MRGINALISATION AND DEPRIVATION

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STUDIES ON MULTIPLE VULNERABILITIES

KERALA INSTITUTE OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION (KILA) is an autonomous institution of Department of Local Self Government, under the Ministry of Local Administration, Government of Kerala. As the nodal agency for the capacity building of local governments, the objective of the Institute is to undertake training, research and consultancy in matters relating to local governance and development. Apart from conducting training programmes for the local governments, within and outside the State, the Institute conducts workshops, seminars and conferences for sharing the experience of Kerala in democratic decentralisation and for learning from others for the purpose of policy making.

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Editors
P.P. Balan
Sunny George
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This book is the publication of selected papers presented in the International Conference on Marginalisation, Poverty and Decentralisation, 19-22 November 2016, conducted by Kerala Institute of Local Administration (KILA).

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Dedicated to
S.M. Vijayanand

PREFACE

The plight of the labouring poor in India is still in a pitiable condition. The National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector set up by the Government of India, in has drawn much public attention to this state of affairs. The findings of the Commission was revealing and shocking. At the outset, it is pointed out that 86 per cent of the total work force in India, is in the informal sector. But, at the same time they contribute 45 per cent to the GDP. Self employment based on a wage at piece rate still dominate in the production sector. With the onslaught of the neoliberal policies, causalisation of labour has almost became the order of the day.

Informal sector workers are basically poor and vulnerable, and belong to the lower strata of the social hierarchy based on caste and religion. They become victims of double burden both economically and socially. Corroborating with this, in the informal sector, sizeable proportion are women and majority of them belongs to the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). Since this sector lacks reliable and efficient enactment of labour laws, they are not in a position to bargain with their so-called "masters". To address these pitiable condition and to lower the scale of multiple vulnerabilities, the Government of India had initiated different types of rights based legislations and related activities.

Very recently, the International Food Policy Research Institute had released its Global Hunger Index (GHI). It is a composite index and prepared on the basis of components like undernourishment, child mortality, and stunting. India was ranked 97 from a list of 118 underdeveloped countries, where the score and vulnerability of hunger go in the same direction.

Apart from these national scenario, the world itself is heading towards an epochal crisis, because of the simultaneous occurrence of the world economic crisis and world ecological

crisis. The former is leading to a secular stagnation in the world over and the latter manifests as climate change. Both of then will lead to a chain reaction in the economy and society. The marginalised and poverty ridden people are the worst affected by these, and the world is recognised that decentralisation is one of the areas that stood as a potential resistance in reducing multiple vulnerability of the people at large.

It was in this background that the Kerala Institute of Local Administration (KILA), Government of Kerala, prepared to conduct an international conference on Marginalisation, Poverty and Decentralisation. The present volume is an outcome of the said conference, held during 19-22 November 2016.

The Conference aimed to deliberate the issues of Marginalisation, Poverty and Decentralisation, across the world. It also deliberated on lessons that local self government institutions, states and countries can learn from Kerala's democratic decentralisation experiments. It also aimed at to make a common platform for discussion on the programmes for poverty alleviation being practiced in Kerala and its impacts on marginalisation.

The present volume comprises of 14 chapters, fully devoted to the issues of marginalisation, livelihood and poverty; giving special emphasis to the state of the tribals, dalits and adivasis within India and abroad. Three chapters are focusing issues at abroad and ten from different states of India; especially the backward states. There is one chapter from Kerala, that addresses a livelihood issue of the state, i.e., drinking water.

First chapter contains the inaugural address of Jaleel which provides an overall context of the international conference on 'marginalisation, poverty and decentralisation', the basis of which this volume is developed. He underline the importance of democratic decentralisation and participatory planning in the process of inclusive sustainable development.

Second chapter by Elain et. al. discusses the importance of a housing programme (PAC) being practiced in the Southern Brazil. The paper aims to provide issues to figure out whether the Growth Acceleration Programme (PAC) has made an effective contribution to the social inclusion of the affected population. In the second chapter, the issues of allocative

efficiency as an end of decentralisation at the local level in Ghana is addressed. The author of chapter three, Dick-Sagoe from Ghana, serves in India, as a doctoral fellow in the Veer Narmad South University, in Surat. The chapter focuses on the financial ability of sub-national government to provide their tailer-made goods and services which meet the preferences of the Sowal Citizen in Ghana. The fourth chapter by ChoforChe explains the experience of decentralisation in Camaroon. The central question that the paper raises is, does the decentralised system under the Camaroon constitution of 1996, provide adequately for the accommodation of ethnic diversity of the country. The paper seeks to analyse the process historically.

Mita Yasyca from the Women's Study Centre in Indonesia examines India's micro finance practices as part of the current global trend of financialisation of the poor in chapter five. The author bring up post-structuralisation approach gives us a theoretical understanding on how gender underpin money, capital contradictions. The study focusses on the issue of micro finance in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

In chapter six, Thamilarasam from the Madras University is trying to depict the socio-cultural practices, income generation activities and marginalisation, etc. The chapter concentrates on the livelihood activities of the Irula tribe of the Nilgiri district in Tamil Nadu.

The chapter seven by Ganesha Somayaji, examines the nature of participation of the marginalised people in their socio-economic development. It underscores inclusions in the ST as the only objective of political motivation. The chapter concludes that the efficacy of the state sponsored programmes aimed at amelioration depends on the degree of participation by the people.

Bidyut Mohanti on Marginalisation Poverty and Deprivation illustrates the plight of Nayada, the hamlets of the Juanga tribe, one of the most primitive tribes in Odisha in chapter eight. On the basis of field survey the author reiterates that the tribals in Odisha are suffering under multifaceted poverty in spite of the reported growth rate of the state's economy.

Abhish Babu, in chapter nine, based on a field study, explore the reasons for the failure of projects for water supply in Kerala. The study revealed that the new diffusion strategy reinforced

the structural imbalances in the society. The socially and economically marginalized people were always either marginalized or excluded from the project.

In chapter ten, by Feroze, Ray, Johny and Ram, explores the issues of yak rearing relating to climate change in north Sikkim. The study reveals that the climate is changing, especially temperature is increasing at higher altitude and snowfall has reduced in the study area. It has immense effect on pasture and therefore the migration timing and duration, milk yield, disease infestation and mortality of yaks. The identified the various activities for reducing the impact of the climate change on yak rearing.

Tanveer Kaur and Rajeev Kumar, in chapter elevan, describe the story of Parbati hydroelectric project in Beas Valley and highlights the issues relating to rural sustenance. The fragile topography of the mountainous regions of the Valley makes it highly vulnerable to ecological degradation due to the construction activities of such projects. The impact of all these changes adversely affects the local people and they are excluded from availing the benefits of the project. The major beneficiary of the hydroelectric power projects should be, the authors argue, the local communities in terms of job opportunities, rehabilitation schemes, education and health facilities, inter-linking of roads etc.

In chapter twelve, Dinabandhu Sahoo, focusses his attention on the plight of the ownership of resources of the marginalised under the capitalist system. He articulates the arguments by focussing on the people's struggles of the adivasis of India. The study provides theoretical and empirical insights of the interrelationship between culture, power and politics of corporate state developmentalisam and the way it work in the adivasi areas of India.

The thirteenth chapter by Aditi Basu is on a recent subject, though historical in nature, focuses on the aspects of social inclusion of the transgenders in India. It illustrates the issue of discrimination in a multidimensional manner because of the social stigma is attached with their gender identity and sexual orientation and make suggestions for inclusion of transgenders in the mainstream of social, economic and cultural life.

Pameela Singla, in the fourteenth chapter, shares the importance of inclusive policies which are based on the voices of the poor and the vulnerable with focus on the women as gender inequality. Poor quality of governance excludes people from growth and other benefits of growth and inclusion can be a tool of social policy or public policy. There should also be redistribution of political power that is include people who are at the bottom of the pyramid.

As noted in the outset, this book is an outcome of the international conference on Marginalisation, Poverty and Decentralisation conducted by the Kerala Institute of Local Administration (KILA) with financial assistance from the Government of Kerala. Selected papers which falls in the mainstream thought of marginalisation, poverty and decentralisation are included. We are grateful to the Department of Local Self Government, Government of Kerala, for financial and organisational support, and to all the participants of the Conference.

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CONTENTS

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MARGINALISATION, POVERTY AND DECENTRALISATION*

K.T. Jaleel†

It is with great pleasure that I welcome you all to Kerala and to KILA, the nodal institute for the capacity building of all local governments of the State. KILA has started an ambitious task to develop itself into an international Centre of Excellence of local governance. This is the fifth of a series of international conference on themes related to decentralisation and local governance. The theme of this conference, as you all know, is Marginalisation, Poverty and Decentralisation.

The issues faced by the marginalised and the poor can be addressed better through decentralisation of power. That is why decentralisation of power is gaining momentum in democratic countries all over the world. Every country has its own marginalized communities or groups. Economic, social, cultural and political factors work together to make communities marginalized. As these factors are different from country to country, the marginalized communities are also different. In the developed countries of the west, women and children enjoy the same rights and status of the rest of the society, but in many developing countries they belong to the marginalized group. In the erstwhile colonies of European countries the aborigines and ethnic groups were pushed to the periphery of the mainstream and suffered the evils of marginalisation. So, addressing the challenges of marginalisation, calls for different strategies in different countries. Even in the same country the multiplicity of the groups and the variety of problems they face, make it

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difficult for the sub-national and local governments to set a strategy to solve the problem.

In the development discourse of Kerala, the marginalised groups include the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, women, children, old persons and persons with disabilities. The Govt of India and the Govt of Kerala have implemented schemes to uplift them and bring them to the mainstream, but with only limited success. Ina centralised planning system where planning and implementation is done by the bureaucrats without consulting the stakeholders, this is bound to happen. Collection and classification of data, identification of needs, formulating schemes to address the identified needs etc can be done more effectively by local governments. With the launching of the People's Plan Campaign for participatory planning in 1997, the local governments of Kerala got the opportunity to address the issues of the marginalized, for the first time in their history. When I say local governments, I mean both the three tier panchayats and the Urban Local Bodies. At present they are in a position to function as independent local self governments that have clearly defined powers, functions, officials and resources to formulate and implement development plans. They are also endowed with the responsibility of the development of the marginalized.

Every year the govt issues guidelines to the local governments for the formulation of development plans. This is done to make sure that the local development plans conform to the development strategies of the State govt. As the development of the marginalized is the responsibility of local governments, they have to allocate funds for special sub plans within the general development plan, for the welfare of the weaker sections of the society. Hence there is a Woman's Component Plan, child development plan, a package of care services for the aged, the destitute and the differently abled and if there is Scheduled Tribe population, there is a Tribal Sub plan and in the case of Schedule Caste s there is a Special Component Plan, included in the Annual Development Plan of all local governments.

Since the beginning of decentralised planning there has been greater focus on enhancing the standard of life of the marginalized. But new marginalized groups and problems are emerging. A typical case is the rapidly increasing number of

immigrant labourers in Kerala. When we started participatory planning we did not think of them as a target group for planning. Now there are more than 45 lakhs of internally displaced persons scattered in the local governments of Kerala and while planning for inclusive development they should also be taken into consideration. The LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) is another marginalized community who has been pushed out of the society for centuries and now they too are raising their voice for their due share in development.

I was pleasantly surprised to hear that recently a Village Panchayat of Kannur Districted convened a special Gram Sabha of all immigrant labourers residing in the panchayat. The panchayat wanted to identify the problems they face with a view to make necessary interventions if found necessary. Another District Panchayat has devised an innovative project for the rehabilitation of the transgender. I quote theses two instances to show you what a local govt can do, to address the needs of all sections of society residing in it and make plans for inclusive development.

We should try to create opportunities for development planners to share experiences like this. The prime objective of this conference is promoting decentralisation by highlighting best practices for replication and learning from the experience of others. For the last two decades KILA has been associating with Sree Lanka, Bangla Desh and Bhutan in a joint venture to promote decentralisation. Many teams of officials, elected leaders, social activists and policy makers have attended short term capacity building exercises in KILA. And it has been a mutually beneficial association. I look forward to more interaction and knowledge sharing between not only the neighbouring countries of India but also with countries all over the world.

GROWTH ACCELERATION PROGRAM (PAC):
ITS IMPORTANCE FOR HOUSING THE POOR ;
FLORIANOPOLIS METROPOLITAN AREA,
SOUTHERN BRAZIL

Elaine D. Tomás*
Luiz Fernando Scheibe†

1. INTRODUCTION

The meteoric urbanization through massive migrations that are not conveniently absorbed by the cities justifies the concept of suburbanization used to understand what happened in developing countries such as Brazil. Since 2007, the urban population is equal to the rural in the world, which is an unprecedented fact. Through the phenomenon of suburbanization we attempt to understand the mechanisms of urban poverty, despite the so called social and urban policies developed by multilateral organizations, especially the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

The city of Florianópolis, at Santa Catarina's State, is one of these places in Brazil. In the downtown area, it is possible to see the Massif of Morro da Cruz (MMC). Initially considered as a "Non-Territory", its territoriality has been modified several times during the urbanization process of the city, until 2012, when it was characterized as the "Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) Florianopolis Territory". Its inhabitants are considered

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peripheral, in spite of living downtown. Called an "irregular city", they suffer with many urban, social and environmental problems. For a long time, their communities have been considered an almost invisible part of the city, challenging the public policies of the local government, demanding better recognition.

The effect of this meteoric urbanization in the study area (Metropolitan Area of Florianópolis) can be observed after massive flows of migrants during the last 80 years, following different stages.

As in many other places in Brazil, the growth of Florianopolis Metropolitan Area was marked by deep economic and social differences. The housing industry was and still is one of the most significant economic branches of the local economy, and almost 90 per cent is oriented to attend the middle and upper class.

In 2008, new perspectives were presented to the grass-roots movements of MMC with the announcement, by President Lula himself, of the transfer of $ 54.6 million reais (approximately 25 million dollars) for the area. These funds, 46 per cent from the federal government (PAC's funds), 27 per cent of the state government and 27 per cent of the city council, were intended mainly for infrastructure projects and the implementation of MMC Natural Park.

On the other hand, the massive construction of new housing regarding the "My House, My Life Project" (PMCMV, from the portuguese name Projeto Minha Casa Minha Vida) was made possible after the implementation of local housing policies between 2005 and 2006. These policies were launched by the federal (central) government and then they were spread out for more than 5,000 Brazilian municipalities. After this boiling period, in which the Cities Ministry was created (2003) and a whole set of Fundings, Counselours Authorities and Policies were also elaborated (2008 – 2012), the program PMCMV came also to the Morro da Cruz scenario. Nevertheless, this last housing program had few relations with those first governmental initiatives, since they had a much more social aspect. PMCMV has acquired its own logic and coherence.

The Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) was a policy implemented by Lula´s Administration in 2007, one of the

biggest infrastructure programs that Brazil ever had before. The main objective was accelerating the economic growth. The Program was expressed by a set of economic policies and investment projects such as "My House, my Life Project" (PMCMV), probably the most well-known program and for sure, also, the most announced in the big press. "My house, My Life Project" was a program for housing poor population and it has continued and expanded under Dilma Rousseff administration, from 2010 on.

When this massive housing program was launched, it was seen as an anti-cyclical response to the international financial crisis and, at the same time, as an opportunity to improve the social welfare state. The public spending expanded the housing market, generated jobs and resulted in three million housing units built until 2014. (Andrade, 2016).

The aim of this discussion is to provide issues to figure out if the Growth Acceleration Program constituted an effective contribution to the social inclusion of the affected population living in the Massif of Morro da Cruz, and also to other ones involved in the PMCMV "Track 1", families with income of 1,800 reais or two minimum wages (or U$ 300 dollars) a month.

2. THE GROWTH ACCELERATION PROGRAM

The program of economic and social development (PAC) was launched in January 2007. It was launched in 28 of January of 2007 by Lula's Government and is still in course as for November 2016. This program was initially composed of five frames: infrastructure measures (the main one) including social infrastructure (housing, sanitation, and public transportation); measures to stimulate credit and financing; improvement of the regulatory framework in the environmental area; tax relief and long-term fiscal measures.

Designed as a strategic plan to achieve the planning and resumption of the investments in structuring sectors in Brazil, the PAC has decisively contributed to increasing the supply of jobs and general economic movement, and increased also the public and private investments in the base industry. It was of fundamental importance for the country during the global financial crisis between 2008 and 2009, providing employment

and income for many Brazilians, which in turn has ensured the consumption of goods and services, keeping the economy active and alleviating the effects of the world economic crisis on local enterprises and industries.

In 2011, PAC started its second phase, with the same strategic goals. In this new period, it stands out as a consolidated program, with an enormous volume of investments in every infrastructure area. In this phase, instead of 5 structural center lines, PAC claims to have only 3: Logistics Infrastructure; Energy Infrastructure; and Urban and Social Infrastructure. The last central line was subdivided in 3 more: PAC Better City; PAC Citizen Community, PAC "My House, My Life". These three last programs were focused in towns of more than 50,000 inhabitants.

In 2015 the Program entered the third phase. The three central lines remained. A list of works had been prepared since some of them were stalled due to the lack of public transfers, as a consequence of the negative impact of the internal economic-political crisis on the construction sector. After the August 2016 "coup d'état" in Brazil, the government has announced that it will initially resume only those works to which the amount required for completion does not exceed R$ 10 million. With the measure, approximately R$ 2 billion in investments shall be executed in the coming months.

"My House, My Life Program" (PMCMV) has itself 3 central lines which are: Construction of massive new housing units; a letter of credit granted by the Brazilian System of Savings and Loans (SBPE, from the portuguese Sistema Brasileiro de Poupança e Empréstimo) for single housing and preferably not to new ones, and the third one called Urbanization of Precarious Settlements. In this specific paper, 2 of the 3 guidelines will be discussed: Number one – the massive construction of new units called itself MCMVP; and number three – Urbanization of Precarious Settlements in the Metropolitan Area of Florianopolis.

3.   THE HOUSING AND THE PAC

The dismantling of the Welfare State in central countries has, in our understanding, at its core, some large corporations and their host countries. As a consequence, comes up in the

international scenario a conscientiousness of the social role of Urban and Housing policies. Samir Amin (2011) shows the importance and complex approaches of understanding the increase of pauperization in the Peripheral Countries*. It is not just a matter of taking them as a fact measured empirically through Gross Domestic Product – GDP or the Human Development Index - HDI, but in his point of view, we must raise the logic of this phenomenon and the mechanisms responsible for generating poverty by drawing a parallel between the accelerated deruralization process which is accompanied by the rapid process of suburbanization taking place on a global scale. Amin understands the discourse of the origin of poverty from the second half of the 70's and early 80's as a superficial and fashionable one.

The (urban) thinkers of the late 1970s and early 1980's didn't think of any structural reform of urban poverty, nothing like those strutural reformes followed by the social democracies governments after the 2nd World War. Those thinkers claimed the "put together" between the State and international donors through the NGO's with the intention of making the latter ones an instrument, in many cases doubtful, of empowering the poor.

During the late 80's and the early 90's the NGO's play a preponderant role mainly because the World Bank and UNDP didn't adress themselves through the Governments, avoiding this relationship in a progressive way. In fact, it can be said that the emergence of the NGO's reconfigured the relations with Urban Development. Davis (2006) says that NGO's configured a new type of clientelism! It seems that the arrival of the NGO's served as an air maitress which has amortized the insertion of urban grass-roots movements, impeding the development of communities' capacity to take on negotiation and decison-making roles; in short, a new type of clientelism. On the other hand, the NGO's have their actions restricted, as they do need to look for funds for short-term projects with concrete results. Thus, the "planning project" was largely promoted by agencies, mainly multilateral and some others of development aid. Concerning the population and it's participation within the perspective of "planning project", this population has just an

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* And apparently also in the perypheral populations of some central countries, as shown by the recent (2016) elections in the United States of America.

instrumental participation. The ones which are listened are just those supposed to be the beneficiaries of the project. Thus, Local Governments are considering themselves discharged of the role of social housing providers, and have completely omitted themselves of the   management of large portions of non-city or slums in peripheral countries. In Brazil, in the decades of 70's, 80's and 90's we had the "Financial Housing System" (SFH, from the Portuguese Sistema Financeiro de Habitação) which provided housing for millions of Brazilians but not to the real poor ones.

Moreover, access to urbanized land has become a real social barrier for more than one billion Latin Americans, Asians, and Africans. Seen as the gateway to permanent housing, as a definite place after many rural and urban pilgrimages, access to land or housing in an urbanized place makes possible something like being a differentiated citizen, capable of social distinction. However, in most large cities, access to urban land occurs through urban and/or land tenure informality. (Abramo, 2003)

In 1964, just after the civil-military coup in Brazil, it is created the Federal Housing System (SFH), which had the National Housing Bank (BNH) as manager of the resources. With the rapid urbanization of Brazil, which in thirty years goes from one-third to two-thirds of the urban population, once more we have the inadequacy of the program to reality.

Souza (2008) says that Brazilian Central Government, after the 2nd World War, already had some guidelines for an urban development policy but this same Government couldn't found a way of putting it into practice, since there was a mismatch between the three central lines (axes) needed to improve the management and production of the city as a mechanism of social regulation through the Master Plan, for example. The three axes referred to it would be financial resources, policy instruments, and urban legislation. Throughout Brazilian urban history we always had one or two of these three elements present, but not all three. Just after the foundation of the Cities Ministry in 2003, and even more, after the creation of the My Home My Life Program (PMCMV) in March 2009 we could finally talk about the presence of these three axes.

We can say that just after 2003, when Lula won the Government, we had those 3 axes (money, policy, and urban

legislation) in practice! It is after that the poor lost their invisibility and we started looking at them as part of our cities. Of course, we had several experiences before that but they were local and due to Forward Council's elected in the early 80's. In this context, we will briefly describe two examples: Urbanization of the Massif of Morro da Cruz and PMCMV track 1.

4. PRECARIOUS SETTLEMENT - MMC URBANIZATION CASE

The MMC is composed of eighteen communities, and the 30,000 people that lived there in 2008 suffered for a long time the lack of public investment and recognition of their rights to the city. (Figure 1)

After seven years of the first Federal Urban Legislation (in Portuguese it's called Estatuto da Cidade), in 2008, there was an unprecedented situation: the Florianopolis City Hall approved, together with the federal and state governments, the PAC-Florianópolis Project, a grant of of 25 million U$D, for the MMC.

In whole Florianópolis history never, so much money had been intended to a set of areas of precarious settlement. This project became possible due to the creation and availability of the Federal PAC resources. The yearnings of years and years of struggles of the grass-roots movements of MMC would be contemplated. The project would figure the inclusion of these segregated communities into the formal city. It should include actions to generate employment and income, improve infrastructure, land regularization, new urban equipment such as schools, crèches, health centers, communitary police, etc.

The Project

According to the housing department of Florianópolis Council, the general objectives were the following: Improvement of living conditions, social inclusion (health, education, housing and social assistance) and the implementation of infrastructure. The most important investments were those for infrastructure and urbanization (water and sewage, electricity, vertical transport, housing). The area covered by the project is 2,151,000 m², of which 656,964

m² correspond to the occupied area, and 1,494,036 m² to the MMC Park area.

Concerning the construction works, the predicted numbers were: 26 thousand meters of sewage network; 24 thousand meters of water supply network; 11 thousand meters of electric power network; 55 thousand meters of new paving blocks; 800 thousand square meters of pavements recovery; removal and resettlement of 438 housing units. This project also estimated the construction n of 3 racks or cable cars in the communities of Morro do Céu and Mocotó, but until 2014 these had not been projected. (PMF, SMhSA, 2008a)

Concerning the risk areas, the MMC PAC's Project also provided the removal of houses located in environmentally fragile areas near to streams, on steep ground or in situation where housing precariousness puts at risk the family. The actions involved the inclusion of 5,600 families living in the MMC were mainly through arrangements to improve better housing conditions, infrastructure installation and environmental recovery, but nothing to do with the procedures about the legalization of the proprietorship of the population living there.

PMCMV – Florianópolis Metropolitan Area

When analyzing sattelitary images of constructions financed through the PMCMV, we see that in several aspects, the spatial, urbanistic and architectural patterns of previous decades are reproduced. Although this housing policy has already proven its inadequacy, we now have a large number of housing developments that ratify this type of city model. This model is clearly a producer of socio-spatial inequalities and makes it impossible to structure an urban dynamic that is more committed to the needs of the population, mostly the poor.

Throughout the Brazilian urban history, it is possible to identify the preponderance of the economic function of cities to the detriment of their social, political, environmental, cultural, psychological and spatial aspects. This condition is, for sure, contrary to the very essence of a city, since we understand that the city's ethic is to serve people and not the economy.

Housing complexes have spread indiscriminately throughout Brazil. The PMCMV, as well the National Housing Bank

(BNH), diffused a design pattern regardless of the peculiarities of each locality, characterized by the repetition of similar urban patterns that compose a great part of the national urban landscape.

The feasibility study of PMCMV projects is too focused on meeting financial criteria, and the urban design becomes a "mathematical equation" in which the form and the location of the settlements are conditioned by the price of the infrastructure and the number and size of the units. Many of new developments in the PMCMV end up using the figure of a wall closed condominium, once this offers an option to a greater intensification of urban land use and, consequently, a greater return on invested capital.

It's possible to find examples such as these in countless municipalities throughout the whole country, including almost all of the study area of this research, namely the Florianopolis Metropolitan Area, which includes the municipalities of Palhoça, São José and Biguaçu, in Santa Catarina State.

The Area of Study Case

The spatial area of the study case congregates the municipalities of Biguaçu, São José, Palhoça, and Florianópolis. The four municipalities have a total area of 1,244.07 km², with a population of 818,153 inhabitants, according to IBGE data, 2010.

Currently, the annual average population growth in the Florianopolis Metropolitan Area is the second highest among the Brazilian metropolitan areas in the period 2001-2010, and it takes the first place if we consider the interval between the years of 1991-2000.

The majority of the population lives in the municipality of Florianopolis itself (51.48 per cent), with 24.63 per cent, 16.76 per cent, and 7.11 per cent of the population living in São José, Palhoça and Biguaçu respectively. Through the period of 2000-2010, the municipality with the highest population increase was Palhoça, which had a population increase of 33.5 per cent, followed by Florianópolis and Biguaçu, which had a population increase of 23 per cent and 21 per cent, respectively.

After the extinction of the National Housing Bank (BNH), the housing policy in the metropolitan area of Florianopolis declined, and this situation would remain until the years 2000. The same happened in a lot of Brazilian cities, marked by a period of intense production in the decades of 1970/80 and a strong reflux from then until the beginning of the years 2000. As previously mentioned, it is only after this decade that a new institutional structure at the federal level was outlined.

By October 2013, the PMCMV had already contracted 77,187 housing units in Santa Catarina State, according to data presented by Caixa Econômica Federal (CEF) – Brazilian Public Bank. The housing construction data released by CEF shows a total of 18,190 housing units built for the Track 1, reaching only 33.7 per cent of the proposed goal at the beginning of the second stage of the program (launched in 2011). As for the amount of housing built for Track 2, we have 52,541 housing units registered, far exceeding the proposed target in the beginning of 2011.

These data show us that the income Track 1 is the range where the program had less units built since the Program implementation in Santa Catarina. PMCMV's investments for Track 2 exceeded the targets set for 2013 - as observed. Meanwhile, in Track 1 the target only reached 33.7 per cent of the goal. This fact represents a great divergence, since the largest housing deficit in the Florianopolis Metropolitan Area is located in the poorest population, which means – Track 1.

