniques to manage household waste suitable to each house like Compost pits, Pot Composting, Bio-digester Pot, Ring Compost, Mosepit Composting, Kitchen Bin Composting, Vermi Composting, Household Portable Biogas Plant, Toilet linked Biogas Plant etc. (Freedom From Waste,2017) Most of the respondents who were segregating their waste adopted Kitchen Bin Composting method and the rest of them used Compost pits and Biogas Plant.

Education could play a significant role in adopting scientific and eco-friendly waste management methods but this study showed that education alone could change on people's attitude towards eco-friendly living and cleanliness of environment. This situation pointed out the need of a new mode of education right from the school level to inculcate cleanliness of surroundings, cleanliness of environment and eco-friendly living. Such an educational system definitely would be able to impact largely on segregation and disposal of waste systematically and scientifically.

Table 10: Education and Burning of plastics

		Burning of Plastics			Total
		Always	Sometimes	Never	
Education	Up to plus two	14 17.5%	51 63.8%	15 18.8%	80 100.0%
	Graduation	45 17.5%	147 57.2%	65 25.3%	257 100.0%
	PG and above	0 .0%	36 76.6%	11 23.4%	47 100.0%
Total		59 15.4%	234 60.9%	91 23.7%	384 100.0%

Source: Empirical Data

The table showed that the issues with burning of plastic leading to serious health affecting issues should be circulated more effectively among the people of the state. Here respondents with

higher educational qualifications did not burn plastics as part of waste disposal to a great extent. 25.5 per cent of graduates and 23.4 per cent of post-graduates never burnt plastics at home. At the same time majority of the respondents (60.9%) burn plastic ‘sometimes’ at home as part of waste disposal. Along with that, 15.4 per cent ‘always’ burn plastic waste in their houses as a routine. This situation pointed out to the existing social phenomena that even those who are aware of the degenerating effect of plastic use were burning plastics. They were compelled to use and dispose it in an unscientific manner. The reasons behind this were many such as lack of space to store plastic waste, burning was a convenient method to dispose, lack of systematic methods; people who were informed about the hazards of plastic burning revealed their helplessness in this case. Some of them said “*we did not know the seriousness of this issue. We came to know the issue just after hearing from you*”.

Occupation and its social impact on Eco-friendly Practices

Table 11: Occupation and Heard about Eco-friendly Practices

		Heard about eco-friendly practices		Total
		yes	No	
Occupation	Home maker	123 65.1%	66 34.9%	189 100.0%
	Government servant	46 60.5%	30 39.5%	76 100.0%
	Self- employed	51 63.8%	29 36.3%	80 100.0%
	Professional	29 74.4%	10 25.6%	39 100.0%
Total		249 64.8%	135 35.2%	384 100.0%

Source: Empirical Data

Majority of the respondents heard about eco-friendly practices (64.8%) in which all categories of respondents heard about it in a majority. Respondents with professional occupation heard about eco-friendly practices and constituted the highest per cent i.e. 74.4.

Another prominent fact was 65.1 per cent of home makers heard about eco-friendly practices, this showed that people who were part of the study were well informed. Other categories of respondents were exposed to public life more than that of home makers. So it was easy for them to get information. Therefore eco-friendly practices were often a heard news to the respondents those who were employed. 35.2 per cent said they did not hear about eco-friendly practices through any media which showcased another social reality. This showed that even at the time of communication revolution there were people who were not interested in gathering information about environment.

Table 12: Occupation and Segregation of Waste

		Segregation of Waste		Total
		Yes	No	
Occupation	Home maker	29 15.3%	160 84.7%	189 100.0%
	Govt. servant	6 7.9%	70 92.1%	76 100.0%
	Self- employed	9 11.3%	71 88.8%	80 100.0%
	Professional	1 2.6%	38 97.4%	39 100.0%
Total		45 11.7%	339 88.3%	384 100.0%

Source: Empirical Data

The table revealed that most of the respondents did not segregate waste due to various reasons (88.3%). Rest of respondents constitute 11.7 per cent out of which respondents who segregate waste the most was home makers (15.3%). One of the respondents said *“I’m very much impressed with some talks related to environment and waste management through TV and radio. I really got inspired to do something at my home also for being a part of eco-friendly living, so I started segregating waste before disposal and followed suitable methods for different type of wastes.”* A few percent of professionals (2.6%) segregated waste as part of disposal; due to their work load or lack of

time. Self-employed respondents (11.3%) and Government servants (7.9%) also contributed to the practice of waste segregation.

Nature of occupation was different in different careers, so nature of occupation was very much depended on the style of living that was being adopted by each person. If a respondent was not following any waste segregation method at home then it reflected upon the life style and occupation of the respondents which pulled them back.. Time constraint was the most preferred reason mentioned by respondents to avoid proper waste management.

Table 13: Occupation and Burning of Plastic Waste

		Burning of Plastic Waste			Total
		Always	sometimes	Never	
Occupation	Home maker	39 20.6%	100 52.9%	50 26.5%	189 100.0%
	Govt. servant	8 10.5%	50 65.8%	18 23.7%	76 100.0%
	Self employed	5 6.3%	56 70.0%	19 23.8%	80 100.0%
	Professional	7 17.9%	28 71.8%	4 10.3%	39 100.0%
Total		59 15.4%	234 60.9%	91 23.7%	384 100.0%

Source: Empirical Data

Majority of respondents burn plastic products in their houses as part of waste management (60.9%). 20.6 per cent of home makers burn plastics 'always' in their house premises. Followed by 17.9 per cent of professionals burn plastic products as part of waste management. Apart from the difference in occupation respondents had taken plastic burning as a usual routine to manage home waste which uncover the fact that lack of plastic waste managing system that led them to follow this. Lack of recycling system for plastic waste made the respondents could not help from burning it. Almost all provisions even vegetables and fruits available only in plastic bags from stores in the cities, so it was impossible for them to avoid plastic products as part of waste management. Corporations especially

Thiruvananthapuram Corporation had taken a serious step to ban plastic carry bags in small and big shops in the Corporation limit.