Table 1: PMCMV Contratação em Santa Catarina

Faixa de Renda	Meta	Total Contratado	%
1	54.035	18.190	33,7
2	6.826	52.541	769,7
3	2.085	6.456	309,7
Total	62.946	77.187	122,6

Foonote: CEF / Data presented at III Seminário Catarinense de HIS by
Mrs. Evaniza Rodrigues em 29/10/2013.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND FINDINGS

Urban insertion and the cost of land - interdependent elements – are fundamental aspects of any housing policy. The market tends to acquire cheaper areas for the construction of the social projects under the argument of being the only way to warrant affordable housing to population with low income and obtain financial returns that meet its expectations.

Even though, having structural and institutional policies, we can see that the poorest people are at risk of being expelled of their land in the case of the MMC - or they can stand for many years queuing and waiting for a house with PMCMV- track 1. It is notorious that in Florianopolis Metropolitan Area the PMCMV is adopting and reproducing old policies used by BNH.

It is also evident that, at least in the conurbation area of Florianopolis, the PMCMV is acting in the conjunction of interests of the Real Estate agents, in the production of urban space. The program has become much more a result of the actions of individual developers who are interested in the profit provided by the investment than as a state initiative in response to urban housing shortages.

However, with the works of PAC, both in the MMC and those carried out in PMCMV - track 1, will be enough to promote the inclusion of this impoverished population and reduce socio-spatial segregation? What will happen to the communities, will social and urban inclusion really happen?

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DOES DECENTRALISATION ADDRESS ALLOCATIVE EFFICIENCY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL? EVIDENCE FROM GHANA

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1. INTRODUCTION

With several definitions and practices in different countries, decentralisation became prominent in the 1960s after the works of Tiebout, Musgrave and Oates. The theoretical justification, according to Tiebout (1956) is that decentralisation creates competition among subnational governments in the provision of public goods and charge local taxes for their use. This provides the opportunity for the local citizens to choose by using their feet to settle in jurisdictions which provide the best mix of local service provision and taxes. Thus local citizens are empowered to choose those goods and services which meet their satisfaction, needs and preferences. In a quest to survive in the competition and attract more local residents, subnational governments do their best to provide public services and charge of highest quality and at realistic fees to attract citizens. They then focus on the provision of those goods and services which meets the satisfaction and preferences of the local people. This then leads to improved service provision which are more responsive to citizens' needs and preferences. Subnational governments, in this case will focus on producing those goods and services which directly meet the needs and preferences of the local residents to increase their (local residents) satisfaction. Increasing the satisfaction of citizens increase tax compliance levels.

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From the perspective of allocative and productive efficiency, Musgrave's argument supported the works of Tiebout. They supports local (subnational) government's provision of local goods. Furthered by Oates in 1972, the two public school economists (Musgrave and Oates) supports that the central government should focus on the provision of goods and services which has externality effects, such as national defense and foreign affairs. Whereas those goods and services with less externality effect (no spill over effects) be given to subnational governments to provide.

This study on allocative efficiency of decentralisation becomes very important and significant for the following reasons. Several works have been done to link decentralisation and economic growth (Rodrıguez-Pose & Sandall, 2008; Martinez-Vazquez & McNab, 2003) and interpersonal inequality (Schultz & Libman, 2015). Other studies have linked decentralisation and greater growth, service delivery performance (Falch & Fisher, 2012, Faguet & Sanchez, 2014), social capital increase, poverty and vulnerability (Schiere, 2008). Though such studies solidifies the arguments in favour of decentralisation, transfer of resources and powers to subnational government's tiers (decentralisation), is anchored on quality and responsive delivery of local service and goods. The justification is that subnational governments are closer to the local residents and will better understand the needs and preferences of the local residents. These advantages results in the provision of services that best meet the average needs of local residents and more responsive approach to local needs and preferences. Investing resources to maximise average needs and preferences at the local level is considered to increase allocative efficiency, according to Musgrave's theory (Musgrave, 1959).

By explanation, allocative efficiency is the ability to meet citizens' demand for local service provision. Martinez-Vazquez, Lagos-Penas and Sacchi define allocative efficiency in 2015. They see efficiency as using tax payers' resources to match their needs and preferences. Doing this requires efficient and timely, responsive, provision of those needs. Another attribute of allocative efficiency is seen through the provision of goods and services which are tailored to local preferences of citizens that consume the service. Two things comes to play here for allocative efficiency to be achieved at the local level. First is the

identification of those local needs and preferences and the second is the ability to provide (financial ability) those needs and preferences. This study focuses on the financial ability of subnational governments to provide those tailor-made goods and services which meet the preferences of the local citizens.

Several authors have conducted studies to address allocative efficiency of subnational governments, using fiscal decentralisation, as a proxy of decentralisation in general, to test the allocative efficiency of decentralisation. Prominent works are Barankay and Lockwood (2007) and Geys (2006) and more recently (Falch and Fischer, 2012) which empirically observes interjurisdictional competition among subnational governments from decentralisation, as in Tiebout's model, and finally improved local service delivery. Others studies used a survey approach to test the perceived satisfaction from local goods and services of local residents.

Decentralisation Policy in Ghana

Ghana's decentralisation policy resulted in the creation of district assemblies, which were charged with the mandate to improve the living standards and wellbeing of its local residents through the provision of services and goods such as roads, health and education. In all, they (district assemblies) were charged with the overall development of their areas of jurisdiction, through efficient provision of public services to meet local preferences and needs. It is also to enhance participation, accountability, transparency and decentralised decision making, providing grounds for efficient allocation of resources, thus allocative efficiency. Greater decentralised decision making, according to Oates (1968), is conducive for efficient allocation of resources. Thus, through decentralised decision making and participation, district assemblies are to identify local needs of the citizens and budget for them appropriately for funding in their district medium term development plans. Availability of funds to the subnational government is important in the realisation of the budgeted local needs (Dick-Sagoe and Djimatey, 2015).

The Issue

Despite its prominent position in decentralisation, works on allocative and productive efficiency of service provision for

local residents, has received less research attention. Rather much works have focused on decentralisation and economic growth, poverty and regional disparities, which are indirect benefits of decentralisation. Martinez- Vazquez, Lagos-Penas and Sacchi (2015) emphatically states direct studies aimed at measuring allocative and productive efficiency of fiscal decentralisation is elusion, and calls for more research on the area.

Objectives

Specifically, this study seeks to achieve the following objectives. These are:

- To assess the financial capacity of Jomoro District Assembly to provide local needs as expressed in their development plan; and
- To establish the difference between the expenditure on public goods and other district expenditure.

2. ALLOCATIVE EFFICIENCY AND DECENTRALISATION

Studies have used the feelings of citizens and tax payers to assess allocative efficiency. This has to do with the measurement of the feelings of the local citizens and tax payers about service provision. Studies that have used household surveys includes Diaz-Serrano and Rodriguez-Pose (2015) in Europe and Hellman et. al. in 2003. Diaz-Serrano and Rodriguez-Pose's (2015) studies observes an increase in citizen's perceived satisfaction with the level of service provision. Another similar study proves citizens' trust in subnational governments in charge of providing public services (Ligthart & Van Oudheusden, 2015). Studies reviewed by Martinez- Vazquez, Lagos-Penas and Sacchi (2015) on perceived satisfaction levels of local citizens from service provision proves that decentralisation has improved service delivery.

Another study by Chen, Huang and Li (2016) on fiscal decentralisation and satisfaction with social services and Inequality under the Hukou system in China shows the following results. Their study is closely related to Faguet's (2000) study in Bolivia. However, they went a step further. For example Faguet was interested and measured spending on

social service and it impact on the poor. He concludes that more direct spending are made in favour of social services which suits the needs of the poor in Bolivia through decentralisation. With this, Chen, Huang and Li (2016), was interested in how satisfied individuals feel with social service delivery under fiscal decentralisation in China. Falling on the Chinese General Social Survey (2005), together with government of China financial statistics in building a regression model for the study. The Chinese General Social Survey categorised respondents into the sick, the elderly and the poor. The survey is a national survey on Chinese residents and households. It measures residents' satisfaction with social services and progress of quality of life. Using a sample size of 7949, observations were drawn from 20 provinces and two autonomous states, covering 98 Chinese countries. The study reveals that fiscal decentralisation, from expenditure to revenue dimensions, given the current levels of social services provision, fiscal decentralisation contributes to more satisfaction with social services in China.

World Bank in 1995 presented an empirical insights into the allocative efficiency argument using local governments in Colombia. They used survey data and expenditure data of 16 municipalities. Their objective was to match subnational governments' service provision with local preferences. And if the two meets, then allocative efficiency is met. The findings proves that respondents, trusted elected local governments more than the central governments executives when it comes to the provision of service which reflects their needs and preferences. Further, the survey reveals that the allocation of resources made by local governments was more consistent with community preferences than allocations from the center.

Studies have been done on the allocative efficiency argument. These studies examined citizens' gains due to allocative efficiency from allocative efficiency and government's technical gains from providing goods and services (Saavedra, 2010). Further, allocative efficiency is established through the adjustment in the proportion of expenditure on public goods and services such as water, health, roads and sanitation. Other is based on subnational governments' response to local claims in a context of decentralisation (Savaadra, 2010). Thus, the theory that

allocative efficiency in decentralisation have an implication for improving local service delivery is very important. This then calls for the need to intensify studies towards estimating allocative efficiency of service delivery from different dimension, with some suggestions pointing to its measure from accountability.

3. ALLOCATIVE EFFICIENCY

Allocative efficiency of subnational government, Oates (1968) argues that subnational government stands a better position in satisfying diversified local needs than the central government. The justification is on the premise that subnational governments would be more responsive to particular local needs and preferences than the central government, as regarding expenditure and revenue policies due to proximity and local knowledge advantage. Thus (Oates, 1972) being closer to the local people (proximity advantage), sub-national governments can adjust budgets to local preferences in a manner that best leads to the delivery of the bundle of public services that is more fitted and responsive to community preferences.

Central government would provide uniform public services among communities. Further subnational provision of services allows dissatisfied citizens with patterns of expenditure and tax structure in his/her locality, to move to another community with improved packages which suits his/her taste. This movement from one locality to another for better services enhances allocative efficiency of resources.

4. METHODOLOGY

The study is purely quantitative research approach. Analysis of secondary data design falling on the revenue and expenditure analysis, from 2010 to 2015 of Jomoro district assembly was used. Secondary data analysis is the analysis of data that has previously been collected and tabulated by other sources. Statistical tools used for the analysis is student t- distribution.

5. DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULT

Objective 1: To assess the financial capacity of Jomoro District Assembly to provide local needs as expressed in their development plan.

To run this test, the study fell on the following. The study utilised the actual revenues used to finance social services for the period under investigation (2010 to September, 2016) against estimated expenditure for the provision of those social services under the same period.

An independent t-test was conducted using the 17 dataset and the result is presented in Table 1. Because the dataset was less than 50, the study increased the alpha level to 0.01, meaning 99 percent confident that the result of the study will be true.

Table 1: t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	Actual	Budgeted
Mean	729836	930216
Observations	17	17
Hypoth. Mean Difference	0	
Df	29	
t Stat	-0.493	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.312	
t Critical one-tail	2.462	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.625	
t Critical two-tail	2.7563	

Source: Computed from Annual Account reports of Jomoro District, 2010 to 2016.

Alpha level used for the study is: 0.01

From Table 1, the p-value for two-tailed indicates 0.63. When compared this p-value (0.63) to the alpha of 0.01, the researcher failed to reject the null hypothesis which assumes equal means for the two. Therefore, the study concluded that there is no significant difference between the actual revenues used to finance social services for the period under investigation (that is 2010 to September, 2016) and the estimated expenditure made for the provision of those social services under the same period.

This proves that Jomoro district assembly has the financial capability to provide the needs and preferences of the local residents, as expressed in their development plan over the period under investigation.

Objective 2: To establish the difference between the expenditure on public goods and other district expenditure.

Further analysis was conducted to unearth the realities of expenditure on the provision of public goods and services against other expenditures such as recurring expenditure (Figure 1 and Table 2). The result has been provided in Figure 1. The trend analysis (Figure 1) shows that expenditure on the provision of public goods and services is the top priority of Jomoro district assembly, since it led the expenditure over the period under investigation.

It started small in 2010 and increased gently in 2011, and recorded a fall in 2012, below the level in 2010. The trend increased progressively from 2013, after the fall in 2012 at astronomical rate to reach its peak in 2015. Details are presented in Figure 1. This demonstrate the assembly's focus and the zeal to provide the services that are directly in line with the preferences of its local citizens (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Expenditure on Public Services and Other Expenditure
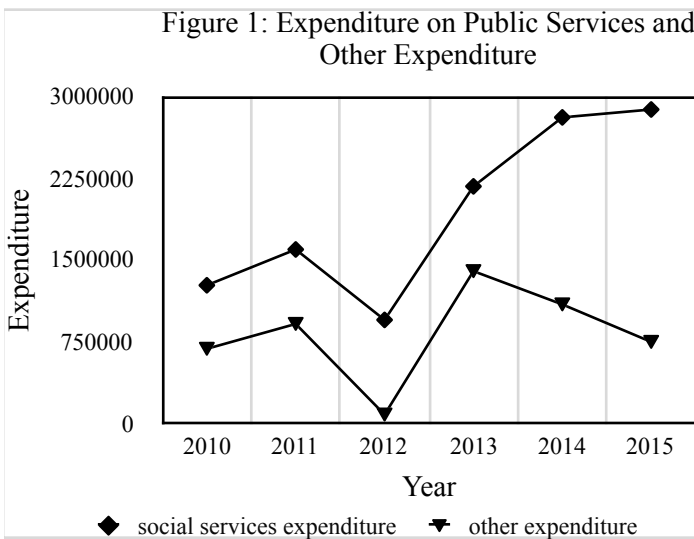
Table 2: t-Test: Two-Sample Assuming Unequal Variances

	Public Goods	Other Expenditure
Mean	974812	410960
Observations	12	12
Hypothesized Mean Difference	0	
Df	16	
t Stat	2.029	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0.0296	
t Critical one-tail	2.583	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0.059	
t Critical two-tail	2.920	

Source: Computed from Annual Account reports of Jomoro District, 2010 to 2016.

From Table 2, a t-distribution test was conducted to establish the statistical differences between expenditure on public goods and services and other expenditure of the Jomoro district assembly. At an alpha of 0.01, the p-value (two tailed) in Table 2 recorded 0.05, which is greater than the alpha of 0.01. Therefore the null hypothesis which assumes no difference between the expenditure on public services and other expenditure to be true.

To further measure Jomoro district's responsiveness to local public needs and analysis to find the percentage contributions of expenditure on local public goods provision in total revenue of the district assembly. Table 3 presents the details of the analysis.

Table 3: Percentage allocations to public service provision by year

Category	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Expenditure on service provision	1270550	1599369	952456	178724	2812049	2884597
other expenditure	687180	915535	83369	400128	1094779	750525
total expenditure	1957730	2514904	1035825	578853	3906828	3635122
% allocations to service provision	65	64	92	61	72	79

Source: Computed from Annual Accounts of Jomoro District Assembly, 2010 to 2015.

Table 3 indicates that a minimum of 60.88 percent to a maximum of 91.95 percent of total revenues of Jomoro district has been the range of expenditure devoted to service provision in the district. This represent an annual mean of 72 percent of total revenues devoted to public service provision, meaning Jomoro District is very responsive to local needs of the citizens.

The discussion on the results from Table 1, 2 and 3 and Figure 1 indicates that decentralisation support allocative efficiency and makes subnational governments very responsive to local needs based on the case of Jomoro district assembly. Through different approach (revenue and expenditure data), the findings of this study support the findings of other researchers discussed in the literature section of this paper.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This study on decentralisation and allocative efficiency, using revenue and expenditure data, has been conducted to explain how decentralisation addresses allocative efficiency in the Jomoro district, Western Region of Ghana. The study has proved that decentralisation enhances allocative efficiency and

makes Jomoro district assembly more responsive to the local needs of its residents. The result on the study objectives prove the availability of funds to meet the provision of local goods. Also public goods provision and other recurrent expenditure needs of Jomoro district assembly receives the same equal attention in average total local expenditure of the district assembly.

From these assertions, one can say that allocative efficiency, which expresses the meeting point of local demands for public service provision and supply of those services by subnational government has been achieved in Jomoro district assembly. Since the first objective made it clear the availability of funds to provide estimated cost of service provision. Responsiveness to local public goods provision was recorded since the study shows greater allocation of funds to service provision. Table 3 reports an annual average of 72 percent of total revenue devoted to local service provision in Jomoro district assembly. From different perspective to allocative efficiency, this study has supported the findings of other researchers discussed in the literature section of this study.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

It is recommended that the financial capacity of Jomoro district assembly be further improved, since mean records of funds between actual expenditure (GHS729, 836) and estimated expenditure on service provision (GHS 930216) in Table 1, shows the need to increase the levels of actual expenditures by an average of GHS 200, 380 to meet estimated expenditures adequately. This can be done through increasing revenue sources available to Jomoro district assembly. In the same way, leakages within the existing revenue sources can also be address since it is a potential threat to the revenue generation capacity of the district assembly. Arguably, the human resource capacity of Jomoro district assembly can be addressed to increase their ability to raise funds to meet local service provision.

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A LEGAL CRITIQUE OF CAMEROON'S DECENTRALISATION EFFORTS SINCE THE COLONIAL ERA: ACCOMMODATING ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE CAMEROONIANS

*ChoforChe Christian-Aime**

1. INTRODUCTION

Accommodating ethnic, religious as well as the major linguistic groups in Cameroon, which happen to be Anglophone (English speaking) and the Francophone (French speaking) Cameroonians, has met with a lot of challenges, since independence in 1960. The difficulty of adequate decentralisation to ethnic, linguistic and religious communities in Cameroon flows from the colonial history of the country.

The central question of this development is: does the decentralised system provided under the 1996 Cameroon Constitution adequately provide for the accommodation of diverse communities in the country? In attempting an answer to this question, the first section gives a historical, constitutional and political analysis of decentralisation efforts from the colonial era, to the era under the 1972 Constitution of Cameroon. In the second section, a definition of identity and language conflict is attempted as well as concepts such as secession. This is followed by the definitions of federalism and decentralisation. The third section moves forward to make an assessment of the 1996 Constitution in its decentralisation efforts. A comparative assessment is made with the 1996

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Constitution of South Africa, taking elements of federalism and decentralisation into consideration.

The central argument is that, the 1996 Constitution of Cameroon has domineering elements of a strongly decentralised system of government, which cannot adequately address the concerns of diverse communities in the country. It is thus suggested in this contribution that, in addressing the concerns of diverse communities in Cameroon, there is need for adequate administrative, political and fiscal decentralisation of powers and authority to lower spheres of government. There is also the need to have legal safeguards as well as conflict resolution mechanisms in place like for instance a constitutional court which can mitigate conflict between the spheres of government.

The next section examines the historical, constitutional and political evolution of decentralisation efforts in Cameroon. The period covered in this analysis is the period from the colonial rule of 1884 till 1972.

2. DECENTRALISATION EFFORTS IN CAMEROON'S HISTORICAL, CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL EVOLUTION

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in Cameroon, but the Germans were the first to govern Cameroon. Before the Berlin Congress in 1884 to 1885, the British were present in Cameroonian territory. But because the British were undecided in administering Cameroon at the time, the Germans eventually outmaneuvered the British and colonised Cameroon in 1884.* Authors like Le Vine contend that 'Germany badly administered its colonies and brutally repressed the revolts of the colonised peoples'.†

Germany lost its administrative control over Cameroon during the First World War. In 1916, the British and French agreed to partition of Cameroon administratively into two unequal segments, with France obtaining almost four-fifths of the territory. The Anglo-French partition, between the British

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* Le Vine VT *The Cameroons: From Mandate to Independence* (1964) 21.

† Le Vine (n 1 above) 37.

and the French colonial masters, was aimed at preparing 'the Cameroons' for independence.*

The North West and South West regions, the only two English speaking zones of Cameroon, that border Nigeria, were before independence under the governance and administrative control of the British Nigerian colonial administration. British Cameroon was loosely governed as an eastern province of Nigeria, with a House of Chiefs and with local politicians accorded some degree of autonomy.†

The French, however, instituted in French Cameroon a complex bureaucratic decentralised system of their own over the heads of traditional leaders and suppressed the actions of local political parties.‡ Like other French colonies, France administered Francophone Cameroon utilising the direct administration system mainly via assimilation. According to the policy of assimilation, communities or groups in a territory are supposed to abandon their distinctive culture and entirely adhere to major or dominant cultural norms,§ and the Francophone Cameroonians therefore let go of their different linguistic and cultural norms and embraced those of the French. The French considered colonies in Africa as part of France.** In reality, the French language, became dominantly utilised by Francophone Cameroonians in business, political and administrative affairs.††

Cameroon obtained its independence in 1960. The 1961 Federal Constitution which led to the creation of the Federal State of Cameroon was triggered by the February 1961 plebiscites.‡‡ These plebiscites were organised under the auspices of the United Nations.§§ The plebiscites composed, in fact, of two separate scenarios; one in the British Northern

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* Davis L 'Opening Political Space in Cameroon: The Ambiguous Response of the Mbororo' (1995) 22 *Review of African Political Economy* 64,214.

† Davis (1995) 215.

‡ Foncha's interview, May 1993 in Davis (1995) 215.

§ Mullard M & Spicker P *Social Policy in a Changing Society* (1998) 142.

** Nelson S *From Cameroon to Paris: Mousgoum architecture in and out of Africa* (2007)106.

†† Ihims J A *Century of Western Education in Cameroon: A Study of its History and Administration* (1844-1961), (2003) 120.

‡‡ Ardener E 'The Political History of Cameroon' (1962)18 *The World Today* 8, 342.

§§ Ardener (1962) 342.

Cameroons and the other in the British Southern Cameroons (Anglophone Cameroon or Western Cameroon).*   There were two options for Anglophone Cameroon to attain independence: either by joining Nigeria or by joining the independent Republic of Cameroon (Francophone Cameroon or Eastern Cameroon).† The majority of the Anglophone Cameroonian voters opted for the second scenario, and joined their Francophone counterparts.‡

Cameroon was a highly centralised federal country from 1961 to 1972. Like several African states at the time, the idea of having a strong nation-state, was the way to go. Concerns of diversity which arouse during independence were quashed by the then Presidents. President Ahidjo of the then Federal Republic of Cameroon, for instance favoured a strongly decentralised Cameroon, and did not condone with issues concerning national diversity.§ English and French were considered the official languages of the State.

In 1972, President Ahidjo introduced the idea of changing the Federal State to a Unitary State. President Ahidjo explained this change from the Federal to the Unitary State in terms of a concern to promote the development of the nation. He considered that the cumbersome and costly federal structures of the country were clearly hampering the nation's peace efforts, and instead contributing to more identity and language conflict. The President' s intention to create a unitary state became a reality.** On 20 May 1972, in a national referendum organised and carried out by the Cameroon National Union (CNU), by now the only political party in the country, the overwhelming majority of the electors opted for a unitary state which became the United Republic of Cameroon (URC) on 2 June 1972.††

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* Awasom NF 'Negotiating Federalism: How Ready Were Cameroonian Leaders before the February 1961 United Nations Plebiscites?' (2002)36 *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 450.

† Awasom (2002) 450,456.

‡ Awasom (2002) 450,458.

§ Neuberger B 'Federalism in Africa: Experience and prospects' in Elazar D (ed) *Federalism and Political Integration* (1979) 235.

** Bongfen CL 'The Road to the Unitary State of Cameroon 1959-1972' (1995) 41 Paideuma, Bd 23-24.

†† Bongfen (1995)18-19.

In 1982, President Paul Biya replaced President Ahidjo as President. The 1972 Constitution was amended in 1984. President Biya considered national unity as paramount to the concerns of diverse national groups. The appellation 'United Republic of Cameroon' was changed to the 'Republic of Cameroon'.*

In 1993, four prominent Anglophone Cameroonians organised a meeting (the All Anglophone Conference) with the aim of preparing Anglophone Cameroonians in a publicised debate on the reform of the 1972 Constitution of Cameroon. A lot of Anglophone Cameroonians attended this Conference. The outcome of this conference was a draft Constitution proposing a return to federalism in Cameroon. This draft Constitution was rejected by President Paul Biya's regime.†

Today there remains a serious call especially by members of a nationalist group, the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC) for secession and/or federalism. Some authors argue that SCNC is divided with some members pushing for secession and others for federalism.‡ A majority of members of the SCNC have remained abroad for fear of oppression from the government of President Paul Biya.§

Amongst the English speaking Cameroonians, 'Anglophone-ness', and what is commonly spoken of as the threatened 'Anglo Saxon heritage', has become a very controversial issue surrounding the political identity of Anglophone Cameroonians.** The union between Anglophone and

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* Hayatou H 'The Constitution of Cameroon' (1985)143 Constitutional and Parliamentary Information 3rd Quarter: The Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments<http://www.asgp.info/Resources/Data/Documents/HPMOEWVPHSZPHGXVHYOUSSTWPSYJWI.pdf> (accessed 19 May 2012) 99.

† Awasom N 'Towards historicizing the ossification of colonial identities in Africa' in Zewde B Society, State and Identity in African History on Arguments for Centralisation (2008) 59.

‡ Anye, FE Issues of minority in the context of political liberalisation: The case of Anglophone Cameroon (unpublished PhD thesis, School of Social Sciences, Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, 2008) 166. There are about four factions in the SCNC, with each group claiming to be the authentic SCNC. Some SCNC activists are for secession, while others are for federalism. Infighting within the SCNC and with other Anglophone movements has greatly weakened the quest of the Anglophone struggle for self-determination. However, although there is infighting within the ranks of the SCNC, the nationalist movement is far from over.

§ Awasom (2008) 61.

** All Anglophone Standing Committee (1993) 5 in Davis (1995) 215.

Francophone Cameroon has been a challenging one ever since independence in 1960. A major consequence of the threatened 'Anglo Saxon heritage' is the secessionist tendencies by the Anglophone Cameroonians,* which are real.

Before delving into an examination of decentralisation efforts under the 1996 Constitution, it is important to have clarity on definitions. This would assist in understanding the context of decentralisation efforts in Cameroon. This is done below.

3.   DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Group rights and identity conflict: Secession or not?

Protecting group rights by the international community has undergone serious challenges†, especially as the first two international instruments adopted by the United Nations made allusion to individual rights and not group rights.‡ The first instrument to make allusion to group rights is the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

Article 27 of the ICCPR states:

> In those states in which ethnic or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of

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* Konings P & Nyamnjoh FB 'The Anglophone problem in Cameroon' (1997) 35 *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2, 207. A case with relevance to secession in Cameroon is the case of Kevin Mgwanga Gunme et al v Cameroon. In this case before the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (the African Commission), the Southern Cameroon' National Council (SCNC), a Cameroon based pressure group fighting for secession on grounds of   marginalisation, brought a claim for secession before the Commission in 2003.

† Addis A 'Cultural integrity and political unity: The politics of language in multilingual states' (2001) 33 Arizona State Law Journal, fall 746. The concern of international human rights instruments with individual rights happens to be a post Second World War development. The abuse of minority rights of the Jews by the Nazis and the Holocaust that then followed, according to several scholars, focuses on the shift from group-specific rights to universal human rights and therefore the adoption of international instruments with a powerful individualist approach.