23.7 per cent said they 'never' burn plastics and among which majority were self-employed (23.8%) respondents followed by Government servants (23.7%). Lack of awareness about the health and pollution problems caused due to plastic burning was one reason for that and lack of time could also be another reason for it. Anyway occupation showed the nature of occupation influencing respondents to follow the very day to day duties. By the respondents it was quite obvious that more than salary differences the working conditions, the nature of duties and responsibilities, rules and regulations, work load and work place pressure impacting both the personal and social life of respondents in a big way. Changes in routine, habits and adopted style of living largely depended on the nature of occupation of respondents so that such differences too reflected adopting eco-friendly practices and waste management methods.

Table 14: Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.774 ^a	6	.010
Likelihood Ratio	18.623	6	.005
Linear-by-Linear Association	.001	1	.974
N of Valid Cases	384		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.99.

Chi square test result showed the value of the test statistic was 16.774 and the corresponding p-value of the test statistic was 0.010. Since the p-value is less than the chosen significance level (0.05). Rather the study concluded that there were dependence between Occupation and Practice of Plastic Burning.

Conclusion

By analysing these results it was quite evident that the connections

or relations between social factors and eco-friendly practices or waste management habits were strong. Social factors could influence an individual to choose the mode of life style. Impact of social factors in urban condition revealed the need to plan a primary level influence among urbanites to adopt eco-friendly practices. In fast growing and thickly populated area urban life style could contribute more to the eco-friendly living and its impact will also be higher.

Awareness of eco-friendly practices, waste segregation and disposal, habit of plastic burning etc. were influenced by social factors like age, education and occupation in different level. Each category of the social factors impacted the eco-friendly practices and waste management habits in different ways. Issues of waste management and plastic burning were the most concerning challenges in urban life. That itself made urban life uncomfortable and unhealthy. So the impact of social factors has to be utilised at its maximum for expanding the significance of eco-friendly practices and systematic waste management practices.

Reference

- Barry, J. (1999). *Environment and Social Theory*, London: Routledge.
- Beck, U. (1992). *The Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, London: Sage.
- Boehmer-Christiansen, S. (2003). Science, equity and the war against carbon', *Science, Technology & Human Values*, 28(1): 69–92.
- Buttel, F. H. (1986). Sociology and the environment: the winding road toward human ecology, *Inter-national Social Science Journal*, 38(3): 337–56.
- Buttel, F. H. (1987). New directions in environmental sociology, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13: 465–88.
- Carson, R. (1962). *Silent Spring*, Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Dunlap, R. E. and Catton, W. R. Jr. (1979). Environmental sociology, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 5:243–73.
- <http://www.sanitation.kerala.gov.in> retrieved on.22.09.2017, Freedom From Waste, Marketing Feature, HarithaKeralam Mission and Suchitwa Mission, August 2017

ROLE OF TOURISM IN KERALA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Binu.S*

Abstract

Tourism will be the stepping stone in Kerala's great leap towards socio-economic empowerment. The geometric progression of domestic and international travel will lead to a dual influx of domestic and foreign exchange. It is also noteworthy that with the development of tourism, allied small niches like food and accommodation, tour operations, guides and facilitators etc will also be promoted. Well planned tourism in Kerala will certainly cause an unprecedented growth of infrastructure. With a far sighted and well managed plan of action, the state will be chin to chin with standards seen in developed countries. This paper tries to analyze the situation of tourism industry in Kerala and assess the size of income and employment generation through tourism in the state.

Tourism has long been proven to be a generator of the growth of a country in various aspects of income, foreign exchange and employment. The decisive role that it plays has been recognized by governments of developing and developed nations. Today tourism is seen as a form of modernization transferring capital, technology, expertise and modern values from the west to the less developed countries (Harison,1992). Kerala's development efforts are facing manifold socio-economic and geo-political hurdles as there is dearth of land for the expansion of agriculture or industry, lack of sustainability in energy, thick density of population and growing unemployment. But, one of the added source of extra financial inflow for the state as discussed by experts is tourism. Fortunately the state now holds the position of one of the most sought after destinations in the world of

*Research Scholar in Economics, University College, Thiruvananthapuram

tourism. Tourism industry has been exerting considerable advantages in Kerala's economy. A well-analysed and data based plan and far sighted action programme will help the tourism industry in Kerala to flourish and display better role in her development process.

Tourist arrivals to Kerala

Growth and development of tourism is closely related to the number of arrivals made by tourists. Foreign tourist arrivals registered a 7.6% annual increase in 2014 with 0.92 million foreign tourists visits, compared to 8.12% annual increase in 2013 and 0.85 million foreign tourist visits. This show a marginal decrease in the growth of foreign tourist arrivals in 2014 compared to that of the previous year (Economic review, 2015). Foreign tourist arrivals recorded positive growth rates at National and State levels, except for 2009 when world economic crisis impacted tourist inflow. In subsequent years, the state tourism performed better than National level. But the National average surpassed State annual growth rate of foreign tourist arrivals in 2014 for the first time in a decade. The state tourism has been witnessing a slowdown in annual growth rates, since 2010. Domestic tourist visits to Kerala was 11.7 million in 2014 and registered an annual growth rate of 7.71%. There was also a marginal decrease in growth rate as the annual growth rate was 7.75% in the previous year. Domestic tourism in India is predominantly pilgrim tourism where the State lags behind the national average growth rates over the years. A notable feature is that the national growth rate in domestic tourist visits has always been greater than State annual growth since 2009 and has increased in 2014, while the State annual growth shows a slight slowdown.

In Kerala about 74% of the domestic tourist visits originate from within the State. Among other states, Tamil Nadu dominates with 10.5% of the tourists followed by Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Delhi with shares of 5.74%, 3.0%, 1.56% and

1.34%, respectively. The main purpose of visit of domestic tourists was leisure, recreation and holiday with a share of 35.60% of tourists. Another 30.29% of the tourists visited Kerala for business, conferences and meetings. Pilgrim or religious visits account for only 7.55 % in 2012-13. Company executives in the private sector, business men, and public and private sector employees were the main domestic visitors to Kerala (Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala, 2014). In 2014, the United Kingdom was the top source market for Kerala with 16.4% share, followed by France (9.85%), the USA (8.41%), Germany (8.20%), and Saudi Arabia (7.04%). All the top five countries together contribute for 50% of total foreign tourist arrivals to the State.