‡ The first two international instruments that were adopted by the United Nations (UN): The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the UN Charter, make no allusion to group rights. The UN Charter makes no allusion to group-specific rights. It just recognises individual rights. This individualist viewpoint is, in fact, stated in the opening Article, Article 1(3). According to this Article, the aim of the UN is to promote the 'respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion'

their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.*

Identity conflict portrays a scenario where there is rivalry between two or more national groups particularly language groups that define themselves in mutually exclusive terms that use a collective 'we/they' definition.† One group is considered a national minority group, while the other, a national majority group. In the case of an identity and language conflict, it is important to underscore the fact that the conflict is between national linguistic groups and not between ethnic groups. The linguistic minority is marginalised by the linguistic majority.‡ Identity and language conflict tends to have the tendency of creating greater intensity likelihood of violence, and the notion of violence cycles. In this respect, violence creates strong identities that lead to more violence.§

It is germane to therefore define secession especially in relation to language conflict. To Wood, secession:

'...represents an instance of political disintegration, wherein political actors in one or more subsystems withdraw their loyalties, expectations, and political activities from a jurisdictional centre and focus them on a centre of their own'.**

Secession seems to presume that disgruntled groups within a state want to break away, and form their own state. Yet it is not at all clear if secession is the priority of all communities. Some states might forgo secession in favour of safeguarding a considerable measure of self-government within a larger accommodative state.

It is therefore important to furnish definitions on decentralisation and federalism and clear the confusion between centralisation and decentralisation. This is done below.

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* Article 27 of the ICCPR.

† Jenkins JC & Gottlieb EE 'Identity conflicts and their regulation: An introduction' in Jenkins JC & Gottlieb EE *Identity Conflicts: Can violence be regulated?* (ed) (2007) 1.

‡ Vander Zanden JW American Minority Relations (1972) 17. Assimilation tends to be prominent in such a scenario. Via the amalgamation of the divergent cultural traditions and racial groups, there is creation of a new culture as well as people.

§ Jenkins & Gottlieb (2007) 2.

** Wood JR 'Secession: A comparative analytical framework' (1981) 14 *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 1 111.

Decentralisation

Decentralisation is a concept used to include various ways of allocating governmental power and finances. Decentralisation entails the transfer of responsibility and resources from the central government to field units of government agencies, lower spheres of government, semi-autonomous public authorities, regional government functionaries, or nongovernmental organisations. In so doing these various bodies are given some responsibility to plan, manage and raise revenue especially for developmental purposes.* Although a system of co-responsibility is created between institutions and actors of governance at national, regional and local government levels, power can still be recentralised by the national government, especially if not adequately constitutionalised. This is so because it transferred the power to lower spheres of governments in the first place.

Federalism

As a type of decentralisation, federalism as a normative notion is embedded within two main issues: union and autonomy.† The union aspect of federalism refers to the co-management of society in general, and the will of the people and politics to bind together for the achievement of common purposes. The self-government aspect of federalism entails creating room for a possibility of self-rule for constituent units. Federalism is 'self-rule plus shared rule'.‡ Power is distributed between the central government as well as the constituent governments so that they all participate in the system's executing processes as well as in making decisions.§

Therefore referring to countries as decentralised unitary countries or centralised federal countries is not self contradictory but translates to the type of legal safeguards protecting intergovernmental relations within a country or to the real depth of dispersal of power to lower spheres of government. For instance, a federal government is non existent

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* Cheema GS & Rondinelli DA *Decentralisation in Developing Countries* (1983) 9.

† Wheare (1963) in Fessha (2010) 26.

‡ Watts (1999) 31 in Fessha (2010) 26.

§ Elazar DJ 'Federalism vs. Decentralization: The Drift from Authenticity' (1976) 6 Publius: *The Journal of Federalism* 4, 12.

in Tanzania, because the central government can centralise all allocated powers from all regions, but for the island of Zanzibar. Therefore no two spheres of government operate throughout Tanzania.* Likewise, the authority and power that the British Parliament assigned to Scotland may be more than that dispersed to lower spheres of governments within a federal country. But the United Kingdom is not considered as a federal country, since the British Parliament can unilaterally revoke all authority and powers assigned to the Scottish executive and legislature, which is not endowed with a second chamber in which habours Scottish representatives.†

A proper distinction between a unitary and federal arrangement on the one hand and decentralisation and centralisation on the other hand, can prevent confusion that makes complex the already difficult endeavour constitution builders face in selecting appropriate governmental design options. Constitution builders may blindly opt for a federal arrangement as in the case of Somalia or Nepal, which can hamper the implementation of asymmetric decentralisation options that may be suitable for country, taking into consideration its historical, cultural, economic and political context.

After having furnished clarity in definitions, the next section delves into analysis of decentralisation efforts under the 1996 Constitution of Cameroon.

4.   DECENTRALISATION EFFORTS UNDER THE CAMEROON CONSTITUTION OF 1996

Autonomous spheres of government with constitutionalised powers?

In a real federation, there are at least two orders of government: a federal and a regional one. The case of Canada is a good example.‡ Federations such as South Africa have three

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* Haule, RR 'Torturing the Union? An examination of the union of Tanzania and its constitutionality' 66 (2006) ZaoRV, 215-233.

† Blick A & Jones G ' A Federal Future for the UK: the Options' (2010) *The Federal Trust for Education and Research*, 9 to 35.

‡ Leuprecht C Essential Readings in Canadian Constitutional Politics (2011) 74.

constitutionalised orders of government.* Each order impacts directly on its citizens, thus permitting self-rule for the constituent units. Both the federal and regional governmental units benefit from separate powers or competencies, as well as financial powers, allocated to each level via a written constitution – although they may have concurrent or shared powers.†

In a country with a unitary system which is strongly decentralised, power is devolved from the central government and can be recentralised. Therefore in such systems, the division of power is not a matter of right, but of grace.‡

The 1996 Constitution of Cameroon has instituted three orders of government: central government, regional government and local government.§ Local government is further stratified into urban and rural councils, with an association of councils created to oversee the activities of these councils. Power is devolved from the centre to the other spheres of government and these powers can be recentralised and easily overridden by central government. Additionally, the 1996 Constitution loosely provides for arrangement for self-financing of the regions and councils. Financial decisions are dictated from the central government. Nonetheless, there are laws which govern the raising of finances of regions and councils.** The 1996 Constitution Cameroon therefore provides for a strong

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* De Visser J 'Republic of South Africa' in Steytler N *Local Government and Metropolitan Regions in Federal Systems: a Global Dialogue on Federalism* Vol.VI (2009) 274. Also see Steytler N 'National, Provincial, and Local Relations: An Uncomfortable Ménage à Trois' in Lazar H & Leuprecht C (eds) *Spheres of Governance : Comparative Studies of Cities in Multilevel Governance Systems* (2007) 229. South Africa is a unique country with a federal arrangement having local government as a third sphere of government. Unlike other federal countries were local government is considered as a creature of constituent units, local government in South Africa is a sphere of government with constitutionalised power.

† Kincaid J 'Editor's Introduction: Federalism as a mode of Governance' in Courchene et al (eds) *The Federal Idea: Essays in Honour of Ronald L Watts* (2011) xxii.

‡ Elazar (1976) 13.

§ *The Constitution of Cameroon*, 1996. Part III of the Constitution is devoted to legislative powers which covers the National and Senate, though the Senate is still not functional. The Constitution of Cameroon, 1996. Part X (Article 55 to 62) is devoted to Regional and Local councils.

** Law No 2009/019 of 15 December 2009 on local Finance. Also see Law No 2004/17 of 22 July 2004 on the Orientation of Decentralisation, Law No 2004/18 of July 2004 to lay down Rules Applicable to Councils, Law No 2004/19 of 22 July 2004 to lay down Rules Applicable to Regions.

decentralised unitary system, incapable of adequately accommodating diverse communities.

A written constitution not easily amendable unilaterally?

In countries which have adequately constitutionally decentralised powers to lower spheres of government, the constitutional division of power between the two spheres of government cannot be amended unilaterally by either. It necessitates the consent of all or a majority of the constituent units.*

A constitution should be different from other legislation in that it should be difficult to amend it. All the same an amendment should be effected when necessary. An amendment connotes the idea of 'correction or repair or improvement'.† Formal procedural safeguards are necessary in order to protect the constitution against amendments. As the supreme law, there is need for a constitution to survive for a long period. Thus its framers do not intend the constitution to be altered in the same way as acts of parliament, but rather 'protected by special (and more complex) amendment procedures'.‡

An amendment should necessitate a special majority in Parliament in order for the amendment procedure to gain universal acceptability. The special parliamentary majority system is popular in most countries.§ The nature and scope of the legislative majority required to approve a constitutional amendment, warrants a 'supermajority of sorts', quite different from the normal majority required to approve an ordinary Bill. In the case of a bicameral legislature, the supermajority is compulsory in both bodies thereof, and in certain cases it is explicitly stated that the two bodies must sit in special joint

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* Watts RL 'The Federal idea and its Contemporary Relevance' in Courchene et al (eds) *The Federal Idea: Essays in honour of Roland L Watts* (2011) 16.

† Ginsburg T & Dixon R Comparative Constitutional Law (2011) 96.

‡ Hatchard J 'Undermining the Constitution by constitutional means: Some thoughts on the new constitutions of Southern Africa' (I995) 27 *Comparative and International law Journal of Southern Africa* 382.

§ Hatchard (1995) 390.

session called a 'congress'.* In states which have opted for adequate constitutionalised decentralisation of powers, and have an upper and lower house of parliament, it is often provided that in addition to approval by the central legislature, a certain percentage of the different component units through their legislatures must also approve the Bill.†

The 1996 Constitution provides for two ways through which a constitutional amendment can be initiated. Article 63(1) stipulates that amendments to the Constitution may be proposed either by the President or by Parliament.‡ Any amendment proposed by a Member of Parliament shall be signed by at least one-third of the members of the House of Assembly.§

Article 63(3) states that:

> Parliament shall meet in congress when called upon to examine a draft or proposed amendment. The amendment shall be adopted by an absolute majority of the members of Parliament. The President of the Republic may request a second reading; in which case the amendment shall be adopted by a two-third Majority of the members of Parliament.**

Article 63(4) goes further to state that the President may decide to submit any Bill to amend the 1996 Constitution to a referendum; in which case the amendment shall be adopted by a simple majority of the votes cast.††

This shows how complicated for any constitutional amendment to be initiated, because such a procedure is supposed to operate in a joint session according to Article 63(4). The 1996 Constitution provides for a Senate, which is still to prove its worth owing to the fact that it became operational in 2013, 17 years after being enshrined in this Constitution.‡‡ This

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* Fombad CM 'Limits on the Powers to Amend Constitutions: Recent Trends in Africa and Their Potential Impact on Constitutionalism Paper Presented At The World Congress of Constitutional Law, Athens Greece, 11-15 June 2007 < http://www.enelsyn.gr/papers/w9/Paper per cent20by%20 Prof. %20Charles%20Manga%20Fombad.pdf> 9-10. (accessed 15 May 2012) 6.

† Fombad (2007) 6.

‡ Section 1 of Article 63 of the *Constitution of Cameroon*, 1996.

§ Section 2 of Article 63 of the *Constitution of Cameroon*, 1996.

** Section 3 of Article 63 of the *Constitution of Cameroon*, 1996.

†† Section 4 of Article 63 of the *Constitution of Cameroon*, 1996.

‡‡ Article 20-24 of the *Constitution of Cameroon*, 1996 focuses on the Senate.

means constitutional amendments which were supposed to be initiated before a joint session since 1996, operated only before the National Assembly. With such a scenario, decentralisation efforts were slowed down.

Shared rule via a bicameral legislature with the second chamber?

Many federal and unitary states have opted for shared rule in the form of a provision for the representation of regional views within the policy–making institutions.* This is usually addressed in the form of a bicameral legislature, with a second chamber usually representing the constituent units.†

In both unitary and federal systems which have opted for second chambers or upper houses, these institutions have two important functions: they act as a device to check the power of majoritarian rule that may otherwise dominate the governmental process and secondly they ensure adequate representation of regional and minority interests.‡ As expounded in the section above concerning amendments of a constitution, the Senate or upper house in Cameroon's parliament is still to prove its worth. This makes shared rule weak in Cameroon. Decentralisation efforts are hampered by such a strongly decentralised system which has opted for a unitary setting.

The existence of a second chamber is therefore an essential element in a strongly decentralised state, which is though mentioned in the 1996 Cameroonian Constitution, is still to adequately check the power of majoritarian rule that still dominates the governmental process in Cameroon.

A final arbitrator in the form of a court?

An important element of adequate decentralisation with legal safeguards is the presence of an umpire (usually the courts and/ or a referendum). This umpire is entrusted with the duty of

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* Suksi M Sub-State Governance Through Territorial Autonomy: A Comparative Study in Constitutional Law of Powers, Procedures and Institutions (2011) 23.

† Patterson & Mughan (1999) in Kincaid (2011) xxii.

‡ Russel M 'What are Second Chambers for?' 2001 (54) *Parliamentary Affairs* 443.

upholding the constitution and ruling on disputes between the various spheres of government.*

The 1996 Constitution of Cameroon provides for a Constitutional Council† rather than for a Constitutional Court. Fombad argues that the Constitutional Council in Cameroon does not play the same role as a Constitutional Court.‡ Just like the Constitutional Court in South Africa§, the Constitutional Council in Cameroon is supposed to have the powers of judicial review and to play the role as a final arbitrator on deciding on the finality of constitutional issues.** This institution, which remains a Council and not a court, is still to go operational. The Supreme Court thus sits in for the Constitutional Council. The Supreme Court already charged with cumbersome judicial matters of non-constitutional importance cannot effectively play the role of an arbitrator on the finality of constitutional issues especially issues related to conflict between the spheres of government.

Adequate decentralisation therefore warrants the existence of a court or an institution as a final arbiter. The Constitutional

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* Kincaid J 'Editor's Introduction: Federalism as a Mode of Governance' in Kincaid J (ed) *Federalism*, vol 1 (2011) xxvii. Also see Watts (2011) 16. Also see Fessha (2010) 27.

† *The Constitution of Cameroon*, 1996. Part IX (Articles 46 to 52) covers the powers of the Constitutional Council. Article 47 states that the Constitutional Council has the powers to give a final ruling on the constitutionality of laws, treaties and international agreements. It also has the powers to give a final ruling on the constitutionality of the standing orders of the National Assembly and the Senate 'prior to their implementation; as well as final ruling on the conflict of powers between State institutions; between the State and the Regions, and between the Regions.

‡ Fombad CM 'Cameroon's emergency powers: A recipe for (un) constitutional dictatorship?' (2004) 48 Journal of African Law 1, 77.

§ Murray C & Simeon R 'Promises Unmet- Multi-level Government in South Africa' in Saxena R (ed) *Varieties of Federal Governance* (2010) 238. Also see Section 167(3) of the Constitution of South Africa, 1996. In South Africa, the Constitutional Court is to be the final arbitrator of constitutional disputes. See Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopaedia 'Constitutional Court of South Africa', Available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki / Constitutional_Court_of_South_Africa (accessed 12 April 2012). Also see Section 167(4) and 167(5) of the Constitution of South Africa, 1996. The judgments of the Court are founded on the Constitution. Judgements also guarantee the freedoms and basic rights of all persons. They are also binding on all organs of government, as well as all other courts. The Court has a special responsibility to provincial legislatures and parliament. If there is a dispute on the constitutionality of legislation in a provincial legislature or in parliament, a third of the members of the body concerned may apply to the Court for a ruling. Similarly, the President or the Premier of a Province may refer a bill to the Court for a decision on its constitutionality before that bill takes effect.

** Article 47,the *Constitution of Cameroon*, 1996.

Court of South Africa plays this role. The Constitutional Council in Cameroon is supposed to play the role of a Constitutional Court, but does not.

The facilitation of intergovernmental collaboration?

Multiple centres of policy influence in a some countries which have opted for adequate decentralisation are 'not separated unto themselves'.* They are forced to interact within a network of distributed powers having lines of decision making powers and communication.† In a country with a strongly decentralised government arrangement, since the constituent units derive their authority from the central government, the relationship is more of instructions flowing from the top, rather than collaboration.‡ In such a government arrangement, decentralisation efforts becomes difficult and there is a tendency for minority groups to secede.

As in the case of Chapter three of the Constitution of South Africa, which focuses on cooperation,§ there is no exhaustive chapter for intergovernmental relations in the 1996 Constitution of Cameroon. Because of such a constitutional lacunae, it is difficult for the spheres of government to co-operate effectively.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

The 1996 Constitution of Cameroon needs to put in place autonomous spheres of government with constitutionalised powers. This will go a long way in facilitating the decentralisation process.

There is need for adequate supervision and monitoring of the activities of councils. This will go a long way in facilitating Cameroon's decentralisation efforts.

It is important for power devolved from the centre to the other spheres of government not to be easily recentralised and easily overridden by central government. In this respect the 1996 Constitution should be different from other legislation in

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* Elazar (1976) 13.

† Elazar (1976) 15.

‡ Watts (2011) 15.

§ Chapter 3 of the *Constitution of South Africa*, 1996.

that it should be difficult to amend it. All the same an amendment should be effected when necessary.

Additionally, the 1996 Constitution needs to provide for adequate and asymmetrical arrangements for self-financing of the regions and councils. Financial decisions need not always have to be dictated from the central government.

There is need for the 1996 Constitution of Cameroon to put in place legal safeguards as well as conflict resolution mechanisms in the presence of an umpire usually a Constitutional Court. This umpire should be entrusted with the duty of upholding the constitution and ruling on disputes between the various spheres of government.

As in the case of Chapter three of the 1996 Constitution of South Africa, which focuses on cooperation, there is need for an exhaustive chapter for intergovernmental relations in the 1996 Constitution of Cameroon. This will allow spheres of government to co-operate effectively.

6.   CONCLUSION

This contribution has shown that the 1996 Constitution is faced with serious challenges in its decentralisation efforts. Powers which are decentralised to lower spheres of government in Cameroon can easily be centralised by the central government, because of lack of adequate constitutional parameters. If these powers were adequately constitutionalised like in a well-designed decentralised arrangement, it would be difficult for the central government to centralise these powers. Under the 1996 Constitution of Cameroon, self rule and shared rule remain weak. There are no well-defined financial powers of various spheres of government and no inter-governmental relations.   Such a system hampers decentralisation efforts. It must also be understood that the success of a decentralised design would also depend on the culture, as well as the history of a people.

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ANDHRA PRADESH MICROFINANCE CRISIS
2010: HOW MASCULINITY MASTERS MONEY
CAPITAL CONTRADICTIONS

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1. INTRODUCTION

Anyone working on issues of poverty and development in
almost all parts of the world must inevitably come across
'microcredit' which is considered to be 'an ever more important
instrument in the struggle against poverty' (Mjøs, 2006). Dr.
Muhammad Yunus, the founder of Grameen Bank in
Bangladesh as well as the Nobel Peace Prize 2006 laureate,
introduced the microcredit concept in the 1970s which has
inspired countless business models worldwide (Mjøs, 2006;
Ruben, 2007). The concept originated from the idea of using
small loans provided at affordable interest rates to transform the
lives of impoverished people, mostly women. However, the
microfinance crisis in Andhra Pradesh (AP) state in India six
years ago has prompted many to rethink the magic of the
buzzword.

In 2010, international media began to expose the over-
indebted borrowers in Andhra Pradesh (AP). The employees of
the microfinance companies were mentioned as the persons
responsible for the suicides and more than one mass protests
was directed at the Microfinance Institutions (MFIs) in the same
year. The over-indebtedness also resulted in the enactment of
Andhra Pradesh Microfinance Institutions (regulation of money
lending) Act 2010 (Ramana, 2010). It was designed to prohibit
abuses with new restrictions on loan disbursement and
collection, as well as complicated registration requirements on
the companies.

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My initial problem with respect to testimonies voicing the debt-induced distress among the borrowers—whose tone was not merely sad and ashamed, but full of despair too—was; how to explain a programme which was intended to empower people, but then turned out to be a suppressing one? Consider the story of the borrowers reported by BBC and Bloomberg. At the time, Mylaram Kalava was very desperate before she committed to suicide and Chand Bee had no choice but to run away as she could not pay her loans (Biswas, 2010; Lee and David, 2010).

Those testimonies about microcredit practices in AP show that there was something problematic with microcredit, making its objective hard to realise. According to Isabelle Guérin and Solene Morvant-Roux from the Institute of Research Development, microfinance policies are in fact part of the problem (Guérin, 2013). While the role of microcredit is ambiguous all this time, there is also inequality manifested in gender, caste, ethnicity and religion shaping local financial reasoning and decision frameworks which encourages the problem of over-indebtedness (Morvant-Roux, 2013).

It seems that the suicide phenomenon was unproblematic when a whole collection of explanations regarding what happened to the borrowers is available, besides which, the government of AP has acknowledged in the Act about 'the high rates of interest and inhuman coercive methods for recovery of the loans' by the private MFIs.* Nonetheless, how was to explain the tone of shame and complete loss adopted by the borrowers to talk about the microcredit? Moreover, a tone more of disbelief than confusion was expressed by MFIs' functionaries when they discussed the failure of microfinance during the AP microfinance crisis (Lee and David, 2010; Mahajan, 2011).†

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* As mentioned in the objects and reasons of the Andhra Pradesh Microfinance Institutions (regulations of money lending) Ordinance, 2010, available online at http://indiamicrofinance.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/Andhra-MFI-Ordinance.pdf, accessed 5 July 2014.

† Vijay Mahajan is the founder and CEO of the BASIX Social Enterprise Group, President of Micro Finance Institutions Network (MFIN) of India, also the chairman of Executive Committee of the Consultative Group to Assist the Poor (CGAP). He did a spiritual and literal journey across India in 2011 to explore the reality of what microcredit has done for poor people. He wrote on a blog about the journey in http://vijaymahajan.wordpress.com/.

It is not that there was something problematic with microcredit, but that there was something inherently problematic in it which made its objective hard to achieve. What was the logic driving the urge for profit in the microcredit practices? Why was there a tension between the social goals and the desire to make profit? What kind of social goals did microcredit try to achieve and how did it try to achieve them? How such tension could possibly arise? What causes the tension to be present in the social programme which has championed the global development agenda all this time?

Maurizio Lazzarato (2012) pointed out the problematic side of credit activities. He argued that the modern-day capitalist accumulation is using credit as 'a machine for capturing and preying on surplus value', in which 'finance, banks, and institutional investors are not mere speculators'; but the 'financial capitalist(s) or rentier(s)' (2012: 21). At the same time, the '"industrial capitalists", the entrepreneurs who risked their own capital have been reduced to the "functionaries" ("wage-earners" or those paid in company stock) of financial valorisation' (2012: 21). A microfinance programme, which is basically a credit programme for the poor, works with the same logic. Furthermore, the specifics of this capitalist social formation always lead to trouble as the result of the contradictions in its development (Harvey, 2014: 9).

However, Harvey distinguished the contradictions following the specifics of the capitalist social formations from the contradictions in capitalism* that transcend it. The contradictions of gender relations and racial distinctions have supported the development of capitalism globally; yet, there are other contradictions which can be found specifically in the form of circulation and accumulation constituting the economic engine of capitalism. The latter are the ones which have the potential to bring crisis under capitalism, while the former are the ones making each person pay the cost differently. Both contradictions intersect and interact in shaping the global political economy up to our daily life. Hence, understanding their intersections and interactions is vitally important;

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* Capitalism refers to 'any social formation in which process of capital circulation and accumulation are hegemonic and dominant in providing and shaping the material, social and intellectual bases for social life' (Harvey, 2014: 7).

especially if we consider that all the contradictions of capital will always lead to crisis.

The works of Lazzarato and Harvey resolve some of my difficulties and open up the opportunity to see the AP microfinance crisis 2010 as the result of contradictions of money capital. From my point of view, their most useful suggestion to enable understanding of the AP microfinance crisis 2010 is that the latent tension between commercial interests and social goals in the microcredit programme—which stems from the capital's contradictions inherent in its practices —had developed. In addition, gender relations which underpinned the contradictions during that time, resulted in the Indian women, the majority of the MFIs' clients, being the most vulnerable individuals when it came to crisis. Thus, instead of seeing it as a result of malpractice in microcredit or the urgency to reconsider the effectiveness of the programme as the silver bullet against poverty,* I will try to investigate the phenomenon as the result of contradictions of capital which had made active use of the gender relations of Indian people during that period of time.† For those reasons, this research tries to answer the question: How did gender underpin the contradictions of money capital in the case of AP microfinance crisis 2010?

In answering the question, I will use three different concepts which also lead me to search and elaborate on the evidence required. First of all, to show how money was transformed into capital and positioned as the basis of production and accumulation in the case study, I need to identify the particular process in which such transformation takes place. To identify means to point out the contingency of the process, i.e. to

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* I cannot subscribe to it, despite the fact that some MFIs' employees abused the borrowers. My resistance echoes Lazzarato (2012), Supriya Singh (2013), and Harvey's (2014) refusal to look at money and credit practices as neutral. Conversely, they are fully inscribed with power relations.

† My view that the capital contradictions had "infected" the gender relations of Indian people comes from examining the stories from the borrowers at the time of microfinance crisis which more into expressing the negation of identity, instead of conflicting identity. According to Jacob Torfing, the negation of identity is part of the process of hegemonic articulation of a discourse (Torfing, 1999: 120). It involves the negation of alternative meanings and options and the negation of those people who identify themselves with these meanings. Hegemonic articulation itself ultimately involves some element of force and repression. That provokes me to explore the gender dimension of AP microfinance crisis 2010.

uncover the structure of production and also the system of capital accumulation running through it.

The concept of 'financialisation' is useful to initiate such investigation into the growth of MFIs in AP before 2010. 'Financialisation', according to Greta R. Krippner, is 'a pattern of accumulation in which profits accrue primarily through financial channels rather than through trade and commodity production' and the term 'financial' itself refers to 'activities relating to the provision (or transfer) of liquid capital in expectation of future interest, dividends, or capital gains' (Krippner, 2005: 174-5). The discussion of the development of microcredit movement in India shows how profits can accrue through the combination of financial channels towards reproductive activities and the trade and production of commodity 'money capital'.

Secondly, I use Harvey's concept of (2014), to examine the contradictions of capital which raised the sense of crisis in the case study. Crises are fundamental to the reproduction of capitalism. Although there have been many proposals regarding putting things right, 'the manner of exit from one crisis contains within itself the seeds of crises to come' (2014: x). An advisable way out requires a coherent understanding of how capitalism is so troubled. By exploring the model of how the economic engine of capitalism works, he could reveal the two seemingly opposed forces which are simultaneously present within it (2014: 1). My method of collecting and analysing the data at this section is to reread the reports about the AP microfinance crisis 2010, for the full range of capital contradictions they reveal. Such texts have rarely been examined with a view to digging and revealing the latent tensions between the competing demands of ordered production and the need to reproduce daily life. Hence, in the next part I also investigate which capital contradictions driving microfinance practices in AP into crisis at the time.

Afterwards, I use the concept of masculinist strategy by Terrell Carver (1996). The strategy refers to the way masculinist presents degendered "public man" (through which the domestic issues are privatised to the "woman"), as well as presenting the gendered "public man" (so that the "public" domain is normalised for them to regulate) in a text to preserve gendered power structure favouring on them. Understanding gendered

financial attitudes and behaviours constructed in the case study can be done by deconstructing the subject represented in a text related with the Indian microfinance practices at the time. By examining such subject, the gendered power structure over the use of money constructed in the microfinance practices can be shown.

My object of investigation is one of the Indian MFI leader's autobiography. I examined the articulations of particular masculinist strategy to constitute the gendered power relations associated with money management and control in the Indian MFIs. Finally, to understand how the contradictions of capital had made active use of the gender relations, I piece money capital contradictions together with the gendered financial attitudes and behaviours appeared in the testimony. I consider how such articulations of those acts reflect the ways their consistency address particular issue which are shaped by, as well as shaping, a hegemonic force of an economic process.