Table 1
Foreign and domestic tourist arrivals to Kerala

Year	No. of foreign tourists	% of increase	No. of domestic tourists	% of increase	Total No. of tourists	% of increase
1986	50841	-----	423756	-----	474597	-----
1987	51816	1.92	510619	20.50	562435	18.51
1988	52083	0.52	582050	13.99	634133	12.75
1989	62952	20.87	634248	8.97	697200	9.95
1990	66139	5.06	866525	36.62	932664	33.77
1991	69309	4.79	948991	9.52	1018300	9.18
1992	90635	30.77	994140	4.76	1084775	6.53
1993	95209	5.05	1027236	3.33	11 22445	3.47
1994	104568	9.83	1284375	25.3	1388943	23.74
1995	142972	36.73	3915656	204.87	4058628	192.22
1996	176855	23.7	4403002	12.45	4579857	12.84
1997	182427	3.15	4953401	12.50	5135828	12.14
1998	189941	4.12	4481714	-9.52	4671655	-9.04
1999	202173	6.44	4888287	9.07	5090560	8.97
2000	209933	3.84	5013221	2.55	5223154	2.60

2001	208830	-0.53	5239692	4.52	5448522	4.31
2002	232564	11.37	5568256	6.27	5800820	6.47
2003	294621	26.68	5871228	5.44	6165849	6.29
2004	345546	17.28	5972182	1.72	6317728	2.46
2005	346499	0.28	5946423	-0.43	6292922	-0.39
2006	428534	23.70	6271724	5.47	6700258	6.47
2007	515808	20.37	6642941	5.92	7158749	6.84
2008	598929	16.11	7591250	14.28	8190179	14.41
2009	557258	-6.96	7913537	4.25	8470795	3.43
2010	659265	18.31	8595075	8.61	9254340	9.24
2011	732985	11.18	9381455	9.15	10114440	9.29
2012	793696	8.28	10076854	7.41	10870550	7.48
2013	858143	8.12	10857811	7.75	11715954	7.78
2014	923366	7.6	11695411	7.71	12618777	7.71

Source: Tourism statistics, Dept. of tourism, 2010, Economic review, 2015

Table 2

Share of major international source markets of Kerala tourism, 2014

Sl. No.	Country	Total	% share
1	U.K	151497	16.4
2	France	90933	9.85
3	U.S.A	77616	8.41
4	Germany	75698	8.20
5	Saudi Arabia	65048	7.04
6	Russia	35010	3.79
7	Australia	34513	3.74
8	Canada	25976	2.81
9	Malaysia	25611	2.77
10	Others	341464	37.00
	Total	923366	

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of Kerala

The tourism industry in broader terms has great indirect multiplier impact in the economy through backward and forward linkages and also induced impact through spending of benefitted households and firms in the economy. Total revenue from direct and indirect means from tourism has increased from Rs.22926.55 crore in 2013 to Rs.24885.44 crore in 2014 recording 8.54% annual increase. The share of the State in the national pie of foreign tourist arrivals is 12.02% in 2014 whereas it was 12.31% in the preceding year. Kerala occupies 7th rank in foreign tourist arrival in 2014 (Tourism statistics, Dept. of tourism, 2014). Although tourism seems to be adding substantially to the economic growth of many of these regions, many developing countries are not reaping full benefits from tourism. The main reason for this is that more than two- thirds of the revenue from international tourism never reaches the local economy because of high foreign exchange leakage. Leakage refers to the amount of money that leave an economy to import goods and services needed for tourism development. Leakage results from at least six factors:

- The costs of goods and services purchased to satisfy the needs of visitors.
- The purchase materials and equipment from other countries to supply the needed infrastructure for tourism.
- The payments to foreign factors of production.
- The expenditure for promoting a destination abroad.
- Transfer pricing is the next form of leakage. Here, profits and taxes accruing to a destination area are reduced when payments are made in the country of visitor origin rather than the destination.
- The exemption given to foreign owned companies from paying duties or taxes as an incentive to attract investment (Ratti, 2007).

Table 3
**Foreign tourist arrivals to India and Kerala and share of
foreign tourists' arrival to Kerala**

Year	No. of foreigners		% variation over the previous year		Share of Kerala in Indian tourism market %
	India	Kerala	India	Kerala	
1990	1329950	66139	-.54	5.06	4.97
1991	1236120	69309	-7.06	4.79	5.61
1992	1434737	90635	16.07	30.77	6.32
1993	1442643	95209	.55	5.05	6.6
1994	1886433	104568	30.76	9.83	5.54
1995	2123683	142972	12.58	36.73	6.73
1996	2287860	176855	7.73	23.70	7.73
1997	2374094	182427	3.77	3.15	7.68
1998	2358629	189941	-.65	4.12	8.05
1999	2481928	202173	5.23	6.44	8.15
2000	2649378	209933	5.73	3.84	7.92
2001	2537282	208830	-3.31	-0.53	8.23
2002	2384364	232564	-6.03	11.37	9.75
2003	2726214	294621	14.34	26.68	10.81
2004	3457477	345546	26.82	17.28	10.26
2005	3918610	346499	13.30	0.28	8.85
2006	4447167	428534	13.5	23.70	9.64
2007	5081504	515808	14.4	20.37	10.15
2008	5366966	598929	5.6	16.11	11.16
2009	5108579	557258	-4	-6.96	10.91
2010	5775692	659265	11.8	18.31	11.81
2011	6290319	732985	8.9	11.18	11.65
2012	6577745	793696	4.57	8.28	12.07
2013	6967601	858143	5.9	8.12	12.31
2014	7679099	923366	10.2	7.6	12.02

Source: Tourism statistics, Dept. of tourism, 2014

Earnings from tourism

Tourism has a major role to play in progressing the financial gain to households by means of foreign exchange inflow in real local markets. Hotels and restaurants, tour operators, shopping and transport are amongst the players that bring in money through the local markets.

The direct contribution of tourism can be seen in the domestic and foreign exchange. The foreign exchange earnings from tourism during the year 2013 were Rs. 5560.77 crore which increased to Rs. 6398.93 crore in 2014 registering an increase of 15.07%. Domestic tourist earnings for the year 2013 were Rs.11726.44 crore that increased to 12981.91 crore in 2014 registering an increase of 10.78% (Tourism statistics, Dept. of tourism, 2014).