2. THE GROWTH OF MFIS IN INDIA: THE CONTINGENCY OF MONEY CAPITAL

Democratic India adopted credit as social policy following the cooperative credit policy introduced by the British in the colonial era (Münkner, 2004; Mader, 2013: 47). Agrarian reform and state control of economy (Metcalf and Metcalf, 2002: 239) drove India's early industrialisation policies. In 1969, nationalisation of the country's largest banks was followed by the new lending focus on rural areas and the agricultural sector (Metcalf and Metcalf, 2002: 247; Mader, 2013: 47-48). A parastatal agency named Myrada and the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) trained groups of people and started to link more people to banks. This state-sponsored Self-Help Group (SHG)* lending model let many households experience the first formal

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* SHG is a group of 10 to 20 women. Under the SHG-bank linkage model, an NGO promotes a group and gets banks to extend loans to the group as a whole. The other group lending model is the Joint Liability Group (JLG) where loans are extended to, and recovered from , each member of the group. Beside this model, the government also introduced a subsidised credit for farming improvements and livelihood diversification projects under the Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP) in the 1970s and 1980s. In the same period, the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) was founded in 1972 which organised women into cooperatives offering banking services (Mader, 2013: 48).

lending and let the number of informal lending offered by moneylenders, traders, and landlords fell in the 1970s (Burgess and Pande, 2005: 782).

The development of those informal banks was made possible by particular discursive transformations—especially the one concerning the value of money (credit) in the society produced by major institutions. Not only that, well-managed programmes where "poor" people* were willing and able to pay interest rates, also the rise of MFIs as the new partner of development were disguising the underlying economic social relations that expanded through such development: the capitalist social relations. It is not my intention here to reveal details of such complex economic structure manifested in the growth of MFIs in India. What I want to highlight instead, is how the expansion of capitalist social relations took place in the rise of MFIs in India: how money was transformed into capital in the case study so that capital accumulation could occur and, thus, always contained contradictions (Harvey, 2014).

The dynamics of capitalism always involves the reshaping and re-engineering to create a new version of what capitalism is about (Harvey, 2014: ix). For to manage its underlying drive of profitability; capitalism not only entails reconfiguration of physical landscapes, but also innovation in ways of thought and understanding informing our daily life. Recent fascinating economic manoeuvres accompanied with the late global crisis have drawn attention to the pivotal role of 'finance' in the developing capitalist economies during these last three decades (Marazzi, 2010; Lapavitsas, 2013; Lobo-Guerrero, 2014).

Lying at the roots of financialisation is the growing asymmetry between production and circulation which makes the reproduction of capital unstable (Lapavitsas, 2013: 793-4). As we have seen in history; when capital had ceased to exist as a feasible way to produce and consume, it would create a new basis for its own reproduction so that a surplus would be produced (using such seemingly fair or legitimate system). One

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* I use quote and quote for the word 'poor' following Federici who carefully avoids the normalisation of such impoverishment of people in the capitalism which the concept of the 'poor' promotes (Federici, 2014: 15).

of its viable ways was through 'financialisation'.* 'Financial' itself is a term referring to 'activities relating to the provision (or transfer) of liquid capital in expectation of future interest, dividends, or capital gains' (Krippner, 2005: 174-5). What makes it more damaging, the current trend of financialisation showed that it is not only able to bridge the asymmetry of production and circulation of value; but also create new forms of profit that could even be unrelated to surplus value—given that its own rule and internal life can provide particular mechanisms for profit extraction in the sphere of circulation (Lapavitsas, 2013: 799). Important question to ask is how will we read the growing financialisation of the poor, rest in the shadow of the rise of MFIs in India?

The story of the rise of MFIs shows the expansion of capitalist social relations to the social use of money. What those MFIs did in practice was transform the prominent feature in capitalism, that is the inequal distribution of money—the single metric of all commodities in the market, into a market for "better standard of living" through household production.† In this particular market, money (in the form of microcredit) was for sale, targeting people who had less of it.

The market logic of money were developed and presented through the financialisation of the poor's reproductive activities done by particular institutions,‡ mainly MFIs supported by the

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* As Lapavitsas put it, 'the financial system is a set of ordered economic relations, comprising markets and institutions with characteristic profit-making motives which are necessary to support capitalist accumulation' (Lapavitsas, 2013: 799). The creation of the World Bank (formerly the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) pinpoints the advancement of capitalism that passed through the state boundaries.

† Though the mechanism of such household production remains unclear. The promise there was that the poor are always worth investing and how they can produce such surplus value are their responsibility as it is assumed that they want to have a better standard of living. In next section, I will discuss about the gendered way of producing surplus value or generating income reflected in the case study.

‡ Or the 'social reproduction' in C. Katz's words, referring to 'the fleshy, messy, and indeterminate stuff of everyday life... At its most basic, it hinges upon the biological reproduction of the labor force, both generationally and on a daily basis, through acquisition and distribution of the means of existence, including food, shelter, clothing, and health care' (Katz in Young, 2010: 612).

international development institutions,* in which 'reproduction is politically imagined as self-investment' (Federici, 2014: 5). In this financialisation of reproductive activities, borrowing through microcredit programme for investing in one's reproduction—such imagination entailed by the concept of microentrepreneurship—renders money as the capital for production required to bring one's life improvements. According to Akula and many other MFI leaders, investing in people's reproduction, even only in a small amount of money, will enable them to produce value, generate income and make profit—which is considered as the key of empowerment if only they are "wise" enough to manage the money. The reproduction activities become the site of production of surplus value for the financial capitalist in microfinance: while operating such economy, MFIs extracted wealth from the reproductive activities of their clients and transform them into investment capital.

When capitalist social relations emerged, it was followed by harmful consequences to the labourers, who in this case (of money capital) were the borrowers. The social labour of the borrowers which was once used to create common wealth† then became appropriated and accumulated through credit instrument in the freely functioning market. This appropriation of values from the borrowers' reproduction activities explains the tone of complete loss adopted by them when they talked about the microcredit they took. They suffered a loss of control of their social labours, as they were unable to provide the use value for others freely anymore (e.g. money, a common wealth for Indian

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* Vikram Akula's story (2011) revealed the extraordinary variety of actors who got involved; interacted and formed alliance advancing the commodification of money: venture capitalists, business entrepreneurs and salespeople, banks and philanthropists, development and women empowerment activists and women clientele, as well as international organisations, state agencies and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs).

† As Harvey argued that the common wealth produced by social labour comes in infinite variety of use values, e.g. knives and forks to cleared lands, the aircraft we fly, the cars we drive, the food we eat, the houses we live in, etc. (Harvey, 2014: 53).

family,* was appropriated in a seemingly fair and legitimate logic: "paying for your family's consumptions is not a generating-income-activity, you cannot use the loan for such purpose"). They had to sell what their social labours could produce in order to return the loan with its interest—the surplus value for money capital.

Therefore, statements like ' ..huge numbers of poor people are both very smart and very entrepreneurial' (Akula, 2011: 60), '[p]eople could choose to invest in something they were good at, rather than something that was dictated to them' (Akula, 2011: 61; emphasis from me); or the idea of promoting livelihood finance to eradicate poverty using resource from the capital markets (Mahajan, 2005); or, even, the recent study encouraging the financialisation of the poor from a well-known academic institution (Fox, 2013), are far more worrying than the exploitation from the flow of capital to the procurement of educated labourers. It is because the mechanisms of exploitation in these practices take form in a more individualised way (Federici, 2014: 5), towards people in the lowest social class whose commonality in their communities has been transformed into such competition in a market. Though in the beginning of the group lending it was said that each person in the group has to 'help each other out' (Akula, 2011: 77), but it was obviously showed that microcredit practices changed those self-help communities into self-disciplining ones (for the financial capitalists' interest).† Not only they had to lose the control over their social labours, the borrowers also had to face the guilty-inducing practices if they could not produce the surplus value.

Nevertheless, as Federici (2014) argued, the campaign about entrepreneurship has mystified the class relation and the

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* Indian people indeed have particular cultural values of financial obligation to their family. Money's use value in their culture is to present themselves as a family member. These values expressed in terms of 'duty' (dharma) on the children's part and a 'right' (haq) on the parents' part (Singh and Bhandari, 2012: 53). According to them, money is shared between parents and adult children, also in some cases between siblings, and it is a key family practice. Hence, unsurprisingly we can find many of the borrowers used the money from microcredit to support their joint family's needs.

† See the story of Mylaram Kallava before and the story about repayment session in practice (in Akula, 2011: 76).

exploitation involved in microcredit practices.* The discourses through which money was valuated for development goals also constructed the poor people in particular ways. The borrowers could be the agent of change—be it for poverty alleviation or women empowerment—if disciplined in the way the microcredit markets defined.†

3.   MONEY CAPITAL CONTRADICTIONS

There are some relationship through which I reinterpret the stances of the MF crisis victims, as a possible crisis in capital. The rejection of buying more money capital (i.e. being involved in microfinance/microcredit) and the loss of control expressed by the borrowers come from the contradiction between private appropriation and the common wealth as discussed in the earlier section. In addition, the global agenda of financial inclusion through credit instruments and loans provision—to support both production and consumption, including microcredit movement for poverty alleviation in the developing countries—marks the vast array of the commodification of money.‡ This development has generated a peculiar use of money nowadays (Harvey, 2014: 28).

To begin with, we should not forget that once people could conduct their activities with almost no monetary cost. Self-help community existed and survived with its own mechanism of exchange, appreciating the use values of anything any member of the community had or produced to sustain/reproduce the daily life (some communities still do it to some extent until now). Particular money was agreed and applied later to facilitate the expansion of exchange relations as the economy

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* Example of such campaign is found in this statement: 'I believe microfinance is a core solution to the global poverty problem. It provides poor people with the tools to find their own way out of poverty. It puts the power squarely in their hands, giving them a larger stake in their own success than simple one-time donations of food, goods, or cash' (Akula, 2011: 5).

† The financialisation of reproductive activities always entails various institutionalised ways of understanding what it means to promote the productive reproductive life.

‡ Commodification refers to the transformation of relationships, formerly untainted by commerce, into commercial relationships, relationships of buying and selling (Encyclopedia of Marxism, no date).

developed.* Direct barter was replaced by complex exchange in a place called "market". Money promoted exchange for it solving the problem of the 'non-coincidence of interests' (Harvey, 2014: 25) when the number of actors involved was proliferated.

In a modern society where production can provide enormous supply of use values for many people, not only are there many non-coincidences of interests in the market, but also, the availability of many of those use values people need for social reproduction (i.e. to live) is taken for granted. Furthermore, they are no longer able to be obtained at no charge as exchange values become the prominent feature in the mechanism of exchange, with money as the common measure of the commodities' exchange value in the market. Money plays the role of measuring the value of social labours involved in such production (e.g. the shoes cost more than shirts, because more labouring activities are involved in the production), as well as coming to be the material and tangible representation of those immaterial values. Both money and value emerge together; their relations are dialectical and co-evolutionary, rather than causal (Harvey, 2014: 27).

In the microcredit practices, however, money—that is supposed to measure and represent value of a commodity in the market—itself becomes a commodity: money-capital. The use of a certain amount of money for a certain period of time can be bought, and what is more fascinating is the fact that particular financialisation has made the new use of money specifically into producing more value (profit or surplus value). Meanwhile, '[i]ts exchange value is the interest payment, which in effect

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* Here, we can locate where capitalism has left its landmark in the history. We can recognise 'capitalism' as a system about domestic life order (the economy) based on the exchange of commodity (Polimpung, 2012). To produce a commodity, people will always need capital. However, since not everyone owns capital—often it happens through the process of 'appropriation', that is 'the transfer of ownership, use rights and control over resources that were once publicly or privately owned, or not even the subject of ownership, into the hands of those already have capital or the powerful' (Fairhead et al., 2012: 238) for the sake of maintaining certain productions—capitalism will always reproduce inequality in the society. In a capitalist society, those who do not have capital or might have valuable assets, but are earning income too low to permit social reproduction; inevitably have to sell them in the market to those who own it—the capitalists. Through this process, capital is concentrated or accumulated in the hands of few people; while the majority are forced to accept the growing inequality as something normal.

puts value on that which measures value (a highly tautological proposition!)' (Harvey, 2014: 28).

The unusual process before is made possible for emerging and growing significantly by the presence of particular social institutions—those which are responsible for producing specific social relations and construct particular subjects so that such an economic system can be developed. Moreover, the treatment of money as if it is a capital when actually it is not, inevitably created a lot of potential crisis. Borrowers had to manage surplus value for the money capital and the MFIs did not pay much attention to where it came from. Most of the victims' stories mentioned multiple credits that they took in order to pay off their debts—which were not value creating activities. However, when it came to value creating ones, the commodification and monetisation of life marked the exploitation of money capital* as the borrowers lost control over their social labours.

4. MICROFINANCE: MASCULINITY AT WORK

People in many countries in the Asia-Pacific and African regions understand money as one of the ways they present themselves as a family member (Singh and Bhandari, 2012: 46). In India, money is not a private thing but a shared one in the family, with emphasis on the male members (Singh and Bhandari, 2012: 53). The study of money management and control in the Indian nuclear and joint family households also found the specific function of money as an irregular dole for women who do not have access to money management, let alone money control. Money is seen as a gift for them rather than an entitlement (Singh and Bhandari, 2012: 55-56). It was found in the joint family households, ranging from the middle class to those categorising themselves as 'struggling/deprived', who lived in the peri-urban Delhi and small town, Dharamshala (Singh and Bhandari, 2012: 56). Unequal gender relations are

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* K. Shivamma expressed such exploitation in the following story: 'Now she owes nearly $2,000 and has no idea how she will repay it. The television, the mobile phone and the two buffaloes she bought with one loan were sold long ago. "I know it is a vicious circle," she said. "But there is no choice but to go on." (Polgreen and Bajaj, 2010).

commonly found in India whose society holds the patriarchal*
order (Sen, 2000), and gender relations associated with money
in the household is no exception.

The specific relationship of a household member with
money goes hand-in-hand with the perception of femaleness/
maleness shared in the patriarchal society which encourages
heteronormative behaviours.† In India, women faced personal
and social pressure to use money for their children and family,
while the Indian men had control of the joint household's
expenditure, savings and most of its investments (Singh and
Bhandari, 2012: 56, 58). Some argued that the socio-economic
and political transformations can change the prevailing
gendered power relations between men and women (Singh and
Bhandari, 2012: 60); but miss the point of how the gendered
power relations have been established, and even maintained in
the middle of socio-economic and political transformations.‡

Central to men's dominance in the public sphere and the
private one is the masculinist strategy to preserve domination
(Carver, 1996). As the abstract individual in any text is always
embedded with particular gender characteristic, analysing the
distinction between the textual representations of the
degendered human subject (e.g. the gender neutral man) and the
gendered human subject (e.g. the gender embedded man) in the
text can show the problematic side of the gender relations
represented by the author (Carver, 2004: 2). They serve to
favour some and subordinate others (i.e. mostly towards

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* Patriarchy refers to 'a set of social arrangements that privilege men, in which men as a
group dominate women as a group, structurally and ideologically' (Hapke, 2013: 12).
The patriarchal society holds the social contract of 'man as the breadwinner and woman
as the homemaker of the family' (Tichenor, 2005: 192) along with different perceptions
on "man" and "woman" as social subjects whose behaviours are linked to their
masculine and feminine bodies endorsed by heteronormativity. It means, the silent
norms lying there are, the masculine body is associated with maleness, the superior
characteristics related to the inability of the body to be pregnant and give birth
(individual, dominant, active, rational, benevolent) whereas the feminine body is
associated with femaleness, the "other" characteristics related to the ability of the body
to be pregnant and give birth (collective, passive, emotional, nurturing, caring). The
constructions of the gendered reproductive activities in the patriarchal society constitute
the power structure between men and women with the men receiving higher status and
privilege inside and outside the family.

† Heterosexual as the norm of human sexuality (Mirabelli, no date).

‡ Sylvia Walby argued, such transformations only gave a new form of patriarchy to
operate with the new articulations and combinations of social structures available, e.g.
class, ethnicity, religion, age (Walby in Hapke, 2013: 13).

women, as well as the other men) through segregation and supremacy of particular social subjects so that some gain control over the others.

5. THE RISK-TAKING MASCULINITY

The combination of social purpose and profit in NGOs puzzles me. If a social entreprise act the same as corporation, how is it possible? Some Indian NGOs acted like corporations (Lee and David, 2010) with profitability shaped the way in which things were seen to be. Investigating masculinity in the organisational cultures* of the NGOs will help to understand the phenomenon—which I assume is not only growing in India, but everywhere together with the development of microfinance movement. From the NGO leader's biography, I can examine not only the articulations of gender and power appearing in the less tangible aspects of the NGO's organisational life (expressed in his attitudes, beliefs, and values); but also how those aspects came about. My examination, therefore, will focus on the author's formative experiences as an MFI functionary, and the voice of him presenting, negotiating and constructing 'microfinance' from his experiences. I will investigate how he experienced his maleness in relation to microfinance practices and ask what other qualities of masculinity are negotiated there.

Akula, the founder and chairperson of SKS Microfinance, wrote a story of how he built SKS Microfinance (Akula, 2011: 51-2). What is interesting for me is the way he associated 'microfinance' with 'power'. Of all the characteristics that can be related to the programme, why was it associated with 'power'? It is widely known that mass media and popular ideology describe "men" as naturally prone to violence, risk taking and coercive sex. However, the processes of sexuality and gender does not follow such simple determinations (Connell, 2011: 93). In Akula's case, his masculine's way of life (being individualist, competitive) and the pressures and incentives he faced from his (patriarchal) family, constituted the kind of reasoning he used to build his MFI, specifically, and the way he saw 'development', broadly (Akula, 2011: 13-4, 27).

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* Organisational cultures refer to 'the formal design of an organisation that determines the ways it is gendered' as well as the 'multitude of 'informal' processes through which gender relations are constructed and reproduced' (Halford and Leonard, 2001: 65).

In my reading of his autobiography, I also see the pattern of particular masculinity constructed in the MFI's organisational cultures (which I think can be found in many other financial institutions too). It can be recognised not from the language of admiration towards 'competitiveness'—which is typical of corporate masculinity (Connell, 2011: 92), but from the primacy of such risk-taking behaviour. A masculine gesture favouring that character can be found in many parts of Akula's autobiography. The risk-taking behaviour favoured in the text is also expressed along with typical male's achievements: ones involving power and competition. We can compare them with the commonly known "facts" about female's caring and nurturing characters, which are usually more associated with her 'nature' than 'achievement'. That masculine character of risk-taking is normalised in the MFI's internal environment too. Akula disciplined his employees in a positive way, exploiting men's image of the 'father' in Indian patriarchal society: authoritative, benevolent, self-disciplined and wise (Collinson and Hearn, 2001: 157).

The masculinist view used by Akula also reflected in the way he saw social problem and its solution. The perspective has a major impact on the way it shaped what microfinance is all about for him and the development of the NGO he leads. 'Poverty' means lack of money (Akula, 2011: 7-8), which in the male's experiences is often his source of power/control. Money in the masculinist view is power, and I can imagine it is different to what the feminist understands as 'power' based on female's experiences, i.e. commonality and togetherness. Akula did not consider domination and inequality as a social issue. The issue there is the uncompetitiveness of the poor. "Men" were not included in the setting of 'poverty' he set. When "men" appeared in the text, they came in the image of an equal partner, a patron, or a competitor. In this way, the inequality between men and women are normalised. He also regarded 'dole' as something usual (Akula, 2011: 4).

The solutions offered for the 'poverty' he set in his masculine mind was 'microfinance', to empower the poor also in the masculine sense: getting more social power by getting more money. The belief in this kind of empowerment is built based on males' experiences in the patriarchal society. His reasoning is expressed in the "success" story of his grandfather

and father, i.e. the patriarchal pattern of the male breadwinner (Akula, 2011: 28-31).

In his sense, the empowerment of women refers to empowering feminine's role as the financial supporter (money manager) in the family. The female's role as the homemaker (nurturing, caring, family-oriented) is more highlighted in his autobiography, e.g. in his success story of a woman borrower, as well as when he wrote about her mother and aunt. The woman borrower who was considered as 'a successful entrepreneur' is expressed along with the intimacy she shared with her son (Akula, 2011: 174-6).

On the other hand, the money controller is unquestionably the masculine. It is expressed when he wrote about his divorce with his wife, when he had to pay the whole cost of the proceedings. He complained about the high cost, instead of his obligation to pay (p. 111). This is understandable, as Silberschmidt argued that male's role as the provider is central to his power in the family (Silberschmidt, 2011: 100).

The discussions about the gender dimension of Indian microfinance practices in Akula's autobiography have shown that microfinance is laden with the supremacy of male's experiences in a patriarchal society. The male's experiences from childhood to adulthood, the pressures and incentives he faced during this time, have constructed the kind of reasoning he built in developing his MFI.

Money Capital and Masculinity

Masculinity is the key to overcoming the problem of the capital accumulation, which is that the contradictions of capital will always cause tension between competing demands of the organised production and the need to reproduce daily life. Being always in the dominant position, the masculine has capacity to normalise the issues and provide a way out through the silent

regulation among "human".* Masculinist strategy is very well
used to normalise, even favour, the capital accumulation in this
case. It is demonstrated in the way it has made the organised
(surplus value) production existing in the Indian microfinance
growth phenomenon into such norm: the "necessity" of
"human" life. Many of the intersections and interactions
between masculinity and money capital expressing the norm are
shown in Akula's autobiography. The excerpts below are the
most telling accounts of the intersections and interactions
between masculinity and money capital that I found in the text:
how they worked together in shaping the microfinance
movement in India and leading it into the AP microfinance
crisis in 2010. I will discuss them one by one in the following
sections.

6.   THE APPROPRIATION OF COMMON WEALTH

I began to notice the intersections and interactions of money
capital and masculinity when I read the autobiography's
synopsis inside the front flap of the book cover. It is said, '[i]n
this personal and inspiring story, Akula reveals how he came to
piece together the best of both philanthropy and—to his surprise
—capitalism to help millions of India's poor transition from
paupers to borrowers to business owners' (emphasis from me).
What is fascinating there is how capitalism, the pursuit of profit
at the expense of the majority of humans' life (it is at the
expense of the feminine in this case and I will discuss it later),
is made normal, even admirable. Masculinity makes the pursuit
of "power", lying in the idea of venture capital, approvable and
seem generous. It is the appropriation of the common wealth
that the masculine shows as something benevolent.

Money capital accumulation in the hand of a few people
cannot run without the appropriation of the common wealth.
How does this unfair mode of production appear normal, fair,
and even approvable as the best economic system for all? The

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* The way we understand what 'human' is usually reflects the masculine view of it.
They set the understanding about 'human' and make it normal through many ways; i.e.
from what is seen 'formal' in our life such as the public regulations, the rule and
procedures in the social life, to the less tangible aspects of the social life itself such as
our attitudes, beliefs, and values, as well as the popular symbols also the language and
practices we normally do. Such articulations related to the understanding about
'microfinance' in India and almost all parts in the world, I assume, are discussed in this
part.

discussions above have shown that the fairness of money capital circulation and accumulation in the Indian microfinance rests on the normalisation of the masculine's conceit. The critical question to answer next is, what was the logic used to make the people work for the accumulation of money capital obediently; even when it means that their common wealth was appropriated? Or, 'who "should" do the work?' might be the more appropriate question to ask as well as understanding the way money capital circulation and accumulation could be organised well in the Indian microfinance.

7. FEMINISATION TO MOVE THE CONTRADICTIONS

Capital has seized upon the social life through masculine's conceit and reshaped it to its own purposes. The way we understand social life which is 'perpetually in the course of being revolutionised in the world that capital commands' is the reason why Harvey categorised some contradictions in the capital social relations under the heading of 'moving' (Harvey, 2014: 112). We can see how masculinity provided the way to move the contradiction between private appropriation and the common wealth to the issue of 'being a good mother' (Young, 2010: 619, emphasis from me)—with the owners of the feminine body being politically imagined as the good money managers of the family expressed in the term. In this way, masculinist strategy has made the appropriation of the common wealth appear natural, as natural as the social role of "women" in the patriarchal society: serving the family. Furthermore, when "women" in the Indian patriarchal society are successfully interpellated into doing such role,* at the same time, they can be put to work to generate the surplus value that money capital needs to accumulate.

The particular ways of understanding the "productive reproductive life" which intersect with what capital needs to survive are also expressed in Akula's reasoning and strategy of "empowering women". Money capital accumulation in microfinance works based on the logic that people need

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* In the political process of constructing social subject, the articulations of particular roles and their meanings creating the social subject in any text will always hail or 'interpellate' concrete individuals to identify themselves with such articulations (Althusser in Weldes, 1996: 287). When it happens, the articulations will be accepted as common sense and the power relations in them are naturalised.

financial assistance as the solution of their problems; but, what makes it interesting is (and this is also where the contingency of money capital accumulation is demonstrated clearly), that there is a specific character expected from the borrowers. In Akula's autobiography, the message is clear: not everyone is fit to join in the microfinance. The borrower must be a creditworthy person, and his masculine perspective directed his logic to find the character mainly in the subject of "women" in the Indian patriarchal society. What are the characteristics of "women" which were considered as creditworthy for microfinance?

The creditworthiness aspects of his MFI's target borrowers intersecting with the feminine characteristics of "women" shown in the text are: submissive, so that they can be disciplined to produce the surplus value; the money manager, so that they can manage to return the money with its interest; and living collectively, so that peer pressure can work in this non-collateral credit system. The excerpts below show the gender dimension, working through difference/segregation and supremacy logic, of the MFI's target borrowers. Moreover, we can see that these characteristics were expected for particular interests too: 'creditworthy' is measured by the consideration of whether a person is capable of returning the principal with its interest, or not.

Akula was also prescriptive about investing money to the "productive reproductive life" (Akula 2011: 82, 85). There is no clear lines to define the specific target of microfinance as the poverty alleviation or human empowerment programme; rather, there is 'the specification of an optimal mean within a tolerable bandwith of variation' (Gordon, in Joseph: 2013: 248). It is the prescriptive norm toward which people are guided through the financial pedagogy provided by the MFI. Negative portrayals of men show the exact characteristics required for a person to be suitable to join microfinance: those who have the feminine characteristics of "women".

However, because the prescriptions expressed are more into the roles of "women" in the patriarchal society than the feminine bodies they have; hence, not only the owners of the feminine body can be hailed into such articulations. The masculine bodies who played the feminine roles in the patriarchal Indian society (i.e. those who were not the money controller in the joint family households) could be interpreted

by the subject of the "good borrower" too (as we can find that some of the victims of the 2010 crisis were men); with the consequence of getting disciplined into having the feminine characteristics required for money capital's survival (submissive, collective, and faithful money manager). In order to lubricate money capital circulation and accumulation, the reproductive activities are feminised and the male's roles in nurturing, serving and caring for the family are never considered. It means the masculine's behaviours were not regulated; but the feminine had to perform the "productive reproductive life" in microfinance. The owners of the feminine body were the most potential to be harmed in the microfinance practices, as they were exploited to do all the houseworks as well as to produce surplus value for money capital.

8. CONCLUSION

As the gap of inequality widens because of the expansion of capitalism globally, money is becoming increasingly valuable: a source of profit. In the rise of MFIs in India, capitalist social relations were expanded into the way people use money, exploiting the patriarchy adopted by the society. Money was valued, circulated, and turned into a commodity of money capital that can be appropriated by private persons along with associated business and market logics. Tensions raising from money capital contradictions then developed into the Andhra Pradesh microfinance crisis in 2010.