Table 4
Earnings from tourism in Kerala

Year	Foreign exchange earnings (Rs. in crores)	% of increase	Earnings from Domestic Tourists (Rs. in crores)	Total revenue generated from Tourism (direct & indirect)	% of increase
2001	535.00	1.85	2561.16	4500.00	9.58
2002	705.67	31.90	3011.31	4931.00	20.42
2003	983.37	39.35	3492.68	5938.00	12.83
2004	1266.77	28.82	3881.92	6829.00	15.01
2005	1552.31	22.54	4281.42	7738.00	13.31
2006	1988.40	28.09	4891.94	9126.00	17.94
2007	2640.94	32.82	5978.65	11433.00	25.28
2008	3066.52	16.11	6832.13	13130.00	14.84
2009	2853.16	-6.96	7122.18	13231.00	.77
2010	3797.37	33.9	9282.68	17348.00	31.12
2011	4221.99	11.8	10131.97	19037.00	9.74
2012	4571.69	8.28	10883.00	20430.00	7.32
2013	5560.77	21.63	11726.44	22926.55	12.22
2014	6398.93	15.07	12981.91	24885.44	8.54

Source: Tourism statistics, Dept. of tourism, 2014

Conclusion

It may be inferred from the study that tourism as an industry plays a pivotal role through multifarious facades in molding the economic scenario of Kerala. The influx of foreign and domestic tourists, with the monies from foreign exchange is veracity to the statement that tourism is a positive gainer to the socio-economic development of the state. A well- curated and far fetched planning will surely lead the state reach heights incomparable to the year that has passed.

References

- David Weaver and Laura Lawton (2002). *Tourism Management*, II edition, Sidney and Melbourne: John Wiley & Sons Australia Limited.
- Government of Kerala, *Tourism Reports* (various years), Department of Tourism
- Government of Kerala, *Economic Review* (various issues), State Planning Board
- Ratti, Manish (2007). *Tourism Planning and Development*, New Delhi: Rajat Publications.
- Babu, Satish A (1998). *Tourism development in India (A case study)*, A New Delhi: P.H publishing corporation.
- Urry, J (2000). *Sociology beyond Societies*, London Routledge: Wiley and Sons.
- World Trade Organization, (2001). *Tourism 2020 Vision*, Madrid: World Tourism Organization.
- World Travel and Tourism Council (2001). *Reports on Economic Impact of Tourism in India*.
- Harison, D. (1992). *International Tourism and Less Developed Countries*. United Kingdom: John Wiley and Sons.

TRANSCENDENTAL NATURE OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN SANKARACHARYA'S PERSPECTIVE

Parvathy Jayan*

Abstract

The philosophical studies of consciousness have been going parallel with the scientific experiments on consciousness. The Western thinkers of 20th and 21st century are trying to reduce human consciousness to a mere biological activity. But we cannot say that science is completely sufficient or it is fully capable to reveal consciousness. It is just because that, there is no evidence to prove that consciousness is fully a biological process. Here comes the relevance of the consciousness theories of the great thinker Sankaracharya, which states consciousness is not just a mental activity. He explains the higher possibilities of human consciousness which helps man to develop his inner essence and to go beyond his complex mental activities.

Keywords: *Transcendental consciousness, Advaita Vedanta, Sankaracharya, pure consciousness.*

Studies and researches on human consciousness had been developed from the famous mind-body problem and it is always been an interesting area of study for both scientists and philosophers. The enthusiasm for knowing our inner essence has opened up large and different varieties of theories and definitions on consciousness. But still it is a wonder to know that, there is no scientifically accepted definition for consciousness. Most of the definitions are always related to the qualities or activities related to consciousness. Scientists failed to give a definite description to the term consciousness. Also they

*Research Scholar, Dept of Philosophy, SreeSankaracharya University of Sanskrit, Kalady, PH: 9744945987, parvathy092@gmail.com

cannot find out the exact difference between the term mind and the term consciousness. The recent studies on mind and consciousness are trying to reduce the human consciousness to a mere materialistic activity. Most of the recent theories on consciousness argue that it is a mental activity which is generated due to the sense- object contact. But according to Indian philosophical tradition, deducing human essence in to the context of mere sense- object relation is not acceptable. Indian philosophy has a different theory regarding the true nature of human consciousness. The search for ultimate truth by the ancient Indian thinkers has begun from the study of human self and its nature; it gives a fundamental beginning to the study of human consciousness in India. The enquiry for the nature of human consciousness can be seen in Upanishad in its comprehensive manner. This interest is summed up in the expression “*Atman Viddi*, “known the self”, Right from the upaniṣadic time there has been an interest in the problem of relation between body and mind and the state of consciousness” (Kuppuswamy, 1993, p.1).

This paper is an analytical enquiry in to Sankaracharya's philosophy. His interpretations on human consciousness are very relevant in the field of consciousness studies, in India. His philosophy is a synthesis of the three texts i.e. Upaniṣad, Bhagavad Gītā and Brahmasūtra. Therefore, a close examination of his works will give detail awareness about the position of ancient Indian scriptures in the field of consciousness study.

Consciousness According to Advaita Vedanta

Advaita Vedanta, which is believed to be the crown of Indian philosophy, got its incredible position in the world of knowledge through the contribution of great philosopher, Sankaracharya. Sankara's genius can be seen in his theory of consciousness; his theory of consciousness is a combination of metaphysics and

normal human experience. He systematically connected the concept of Absolute with all the other authentic human experiences in his theory of consciousness. Our consciousness has a different origin than the material universe. It is not something that has come from outside, Advaita Vedanta believes in a natural origin of consciousness also. William Indich says, “Sankara’s consciousness is, ontologically speaking, the eternal self- revelation of existence, intelligence and bliss” (William Indich, 1980, p.28)

Four Levels of Consciousness

The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad rightly directs all investigation of man to his own personal experiences during his waking state, dream state and deep sleep state to have a total picture of his own existence. *Māṇḍukyopaniṣad* also mentions a fourth state of conscious experience called *Turiya*, which is the true nature of human existence. Technically the *Vedas* states that, for all personal experiences of man there is a corresponding universal experience. The individual soul (microcosm) enjoying the waking state is called *Visva*, and the corresponding manifest consciousness of the universe (macrocosm) which is called *Virat*. Consciousness present in the dream state is called *Taijasa*, and the corresponding macro cosmic state is called *Hiranyagarbha*. And the state of consciousness in deep sleep state is *Prajna* and the corresponding macrocosmic state is called *Avyakṛta*. These four stages of human consciousness has become one of the central themes of Sankaracharya’s philosophy. He elaborately discussed the higher scope of these four divisions of consciousness and proved its authenticity to define the true nature of human consciousness.