Analysing the gender dimension of Indian microfinance practices appearing in Akula's autobiography, helps us to recognise that microfinance is laden with the supremacy of male's experiences. The risk-taking masculinity lubricated money capital circulation in microfinance and made the feminine pay the bill. Financial knowledge provided by the MFI constructed the potent combination between the feminine and microfinance, and hailed, especially, the Indian women into the subjects of "good borrower". The term interpellated them to act according to the masculine logic of microfinance, a "development" programme favouring surplus value production. Masculinity makes the reproduction of human life appear to be in the pursuit of power, and the female's experiences of reproducing life disappear. However, by doing so, it provided

the common sense to keep money capital accumulation running in microfinance.

This paper has identified how the recent global trend of financialisation of the poor through microfinance programmes is actually creating a new way of exploiting the feminine labour both in the domestic sphere as well as in the public one. It calls us to draw more attention to the other masculine gesture existing in the rapidly and aggressively growing financial capitalism at this time. The AP microfinance crisis of 2010 teaches us an important lesson, which is that human life is an expensive price to be paid for the pursuit of power in capitalism.

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MARGINALISATION AND LIVELIHOOD PROBLEM AMONG IRULAS OF NILGIRI DISTRICT OF TAMIL NADU

*M. Thamilarasan**

1. INTRODUCTION

The United Nations in India is committed to support the Government of India's efforts towards greater inclusion of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the development process. India is a signatory of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its 61st session on 13 September 2007. The declaration sets an important standard for the treatment of indigenous people and is a significant tool towards eliminating human rights violations against indigenous people and assisting them in combating discrimination and marginalization. In this regard, India has also ratified core conventions and governance conventions including the Forced Labour Convention (No.29), Abolition of Forced Labour Convention (No.105), Equal Remuneration Convention (No.100) and Discrimination (Employment Occupation) Convention (No.111). Three priority conventions ratified by India are Labour Inspection Convention (No.81), Employment Policy Convention (No.122) and Tripartite Consultations (International Labour Standards) (No. 144). Challenges being faced by India on ratification and promotion of fundamental and governance ILO Conventions are due to non-conformity with national laws and lack of technical assistance.

The United Nations in India supports the Government of India's inclusive growth agenda as articulated in the 12th Five

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Year Plan, and promotes ratification and adherence to these conventions through creating awareness, building capacities of the constituents, advocacy, training and technical cooperation.

2. SCs/ STs and Role of UN Organisations in India

Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) are among the most disadvantaged socio-economic groups in India. With its focus on 'faster, sustainable and more inclusive growth' the 12th Five Year Plan highlights that concerns of the poor, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes, minorities, differently abled and other marginalized groups must be addressed for growth to be inclusive.

Securing rights to forest produce enhances and sustain livelihood and economic security. The Government of India has enacted progressive legislation, programmes and schemes for the development and empowerment of the SCs and STs. The Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 (FRA); The Provision of the Panchayats (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996; Minor Forest Produce Act 2005; and the Tribal Sub-Plan Strategy are focused on the socio-economic empowerment of STs. The Land Acquisition Bill, which has been renamed as The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill, 2012 has a separate Chapter to protect the interests of SCs and STs. The Parliament of India passed The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and Their Rehabilitation Bill, 2013 in September 2013. This bill aims to eliminate the inhuman practice of manual scavenging and rehabilitation of liberated manual scavengers, all of them who belong to the Scheduled Castes.

The Government of India also has special schemes to enable access to opportunities including scholarships for education, financial support and skill building for setting up enterprises, reservations in jobs, and special courts to address instances of atrocities and violence.
Through the Scheduled Caste Sub Plan (SCSP) and the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP), the Government of India is channelling funds from the Planning Commission for the development of SCs and

STs respectively. Of the total Plan budget, as of 2001, the Government of India has earmarked 16 per cent for the development of SCs and 8 per cent for the development of STs, in the Union and State Budgets.

The Team convened by the United Nations Development Programme, six UN agencies including IFAD, ILO, UNFPA, UNICEF and UN Women are working together to help accelerate inclusion of SC and ST issues in national and state policy and planning processes (UN in India 2016).

India is a land of rich ethnic diversity. According to the 1991 census, tribal population of 87.8 million formed 8.06 per cent of the total population of India. These tribal groups inhabit widely varying ecological and geo-climatic conditions in different concentrations throughout the country and are distinct biological isolates with characteristic cultural and socio-economic background.

According to 2011 census, tribal population in India was 104.5 million. Women constitute almost half of the total population in the world and out of which two third of the world's adult illiterates are women. According to FAO, the most disadvantaged section of society is the women; they are the 'silent majority'' of the world's poor. While considering poverty at global level, seventy percent are women and they face peculiar social, cultural, educational, political and allied problems (Sharma and Varma, 2008). Hence, empowerment of women of any flock is critical not only for their welfare but also for the development of the country.

Tribal communities in India are economically and socially backward and mostly live in forests and hilly terrains isolated from the other elite communities. They have their own way of living and different socio-cultural and eco-geographical settings. Lack of proper education and health facilities, faulty feeding habits, certain irrational belief systems and special tribal chores are likely to aggravate their health and nutritional status. Among many tribes of India, the Irulas are the Dravidian inhabitants and one among the thirty-six sub-tribal communities in Tamil Nadu that holds the population about 1.17 lakh. Irulas are the second largest tribal in Tamil Nadu. They are recognized as a Scheduled Tribe (ST) by Government of India.

3. SCHEDULED TRIBES IN TAMIL NADU

Tribals of Tamilnadu are concentrated mainly in the district of Nilgiris. Of all the distinct tribes, the Kotas, the Todas, the Irulas, the Kurumbas and the Badugas form the larger groups, who mainly had a pastural existence.

Article 342 of the constitution provides for specification of tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which are deemed to be for the purposes of the Constitution the scheduled tribes in relation to that State or Union territory. In pursuance of these provisions, the list of scheduled tribes are notified for each State and Union territory and are valid only within the jurisdiction of that State or Union territory and not outside.

The distribution of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the population, in terms of proportions, is quite different from the country as a whole. The proportion of Scheduled Castes is higher at 19.2 per cent and that of Scheduled Tribes is strikingly lower at 1 per cent compared to the All India figures of 16.5 per cent and 8.1 per cent respectively. (National Commission for Women, 2005). Issues of development in a region densely populated by tribal people assumed great significance in a country like India. Hence, geographical and demographical position demands special care and attention both at the policy making and policy implementation level.

Tribes are a small group of indigenous forest-dwelling people who have a livelihood for generations by catching and skinning snakes. Their expertise in hunting and catching deadly snakes is locally legendary. The word "Irula" come from the root word of "Irul" which means the darkness or night. Indeed, this tribal society is in darkness characterized by such inequalities, in spite of constitutional provisions, integrating the tribals into the mainstream remains a tough task.

The tribal population suffers from economic and social backwardness. The Irulas are as small tribal community that is part of the Dravidian language group which is spoken in southeastern India. The Irulas are the largest Tamil speaking adivasi (Aboriginal) tribe in Tamil Nadu. Specifically Irula women are highly exploited and are inhumanly treated. They are ignorant and illiterate. These tribal women struggle throughout their life. They tend to become victims of

unscrupulous elements in the world. Women are subject of particular health risks due to inadequate responsiveness and lack of services to meet health needs related to sexuality and reproduction. These problems should be addressed.

Scheduled Tribes in Nilgiri District

Tribal population in Tamil Nadu and Nilgiri District: There are thirty six (36) scheduled tribes of varying numerical strengths in the state. The details about the scheduled tribes of Tamil Nadu, Population group- wise are given in the Table- I (Source TRC, Ooty-4).

The present study is conducted in the Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu in India. Tamil Nadu, one of the major states of the Southern Zone in India, consists of important Scheduled Tribes. According to the Census of 2011, the scheduled tribe population in Tamil Nadu is 794,697, constituting 1.01 per cent of the total population.

Irula Tribes of Nilgiris

The Irula tribes of the Nilgiris live in the dark jungles of the lower elevation of the mountains. This might be one of the reasons that this tribe is called as Irulas which means 'one who comes from the darkness'. Another reason is that these people are dark-skinned, so the neighbors may have addressed them thus. (Irula- in Tamil means black or dark). Thurston states in his book that the name Irula in fact means darkness or blackness, whether in reference to the dark jungles in which the Irulas, who have not become domesticated by working as contractors or coolies on planter's estates dwell or to the darkness of their skin.

Anthropological literature says that Irulas belong to the Negrito (or Negroid) race, which is one of the six main ethnic groups that add to the racial mosaic of India. Negroids from Africa were the oldest people to have come to India. These people are now found in patches among the hill tribes of south India (Irulas, Kodars, Paniyans and Kurumbas) on the mainland. Unlike the survivors in the Andaman Islands who have retained their language, Irulas in Nilgiri district have adopted the local regional languages, namely Tamil and Telugu.

The Irulas lived in the forests and until about three to four decades ago maintained a system of mild interdependence with the neighboring villages. They used to sell honey, honey wax, firewood, etc. and in return get village products for their use. Their food was obtained mainly within the forests - the vegetation and wild animals.

Socio-economic conditions

During the post-independence period, the Government of India has given due stress on increasing the agricultural produce and its productivity by increasing the net sown area and cropping intensity. Agriculture contributes approximately one fifth (22 per cent) of total gross domestic product. It provides livelihood support to about two third of the country's population and employment to 58.4 per cent of country's work force which is the single largest private sector occupation. It also accounts 10 per cent of total export earnings. Above all agriculture is the only source of food security for the nation. So fostering rapid and sustained agricultural growth remained a priority agenda of the government.

India is the second most populous and seventh largest country in the world with a forest and tree cover of 23.68 per cent of its geographical area (State of Forest Report, 2003), which is still below the national goal of 33 per cent. Forests remain the primary source of fodder, fuel wood, timber and non-wood forest products to the forest dwellers and village communities living in and around forest areas. Out of 0.6 million villages in India, around 0.2 million villages with a population of about 350 million are dependent for sustenance directly or indirectly on the forests. To meet the ever growing need of increasing population there is least scope of horizontal expansion of agriculture and forestry. The only option left is vertical expansion of natural resources over the available land area where two or more components may overlap each other. The solution to combat the challenge of sustained food security and meet the energy requirement for domestic purpose lies in encouraging scientific agro-forestry in available land resources. In turn, it will provide food security to the nation, conservation of soil, improvement of soil fertility, reclamation of degraded lands, stabilization of watersheds, protection of biodiversity, meeting the fuel requirement etc. In fact agro-forestry will play

very effective role in the utilization of the natural resources in a most effective manner for sustainable crop production and socio-economic upliftment with livelihood and health security and employment and income generation.

The Irulas are still remains in intense forest region of Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu as the most backward and Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) of India. Irulas are facing plenty of social problems in day to day life and remain in below poverty condition. The condition of below poverty line (BPL) of Irulas due to their historical marginalization through common tribal welfare programmes and schemes to all primitive tribal people of Nilgiri District that ignored specific plan to unique tribal community based on their socio- cultural practice and livelihood pattern at all level from state to local panchayat. The distinctive reasons justified that Irulas are forest dwellers, live in dense forest at Nilgiri District and reluctant to mingle with mainstream population and refuse to participate in the development activities undertaken by the state as well as the local administrative bodies of Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu. This statement acknowledged by the state government to preserve the indigeneity of Irulas of Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu.

It resulted the prolonged vicious state of marginalization, backwardness and livelihood problems among Irulas of Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu. The socio-economic conditions of Irulas tribes of Nilgiri district are not stable and relatively worse than other primitive tribes of Nilgiri District.

Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) and Livelihood system

The livelihood systems in the primitive tribal settlement areas are primarily dependent on combinations of agriculture, forests and labouring. Due to very small holding and the very low productivity of the land most households take out a living by maintaining a diversified pattern of occupations; no single activity provides sufficient resources to entirely ensure their livelihood. There are, however, a small number of food gatherer tribal groups who depend on providing services to the community or on small scale processing and marketing. Women's work is critical for the survival of tribal households both in terms of provisioning food and income as well as in the management of resources. Agriculture in the tribal villages/area

is predominantly rain fed and mono-cropped. Amongst the PTGs such as Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas, Paniyas, Irulas and Kattunayaka women play an important role in (i) food gathering from the forest; (ii) rope making from the bark of trees and sabai grass; (iii) honey collection; (iv) herbal medicinal plant collection, processing and sale; (v) hunting & trapping, (vi) basket making; (vii) shifting cultivation; (viii) labour; and (ix) fishing. There is a greater reliance on paddy, vegetables are cultivated nearly year round and overall food security can extend from five to seven months. Year round access to most communities allows for greater market orientation. Many fields are already bounded as the terrain is generally flatter and there is better system farming has a longer history, which is reflected in greater productivity per hectare. Distant migration may be less prevalent but local wage-earning opportunities are more available.

Research Methodology

The design of the research is descriptive in nature, which describe the Livelihood problems among Primitive Tribes (Irulas) of Nilrigi District of Tamil Nadu.

Main objectives

1. To study the socio-cultural practices of the Irulas tribe;
2. To find out the income generation and employment activities of Irulas tribe;
3. To portray the traditional livelihood system of Irulas tribes and its transition due to urbanization, deforestation, commercial agriculture activities, etc.;
4. To know the awareness of Irulas tribe on government tribal welfare policies, programmes and their level of participation.

Area of the Study

The Nilgiri is a mountainous district situated at the junction of Eastern and Western ghats at an average elevation of 1970 meters. This District is located by Coimbatore District, Erode, Kerala state and Karnataka state. It consists of Six Taluks (i.e., Coonoor, Kothagiri, Gudalur, Udhagamandalam, Pandalur and Kundha).

The Udhagamandalam Taluk is a hilly tract with a number of Mountains and valley and it has also within its boundaries, the highest peak in South Viz., "Doddabetta" at an attitude of 2623 m. Coonoor and Kothagiri hilly taluks are at an average height of 1990 m above MSL Gudalur Taluk has got two District tracts, Viz., O'Valley on the East and Wynaad on the West bordering Kerala State. The former is a hilly tract while the Wynaad is a table land, situated on an average elevation of 1000 m above MSL. These Geographical and physical features have a bearing on the distribution of various primitive hill tribes of this district.

According to 2011 Census, the total population of the Nilgiri District is 7,35,394. Out of this, the tribal population accounts for 22,767. The total Irulas population of the district is around 20 thousand.

The main tribal communities found in the District are Todas, Kodas, Kurumbas, Irulas, Paniyas, Mullukurumbas and Kattunaikkans. These tribal communities are not evenly distributed in the six taluks of the district. There is as heavy concentration of about 50 per cent of the tribes in Gudalur taluk followed by Kothagiri taluk with 25 per cent of the Tribal population. Udhagamundalum and Coonoor taluks have with 16 per cent and 9 per cent of the tribal population. It is interesting to note that Paniyas, Mullikurumbas and Kattunaicks live on the lower western slop of the district up to an altitude of 1200m. In Gudalur taluk, Kurumbas and Irulas mainly live in tracts between an elevation of 1200m and 1500m. In Kothagiri Taluk the Kodas are living in places at an elevation of about 1800 m. MSL In Udhagamandalam and Kothagiri taluks the Todas occupy the top of the plateau mainly in Udhagamandalam taluk. This geographical distribution has invested the different tribes with distinct characteristics and mode of living.

Universe and sampling of the study

The respondents of the total number of families were chosen based on the simple random sampling method. The universe of the study is the total numbers of households of the Irulas tribe in the Gudalur Taluk of Nilgiri District., approximately 1000. Total number of households of the Irulas., Irulas are found only in Gudalur Taluk. This is the population; in order to have reliable data collection the study proposed simple random

sampling method. The sample size is 250 households. The unit of the study is the head of the family.

Implications of the study

The Irulas tribal group has been still more backward in their social, economic, cultural and health condition than other five tribes of the Nilgiri District. The principal aim of this study is while focusing on their condition of marginalization and Livelihood problems it also analyzed the impact of urbanization, commercialization, deforestation, science and technology on the Irulas tribal folk and by this the study tries to fill the research gap existing on marginalization of primitive tribal group and livelihood problems. Livelihood problems among Primitive Tribes in Tamil Nadu in general and Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu in particular were found to be largely neglected by researchers. The study has been carried out in Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu. Since the Irula tribes are found in other few districts of Tamil Nadu, they are numerically predominant in Nilgiri district.

4.   ROLE OF PANCHAYATS/MUNICIPALITIES

Nilgiri Administrative Structure: The Nilgiris district is divided into two Revenue Divisions; Coonoor and Gudalur. In 1991, there were only 4 Taluks; Coonoor, Kotagiri, Udhagamandalam and Gudalur. Kundah taluk from Udhagamandalam Taluk and Panthalur Taluk from Gudalur Taluk were carved out and have been functioning since 15.5.98. Thus, the total number of taluks are 6 at present; Coonoor, Kotagiri, Udhagamandalam, Kundah, Gudalur and Panthalur. The Nilgiris District has 4 Panchayat Unions (Community Development Blocks); Gudalur, Udhagamandalam, Kotagiri and Coonoor.

There are 40 Revenue Villages in the Nilgiris district whereas, in 2001, there were 41 Revenue Villages. "Nilgiris Eastern Slopes" Revenue Village in the Kotagiri taluk was merged with "Hallimoyar" Revenue Village in the same taluk.

The district has now 18 urban units; 4 Municipalities (Nelliyalam, Gudalur, Udhagamandalam and Coonoor), 1 Township (Aravankadu), 1 Cantonment Board (Wellington), 11 Town Panchayats and 1 Census Town (Hubbathala).

The following Table gives number of taluks with number of towns and Community Development Blocks with number of villages in The Nilgiris district.

The study has examined that the Irulas are predominantly settled in Gudalur and Kundah taluks of Nilgiri district and there are 8 villages come under the Community Development (CD) Block of Gudalur Taluk of Nilgiri District. Though there are 8 community development blocks in the Gudalur taluk of Nilgiri district, the Irulas tribes have not been brought under the mainstream development programme of the Gudalur taluk. It has been proved from the socio-economic status and livelihood problem of Irulas at present as a result of lack of unique and focused plan for Irulas tribal development.

Nilgiri District Highlights - 2011 Census

- The Nilgiris district ranked 31st place in the population size of the State which is 2nd least among the districts.
- The district urban population share (59.2 per cent) is higher than the State urban share of 48.4 per cent.
- The district population density is 287 persons per sq. km, least densely populated among the districts in the State.
- The district sex ratio has recorded as 1042 which is highest among the districts of the State.
- The district has recorded Scheduled Caste sex ratio as 1035 which is 2nd highest among the districts
- The district has recorded the highest child sex ratio as 985 in the State.
- The district literacy rate (85.2 per cent) is higher than the State literacy rate (80.1 per cent).
- In this District, Kotagiri taluk has 14 Revenue Villages and Gudalur Taluk has only 3 such villages.
- The district decadal population growth during 2001- 2011 is -3.5 per cent, a negative growth rate.
- Scheduled Castes population recorded as second highest (32.1 per cent) in the district of its total population.
- The district Scheduled Caste population decadal change during 2001- 2011 is - 0.9 per cent.
- Cherangode village (L.C. No.00783500) in Panthalur taluk is the most populated (33506 persons) and Kokode village (L.C. No.00785700) in Kotagiri taluk is the least populated (147 persons) in the district.

- Mudumalai (L.C. No. 00783700) of Gudalur Taluk is the largest village with an area of 18857.06 hectares and Kokkode (L.C. No. 00785700) in Kotagiri Taluk is the smallest village with an area of 139.82 hectares.
- Scheduled tribes population recorded as one of the highest (4.5 per cent) in the district.
- The district has recorded 3rd lowest percentage of cultivators (4.5 per cent) to total workers.
- This district has recorded 57.7 per cent of rural household having no latrine which is 2nd least among the districts.

Major findings

- 61 percent of the respondents belongs to the age group between 31-40 years, 23 percent of the respondents belongs to 41-50 years and the remaining 16 percent of the respondents belongs to 51-60 and above.
- 44 percent of the respondents studied primary school, 52 percent of the respondent studied high school and the remaining least number (4 percent) of respondents studied higher secondary level.
- None of the respondents owned private land and all of them settled in forest land which is under the control of the reserved forest department of Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu.
- Majority of the respondents (92 percent) work as daily wages / coolies and the remaining 8 percent of the respondents work at private enterprises like bakery, hotel, lodges and shops.
- Majority of the respondents (91) owned thatched house made by themselves in forest land and the remaining 9 percent of the respondents owned semi-tiled or asbestos sheet house made by themselves at forest land.
- 66 percent of the respondents' annual income is Rs.15000 to Rs.20000, 24 percent respondents' annual income is Rs. 20000 to Rs.30000 and the remaining 10 percent of the respondents' annual income is Rs.30000 and above.
- 87 percent of the respondents have two children and the remaining 13 percent of the respondents have more than 3 children. There is no gender preference among them.
- Majority of the respondents (94 percent) said as they have not received any government welfare programme and the

- remaining 6 percent of the respondents said as they received some fringe benefits as scheduled tribes.
- All the respondents (100 percent) agreed that their livelihood has been affected due to deforestation, commercial agriculture activities, urbanization and forest law.
- There is no well-furnished health care facility near Irulas settlement except one PHC which is not serving their purpose due to poor infrastructure facility.

5. CONCLUSION

The present study has brought out the marginalization and livelihood problems among Primitive Tribe (Irulas) of Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu. Livelihood problems among Primitive Tribes in Tamil Nadu in general and Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu in particular are largely neglected for the past several decades due to centralized planning model to concentrate on over all tribal development of Tamil Nadu state. The mammoth of social problems happened due to urbanization process, capitalist agriculture, accumulation of wealth by the private, deforestation activities and government development programmes have started in the Nilgiri District.

The historical marginalization of Irulas through common tribal welfare programmes and schemes of the Government of Tamil Nadu and Nilgiri District to all primitive tribal people of Nilgiri District that ignored specific plan to Irulas tribal community based on their socio-cultural practice and livelihood pattern at all level from state to local panchayat. The distinctive reasons justified that Irulas are forest dwellers, live in dense forest at Nilgiri District and reluctant to mingle with mainstream population and refuse to participate in the development activities undertaken by the state as well as the local administrative bodies of Nilgiri District of Tamil Nadu.

The Irulas tribal group has been still more backward in their social, economic, cultural and health condition than other five tribes of the Nilgiri District. It is crystal clear that the Irulas of Nilgiri district has been prevented from attaining needed development and compacting the problem of marginalization and livelihood that have been act as stumbling block to their development with regards to social, economic, cultural and political considered as always been neglected to get

a clear picture of their social condition, occupational status, income level and standard of living have been significant to understand their social needs and desire.

Suggestions

- Formulation of decentralized tribal development planning and special focus to be given to Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) vis-à-vis unique tribal community needs based approach and area of development.
- Government should have periodical monitoring on implemented tribal development programmes and its direction of move along with people participation.
- Government and Non-Governmental organizations have to concentrate on Irulas tribal education and their employment generation.
- Both state and central government have to make amicable policy amendment to facilitate peaceful and harmonious forest dependent living of Irulas Tribes vis-à-vis forest law and accessible to natural resources for their livelihood.
- Provision of special legal cell / free legal assistance for Irulas tribe to protect themselves from exploitation by outsiders or officials.
- Government or Non- Governmental organizations should conduct periodical awareness programme to Irulas tribes regarding government tribal welfare programmes and their usefulness to them.
- Government should encourage Irulas tribal participation in development programme which are specially meant to solve their livelihood problems and focus on their development.
- Basic infrastructure and health care facilities should be provided through PPP model.
- Skill based / vocational training to be provided to facilitate their self-employment.

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INCLUDING THE EXCLUDED: COLLECTIVE ACTION AND DECENTRALISATION: AN ACCOUNT OF TWO TRIBES IN GOA

Ganesha Somayaji[*]

During the hey days of independence in India, the concerns of the first government and the framers of the Constitution were to create an atmosphere of equal opportunity for all Indian citizens to enjoy the fruits of modernity and development. However, India's diversity and inequality were proverbial. Many sections of the Indian society were so much backward due to centuries of exclusion and segregation that programmes of action for social development were like race among unequally positioned citizens. The tribes or the original inhabitants of the land constitute one such category of unequally positioned citizens due to historical, political and economic reasons. This paper is mainly concerned with including the excluded tribal communities in Goa, their collective mobilisations and the benefits of democratic decentralisation.

After clarifying the concept tribe the paper describes independent India's programmes of development of the tribes, the paper examines the concerns of the tribes of Goa and their collective action for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Tribes and their welfare programmes. The paper concludes with comparing the tribe which is a Scheduled Tribe and a tribe which has not succeeded in inclusion in the list of Scheduled Tribes.

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1. THE CONCEPT OF TRIBE

Like most aspects of tribal reality, defining a tribe remains elusive. There are contradictory views/ perspectives on conceptualising and categorising an aggregate of people living in isolation in relatively primitive conditions. While a layman's understanding of the word 'tribe' is simplistic and synonymous with savagery, primitiveness and isolation (Bara 2002:1), there is a controversy among scholars, reformers and administrators with regard to an adequate terminology for describing these people. The simplistic lay usage of tribe was borrowed by anthropologists, to describe those primitive people living in backward areas. There wasn't any necessity felt to fine tune the concept as the category of people who were denoted by this concept were easily distinguishable from the general population living in Australia and North America. But as Beteille (1977:7) points out, in India, groups corresponding closely to the anthropologist's conception of tribe have lived in long association with communities of an entirely different type. Though the nationalists accused anthropologists of creating an alien category called 'tribe', it was the colonial administrator who was responsible for this concept. Struck by the quaintness of certain people living in the interiors, in terms of their social behaviour, practices and at times even physical features, the early British found in these unusual humans, the Indian "tribe" as counterparts to those indigenous people whom they first encountered in Africa, America and Australia (Bara 2002: 121). But as mentioned above, the relation of the tribes in India with those of other parts of the country was different from those that distinguished an American tribe from non tribal Americans. Thus in the Indian context, tribe had to be more clearly defined.

In the Census Report of 1891, Baines arranged the castes according to their traditional occupations, under the category 'Forest Tribes'. Dr. Hutton, in the 1931 census substituted the term 'Primitive Tribes' for 'Forest Tribes' (Ghurye 1943: 7). Risley (1908), Elwin (1943), and Thakkar (1961) referred to them as aborigines. Most of the Indian scholars, following their British counterparts also accepted the evolutionary definition of tribe. Ghurye, however, disagreed and vociferously objected to the use of the term Adivasi for the Scheduled Tribes. "Apart from the fact that terms like 'Aborigines' or 'Adivasis' are question begging and pregnant with mischief, the fact that the

Constitution of India speaks of these people as the Scheduled Tribe renders any other designation utterly wrong (Ghurye 1963: ix). The term Scheduled Tribe is an administrative category, referring to those communities that have been 'scheduled' or listed for special treatment in compliance with the provisions of the Constitution of India.

It should be noted though, that there has been an increasing number of communities seeking inclusion in the list of Scheduled Tribes in India. Given this situation, Kuppuswamy (1977: 194, cited in Rao 1992: 60) states that the problem of definition is not merely of academic concern, as it involves inclusion in the programmes initiated by the government for the scheduled tribes.

Beteille (1977: 11) states that a tribe is a society having a clear linguistic boundary and generally a well-defined political boundary. But this conception in no way provides an adequate definition of tribe. Ultimately like most definitions, a definition of tribe too would be better considered as an ideal type. In India, there is no fit between the ideal type and empirical reality. Here, all tribes are 'tribes in transition'. There is no uniform defining features that would apply to all tribes across board. Tribes are not a homogenous entity. There are differences among them. These differences not only render any universal definition impossible, but also thwart any standard classification of this category of people.

2. TRIBAL POLICIES - A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Since the earliest times of recorded history, there has always been a coexistence of fundamentally different cultures in the Indian subcontinent. This was partly due to the great size of the sub-continent, dearth of communications and more importantly, an attitude basic to Indian ideology, which accepted variety of cultural forms as natural and immutable, and did not consider their assimilation to one dominant pattern in any way desirable.

But this did not mean that there was absolutely no interaction between the two communities. Beteille (1996: 76) stressed the "permeability of boundary between tribe and non tribe in pre colonial times. He cites examples from history to demonstrate how many tribal groups moved towards the centripetal force of the caste system. Inferring from N.K. Bose's

theory of the Hindu method of tribal absorption, he explained how the nature of caste based economy and division of labour made it possible for various tribal groups to fuse into general society. Of course, the tribals' fusion or absorption in the 'wider' caste society often landed them in the lowest position (Bara 2002: 124). Thus, during pre colonial periods the tribes were largely left to themselves, though there were, not a few examples of permeability and assimilation.

The British administration decided to categorise certain people as tribes, in keeping with their practice in Africa, Americas and Australia. The Indian tribes were confirmed as primitive and backward by such actions as creating non-regulation areas, or passing the Criminal Tribe Act, 1871 (Yang 1995). The tribal protests to this move were condemned as acts of barbarity, further confirming the existing idea of tribes.

Under British rule, however, a new situation arose. While the British ostensibly proposed a policy of non interference, this was limited largely to the realm of culture and religion. Where this policy confronted the British practice of revenue extraction, it was overlooked. The extension of a centralised administration and administrative officers who did not understand tribal system of land tenure over areas, deprived many tribal communities of their autonomy. These had the unintended effect of facilitating the alienation of tribal land to members of advanced populations. In many areas tribals, unable to resist the gradual alienation of their ancestral land, either withdrew further into hills and tracts of marginal land, or accepted the economic status of tenants or agricultural labourers on the land their forefathers had owned (Furer Haimendorf 1982: 35).

The British policy towards the tribal community thus developed into a policy of laissez faire and of segregation of tribal areas combined with a harsh application of the laws of the land, entirely unsuited to the tribes (Majumdar and Madan 1977: 274).

3. POST- COLONIAL TRIBAL POLICIES

Furer Haimendorf (1982: 313) describes how during the last years of British rule in India, there raged a passionate controversy about the policy to be adopted vis-à-vis the tribes.

This controversy revolved around the now famous Ghurye-Elwin debate. The next section briefly articulates this debate.

Tribal Policies at the Dawn of Independence: Competing Perspectives

There have been two dominant yet contradictory perspectives on tribal development in the years preceding Independence. One view, as Rao (1992: 59) explains was of those who wanted to protect the tribals from outside influences in order to prevent, what they considered tribal degeneration. This policy of segregation and isolation, a 'National Park Policy', included a system of administration that would allow the tribals to live their own life with happiness and freedom (Elwin 1939). The British officials and Western anthropologists emphasised a clear social and cultural distinction between tribals and non tribals and advocated their isolation and pointed welfare measures. This position was articulated in the views put forth by Elwin. In the 'Baiga', he advocated some sort of National Park in a 'wild and largely inaccessible' part of the country under the direct control of a Tribes Commissioner. The tribes were to be allowed to be live their lives in freedom. The freedom and authority that they enjoyed in matters governing their life was to be retained, with no outside intervention in their cultural, economic and spiritual life. 'Everything possible would be done for the progress of the tribals within the area, provided that the tribal quality of life was not impaired, tribal culture was not destroyed and tribal freedom was restored or maintained' (Elwin 1960). Outside assistance was to be provided for economic development and education.

The position taken by Elwin, was met with opposition. Ghurye (1943, 1989) for instance, contradicted what came to be referred to as the isolationist perspective. He proposed that tribes are backward Hindus and very much part of the mainstream. He opined that prior to the 18th century, some sort of assimilation among the tribals has been taking place. This system was upset with the arrival of the British. The sections till then not properly assimilated, appeared as if they were different from the rest (Ghurye 1943: Preface). Ghurye thus was a staunch advocate of the policy of assimilation of the tribals. Sharply critical of Elwin's isolationist stance, he drew attention to the fact that some sort of assimilation has always been a

feature of tribal life. Majumdar and Madan however, (1977: 281) caution that Ghurye perhaps overstated his case. They feel that the tribal people have a distinct culture and complete assimilation may not be possible without doing injury to them. They proposed a policy of controlled and limited assimilation. By this they implied the need and desirability of preserving useful institutions, customs and practice, though these be tribal in origin and character (1970: 281). They also suggest that attempts should be made to ruralise tribal areas so that the Indian people may be divisible into urban and rural.

Elwin reacted angrily to himself being labeled an isolationist. He argued that the scheme suggested by him was done in 1944, a time during which hardly any steps were being taken for the development of the tribals. Given this lack of initiative for tribal development, Elwin opined that his stance was justified. He nonetheless admitted that much had changed in the years since Independence. With the focus back on tribes, Elwin agrees that now his views have had to change. He castigates Ghurye for not acknowledging in as late as the 1950s, Elwin's change of stance.

Somewhere between the isolationist and assimilative policies of Ghurye and Elwin, Independent India decided its policy for tribal development.

4. TRIBAL POLICES ADOPTED AFTER 1947

The Government of India, under the leadership of Pandit Nehru adopted a policy of integration of tribals with the mainstream aiming at developing a creative adjustment between the tribes and non tribes leading to a responsible partnership. In the Constitution, there are a number of clauses and provisions that deal specifically with the interests of the Scheduled Tribes. The Constitution has committed the nation to two courses of action in respect of scheduled tribes, viz.,

1. Giving protection to their distinctive way of life.
2. Protecting them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation and discrimination and bringing them at par with the rest of the nation so that they may be integrated with the national life.

Besides enjoying the rights that all citizens and minorities have, the members of the Scheduled Tribes have been provided with Protective, Political and Developmental Safeguards.

Thus by adopting a policy of integration as well as what Nehru referred to as the Tribal Panchsheel, the Indian State has sought to deal with the complexities arising out of the tribal situation in India. Pandit Nehru (Elwin cited in Thapar 1977: 36) wrote that the avenues of tribal development should be pursued within the broad framework of five fundamental principles:

1. People should develop along the lines of their own genius and should avoid imposing anything on them. We should try to encourage in every way their own traditional arts and culture;
2. Tribal rights in land and forests should be respected;
3. We should try to train and build up a team of their own people to do the work of administration and development;
4. We should not over administer these areas or overwhelm them with a multiplicity of schemes; and
5. We should judge results, not by statistics of the amount of money spent, but by the quality of the human character that is evolved.

Nehru's stance was influenced by Elwin, who by now had tempered his stance of complete isolation. After his experience with the North Eastern Frontier Province, he modified his stance as he felt that the situation had changed after Independence. He changed his stance to neither isolation nor assimilation, but integration. While isolation aims at conscious separation of the tribe from the political and economic mainstream and assimilation tends to the tribe's partial and involuntary subservience,   integration, in contrast, is a respectful merger with the mainstream, staking a claim to an equal share of power and resources as other citizens (Rath 2006: 76). Rath (2006) contends though that Elwin later reverted to his earlier stance. He believes that Elwin's stance from isolation to integration was a temporary change. Though, of course, the meaning of isolation that he referred to in the 1950s was not the same as the meaning given to the term in the colonial period. The later usage of the concept involved notions of relative isolation, in which Elwin modified Nehru's Panscheel to incorporate his notions of isolation into it.

After the death of both Nehru and Elwin in 1964, for at least two decades, the Indian nation state was inspired by Nehru in it's approach towards tribal development. But Nehru's zeal for industrialisation is an attempt to replicate the successes of the West, led to large-scale displacement and alterations in every aspect of tribal reality. Today, the tribal discourse has grown beyond the isolationism and integration thesis to include identity struggle, mobilisation, political empowerment and economic development. All these issues were sought to be addressed through the ideal of self rule. The notion of self rule, which was initiated during the colonial period, was seen by tribal communities to be a panacea to all their problems. The mobilisations, movements and armed conflict that the tribal communities have engaged in to further this end have resulted in institutional arrangements such as the formation of separate States and "The Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act. Though Article 40 of the Constitution provides that the State Government should enable the Panchayats to function as local self Governments, this end has been plagued with a number of problems. The Constitutional (73rd Amendment) Act 1992 was passed. This Act enabled the local bodies to function as institutions of self governance both in planning and implementation of development programmes. This Act extends Panchayats to nine tribal states, namely Andhra Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand and Orrisa. But this rule extends only to areas known as the 5th Schedule of the Indian Constitution. Those areas which lie outside this schedule come under the purview of the 73rd Amendment.

Notwithstanding the efforts at including the tribes in the national mainstream, tribal development is an elusive reality. The 2001 census put the number of persons belonging to Scheduled Tribes in India at 84.3 million which is 8.2 per cent of the total population. There were about 60 major tribal groups accounting for about 80 per cent of the total tribal population of India in 1991. Presently the Indian tribal reality is elusive due to factors such as the varying nature of tribal and non-tribal relationship, diverse levels of economic development, regional character of the process of tribalisation and obliteration of the geographical boundary between the tribal and non tribal areas (Somayaji 2002: 209). Sinha (1972) remarks that "the major roots of tribal solidarity movements may be traced to their ecological-cultural isolation, economic backwardness and

feelings of frustration about a lowly status vis-à-vis the advanced sections. Also the drive for industrialisation and modernisation has badly affected the tribals, who have been ousted out of their lands, to meet the demands of new projects. Further, the higher proportion of the Scheduled Tribe population (32.69 per cent) engaged in agricultural wage labour compared to the general population (25.74 per cent), indicates the livelihood vulnerability of tribal peoples and the problems caused by land deprivation and dependence on marginal, low-productivity land.

Tribal communities also suffer deprivation with regard to a crucial source of human capital - education. For example, in 1991, as against the national average of 52 per cent, the literacy rate of Scheduled Tribes was around 29.60 per cent. More strikingly, more than 80 per cent of Scheduled Tribe women are illiterate (Planning Commission 2000).

5. TRIBAL COLLECTIVE MOBILISATION IN GOA

Ever since joining the Indian nation-state, Goa, now one of the small states of India, is experiencing political mobilisations among the tribes for inclusion in the main stream of development through obtaining Scheduled Tribe (ST) status. There had been discontent among the four tribal categories, the Kunbi, Velip, Gauda, and Dhangar. The first three are now included in the list of STs but the struggle of the last continues. We will now trace the emergence and course of tribal discontent in Goa.

According to Singh (2000) one of the central features of tribal movements in India is the fact that the tribal struggles were revolts against the State. Bhardwaj (1977) says that the tribal movements in India took shape since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Writings by sociologists and anthropologists focussed on micro and macro tribal movements. The writings of Ghurye and Fuchs deal with tribal movements having an all India focus (macro), while Elwin, Vidyarthi, Sachchidanand, Edward Roy and others focus on tribal movements at the local (micro) level.

While the model of development instead of bridging the gulf between the tribes and the general society has brought in despair leading to growing unrest in the tribal society. It is also

true that the tribal society in Goa witnessed some volume of discontent in the recent past. The nature of discontent has by and large assumed the shape of a social movement. There have been tribal movements in different parts of the country centred on several issues. Several scholars have studied and documented the struggles going on around the tribal communities. It is imperative at this juncture to understand the nature of tribal struggle vis-a-vis the state of Goa in the recent past.

The Goan tribal communities until the turn of the century were recognised a part of the Other Backward Classes (OBC). In fact, before getting included into the fold of the Scheduled Tribes, the tribal scene by and large did not in any way manifest any form of a radical protest or discontent in the form of a movement. It is however, ironical and unfortunate to say that tribal unrest surfaced in a more audible manner in the State after the recognition of the communities as Scheduled Tribes.

The genesis of the movement took shape with the reservation proposition of the community. The issue of inclusion of the communities into the list of Scheduled Tribes had well begun soon after Liberation. The agenda of inclusion of the tribals meant that the community possessed a unique ethnic identity and were to be regarded as the original settlers of the land. Gaude (2009) mentions that Shri Vasu Paik Gaonkar forwarded a bill in the year 1980 in the Goa Legislative Assembly to notify the communities as Scheduled Tribes, but some members of the legislative members resented to the move and were therefore included in the list of the other backward classes (OBC).

The initial phase of the movement was significant for two things; one was that the tribals became consciously aware of their origins and secondly, this phase did not manifest any rebellion or any protest movement by the tribals.

The long pressing demand of recognising the communities as 'Scheduled Tribes' got ultimately fulfilled with the concerted efforts of the leaders of the respective tribal communities in the year 2003. It was to be considered as a major breakthrough in the realisation of tribal emancipation in the years to come. Until this period, the welfare of these tribal communities in the State remained silent.

The constitutional recognition brought an array of hope among the community members. It was presumed that the fruits of constitutional recognition would bring emancipation among the tribal masses. However, to their dismay, the period from 2003 until 2010 too manifested a major lag in terms of the overall welfare of the tribal communities. The aspirations of the tribal masses remained unresolved for a long period even after getting the official recognition of the ST's in the year 2003. It did not bring much improvement in the socio economic condition of the community. During this phase the tribal society became more vigilant of the passive interest shown to them by the government.

The insensibility of the government apparently compelled the pan tribal society in Goa to protect and promote their collective interests through the formation of tribal associations. As Shah (2004, p. 106) points out, no movements are spontaneous but have organisational aspects, the tribal movement in Goa was precisely structured with the help of organisational support. The prominent among them are the Gawda Kunbi Velip Dhangar (GAKUVED) and the United Tribal Association Alliance (UTAA). In fact, until the turn of the century GAKUVED helped in organising the tribal voice. The organisational base even became stronger with the formation of UTAA in the recent years. The hard work of locating the communities into the list of Scheduled Tribes is mainly attributed to the GAKUVED. The UTAA on the other hand took up the campaign to mobilise support from the tribal masses along with the other tribal organisations in the state. The tribal communities used these tribal forums to organise and articulate themselves in staging their livelihood issues before the state. The UTAA was established in the year 2004, and has been the most active among them and was projected as an umbrella organisation for the different tribal communities in the state of Goa. Fernandez (2014, p. 98) calls the formation of UTAA, a new avatar, as it provided a platform for eight different tribal organisation to come together. Some of these are:

1. Gomantak Gaud Maratha Samaj led by Yeshwant Gawade;
2. Tribal welfare association led by Dr. Kashinath Jalmi;
3. Gawda, Kunbi, Velip, Dhangar Federation led by Anand Gawade;

4. All Goa Scheduled Tribes Union led by Namdev Fatarpekar;
5. Tribes of Goa led by Peter Gama;
6. Gomantak Velip Samaj Sangh led by Prakash S. Velip;
7. Taleigao Tribal Welfare led by Narayan Kuttikar; and
8. Gaud Jamat Mahasangh-Goa led by Shrikant Palsarkar.

The UTAA has been focussing and sensitising about tribal issues vigorously through public propaganda. The organisational base of UTAA assumed larger significance than the other tribal associations in the state. The organisation gained a good support from leaders coming from the educational, political, legal and business field. Moreover, the educated tribal youth in the State were able to augment a healthy support to the organisational base.

The Gawada, Kunbi, Velip and Dhangar Federation (GAKUVED) and the United Tribal Association Alliance (UTAA) became more active. They put forth their demands by launching protest movements before the State Government aiming towards the general welfare of the tribes. Despite statehood given to Jharkhand in November 2000 we notice an increase in protest movements. It was hoped to bring rapid changes in favour of the populace but the new policies did not favour the adivasis. Before losing all rights to their land and resources the tribals articulated protests by building alliances with NGOs and people's movements (Rao, 2003, p. 4084).

Among the many demands, the tribals primarily demanded for the establishment of an autonomous tribal department to address and tackle the peculiar problems of the tribal communities. Detailed further is the list of the demands proposed by the UTAA before the government:

1. To set up ST commission;
2. Implementation of the Tribal Forest Act;
3. Fill up the backlog of vacancies in direct recruitment as well as promotions;
4. Implement the twelve per cent political reservation in the assembly;
5. Ban on selling of land belonging to ST community to non-ST community;
6. Setting up a high-level committee to look into implementation of demands of ST committee;

7. Setting of ST finance and Development Corporation, ST commission, independent tribal department and tribal ministry decides planning authority for ST community;
8. Simplifying the procedure for obtaining caste certificate;
9. Providing 12 per cent political representation for ST and notifying of tribal area in the State;
10. Increasing the monthly pension of rupees 1000 to rupees 3000 for widows of the community; and
11. Doubling the pension to senior citizens.

The initiative undertaken by the UTAA culminated in the launching of a pan tribal movement in the State. Singh (2005) observes that the tribals of late have become proactive and assert their self identity by participating in struggles irrespective of their isolated domiciles. Symbolically the movement brought in a consciousness of a common identity among the tribal members. The movement was facilitated by several factors. In the first instance, since the issues addressed were of a general nature, it facilitated in mobilising support from all the tribal communities from the different parts of Goa. The type of character of tribal unrest in Goa was not essentially from a particular tribal community or a large homogeneous land owning community who have a relatively a strong economic base as Singh mentions (2004: 105). In fact, the movement drew support from different tribals groups from the State, irrespective of religious divides. The protest movements were joined in large numbers by Hindu and Catholic community as well. Secondly, the state of Goa being small in terms of its area, it easily facilitated in mobilising the different communities from the nook and corner of the State. Tribal masses from the remotest of the locations took part in the movement despite geographical considerations. As mentioned earlier, the modus operandi of UTAA of collective propaganda helped the movement to integrate the members across the state throughout the movement.

The official recognition of the tribal communities in the year 2003 as belonging to the Scheduled Tribes has evolved a sense of solidarity through the framework of such associations such as the UTAA. It brought about a collective radical mobilisation by raising socio-political awareness and participation among the tribal masses in the recent times through conventions. Conventions were organised in the different talukas to create awareness among the community members. These conventions

brought the tribals together from the different parts of the State. The conventions sensitized and highlighted some pressing issues pertaining to the overall welfare of the tribal society. The leaders of the association urged the tribal community members to consolidate and add solidarity to the tribal movement.

The association took up the cause of the tribals to achieve their long awaited demands. The UTAA led by the president Mr. Prakash Velip and other members played an important role in launching a State wide movement. The members in one of the conventions appealed before the government to consider the demands put up by the association. It also set a deadline and threatened to launch an agitation across the State if the government had failed to do so. The leaders appealed before the people from the community to join hands to show strength to the government and co operate with the association (The Navhind Times, 2011).

The long awaited unfulfilled demands forced the tribal communities launched a radical protest at Balli in the Quepem taluka under the banner of UTAA. The agitation received an overwhelming response of over six thousand tribal men, especially from the talukas from the south district of the State. The agitation turned out violent paralysing the road and rail connectivity for several hours causing inconvenience for transportation along the National Highway 17. The outrage of the tribals was demonstrated by damaging and burning vehicles prompting the police to open lathi charge leaving many injured. What turned out to be rather more unfortunate during the protest was the death of two young Velip boys ruthlessly burnt by some group of non tribal men by setting fire to a go down of cashew seeds (The Navhind Times, 2011). The annoyed UTAA activists along with their leaders demanded for a judicial inquiry into the incident, however, subsequently asked the government to order for a probe done by the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI). The government however, finally decided to investigate to conduct a judicial probe. Accordingly a judicial commission named as the Shah Commission was appointed to study the Balli riot. After receiving a detailed report from the Shah Commission the State government decided to transfer the case to the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), as demanded earlier by UTAA. The agitation bounced back on the tribals as their two key tribal leaders were detained in judicial custody for

more than a month period. Following the incident, the UTAA members observed a day long hunger agitation as a mark of respect to the departed souls, this was later followed by a dharna in the capital city as a protest against the ruling government. The family members of the deceased UTAA activists resisted to claim their dead bodies until the culprits were appropriately traced and arrested. Meanwhile, realising the faulty assurances made by the government the leaders of the UTAA expressed that they would continue with the movement until their rightful demands are fulfilled. After a span of almost two months of the Balli incident, considering the delay in the realisation of tribal demands the organisation progressed further by threatening the government in deciding to organise a 'jail bharo andolan' pressing their demands hard and also to demand the release of their tribal leaders (The Navhind Times, 2011). However, talks with the bureaucracy forced them to hold a peaceful demonstration instead. During this time the tribals suffered yet another big blow when their three important forefront vibrant leaders were arrested and were kept in police custody. The consistent failures and dissuasion techniques adopted by the government finally compelled the activists to take to the street which was joined by over five thousand UTAA activists (Gomantak Times, 2011). The peaceful demonstration of the activists appealed before the government to release their jailed leaders and punish the murderers who burnt the two tribal men and warned the government of further intensifying their struggle. The detained tribal leaders were later released from judicial and police custodies. Meanwhile, very recently it is learnt that the 21 tribal persons charge sheeted by the CBI have been found discharged from the Balli riot by the district court (The Navhind Times, 2015).

Tribal leadership and organisations

The demand for the inclusion of the tribes in Goa into the fold of Scheduled Tribes started in the 1960s. Goa did produce eminent leaders since liberation, especially from the marginalised sections of the society. The leadership qualities particularly were noted among some legislators as well as some social workers who took up the cause of tribes. Shri Jiva Gaonkar, belonging to Velip community from Canacona was the first nominated tribal member to the legislative assembly. In the year 1966-67, Shri Jiva Gaonkar moved a resolution in the

assembly asking for the inclusion of the tribal communities in Goa in the list of Scheduled Tribe. Shri Gaonkar was soon joined by tribal legislators from other talukas. Shri Krishna Bandodkar was the first elected MLA from the constituency of Madkai for the Goa legislative assembly. In fact, Shri Krishna Bandodkar was an organisational pioneer of tribes in Goa. He was instrumental in the founding of the Gomantak Gaud Maratha Samaj in the year 1962. Shri Dhulo Kuttikar from Quepem, Shri Vasu Paik Gaonkar from Canacona, Shri Kashinath Jalmi from Priol, Shri Mama Cardoz from Margao, Antonio Gaonkar from Raia and Shri Prakash Velip from Quepem dominated the tribal leadership campaign as members of Goa Legislative Assembly in the 1980s. The effort of Shri Vasu Paik Gaonkar warrants special attention as he played an important role in bringing the community into the fold of OBC. In fact, the Gawda, Kunbi Velip and the Dhangar communities were listed as OBC's in the year 1987. It is interesting to note that the Goa legislature in the year 1985 brought five tribal legislators together.

In addition to the tribal organisations such as the UTAA, GAKUVED and the Gomantak Gaud Maratha Samaj the State has also witnessed several other tribal associations in the recent past. It was in fact difficult to ascertain the precise number of registered tribal organisation in the State due to its large number. A number of tribal organisations have been formed in the state considering some religious, regional and political attributes. Some tribal communities have been formed by tribals at the level of taluka, while some at the level of villages. Some have formed associations having affiliation to political parties. As the tribal society is divided between the Hindus and the Catholics, one finds associations exclusively organised around religious outfits. Shri Luis Alex Cardozo, an active tribal leader from the Salcete taluka was actively involved in mobilising the Catholic Gawda Community. He worked as the minister, Department of Social Welfare, Government of Goa and was elected for three consecutive terms from 1989 to 2002. In the 1980s, Shri Cardozo formed the Gawda Vikas Mandal (GVM) and also worked as the president of the GVM. As a Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) Shri Cardozo stressed on the need for education for the tribes. He was instrumental in starting the Goa State Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Castes Finance Development Corporation Limited. Shri. Deu

Mandrekar, (MLA) from the Pernem constituency was appointed as the first chairman of the commission. Yet another commission started by Shri Cardozo was the Goa State Backward Commission in the year 1994. Advocate Shri Guru Shirodkar was appointed as the chairman of the commission. The Gawda Vikas Mandal did not find much favour from the community members. He then founded another tribal association named as Salcete Scheduled Tribe Association in the year 1995. He applauds the efforts of tribal community members such as Sebastiao Miranda, late John Raikar, Rosario Gomes, Antonio Francisco Fernandes, Late Antonio Gaonkar and others for their efforts in taking up tribal issues. Fernandes (2014, p. 81), while portraying the life of tribal leader Antonio Francisco Fernandes, also highlights the role played by Emidio D'costa, Camilo Matheus and Luizinho Faleiro in bringing an awakening among the tribal masses. The Contemporary tribal leadership campaign is actively shouldered by leaders like Ramesh Tawadka, Shri Ganesh Gaonkar, Shri Vasudev Meng Gaonkar, Babuso Gaonkar, Peter Gama, Antonio Vaz, Govind Gaude and others.

A couple of months ago, yet another organisational endeavour undertaken by a group of tribal leaders in the State is of integrating the Goan tribes with pan Indian tribal forum. The tribal community in the district of south Goa has witnessed the inauguration of the Goa Adivasi Vikas Parishad in September 2015. The former minister and president of UTAA, Shri Prakash Velip is believed to be instrumental in this novel organisational endeavour. The Goa Adivasi Vikas Parishad has been formed as one of its branches of Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Vikas Parishad. The Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Vikas Parishad in the country is considered as a pan Indian forum of the tribals. The Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Vikas Parishad having branches in majority of states and union territories of India claims to be a non political organisation aiming for the empowerment of the tribal masses. The broad objective of forming the state unit of Goa Adivasi Vikas Parishad is to resolve some of the tribal issues unsettled by the state. The Akhil Bharatiya Adivasi Vikas Parishad avows to address issues pertaining to the tribes before the government at the state as well as the centre. The Parishad intends to reach out to the tribal masses and wishes to expand its institutional base. The leaders of the Parishad have unitedly appealed before the tribal masses in the State to become

members keeping aside their regional or religious differences. Considering the nature of tribal situation and the problems faced by them, the Goa unit has outlined a number of objectives aiming towards the general welfare of the tribes. It seeks to collaborate with the national Parishad in resolving the desired and timely issues of the community at regular intervals.

6. EXCLUDED FROM THE ST STATUS AND
   DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

   The struggle of the Dhangars to be included in the list of Scheduled Tribes continues. The Government of Goa is now earmarked huge sums of money for the development of the Scheduled Tribes. Through panchayats several developmental and welfare schemes are being implemented. However, one can notice the glaring disparity and discontent. In one of my recent visits to the hamlets inhabited by the Velips, Gaonkars, and the Kunbis on the one hand and the hamlets inhabited by the Dhangars I discerned these disparities. Participation in local self governance as Panchs and Sarpanchs the leaders of ST categories are prospering whereas the Dhangars deprived of the special schemes of the government for the Scheduled Tribes. The livelihood patterns of the Dhangars make it difficult for their economic development. Being a pastoral people, majority of the Dhangars shift their habitat in search of fodder for their cattle. Except for the settled Dhangars,   others cannot permanently belong to one Village Panchayat.