In the waking state, man is aware of the world which he exist. To experience the world outside him he is endowed with a physical body and this body has enough capacity to perceive and analyze things. *Māṇḍukyopaniṣad* says human body consists of seven limbs head,

vital breath, eyes, the central part of the body, stomach and kidney, feet and mouth. In this physical body, there are nineteen organs which includes ears, eyes, skin, tongue and nose (which is known as the five sense organs), speech, hands, feet, organs of excretion and the genital organ (constitute the five organs of action), then the five aspects of vital breath i.e.; *prana, apana, vyana, upana and samana*, behind these organs there is four functional aspects of internal organ known as *citta, ahamkara* which means ego, intellect and at last the mind. Complex activity of these psycho- physical aspects of human body make him possible to understand and experience the world which he lives, and make his waking state active.

Through the physical body, waking consciousness enjoyed the external world. On the state of sleep, this body retains the impressions which it has experienced in the waking state and operate in the realm of dreams. The seer and the seen things are illusions on because; they will appear only during the period of dream. Even all the dream experiences the product of dream consciousness; still there is a feeling that the dream objects are real and different from the dreaming consciousness. In the state of dream- place, time, incidence etc. of dream experiences are created by the mind and no other external sense contacts are acting on it. But the dreamer wake up from the sleep then he will realize that the objects in the dream are just imaginations. The dreamer during the dream state believes whatever in the dream is real as long as that dream exists, and the awareness of dream feelings is because of the consciousness which witness the dream state.

Deep sleep gives the greatest relaxation comparing to other two states. All of us enjoy happiness when we are in the deep sleep state. There is no difference between the experience of sleep in one man and that of other person. The man and the woman, the child and the older, rich and the beggar all have the same feeling in deep

sleep. The equality in human consciousness begins from this state. There is a total absence of emotions, there is no pain, no pleasure, and no desire for objects and there is a complete absence of worldly affairs. We forget about ourselves. There is only a state of bliss, which cannot be explained in words. Even we cannot explain in words, we all know about this state of bliss, because our consciousness is still there to experience it. How this bliss is possible? It is because man's emotions like pain, pleasure, desire, hatred etc. arise due to the contact of his mind with the external and internal world. When these contacts cease to exist, consciousness becomes peaceful. This blissful state of consciousness is called *Prajna*. Consciousness in *prajna* state is completely away from external world and it has no knowledge about the internal and external activity so the experience in *prajña* state cannot be communicated by a man when he woke from that sleep. But the unchanging consciousness can feel this peace.

Transcendental Consciousness

The fourth stage *Turiya* or the transcendental consciousness is the true nature of human consciousness. It is a complete awareness about one's own self. Sankara believes pure being-ness means a complete awareness about one's own Self and this awareness is the true nature of pure consciousness. This knowledge about the true nature of pure consciousness cannot be attained through mere object oriented study i.e.; Here epistemology goes beyond a subject- object based study. Advaita holds that knowledge is not an acquisition of the consciousness; it is its very essence. This does not mean that particular knowledge or knowledge relating to matter of fact. It means realizing the consciousness which lights up and reveals everything. Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad says, "It is neither inward turned nor out ward turned consciousness, nor the two together; not an undifferentiated mass of consciousness; neither knowing, nor unknowing; invisible, in tangible, devoid of characteristics,

inconceivable, indefinable its sole essence being the consciousness of its own self; the coming to rest of all relative existence; utterly quiet; peaceful; blissful; without a second; this is the *Atman*, the self; this is to be realized” (*Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, 7). The fourth level of consciousness is a spiritual explanation to our consciousness. According to *Vedas* and *Upanishads* this state of consciousness is the real nature of human consciousness. When this nature is attained, all the confusions regarding human existence will vanish out. Also it unifies all the multiple face of human consciousness. This is the spiritual end which each and every human should realize. It is the union of microcosm and macrocosm, or in the upaniṣadic terms we can say the *Atman* (individual self) realizes its true nature, thus it realize the *Brahman* the Ultimate Reality, and it attains the knowledge that the *Atman* is nothing other than the *Brahman*. The experience in this state of consciousness is unexplainable and cannot be imagined in normal human thinking level. This level of consciousness is named as *Turiya*. The sense organs cannot perceive it and we cannot give any attribute to it. No word is enough to communicate it. It is beyond human intellect and this pure consciousness is the answer for all doubts that man possesses.

In West, they normally think consciousness is one that which indicates intelligence or a mental function performed by the mind, intellect and ego, but this is not the implication of the word “consciousness” as used by Sankara. Sankara argued that, consciousness is synonymous with the concepts being, existence, or “is-ness.” Consciousness is self-evident, self-revealing. Actually, ‘knowledge’ is a tricky word to denote consciousness’s awareness. We interpret the term-‘knowledge’ in terms of ‘objective’ knowledge. In other words, our idea of knowledge is in realm of a subject, who is usually conceived as a mind-body-sense complex or apparent individual person. Thus we assume that the process of knowledge

is an interaction between a subject and an object outside from him. Consciousness is not limited to an apparent individual person. In fact, the individual person, along with all the thoughts and emotions supposedly is 'within' the individual and it is only an object appearing in consciousness. The real consciousness is not the product of combinations of feelings or ideas or experiences gained through the sense- object contact. The subject is the center of consciousness, but the object is insentient requiring to be revealed by the subject. The subject both exists and knows whatever as the object only exists. The subject is experienced directly in an intuition (ahampratyaya) whereas the object is known only from the outside (idampratyaya). It is possible to doubt the existence of the object but it is never possible to doubt or deny the subject. Later, Sankara suggests that, this subject whom we identify as our self is not as we assume. It is not the ultimate agent which is able to identify the object or truth. The true subject is pure consciousness. Sankara says that subject-object division is a principle which breaks up the original unity of the consciousness and gives a distorted picture of it as subject and object, as that which perceives and that which is perceived. It is the principle of differentiation and integration inherent in the human mind. It breaks up the original whole of consciousness into its component parts and reconstructs them in its own way. "Advaita hold that what is immediately known is awareness-in-itself, free from the conditions of subject and object. Difference is construed with the rise of mental modifications (vrtti), occurring due to ignorance and mental imprints (vasana)" (Timalsina, 2009, p.87).