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MARGINALIZATION, POVERTY AND
DEPRIVATION: THE CASE OF JUANGA TRIBE,
ODISHA

Bidyut Mohanty*

1. INTRODUCTION

Till 1985, national policies formulated by the development
model of India was all top down and were supposed to   trickle
down from New Delhi, to the bottom ten per cent of Indian
population in an equitable manner yet never reached all parts
nor all sections of the people. The regional imbalances as well
as intra and inter-communities inequalities   persisted mocking
at the Nehruvian model of development. After much debates
and thinking, the Seventy-third Amendment Act -1992 was
passed to create a third-tier government system known as
Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) which would reflect the local
needs and formulate the suitable development policies   and
execute the same accordingly. It was conceived that these
institutions would be participatory having a responsive gram
sabha. In addition, the elected leaders could deliberate on
different issues and prioritize the local needs in consultation
with gram sabha comprise all adults of the panchayat. Those
policies would then be implemented in a just manner as per the
local needs. But in reality even after the   passage of more than
two decades, the Seventy-third Amendment Act has failed to
empower the local level leaders. It was because of various
reasons including the lack of the   political will of the State
governments. Some of the other important factors are: the
leaders have been geared towards just to monitor the top down
welfare measures being guided by the government
functionaries. The political parties select   those candidates

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indirectly as well as directly   who can afford to pay for themselves. Even the limited role   of monitoring the welfare schemes are not done by the ward members or   the chiefs of the panchayat. On the top of it the bureaucrats also don't   visit   the remote area like Nagada hamlet which is situated on the top of Daitari hill. In addition, the non- responsiveness of the villagers also contribute to   not utilizing their rights. In this case one has to make a distinction between the villages of the plain area and that of tribal areas. In case of plain areas, the caste and class ridden hierarchical society affects the gram sabha. In many places, the members of high caste corner the benefits of the welfare schemes. But in case of scheduled   areas, in many cases tribals are not aware of the functioning of modern political institutions. Hence the CEO or the ground level officers either cornered the benefits or just did not implement the schemes. In other words the by having the local institutions did not necessarily lead to eradicate poverty nor deprivation or marginalization. Thus it is a necessary condition but not a sufficient condition.   This proposition will be discussed   by taking one of the remote tribal area of Odisha.

2.   WHY ODISHA?

Odisha in many respects presents as an example of paradoxes   where the economy is growing at the rate of 7 to 8 per cent in recent years* yet the 22 per cent tribals and 17 per cent Dalits are deprived of any benefits. In the measures given by Raghuram Rajan (2013)† Odisha comes   almost first   in terms of poverty level. Those indicators include : monthly per capita consumption expenditure, education, health, household amenities, poverty rate, female literacy rate , percent of ST and SC population, urbanization rate, financial inclusion, and connectivity. Odisha's performance is not to be emulated. The ST constitutes largest percentage of poor people followed by SC.‡ In terms of the percentages, ST had 84 population under poverty line and that of SC was 67 in 2004-05. It came down to 63.54 in 2011-12 and that of SC was 41.3. Still more that half of the population lived under abject poverty. On the top of it the

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*http://www.odisha.gov.in/pc/Download/Economic_Survey_2014-15.pdf

† www.finmin.nicin/reports/Reports_CompDevState.pdf

‡http://www.odisha.gov.in/pc/Download/Economic_Survey_2014-15.pdf

infant mortality rate is higher than that of all India level*. The rate is even higher in the tribal areas as the case of Nagada would show.

3. THE SOCIO - ECONOMIC CONDITION OF NAGADA

The Upper Nagada hamlet which became famous recently for the deaths of 19 innocent children due to malnourishment related diseases, is situated in Sukinda Tehsil of Jajpur District. It is part of a revenue village consisting of Upper Nagada, Lower Nagada and Middle Nagada and two other small hamlets.The revenue village has 116 families consisting of 450 men, women and 120 children. The hamlet is hilly and does not have any irrigation facilities. The tribals depend on the rain and are engaged in the shifting cultivation as well as on the collection of minor forest produce. They also rear pigs, and roosters. There is no school in nearby area. That situation is reflected when one analyses the education level of the panchayat Members. The sarpanch (the chief of panchayat) is just 9th pass. Other members are just literate. Generally the panchayat members come from relatively well off families. If the level of education among them is so low, one can infer that there are not many educated people. Women marry early and start becoming mother at the age of 13 or 14. Most of the young mothers have a number of malnourished children since they themselves are malnourished. The women had no vaccination nor access to any nutritional food. Even though on paper only six people have got pucca houses, but it was noticed that all the houses were kutcha houses. Not a single tribal has got land title though the Forest Rights Act was implemented in 2008. Even tube wells are a rarity. They drink from the nearby stream. The mode of travel is either foot or the cycle to get the subsidized rice, wheat and other necessities once a month from the ration shop located in the plain area. During the rainy season the upper hamlets get cut off from the plain area†. The Ex-MLA Mr. Prafula Ghadei pointed out that he should be responsible for those deaths of the children in Nagada hamlet.

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*http://qz.com/770060/19-children-had-to-die-before-the-government-could-even-find-this-remote-village-in-india/

† In fact during the rainy season the members of National Commission Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) went to enquire about the malnourished deaths of 19 children. But going from Delhi, the members could not reach the affected area. In turn they asked the Hamlet people to come over to Chungudipal which they declined!

Apparently the project which was initiated to construct a road under the Central funding was abruptly terminated. Hence Mr. Ghadei who was two- term MLA from that block could not anything else. Of course one could ask as to what happened to his MLA fund? The distance between the top Nagada and the industrial township of the District Jajpur is hardly 15 to 20 kilometers.

The District Jajpur in which Nagada is a part on the other hand is located in the coastal area of Odisha and has very low child sex ratio namely 921 in 2011 compared to 934 in 2001. As expected, Jajpur has very high literacy rates for both the males and females namely, 86 and 73 respectively in 2011*. The District has 22 percent Scheduled Caste population and that of Scheduled Tribe is 7.8†. The important tribes are Munda, Kolha and Shabar. There is a sprinkling Juang tribe also‡. But the district does not come under the PESA area. The tribal areas of Jajpur which are full of rich iron ore and mines particularly in Sukinda Tehsil.It is interestingly boasts of being the most industrialized because of the Kalinga Nagar industrial complex which has been exploited by the various big companies to extract iron ores and other minerals such as Chromite and Quartzite. There are about 36 small and medium size industries starting from Tata Steel to Jindal Steel company and many others§. The famous Kalinga Nagar an industrial township has come up like an island in the backward area of Jajpur. Some government and private owned small and medium level industrial units relating to mineral products have sprung up quite for sometime. Still it has failed to create a multiplier effect giving backward and forward benefits. Only some local tribals have got small jobs in various factories. As the Chief of Chungudipal panchayat, Renuka Dehuri ,Sabar community replied to our investigators her husband also works in one of the factories. Similarly some people residing in Nagada also work in the factories. However, 70 percent of the people of Jajpur depend on agriculture. In other word the Nehruvian model of percolating down the fruits of the growth

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*http://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/406-jajapur.html

†http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/2113_PART_B_DCHB_JAJAPUR.pdf

‡http://odisha.gov.in/e-magazine/Orissareview/2010/December/engpdf/120-123.pdf

§http://www.nocci.in/member%20list/JAJPUR.pdf

has not taken place yet*.The big companies have failed in their social responsibility and the infrastructural development is almost nil. In other words Odisha presents a classic case for relying on the efficient functioning of the PRIs to eradicate the poverty . The Odisha government has also initiated many welfare schemes starting from the cradle to death. Yet the fruits of the development has not reached the common people yet. Next we will discuss as to how autonomous the panchayats are?

4. HOW ARE THE PANCHAYATS FUNCTIONING?

Odisha is one of the first state which had introduced 30 per cent seat reservation for women in 1990, before the 73rd Amendment act was passed. As per the Seventy-third Constitution Amendment Act, Odisha formulated its own act in 1994 and conducted the first election in 1995. The Act has certain unique features such as the lowest unit of the panchayat happens to be the *palli sabha* consisting of one ward. Secondly, the Sarpanch(chief) must be a woman if the Sarpanch is a man. It has enacted PESA rule in 1996 giving the power to the gram sabha particularly in the tribal area. The state has 6236 panchayats, 314 blocks and 30 Zilla parishads. At present the seat reservation for women has increased to 50 per cent. As per the 2012 election, results about 100867 members have been elected of which 53,551 or 53 per cent are women†.

Odisha has implemented almost all the flagship programs of the central government. In addition, the government has taken steps to introduce many state level welfare schemes matching the central government schemes, namely, Mo Kudia Yojana instead of Indira Awas Yojana . Similarly for National Rural Health Mission(NRHM), the State has introduced MAMATA Yojana. In fact under this scheme the pregnant women get 5000 rupees if the babies are delivered in the hospital. It is particularly meant for the tribal areas. By 2003, 23 subjects have supposed to be transferred to the panchayats. Even the Forest Rights Act 2006 has been drafted well. Compared to other Acts the 2006 Act has many important features. One of the important feature is ensuring land titles to the tribals.

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*http://dcmsme.gov.in/dips/DIPS-New%20-Jajpur.pdf

† Odisha State Election Commission 2012.

Along with the PESA the non-timber minor forest produce has been kept under the gram sabha as well. All these provisions look very promising but the ground reality is very different.

In reality, the present government lacks the political will , so it is yet to devolve all three powers not only finance, but also functionaries and functions to the local level leaders both in letter and spirit. The findings of the Report of Devolution 2015 initiated by the Ministry of Panchayati Raj indicated that proper devolution of power has not been done in terms of all three aspects compared to Kerala and many other states. As if to confirm this trend recently the Chief Minster announced to spend 500 crore rupees to create job opportunities through MGNREGS in the backward districts of Odisha to prevent distress migration to the other states without mentioning the role of panchaytas*. Similarly the authors of the Forest Rights Act -2006 while analysing the implementation of the Act, pointed out that sensitization about the features of the Act has never been done†. Even though the Act would be beneficial to tribals in terms of ensuring economic security, the enabling measures have not been taken place. Those are informing tribals about value addition measures to the minor forest produce. Recently as per the Fourteenth Finance Commission requirement the District Planning Committee (DPC), which is the nodal agency to formulate the comprehensive plan taking the potential resources into account, and environment concerns as well, though constituted in 2015, has not started properly working yet‡. But as per the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) most of the indicators providing public goods can be effectively executed if the panchayati raj system works efficiently. Otherwise the inter-state variations would further widen as pointed out by Mundle et.al. (2016) §In fact, had the panchayat of the PESA area been functional, it would have

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*http://www.sambadepaper.com/Details.aspx?id=297832&boxid=2520486

† Sarap, Kailas, Tapas K.Sarangi, and Joginder Naik,2013, 'Implementation of Forest Rights Act 2006 in Odisha : Process, Constraints and Outcomes.' *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol.XLVIII, No36, (Sept.13) pp.61-7

‡http://devolutionlsg.in/properties/devolution.html Oommen M.A. 'Decentralization has off the agenda' http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/todays-paper/tp-opinion/decentralisation-has-fallen-off-the-agenda/article9272768.ece

§ Mundle S. *et.al* 2016. 'Governance Performance of Indian States, Changes between 2001-02 and 2011-12' *Economic and Political Weekly* , Vol. LI, No36 , (September 3) pp.55-64.

taken measures to store, process and informing the current price of the valuable forest produce which fetches very high price in high-ended market meant for luxury goods. Most of the panchayats in general don't have infrastructure in terms of own buildings, record keeping, etc., to ensure smooth functioning of the panchayat. Secondly even though the computers have been installed in each panchayat, they are not being used nor does the sarpanch know how to handle the machine.

Instead of the local leaders taking the decisions the government officers are at the helm of the affairs. In many cases the ward members and the sarpanches think that it is their duty only to monitor whatever, the block level functionaries tell them to do. As a result, the panchayat leaders don't think in terms of gearing themselves for the locally suitable development strategies. In turn, even the top - down welfare schemes don't reach the deserving poor. In many cases money or the services are never utilized or the allocation meant for those heads returns back to the central pool. On whole, in general, the PRIs are not functioning as units of third tier governance.

The case of Chungudipal panchayat in general and that of the ward Nagada clearly shows that the panchayat has failed to act as an agent of decentralized unit

5. HOW DOES CHUNGUDIPAL PANCHAYAT WORK?

Chungudipal panchayat has twelve members out of which eight are tribals and other four are from fishing communities. Nagada revenue village forms a ward of the panchayat.Till last year the *palli sabha* was never convened. So what happened to the welfare schemes? Both the sarpanch and the CEO pointed out that except the subsidized food grains, villagers did not get any other benefits. Even the MGNREGS did not work at all in Nagada hamlet as per our information. Almost all of adult members had job cards under the employment scheme but nobody got jobs. The low cost shelter scheme also worked on paper. Under old age pension one gets only Rs.300/ — but is rarely utilized since it involves walking 15 km muddy road.

Access to health care: The government run Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS), Anganwadi Center Primary

health Center (PHC), Community Health Center (CHC) are located in the plain area.   ASHA Didi and other health functionaries live in the industrial township. ASHA Didi informed the investigators that she had visited   only twice since joined in 2010.   In other words the   much touted Flagship scheme   MAMATA never worked here. Of course the press did not report on the cases of maternal mortality but given the state of connectivity the women having serious complications must be dying in some cases. The Anganwadi Didi reported that the upper Nagada children neither come to the school nor to the ICDS center.   She sends   boiled eggs and dry gram powder as and when the inhabitants of Nagada visit the weekly Bazar. The doctor also lives on a plain area and visited the area rarely. Even the collector could not make it up to the top hill and said that only a chopper could take him to the top.

Being cut off from outside, over a   span of   four months, about 19 children died of diseases related to severe mal-nutrition. Strangely the   concerned   doctors, nor to the Anganwadi Didi or ASHA Didi did not have any knowledge about the deaths.   The sarpanch being less educated did not know the causes of deaths nor the prevalence of chicken pox. She reported that the children are suffering from   blisters.

The officials, instead of providing   infrastructural facilities to the settlements tried to resettle them in the plain area neglecting their culture and beliefs.   The villagers   of upper hamlets resisted the official's   effort to settle them down below. They pointed out that those places are sacred for them.

Nagada   ward member doesn't have any connection with the higher bureaucracy.   Otherwise, the ward member Mr. Basant Dehuri   from Sabar community could have been a vital link between the service providers and the families whose children are malnourished. Because there was no news of the deaths of the children until the members of civil society came for a survey.

Even the families having malnourished children did not want to stay in the hospital when the children were admitted*. At the same time it can be argued that the tribals are known for practicing   traditional belief system and they have not been yet convinced about the utility of the modern treatment†. Secondly if they stay in the hospital their daily wage is not paid. Further the distance between the hospital and the   hamlet is 15 to 20 kilometers. It is not practical for them to commute every day.

Thus, one notices that even though the formal structure exist in Chngudipal panchayat, Nagada hamlet inhabited by primitive tribes are deprived of the basic necessities and young children are dying in spite of the presence of industrial complex and decentralized decision making   bodies.

Information regarding Chungudipal GP collected from Sarapanch and Panchayat executive officer after the field visit are given below.

- Total Wards -12, out of this 8 are the tribals.
- Qualification- Naib Sarpanch- Class-9, One ward member +2 pass, 3 ward member 5 class to 7 class pass. Others are simple literate. Economically all are poor and lower middle class.
- Name of the Sarpanch – Renuka Dehuri, ST (Sabar), 9th pass. During the 2012 election she   fought the election and was elected   as the chief of the panchayat.   She has only one son. Her husband works in   an Ispat company. In 2017 Panchayat Election Sarpanch seat of this GP is reserved for OBC. So present sarapanch is not eligible   to contest.

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* The Reporter to Indian Express pointed out that the family members whose children were admitted learnt that their children will be transfused with blood from other people. Hence they were not willing to stay in the hospital. They, in turn, believed in fate and their deities.
http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/odisha-tibral-children-malnutrition-deaths-government-measures-relief-and-health-centres2945156/

† Debabrata Mohanty 'A quack was arrested in Odisha's Nabarnagpur District (predominantly tribal) for allegedly branding a 26 day old baby with a hot iron nails   to cure him from stomach ailment 'Unfortunately, the baby died. http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/district-zero-quack-held-for-branding-26-day-old-infant-with-hot-iron-nails-as-cure/
So many babies die due to branding for different kind of ailments in the tribal areas. In fact in almost all the cases, the priest does the treatment with the consent of the families.

- Panchayat have no own resources. That's why they depend on government funds. Even though this panchayat is very nearer to TATA mining area and a vast forest area also comes under this Panchayat. But the feeder industries are still lacking.
- All schemes like MGNREGS, NRHM, Right to Food, PDS, Indira Awas, Pension are effective in all the wards except Nagada hamlet.
- Nagada is a revenue village. It has five hamlets like lower Nagada, Middle Nagada, Upper Nagada, Nalia Daba, Tumuni. There are three revenue villages on the top up the Daitari hill. They are Nagada, Bhuinasala, and Rahangi. In Bhuinasala, there is 32 family. Rahangi village is not inhabited.
- Nagada revenue village is one ward. The ward member name is Basanta Dehuri, belongs to Sabar community. Total number of families living in the revenue villages of Nagada is 116 consisting of 570 people. All are from Juanga tribes except 3 households. The fishing community people are living in Naliadaba hamlet. They are from milkman community.
- They adopt both shifting and settled cultivation. In comparison to other wards, the road facility was not to Nagada which is situated top up the hill.

Has anything Changed after such euphoria by the press?

Interestingly the government has started activities on a war footing. First of all the Palli sabha has started working. A pond was dug linking the stream to provide water for crops under the MGNREGS.

In so far as the health facilities are concerned, immediately three mini Anganwadi centers have been opened up. They will give eggs four times a week. Now a team of 25 personnel comprise a group of health workers, three Anganwadi workers, a cook, and a dispatch of police have been sent to Nagada on a rotation basis. All of them are staying in a tent. Water purifiers have been sent from Bhubaneswar to the hamlet. Electric polls have been set up on the road -side to get solar energy. Construction of concrete road has started connecting Nagada and the industrial town.

In so far as the food security is concerned, Mr. Akhil Bihari Ota , the Commissioner of the Disaster Management and Revenue as well as Chairman of the Task Force, set up by the government of Odisha recently to fix the problems of the community of Jajpur pointed out that rehabilitation plans have been drawn keeping the flora and fauna of the local area. First of all the local   agricultural practices   have to be improved. Secondly the tribal will be taught as how to utilize the local produce such as stitching leaf plates, bamboo baskets   etc. The families have been included in the Antodaya Anna yojana to get 35k.g. of rice every month. He says now money is not a problem*.

However, one does not see the functioning of panchayat except the convening of the palli sabha to identify the eligible job seekers. But unless the villagers as well as the elected representatives become active and try to plan for themselves no development could be locally suitable nor sustainable. On the top of it the goals set up by the SDGs can never be achieved by 2030.

It is of course, a good beginning. But the traditional skill formation such as basket weaving, or leaf plates making without exploring the marketing facilities, and quality control; the product may not fetch any consumers. Instead, the government should consult the local people to find out the valuable forest produce including citrus fruits, honey, niger seeds etc., and encourage to start   the processing units to prepare organic juice, niger oil etc. Since the industrial market is nearby these product will have a ready market. But for this the local people have to be consulted and training has to be imparted. Even the herbal medicinal plants can be encouraged to grow and prepare the Ayurvedic medicine using the local talent.

Secondly, schools should be set up and all the children should be encouraged to join the school under the supervision of the panchayats. The panchayats have to be given the role of development agency with accountability. Of course it was noticed that many of the tribal people are not familiar with

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* Quartz India ' The cost of apathy. 19 children had to die   before the government could even find out the remote village in India' http://qz.com/770060/19-children-had-to-die-before-the-government-could-even-find-this-remote-village-in-india/

modern political institutions. However, one good thing can be pointed out that our interaction with male and female women leaders showed some positive pointers. Many leaders are convinced that they need to improve irrigation facilities to have assured crop and thereby create employment for the local youth and prevent distress migration*. Further, the state government should take the local leaders more seriously. During the 2012 panchayat election the Chief Minister himself campaigned throughout Odisha and the ruling party got the thumping majority also. The next election is due in 2017 the government also trying to visit all the panchayats. So it would be more beneficial if the state level leaders at least put pressure and encourage not only efficient candidates to contest but also make them accountable to think for the local development strategies to begin with a lot of improvement would take place even in the tribal areas. The Sarpanch and CEO, during the visit to the Chungudipal panchayat, informed that now:

- 84 family of Nagada are coming under Antodaya scheme. All families have ration card. 55 person getting old age pension. Land patta already has been distributed among 105 families.
- Now 4 sub-centre and 1 Anganwadi centre to look after children. Under MGNREGS the first work started by digging a pond and water supply from the stream for irrigation.
- Previously no Palli Sabha was there. Very few people attended the Gram Sabha. But now Panchayat is organizing Palli Sabha for MGNREGS work, distribution of Land Patta etc.
- Now the road connection already has been finished up to a particular point. So now different officials are coming regularly to Nagada.

* Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi conducted an in-depth investigation of twelve somewhat successful panchayat leaders in two tribal Districts of Odisha namely Rayagada and Mayurbhanja. The project was sponsored by the Voluntary Services Overseas(VSO) during 2012-14.

WHY DO DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS FAIL? THE JALANIDHI PROJECT IN KERALA, INDIA

*Abhilash Babu**

1. INTRODUCTION

Community participation is a very vague and open concept and is used to mean very different things. It often subsumes other concepts and approaches (such as 'self-help', 'self-reliance', 'user participation', 'community involvement', decentralization, participatory development, social capital, participatory governance etc.,) which are themselves ill-defined. But the underlying assumption is that poor communities should have control over their destiny and they are not passive receptors of the centralized, bureaucratic development programmes. Instead of an object of the state led developmental programmes they are supposed to participate actively in the programmes implemented at the local level. Many a times, well-designed and well-meaning participatory projects fail to achieve their goals, not because of the weaknesses of the project but because of the external constraints that are particular to the social context. In India, it is the spurious combination of caste and gender factors that become a formidable barrier to development implementation. The present study unveils multiple factors that block the successful participation of Dalits in developmental projects in general and the Jalanidhi Project[†], a World Bank assisted rural drinking water project by the Government of Kerala. The study, examines how Upper Caste and patriarchal interests intervene in the process of implementation of the Jalanidhi Project and make use of the

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[†]Jalanidhi Project, see details at: http://www.jalanidhi.kerala.gov.in/index.php/project-details.html

Project, if not blocking the very implementation of the project, for their own economic benefits or for consolidating their social power over the marginalised sections; mainly Dalit women. Through the case study of Jalanidhi Project, the researcher tries to explore the barriers to weaker sections in their participation. For successful project implementation, what is needed is not just participation of the local population, but the marginalised sections of the local population. The Paper explore the extent of participation of people especially dalits in the community based "jalanidhi" Project implemented in Kerala.

The study used a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods for collecting data. For the purpose of the study three panchayats from Palakkad, Thrissur and Malappuram districts have been selected. In the first phase, Erimayur panchayath has a total of 38 , Mundathicode has 28 and Thazhekkode has 21 Beneficiary Groups. From each panchayath 60 per cent of the total number of BGs were selected. From Erimayur 23 , Mundathicode 17, and Thazhekkode 13 BGs were selected. BG wise details were collected from key respondents, panchayath and NGOs. A total of 159 questionnaires, 3 from each of 53 BGs from three panchayaths used to collect quantitative data. The study used qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, observation and documentary evidence.

2.   DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNANCE

The concept of Governance refers to institutions and actors from within and beyond government. The concept has been closely related with the Hebermasian concept of 'deliberative democracy'*. In order to make it democratically legitimate, any governance mechanism has to be passed through the deliberative process involving the agreement of all citizens. It ensures that people's concern and wishes are fed in to the policy

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*According to Habermas, "democracy is deliberative when collective decisions are founded not on a simple aggregation of interests, but on arguments from and to those governed by the decisions or their representatives".see, Habermas, J. (1996) Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy, MIT Press :Cambridge, MA.

making process*. It can also be viewed as a new approach to governance that is conducive to collective action†. It is a mechanism ultimately redefining the roles and redrawing the demarcating line between and within public and private spheres‡.   In abstract terms democratic/participatory governance is a method of expression of "relationship that exists between the state and civil society with respect to problems and policies of national interests"§.In another point of view, governance is used to make compatibility between state and the capitalistic accumulation interests that reproduce the social order, channalise various interests and to contain resistance against changes**.Schmitter (2002), defined participatory governance as "the regular and guaranteed presence of the representatives of the community in policy making that can affect their lives††." It can be a result of the accelerated political dynamism‡‡. As Peters and Pierre note,

> Governance is about maintaining public –sector resources under some degree of political control and developing strategies to sustain governments capacity to act in the face of management tools that replace highly centralized , hierarchical structures with decentralized management environments where decisions on resource

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*Nanz, Patrizia and Caroline (2003), "A Deliberative-Democratic Mode of Governance? The cases of Employment and Pensions Changing European Societies", paper presented in ESPanetconferenceonThe role for social policy, conducted during13.-15. November 2003, Poznan, Poland, (Available at:http://www.sfi.dk/graphics/ESPAnet/papers/delaporte.pdf, accessed on 2-03-2014)

†Stoker, G. 1998. "Governance as Theory: Five Propositions." International Social Science Journal, 50 (1), p.17-28. Also see, Provan, K. and H. B. Milward. 1995. "A Preliminary Theory of Inter-organizational Network Effectiveness." Administrative Science Quarterly, 40(1),pp. 1 – 33. Also see Peters, B. G. and J. Pierre. 1998. "Governance Without Government? Rethinking Public Administration."Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory,8 (2),pp.223-243.

‡Bekke, H., W. Kickert and J. Kooiman (1995); "Public Management and Governance." In Kickert and F. A. van Vught, (ed.). Public Policy and Administrative Sciences in the Netherlands, Harvester: London.

§In Françoise Barten, et.al (2002), "Democratic Governance – Fairytale or Real Perspective?Lessons from Central America", Environment & Urbanization, 14, (1) ,p. 131.

** ibid

††Schmitter, P.C. (2002), "Participation In Governance Arrangements: Is There Any Reason To Expect It Will Achieve 'Sustainable And Innovative Policies In A Multi-Level Context?" In J. Grote and B. Gbikpi (eds.), Participatory governance, OpladenLeske: Budrich.

‡‡Françoise Barten et.al (2002), op.cit,p.131.

allocation and service delivery are made closer to the point of delivery* .

The point is to dilute/compromise the tension between the state and civil society in the transference of duties and rights in the process of technology diffusion.Whatever may be the definitional entanglements it assumes the primary meaning of "good governance" which is supposed to be 'transparent', 'accountable' and 'democratic' to the local needs and local community. For international institutions and donor agencies it has the primary meaning of "efficient governance that has the ability to deliver the technology and services to the poor whether democratically or not. From the various definitions and aspects discussed above, it is evident that the concept of participatory governance is envisaged to ensure democratic dialectics between the citizens and government and between the citizens itself in the distribution of services and resources - diffusion of appropriate technology in the present context of the study. It is a restructuring of the existing top-down governing mechanisms to a bottom-up process assumed by active role of community.

Participatory governance simply meant to build up a platform for all stakeholders in the process of governance or it focuses on bottom up participation. It experienced an astonishing 'career' after the publication of "Putting the last first "in 1983 by Robert Chambers. Concepts like Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), replacing the Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), gained momentum and started celebrating by the community development practitioners and policy makers. PRA consists of a range of techniques targeting sharing of knowledge between the local community and the outside expert. Later, in recent time, it has moved from academic debates to the mainstream development programmes†.Participatory governance for sustainable development operates around a politics of consensus. This can "certainly develop a kind of democracy based on popular participation but without

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*Peters, B. G. and J. Pierre. 1998. "Governance without Government? Rethinking Public Administration."Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 8, (2), p.232.

†Puri, Ellora (2004), "Understanding Participation: Theoretical Foundations and Practical Implications", *Economic and Political weekly*, 39 (24), pp.2511-2517.

inconvenience of contestational politics"*. The conflicts of values and ideas are necessary part of democratic politics. However, through denying the spaces of conflicting ideas and values, participatory strategies for sustainable development in effect contain politics at the very local time-space. The role of the state, in the processes of development thereby, has undergone considerable restructuring. State eventually has taken up the role of catalyst, rather than a provider of rights and justice. Obviously, here, supplying economic goods and assisting the overall progress of the society become a duty of the community.