If the knowledge acquisition is based on a subject- object oriented study then we get a picture of a world characterized by endless differences and ceaseless change. This process pre supposes the concealment of the real nature of things and the presentation of something that is not there. There are therefore two stages in the

process, suppression of the real and the projection of the unreal. The truth is concealed from our view and something else is presented to our perception. The false appearance is super imposed on the real. It is due to Maya this super imposition occurs. Contradiction between appearance and reality is due to the limitations of our intelligence. We cannot say that māya is the absence of knowledge. In another sense we can say that māya is a wrong knowledge. The power of māya which is capable of suppressing the reality is called āvaraṇasakti and the power that projecting the falsity is called vikṣepasakti. In Advaita Vedanta, nothing is real other than Brahman. There for the māya which is the cause behind the empirical world is also unreal. The absolute is the only reality which appears as many. But this absolute reality is not undergoing any change in order to appear as many. It is our limited intellect creates this multiplicity in our sense organ and in our mind, thus the multiplicity of objects appear. Human perceives things through the intellect and impose names and form on it which is essentially nameless and formless. The absolute appears as the world of diversity and change when it is viewed through the medium of an object based study. This has a knack of presenting the real as if it is existed in time and space and as if it were a substance possessing attributes. Reality is therefore distorted when it is presented through our knowing apparatus.

What's more, given the non-dual nature of reality, which is nothing other than pure consciousness, all objects appearing "within" consciousness are actually nothing other than consciousness itself. Hence, consciousness does not need an object within itself in order to know its true nature. Consciousness, however, cannot be "taken away." As the essence of existence itself, consciousness cannot cease to exist. Even when all appearances – gross and subtle objects – cease, as they do in *nirvikalpasamadhi*, a thought-free meditative state, and deep sleep, consciousness remains. If it did not, how would you know

upon awakening that you had enjoyed dreamless sleep? Perhaps the trickiest aspect of understanding consciousness, however, is the fact that consciousness is not an object. Consciousness is simply the awareness in which all objects appear. It is all-pervasive (i.e. non-dual), it is essentially attribute-less. Hence, consciousness cannot be known in the way that objects are known. The mind, which is a property of the apparent individual, can only know objects appearing within it. Because the entire mind-body-sense complex is only an object appearing in consciousness, however, the mind is incapable of seeing or knowing that which is subtler than itself.

All other stages of human consciousness are very common in all living creatures, which are also accepted by the western thinkers. It is a level which transcends the other levels of consciousness. We can also call it as supra- mental state or super consciousness. This level of consciousness can be attained by a few people. The state which is transcendental in nature is incommunicable or indefinable. It is a blissful state and most pure form of consciousness. There is neither object-subject duality nor an outer world experience. In this stage we possess a higher knowledge or a pure knowledge of self. It is transcend to every other lower knowledge. "According to Sankara, Consciousness is like a lamp that is burning in a room. It reveals the objects and the human beings who are in that room. Even when all the things have been removed and the men also left the room, the lamp will not get out. It will continue to burn and it will show that there is nothing in the room" (Venkatarama, 1964, p.51).

Conclusion

In Sankara's philosophical perspective consciousness is something which is beyond the materialistic activity of man. There are so many possibilities for human consciousness to develop. Consciousness is more than a biological activity. The true essence of human is his consciousness with its pure form. So deducing his consciousness in

to a sense – object relation is not meaningful. So the 20th century materialistic and phenomenological thinker's attempt to reduce the human essence in to lower level is not valid in the context of ancient Indian scriptures. Later, the Indian thinkers of 19th and 20th century also support Sankara's view. K.C. Battacharyya, Aurobindo, Gandhi etc. adopted Sankara's theory of consciousness in their philosophy. This shows that his theories are not just spiritualistic theories. Sankara strongly argues that pure consciousness is the real nature of human consciousness. This states of consciousness transcendent all the riddles that which humans possesses. This higher possibility of consciousness has to be explored by the researchers in this field. More than limiting consciousness studies in to mere object oriented investigation, this transcendent approach offers more scope for further research in this area.

Reference

- Balasubramanian,R.(2008). *The self as the seer and the seen*. Kalady: Sreesankaracharya university of Sanskrit.
- Kuppuswami B.(1993). *Source book of Ancient Indian psychology*. Delhi: Konark Publishers Pvt Ltd.
- Nair Krishnan (1997). *Praudanubudhiprakaranaprakasika*.Thiruvananthapuram: Kerala Bhasha Institute
- Sastri, B.L, Sathyanarayana (1979). *Mandukyopanishad A Study*. Bombay: Bharatiyavidhya Bhavan
- SthaneshwarTimalsina.(2009). *Consciousness in Indian philosophy*. London: Routledge group.
- Iyer, M.K. Venkadarama (1967). *Advaitavedanta*. Madras : Asia publishing house.
- William Indich.(1980). *Consciousness in Advaita Vedanta*. Delhi: Motilal Banarasidass.

CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF ONE RELIGION OF NARAYANA GURU

Betty Sunny*

Abstract

Happiness is the common goal of mankind, and unitive understanding is the solvent of all paradoxes and problems. In modern life, religious and ideological rivalries assert themselves in various false garbs. Many are the new fangled names given by interested groups to label as a patent for a private monopoly. Narayana Guru's contemplation or unitive understanding tries to bring out a new attitude, establishing order where chaos has reigned. The aim of all religions is to attain Self-happiness. Happiness as the aim of man gives unity of human purpose and brings all religions under its single sway. Once this core-secret of all religions become known to the religionists all rivalries and feuds among them disappear. The urgent need of today is the reawakening of the believers of all religions to the heart of their own religious teachings. Religion then may become something that enhances human dignity based on a scientificity of its own.

Keywords: *One religion, happiness, Rivalry.*

Religion occupies the most important part in the life of human beings and it is the chief differentiating characteristic of man. Religion indicates what is highest in man and lifts him in some way to the universe, or the infinite and eternal, of which he is a part. Religion aims chiefly at creating a refined way of life. It satisfies the inward craving of man who is leading an animated life and wishes to attain a spiritual consolation, solace and peace. The aim of religion

Research Scholar (UGC-NET), Department of Philosophy, Kariavattom Campus, University of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, email: bettypsunny@gmail.com,

+91 9961754340.

is the factual realization of the harmony between the aspiring soul and the integrating principle.

Religion is considered to be the binding force which binds the man with a definite chain and unites the individuals. But the present scientific age, the value of religion is being ignored by many who had tried to underrate its importance.

Many contemporary thinkers like Swami Vivekanda, Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Radhakrishnan, Sree Narayana Guru etc. had exposed to the best presentation of religion according to their views. This will enable the growing generation to understand the strength and greatness of their religious ideas. This article limits its scope to only Sree Narayana Guru.

Narayana Guru was the spiritual emancipator of India. Guru took inspiration from Indian philosophical traditions, especially Vedanta. He accepted religion as one of the most important aspects of human life. Guru tried to base a religion on rational ground by accepting reason as the final guide even in the field of religion and the aim of religion is realized. The religious ideas of these rises suggest some new ideas and could throw new light on religious concepts.

Religious Philosophy of Sree Narayana Guru

Sree Narayana Guru was a philosopher, mystic, poet and social reformer and a humanist all rolled into one. The guru was essentially a man of practical wisdom. He made notable contributions to all fields of human life, such as religion, ethics, education, economics, aesthetics and so on. His achievements are so great and varied that they make him as one of the pioneers of the modern age. His philosophy is at once traditional and modern, as well as scientific and religious; which makes it all comprehensive, universal and unitive.

Narayana Guru uses the terms *Arivu*, *Atman*, *Brahman* and God synonymously to denote the one Ultimate Reality. The Ultimate

Goal a seeker or supplicant can attain is finding oneself, one with Atman, Brahman or God. This non- duality is what the Guru teaches us. When one says, one realizes oneself, one with the total, then it is a philosophy. While when one says, one realizes oneself, one with God, then it is religion. This realization of oneness ensures everlasting peace in life. Hence, according to the Guru Philosophy and religion are identical.

The Guru defines God as *sathyam, jnānam, Ānanda*- truth, knowledge and happiness. God alone exists; all that appear as forming the world are simply manifestations of the one God. Guru installed various deities such as *Vinayaka, Siva, Devi, Subramanian* and so on in temples and composed hymns in praise of them. His praising many gods do not mean, he admits of more than one God. The Guru sees many gods as representing the one *Brahman* or *Arivu*.

Guru's view on religion is elucidated through his works such as *Ātmopadesa Satakam, Arivu, Dharsanamala, Daiva Dasakam, Advaita Deepika and Brahmaavidya Panchakam etc.*

Individuals always do everything for self happiness. According to the Guru, all men are brothers. One's happiness should be the happiness of others too. It means that while one is acting for one's own pleasure, he is bound to give happiness to others also. Narayana Guru held the view that all religions are having the same theoretical foundation, the attainment of happiness.

Religion is not meant for the welfare of the inner world of man alone. Physical and spiritual betterment should result from religion. The founders of all religions have aimed at realizing the Absolute. Their faith, therefore, is one itself and not more. Speaking about religion, Guru once said, "Which is the religion, it suffices if it makes a better man". Therefore, it can be argued that Narayana Guru left the choice of religion with the people and their individual tastes, depending on whether it would make them good people in the

world. Guru says: All religions aim at one thing, when rivers join the sea they lose their separateness. The function of all religion is to turn the hearts of men upward and onward. When that is accomplished, they will discover the truth for themselves.

The one Religion of the Guru

Of all closed static groupings in society the one most fraught with danger to man is the formation of rival religions of a relativist duelist basis. Conflicts become possible under such conditions. When what contributed to such a life of internal strife within men in the formation of wrongly motivated religious groups is once discovered and eliminated from religious life, all falls into unity, by analogous tendencies between groups becoming revealed as between each religious formation.

“Moses and Jesus differ in their outlook as the Old Testament from the New Testament, through the value sets implied in each. Vedism likewise differs from Vedantism. Analogously, on the other hand, the obligatory aspect represented by the Ten Commandments can be found in the Pentateuch as well as in the Bible. Taboos and bans prevail here and there, overtly or tacitly, in all religions, and exclusive fanaticisms are possible in every case where orthodoxies might clash against rival orthodoxies”.(Nataraja, 1960, p.129). The Guru presented in his unparalleled work the *Atmopadesa Satakam*, a broad study of the religions. In a section inclusive of seven Verses, that is 44 to 49, which we shall examine here.

In order to be able to lay bare the philosophical implications of the one Religion that is in the mind of the Guru, let us read this sequence of six verses in a selected order of our own. The topic covered by each can be enumerated as follows: -

“All religions when viewed horizontally as different from another in expression reveal many features that make for contrast. When we take a vertical inclusive or a contemplative dialectical view

of the same situation of all religions understood together, a mutual agreement or transparency of content reveals itself between them, because the overall aim and end of all religions, however diverse, is none other than Happiness in life, here or hereafter or both. Verse 49 enunciates this unequivocally as follows”.(Nataraja, 1960, p.129).

*“Everyone in every way strives always
To actualize self- happiness.
This faith (in self- happiness) is
One alone in all the words.
Understanding this*

*Restrain your mind from becoming lost in sin”.(Narayanaprasad,
2006,p.247).*

“The possibility of adopting a religion as one’s own is itself, as the Guru points out, only a recognition of the homogenous parity in the participation of the Self and the non-Self factors involved. By itself, this possibility belongs to the pure Self, and when understood in such a pure perspective, is fully dignified and conducive to Self-realization. The danger, however, is that this pure nature of bipolar adoption becomes misapplied. The *adhyasa* or superimposition mutually of non-self factors of the self and vice versa takes place”.(Omana, 2010, p.133). Here in alone the danger lurks. We read in verse 48:

*“The reality endowed with a body,
In its status of being the essential existence,
Becomes completely oblivious of bodily existence,
And conceives identities such as
“ This (ideal) is mine” or “ That (ideal) is mine”.
The secret of this identity, if called to mind,
May make anyone a direct experience of enlightenment”.*
(Narayanaprasad, 2006, p. 246)

We see that the protagonists of any religion, dream of uniting

all humanity under one faith. Hindus might want the entire world to become Hindus and so on. If each religious zealot only realized that, in that kind of plea, till sailed in the same boat rival travesty implicit in the unwise rivalry between religious groups, such as Unitarians and Trinitarians, causing much trouble that can be avoided, is alluded to with telling effect in Verse 47.

*“All men do even plead for a single faith to prevail
Which no disputant owns to himself with all;
Those wise ones free from other- faith- dispute
Alone can know here wholly, the secret here implied”
(Narayana Guru Ātmopadesa Satakam. Verse 47)*

Many religions in their content are essentially one. Those who argue for against any particular religion are compared to the well-known story of a few blind men seeing an elephant – the one who feels the elephant’s leg claims, the elephant looks like a pillar, the other who feels its tail says, it is a broom-like the third feeling the ears, assets an elephant is like a winnowing fan in shape. None of them is wrong, but none of them is right either. What each acquires is simply a partial knowledge and this always allows room for disputations. So it is with the defenders of religions as well. One religion becomes respectable and another despicable only because of the partial understanding about religion each one has. To quote the Guru’s own words.

*“Unaware of the fact that the essential teaching
Of various religions is one and the same,
The ignorant, like the blind men
Who saw an elephant,
Meander in this world, putting forth
Many arguments, but reaching nowhere.
Witnessing this and restraining oneself,
One should remain undisturbed. (Narayanaprasad, 2006, p. 245-246)*

It is not possible to defeat any religion through fighting, for every religion has for its strength at its core the high value factor that makes it a religion. One religion attacking another, for this very reason, results not in the destruction of the targeted religion, but only of the persons who fight. The discriminating, therefore, always keep themselves away from such fights.

Verse 45 stresses the need to see the underlying unity of religions.

*“One religion seems repugnant to another.
The essential teaching of yet another
Seems defective to someone else.
Such confusion in this world exists
Only by becoming enlightened that
The core principle is one alone in all religions.
Be ware of this”.*(Narayanaprasad, 2006, p. 246).

Verse 46 underlines the fact that persecution only makes unilateral faith firmer. The martyrs to any deep belief prove the irony of the situation in the history of any religion and this is contrary to what might be expected by mechanistic reasoning.

*“ No religion can defeat another one by fighting.
No religion can be put to an end by fighting
Unmindful of this fact is the one
Who argues against another religion.
He fights vainly and perishes vainly.
One has to be fully aware of this”.*(Narayanaprasad, 2006, p. 246).

Narayana guru says, religion is not theoretical, but can be applied in the daily life. He gave a practical demonstration of Advaita in the real life. The unique trend of his philosophies is that religion was brought down from the whimsical heights to the midst of common man. Guru's views, is the formation of a new ideal of Universal Religion and One Religion, we can call as universal love

or universal brotherhood. It's given an equal value for all the religion of the world, as it exists with truth. His identification of truth was absolute and scientific, and religion can be practiced by each and everybody. To understand that it is not necessarily deep literacy knowledge, but the practice, it is very much needed. Therefore, it can be applied to all nations, all societies and individuals. It is the harmony of the all religions, so that it is one of the best solutions for the prevalent religious conflicts in the world, and to make the people aware that the essential oneness of all religions is one and the same.

Contemporary Relevance

This idea of 'one religion' of Narayana Guru is very relevant to us in the present day society. The present world is one of incredible advancement in all parts of life, especially in the field of communication and technologies. In any case, despite the fact that individuals are far cutting edge in the sciences and technologies, in the case of religion, they seem to movement ages in reverse. It is difficult to make another, binding together religion thinking about the perplexing and disruptive nature of the powers at play in this present world; in this unique circumstance, Narayana Guru's idea 'one religion' could be extremely important. Narayana Guru delivered the message at the concluding ceremony of the World Conference of All Religions held under his leadership in Aluva in 1924, that every man should equally learn every religion.

When somebody asked Narayana Guru an inquiry: "Why have you only consecrated symbols having a place in the Hindu religion?" He answered "Nobody has called me generally. On the off chance that somebody does then I might do generally as well".

"Today, what we see around us is pamaras leading the present society. A few times the world has been washed in the blood of religious contradictions and even the word religion is currently viewed with ghastliness and doubt by individuals who watch over

the unity of mankind. As of now, India is seriously in need of a social environment in which the new generations are led to study and see all religions alike. At exactly that point can individuals understand that the substance of all religions is the same. The socio-political system could start ventures towards this objective, and every single accessible media could be put to that end. Actually, the whole world has all the earmarks of being in desperate need of beginning such schools for understanding religions and religious articulation". (http://aranya.me/uploads/3/4/8/6/34868315/gurukula_e_magazine_-_january_2018.pdf).

Whatever may be the doctrine or philosophy accepted by the people, it is for them to make it alive so that it serves humankind. By themselves, doctrines do not affect good results; merely to belong to a religion does not automatically save humans. The mind has to consent to look upon the face of truth and an intuitive vision has to be developed, which will ultimately triumph in terms of selfrealization. May the words of Guru from the 'Atmapadesasatakam' inspire and lead humanity towards spiritual progress and eternal peace: may all the acts that one performs for oneself also aim for the good of others.

References

- Guru Nataraja (1960). *The Philosophy of Guru*. Varkala: Narayana Gurukula. pp128-132.
- Guru Nataraja(1990). *Life and Teachings of Narayana Guru*. Varkala: Narayana Gurukula. pp572-600.
- Guru Nityachaitanyayati (1982). *Neither This Nor That But Aum*. Varkala: Vikas Publishing House. pp 90-101.
- Guru Nityachaitanyayati (1987). *The Psychology of Darsanamala*. Varkala: Narayana Gurukula. P. 3.
- Muni Narayana Prasad Guru. (2003). *The Philosophy of Narayana Guru*. Delhi: D.K. Printworld. P. 114.

Muni Narayana Prasad Guru.(2006). *Narayana Guru Complete Works*. Delhi: D.K. Printworld. p. 331.

Omana, S.(1984). *The Philosophy of Sree Narayana Guru*, Varkala: Narayana Gurukula. p.120.

Sugeetha,B.(2018).Concept of one faith of Narayana Guru. Narayana Gurukula-E Magazine. Retrieved on January2018 from(http://aranya.me/uploads/3/4/8/6/34868315/gurukula_e_magazine_-_january_2018.pdf).