3. WATER SUPPLY AND THE JALANIDHI

The Jalanidhi project of the Kerala Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Agency (KRWSA) has been initiated in 1998 in the four northern districts of Kozhikode, Palakkad, Malappuram and Thrissur with the assistance of the World Bank. The specific development objectives of the project are to:

- Demonstrate the viability of cost recovery and institutional reforms by developing, testing and implementing the new decentralised service delivery model on a pilot basis and
- Build the state's capacity for improved sector management in order to scale up the new decentralised service delivery model statewide.

It is the first government initiated community based rural water supply scheme in Kerala organized by the state through NGOs. The project, which is expected to cover three lakhs of household benefiting a population of over 15 lakhs in the 80 selected Grama Panchayats, has a total expected outlay of Rs. 450 Crore. Of this, 15 per cent of the capital costs are borne by the beneficiary community, 10 per cent by the Grama Panchayats and 75 per cent is the share of the State Government. However, as a measure of reducing the financial burden on the state, the beneficiary communities are expected to meet the maintenance costs by themselves.

The World Bank aided project has been implemented with the participation of the panchayat, an NGO and the user

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*Harriss, John (2001), *Depoliticizing Development: The World Bank and Social Capital*, Left Word Books : New Delhi.

communities. The project was conceived as a demand driven one and has been implemented only in areas where interested Panchayats and groups of people show their willingness to voluntary and monetary participation. The newly created autonomous body, i.e. KRWSA was the implementing agency at the top level. The primary function of the Panchayat is to coordinate the project and convince the people of the benefit of the project. The NGOs has to provide expertise from the social and engineering fields. The social workers would mobilise the community while the engineers would give technical assistance. The tenure of the project was two years and almost one year spent for awareness generation and organizing the user groups which is called beneficiary groups in projects language. The rationale for using the service of an NGO is the efficiency, accountability and speedy implementation of the project compared to the bureaucracy.

The project has a pre-planning phase of 3 months which consists of selection of Grama Panchayat, NGO and signing of a tripartite agreement between KRWSA, Panchayat and the NGO. Twelve months planning phase is focused on the training and capacity building of the officials, elected representatives of Grama Panchayats, officials of the NGOs, organization of Beneficiary Groups and its registration, collection of data through Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques such as transect walks, resource mapping, pre-feasibility studies that include identification of sources, water availability tests using the service of a geologists, yield test of the existing sources that could be used for the project etc. The implementation phase is of 8 months duration, which includes procurement of materials , construction of wells, pond, tank etc. and 4 months post implementation phase meant for the monitoring. At this stage the project is fully transferred to the beneficiary committees. Henceforth, the project is fully under the responsibility of the BGs. After the implementation of the project all the public taps would be removed or make part of the project. The Panchayat or NGO has no further role in drinking water supply in that Panchayat. It is one of the frequently referred sustainable water management projects operating with the participation of user community implemented and celebrated as a successful rural community movement to sustainable drinking water provision. Responsibility for the planning and implementation of this plan lies with the local people. Jalanidhi initiative is repeatedly

romanticised in the literature on water supply as an alternative
to the failing state-run and   private schemes.

4.   THE MYTH OF PARTICIPATION

Jalanidhi Project draws its basic philosophy from the
discourses on community participation across the world. But the
modality of its implementation shows that the project was
actually implemented through a top to bottom down approach.
It is clear that the concept of people participation is obviously
not happening at the ground level. Certain classes/casts
excluded from the project. Those who have included also totally
or partially excluded from the process of decision making.
Caste has also played a major role. In almost all the BGs the
leadership of the BG is dominated by the comparatively upper
caste. In Kokkamoochi beneficiary group of Erumayoor
Panchayat, in which majority of the beneficiaries are Dalits, the
leadership of the BG were initially were in the hands of Dalits.
But gradually while convinced that the project would be a great
success, people from the upper castes has hijacked the
leadership. In Kokkamoochi village there were 17 households
belong to Dalit families. The villagers were using a Panchayat
well, with abundant and perennial water availability, for all their
purposes. They possess an average of five cents of land and
survive on day labour. For generations they have been working
on the paddy fields of the surrounding Ezhava families.   Still
the area has strict caste differences. It is reported that, even
though there are exceptions, Ezhava and other upper caste
families do not take food from these SC families during
functions such as marriage etc. According to the previous
president of the BG who is a dalit in Kokkamoochi;

> People generally consider us as inferior to them.
> Recently me and my brother got government jobs but
> they are saying that we get the jobs due to reservation. It
> doesn't matter how much hard work we have done and
> what our position is. The project had been started by
> some of the young people including me belong to the sc
> in this area. Since we were only seventeen households
> and poor we contacted the nearby Ezhava families to
> join the group in order to ensure the initial monetary
> contribution by the BG. The idea was given by the
> supporting organization and they persuaded the Ezhava
> families to join our group. I was very active and

forefront of everything. The Ezhava families were not at all interested in the meetings and other activities related with the project, thinking that the project would not be a reality. Whenever I ask them to participate in the meetings and other activities they would tell that they are ready to give the money but not interested to run for the project.

All the meetings were conducted in the presence of either Panchayat president or the ward member. Majority of the participants belong to Dalits had apprehensions in asking questions. According to one respondent;

Often the authorities could make us agreed to their arguments. We are not familiar to the technical words used by them. So ultimately we would become silent in the meetings. Our silence would be interpreted as our agreement to the project. We would have many questions to ask, but don't know how to ask. So we have to believe our ward member. Any way we have voted him to won the election and he is available all the time for our needs in the locality.

While the project is catering a wide population of the Panchayats many of the poor people are marginalized from the project. The project runs successfully in areas with domination of middle and upper class people and sources with sufficient water supply. The situation is worse in areas such as SC colonies. Most of the people are day laborers and do not have time to take care of the project. In one SC colony water supply had been interrupted for almost one year due to the failure of motor. Installing a new motor would cost around 40000 rupees and the BG members could not collect that amount immediately. So they relied on the earlier source of water which is an open well situated around one kilometer away. The common perception among the middle class about the poor is that they are irresponsible in character. An ex-Panchayat president says that;

The lower class people are earning a fair good income. But they don't have the saving habit and simply waste the money for drinking. They do because of regular income. There should be an awareness programme for them against the wastage of money. But the Jalanidhi project has made an attitudinal change. It encourages

people to be responsible for their own need and saving money for the project.

The upper caste people including the politicians and elected representatives viewed it as their inefficiency to run the project properly. People are only right conscious but not cared about the duties. It is evident from one of the political activist who opined that

> The lower caste people have an inferiority complex in their mind and they have to change that attitude. We are consciously engaged to change their attitude. There is no need for free services. For example the Panchayat is giving fund for housing to the SC/STs. But it is given at different stages according to the progress of the work. Other wise they would waste the money. They should have an attitude to good living standards. They should be ambitious by seeing the prosperous neighbor. So all the free serviced should be removed. Along with achieving self sufficiency we have to make them responsible for themselves. If the lower class people have to be freed from their situations, they have to be conscious about their situation.

Here all the arguments lead to the economic inefficiency of lower class people. Put differently, the human right to water may only be satisfied through the active involvement of the citizen. It poses moral questions on the participation of the poor people. The poverty is perceived as a self imposed state and neglecting the social situation. Here agency gets dominance over structure. All the arguments are reduced to the individual; his efficiency and active partnership. None of them are concerned about the pre-requirements of participation. One of the respondents from an SC colony narrated her story:

> We have only two cents of land. My husband had died long back and I am raising two children. They have stopped their study at the high school level and going for construction work. I used to work in the paddy field and goes to other petty works during other seasons. We get only few days of works related with the paddy. The rapid mechanization caused further reduction of employment opportunities. The work is erratic and we relied upon money lenders from Tamil Nadu for urgent needs with very high interest. We cannot save money due to the erratic nature of works. I could not participate much in the project due to my work. We used to fetch

> water from the neighbor's well. The project is a boon for us since we get water to our household. But many times I could not pay the charges in time. Those instances the BG secretary would threaten us to cut off the connection. We have requested the Panchayat member to give us a free connection. But the other members are against it fearing that it will encourage other poor people also to asking for free connection.

The perception of the middle class towards the lower class people is in conflict with the above narrative of the poor dalit women. It is true that they can pay rupees forty or fifty for the water. But for those fifty rupees they have to postpone or neglect many of their other important needs. For the middle class rupees fifty is a small amount but for the lower class it is to be hard earned. They are the ones who is most attached with the state institutions such as Panchayat. The poor people have also higher trust in the Panchayat and looks forward to the Panchayats for help. "I have complained to the ward member many times for financial assistance from the Panchayat towards the renovation of my old house. I got this house from a scheme of block and now it is dilapidated. But nobody cares my pleas", said a respondent. It is evident that poor view the state as their protector. But the projects such as Jalanidhi try to cut the delicate relationship between the state and citizen. Justice is at the hands of the local dominant ones which often unfavourable towards the poor.

Some of the poor who were taking water from the public taps did not join the project due to availability of water from the taps. But once the public taps are removed they were devoid of any kind of facility for water nearby. It is difficult to get new connections due to scarcity of water and the cost is also very high because of reinstallation of pipes. At the initial stages the amount was around 1500 for a member but for a new connection it would cost around rupees 10000 to 20000. So the possibility of a poor to participate in to the project is very low considering the high initial amount. The project also reduces the rights to charity. In some places very poor people were given free connection by the BG members. The right conscious citizen is transformed in to a beneficiary of other's charity. The right to water is depends upon the conscience of other. Those who share their water charges obviously gets a moral dominance over the beneficiary. He may be viewed as a free rider and has no right

to complain about the poor quality or quantity and would be kept away from the decision making process.

Majority of the projects are running even though not efficiently and most of the people are satisfied with that. But some of the people who are in a disadvantaged situation are not satisfied with the project and even excluded from it. For example in Kunnil of Erimayoor Panchayat, the people who resides in colonies have been excluded from the project. The colony is inhabited by lower class people with a major population of SC/ST. They had public taps in the colony and were getting abundant water from the taps. They did not join the project because of the abundant water supply through the public taps. The BG has installed a low power motor due to concerns over the electricity charge and the motor is not powerful enough to pump water to hilly areas. The Panchayat and the SO did not mentioned about the removal of public taps either. After the implementation of the project, according to the directions of the World Bank, the public taps were removed in the Panchayat. The taps were removed according to the agreement from the BG committee and public. They also signed the agreement because of the promise of installing pubic taps under the project. The colony is situated in a hilly area and water is not reaching to these taps from the source of the project. The BG are mostly consists of Middle class people and they are inhabited in better plain land and getting uninterrupted water supply. In many places there were huge protest form the public against the removal of pubic taps. But the taps were removed in the presence of the ward member or Panchayat President with the support of the BG members. There was division of opinion among the public regarding the removal of the public taps. The members of the BGs supported the removal of public taps because of their individual connections. Those who opposed it were convinced by the Panchayat ward member or politicians. It is to remember that the project was started with more than one year of awareness generation and consensus building.

After the initial stages, people are not at all interested in participating in the meetings. They think that they are paying the charges in time. So, the general attitude is "why to take additional burden of going to the meetings and take responsibility of the project". People are only concerned about getting water. But they see it as the responsibility of the

secretary or operator to give water. One of the BG secretaries says that:

> I am a government employee and I am getting frequent calls from the BG members even I am in the office. I am fed up with this project. Initially we thought that people would be interested since the committee has a good financial status. But people are not interested in public issues which render no monetary benefits. If the posts have a monetory rewards then people may come.

The root cause of this attitude can be traced to the initial logic and formation of the project. We can locate the problem by answering some of the questions pertaining to the process of initial participation: What motivated the people to participate in the project? Who motivated them to participate? Whether the participation was an organic or engineered one? Why the people have lost interest in participation? Interview with respondents revealed that they do not possess a collective feeling on the project.

Concept of participation is confined only in the monetary participation. According to one respondent,

> We are paying the charges in time. And the secretary and operator are there to take care of the water supply. Since I have to go for the work, I also have no time to go after the project. The project is running well and why should we meet frequently? The secretary is very active and has good relations with everyone in our locality. He would be more able to tackle the problems related with the project. It is a headache to deal with the people. I don't want to hear their complaints every day. The ward member and the BG secretary were encouraged to join the project. So they have the responsibility to run the project.

The people are not interested in meetings and related activities with water because they are paying for the water. Their perception of participation is remained only at the monetary participation. They have joined the project for different reasons beyond scarcity of water. When we analyses the partial and non participation some sections of people it is clear that historical marginalization in access to resources is a decisive factor. The monetary and physical participation depends upon the respondent's income, nature of employment and time for participation.

Table 1. Participation of the beneficiaries in BG meetings
(In per cent)

Name of GP	SC/ST						General (Non-SC/ST)					
	Never	Once	Twice	Thrice	Four or	Total	Never	Once	Twice	Thrice	Four or	Total
Erimayoor	22	23	4	1	-	35	7	14	13	10	4	34
Mundathi-kkodu	12	33	6	-	-	26	4	24	16	4	2	25
Thazhekk-odu	21	18	10	3	-	20	3	13	26	5	3	19
Total	55	74	20	4	-	81	14	51	55	19	9	78

Table-1 reveals that participation of the beneficiaries belongs to SC/ST are very nominal. Out of the total 159 respondents 55 per cents of respondents from the SC/ST community and 14 per cents of respondents from the general category had never participated in any of the BG meetings. 74 per cents of respondents form SC/ST and 51per cent from the general categories have attended the meetings once and 20 and 55 per cents have participated twice respectively. From SC/ST category only 4 per cent of respondents have participated thrice and nobody has participated more than that. From the general category out of the total 78 respondents 9 per cent of respondents have participated four or more meetings. It is also learned from the field study that in majority of the BGs are not conducting monthly meetings. It is also revealed that numbers of participants are declining in each meeting. Low participation of the BG meetings put a question mark on the institutional sustainability of the BGs in the future. It is evident that the project which is conceived as a community based one is straying from its main objective.

Table 2. Participation of women in BG meetings
(In per cent)

Name of GP	SC/ST						General (Non-SC/ST)					
	Never	Once	Twice	Thrice	Four or	Total	Never	Once	Twice	Thrice	Four or	Total
Erimayoor	29	14	9	-	-	18	9	14	17	6	3	17
Mundathi-kkodu	15	31	4	-	-	13	4	27	15	4	-	13
Thazhekk-odu	25	15	10	-	-	10	5	15	-	10	-	10
Total	69	60	23			41	18	56	32	20	3	40

The project which boasts of gender sensitivity and equality fails to realize it at the realm of participation. Table 2 shows that, out of total 81 women respondents 69 percent from SC/ST and 18 percent from the general category have never participated in any of the meetings. 60 percent from the SC/ST category and 56 per cent from the general category have participated once and only 23 percent of the respondents from the SC/ST category have participated twice while it is 32 percent in the case of the general category. In the general category 20 per cent of the respondents have participated thrice and 3 percent has participated four or more times. None of the respondents from the SC/ST category have participated more than twice. Participation of women from the SC/ST category is very low because most of the women belong to this category are labourers who find it difficult to participate in the meeting by skipping their work. It is a well accepted fact that participation has an opportunity cost. The poor people have to choose between their work and participation in the project. In all most all the beneficiary group it is observed that the government employees, politicians, retired people holds the position of BG secretary. it is also interested to note that all the BG secretaries

have strong political affiliations and active in the local politics. From this it is evident that political parties have shown keen interest in using the BGs for their advantages. They see it as a vote bank and take credit of providing drinking water to their concerned wards. The concept of participation is total failure in the project. Apart from token participation at the initial stages of the project it is revealed from the field study that generally people have an aversion towards participation.

5.   SPATIAL EXCLUSION: THE CASE OF DALIT COLONIES

Dalit colonies in the Panchayats selected for field work has more or less similar conditions. It lacks infrastructure facilities and marked by poverty. Few members are government employees but majority of them are day labourers. The colonies have closely distributed households and average land holding is 3 cents. None of the houses have open well. They are socially and economically backward and their voices are often unheard in the Gramasabha and other public gatherings. Majority of the houses are tiled houses with electricity.

A total of 12 Dalit colonies have been excluded from the project. Since the project was a demand driven one, these colonies were excluded either because of no-demand from the inhabitants of the colonies or due to the non-functioning of the project. Out of the twelve colonies 8 colonies had either Panchayat well or a nearby public tap. But after the implementation of the projects in the nearby areas, the public taps were destroyed according to the rules of the Jalanidhi and many Dalit colonies those who were not the members were cut off from drinking water supply.

Panchayat wells located in some of the colonies for the drinking water purpose are not maintained after the implementation of the project. According to one of the respondent:

> We did not join the project because we had public tap and Panchayat wells for drinking water. Joining the project also needed a lot of money that we cannot afford. We are day labourers and poor. It is difficult to give the monthly water charges under the project. We belong to Scheduled Caste and the government has to give the water free of cost. But after the implementation of the project, members of BG from the nearby area

came with the Panchayat member and destroyed our public tap. Now all the members are depending on the Panchayat well for drinking water. Before the implementation of the project, before the summer the Panchayat used to clean the Panchayat well. But after the implementation of the project they have stopped cleaning of the well. Now, during summer the Panchayat well dries up early due to the increased dependency upon it. We have to walk 2 kilometers to fetch water from a private well during the peak of the summer.

In Erimayoor Panchayat, two colonies have joined the project but the projects are near to non-functioning. Economic un-sustainability is found as the main reason for the failure of the project. Each colony has around 30 households and all most all the members are day laborers. Women are also working in many families and education level is very low among the inhabitants. Many of the families are not able to pay the monthly payment due to the precarious employment opportunity. Majority of the colony dwellers are agricultural laborers and during the off seasons they find it difficult to get alternative employment. Almost all the members of the colony are belonging to the CPI (M) sympathizers. But none of them have   party membership and having any important role in the party. For the last one year, there was no single meeting of the BG members were convened. Water supply form the project well has been disconnected for the last three months.

Lack of monetary contribution is the major problem. The secretary and president of the BG in Dalit colony in Erimayoor said that they are helpless in managing the project. They cannot compel the others in the BG for monetary contribution. If they compels them, that will end up with fights. The BGs are unable to find the maintenance cost from the BG members. Once the pipe in a BG of the Dalit colony in Mundathikkodu Panchayat was broken and the BG members approached the Panchayat for financial assistance. But the Panchayat denied citing technical difficulties for funding a project under Jalanidhi. The water supply was stopped for 3 months in that colony.

It is evident from the Dalit colonies that the Jalanidhi project failed to maintain justice and equality in distribution of such resources as water. Water has been become a commodity in these rural areas and success and failure of the project depends

upon the purchasing capacity of the consumers. The lower class people, especially people form Scheduled caste and scheduled tribes, thinks that water is their right from the government. Their perception aroused from the context that Panchayat was in forefront of implementation of the project. All the people perceived it as a project old Panchayat. They think that the Panchayat will further intervene if there is any problem in the supply of water. Technically Panchayats cannot intervene in drinking water supply of the area under their jurisdiction. The people including the elected representatives still think that the state has a responsibility in matters related with local. But it is only exposed in case of ultimate stoppage of water. People with left and right parties have same perception of water as a commodity. " we have to pay for everything including electricity. Then why protesting against the user charges?", says a leader of the CPI (M). According to a ward member from the Congress Party, "people in these Dalit colonies have enough money for entertainment such as cable T.V, mobile phone, drinking etc. then why they cannot pay for water". Another respondent expressed that; "all the people are well developed and can pay for the services they received" which coincided with many of the respondents from the middle class in the study area. "Even the day labour earn rupees 500 a day. Only thing is their attitude towards payment for water", another person responded.

From the study it is revealed that social and economic incapability, not water availability, was the main reason for the lack of demand from the Dalit colonies. In all the other BGs where the study was conducted, the project was initiated by some key persons, some are political leaders. Leadership and general educational and economic background of the other BGs helped the NGOs and Panchayat to convince the people about the merits of the project. But none of the Dalit colonies had proper leadership to push the project ahead. It also revealed that neither the Panchayat not the NGO were serious about implementation of the project in Dalit colonies due to the uncertainty in financial sustainability. According to a staff of an NGO:

> We did not compel the people in the colony to start the project. The project is based on monetary and physical participation. In the initial stages itself these people have objected the concept of payment for water. It is

> very difficult to convince them. It is also very difficult
> to conduct meetings in the colonies. They are available
> only in the evening duet to their work. In the evening all
> are drunk and some used to heckle the meetings by
> asking unnecessary questions. If the project in colonies
> fails, it is a blemish on our reputation. So we
> encouraged only those people who are really interested
> and ready to pay for the water. In Dalit colonies nobody
> is interested to come and participate in the meetings.
> They simply need water free of coast.

It is a fact that the concept of participation carries the baggage of rules and discipline. The so called "undisciplined members" are excluded from the whole process. The Dalit colonies in Kerala have been ghettoized in even in the public consciousness. Groups with greater awareness and economic means are easier to be included in to the formalities of project participation. The poor and socially backward people and the groups with "poor social capital" easily excluded from the project due to the lack of coordination for the purpose of the project. From a different angle, it can be seen as the historical socio-cultural and economic deprivations that negatively affect the Dalit assertion on resources.

In some of the project areas the BG located near the Dalit colonies have decided to install a free public connection for the colony. The BG members after the implementation of the project have destroyed the Panchayat public tap in the presence of the ward member. As per the MOU with between the state government and the BGs, all water supply schemes other than the Jalanidhi in a Panchayat has to be merged with the project. So, all the existing Kerala Water Authority (KWA) schemes and Panchayat water supply schemes are merged with Jalanidhi. After the implementation of the project all public taps were destroyed. In this process the public taps which were depended by the Dalit colonies were also destroyed. As a result, Dalit colonies where the Jalanidhi project was not implemented were left to fend for themselves. The installation of a free connection by the nearby BG members has created a patron-client relationship between the BG members and inhabitants of the colony. This questions the very logic of the new diffusion strategies with the participation of the community. Water which is conceived as a "right" under the state led diffusion paradigm has become a "duty" of the citizen. It is a fact that the

introduction of the concept of payment to water evoked trepidation among the members of the Dalit colonies but they could not voice their concerns due to various reasons. Lack of education and articulation capability was the major reason. They were also convinced by the respective ward members that it was a government project. Majority of them are day labourers and hardly get time to participate in the meetings. While the project boasts of greater community participation and success in drinking water supply, it conveniently covers up some of the grave inequality in its distribution at the ground level.

6. ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY

The Jalanidhi project which was introduced as an alternative to the "inefficient government institutions" also plagues with the alleged inefficiencies of the state institutions. One of the main arguments of the authorities of the Jalanidhi was that the existing state institutions for drinking water supply i.e. KWA and Panchayat are not accountable and transparent in its operations. Since the water from the public taps is free of coast people are also not accountable. So the main criticism of the state led water supply was that neither the authorities nor the people are accountable for the drinking water supply system. The project obviously lost its accountability and transparency due to the very low participation of the people. It is a fact that wastage and misuse of drinking water is also common among those who have alternative source of water such as open well or bore well.

According to a special ordinance of Govt.of Kerala (No.KWA/HO/RMC/06 at 20/02/08) deliberate wastage of drinking water is against the laws and punishable at the rate of rupees 1000 or six month imprisonment or both. Wastage if defined under the act include wastage of drinking water by washing cloths, kitchen utensils, vehicle etc., stealing water from the public taps using hoses, using individual connections for construction, irrigation etc. The act also urges the people to participate in conservation of water through water shed development, check dams, rain water harvesting etc.

Many of the beneficiaries say that since they have abundant water in their wells, they use water from the project also for other purposes. They don't consider it as wastage and thinks that since they are paying for water it is their right to use the

water according to their will. The BG committee also cannot question the misuse of drinking water because disconnection of their supply would lead their non involvement of the project that would affect the financial sustainability of the BGs.

But the ordinance loses its teeth after transferring the KWA projects to Jalanidhi. The KWA could effectively use the clauses of the ordinance to prevent the wastage of water. But the local bodies could not implement the rule effectively due to many constraints. Even though the ward member or BG committee members noticed misuse of water he would not be ready to report the issue in the Panchayat due to fear of losing votes. The neighbours would be prevented reporting the issue due to close relation or fear of personal enmity. In the words of the respondent who is an official of KWA;

> We used to go by our department vehicle for checking water theft. The people have respect for the government vehicle and fear of government staffs. So even though we catch them and impose fine, they will not protest. . We once seized two hoses used by two families for stealing water from the public taps for non drinking purpose. Rupees 1000 were fined on each family and the supply to the particular public tap were stopped by the KWA. After mounting pressure from the neighboring families who also use that public taps, the two families were forced to pay the amount charged as fine. But the people don't fear the BG committee, LSG officials and ward members. In the case of KWA, since people have a fear towards the government representative they would obey the rules.

The narrative shows that monitoring, accountability and transparency once it is transferred from the state to the local level lose its effectiveness. The local power relations subvert the institutions of accountability and transparency. The powerful and privileged in the local community could twist the rules according to their convenience. With the withdrawal of the state institutions instead of efficiency it is revealed from the study that the concept of accountability and transparency actually subverted at the local level.

> Now another member form the ezhava caste is handling alone the collection of monthly charges. Nobody dares to ask the details of the money as he is very dominative in character. My worry is that we have to bear this

people until our death. Now our Panchayat well, which used to have sufficient water for our 17 households, often dries up due to the excessive pumping of water with motor and increased number of households using the well under this project. I really regret that we had to involve with this people, says one respondent belonging to Dalit community.

The creation of social capital through beneficiary groups has many aspects. It is assumed that the created social network, trust, reciprocity etc would lead to effective monitoring, accountability and transparency of the project that had been pointed as lacking in the government system. The beneficiary groups act as an effective system of monitoring by the people themselves. Defaulters are fined and in some cases leading to disconnection of water supply. In many times it create conflict among the members.

But in majority of the BGs the social monitoring is remained only at the financial level. People are not at all interested in conservation, maintenance and participation. Entire responsibility has been transferred to the BG secretaries, cashier and pump operator. In some places one person holds all these responsibilities together. According to the bylaw of the BG new persons have to be selected in every year. In majority of the BGs, since others are not interested to take responsibility, same persons remain in their positions for the last eight years. Mainly persons who are active in politics or retired employees are in charge of these positions. According to one BG secretary:

I am in the position of the secretary since nobody is ready to take it. It is run by some retired persons and other voluntary persons. In case of stoppage of water, people would come to the secretary's home in the morning. They would question the secretary for the stoppage of water supply. If the secretary asks them to take over the responsibility they would tell that we are not responsible for the water supply and it is the duty of the committee. People will not come for meeting if they are getting water without any problem. People are ready to pay whatever charges for water but they are not ready to participation. For the last few years I am the secretary and people are very familiar to me and I can't force them in case of any default in monthly instalment and intervene to resolve the conflicts. But if the committee has a new secretary and other officials in every year

they can intervene more effectively and can take action
without personal consideration. I cannot simply give up
the post of secretary because I am a party member and
my party was in the forefront of the projects
implementation.

Majority of the secretaries are saying that there are not
experienced people in keeping of the accounts. People are not
interested to ask the details of accounts. If somebody asked
about the details, they would be asked to take the responsibility.
Many of the respondents opined that there should be full time
persons to maintain the accounts. Social hierarchies also play a
crucial role in keeping accountability and transparency. The
posts of secretaries and cashier in all the cases held by the
people belong to comparatively upper class and casts or persons
with political power. The post of operator is usually given to
people from the lower class or to women. There are many cases
related with the mismanagement of funds. The beneficiaries
from the lower class and caste may not try to question the
secretary or cashier due to fear. This is evident in selection of
beneficiaries at the Panchayat level. For example many people
belong to upper class could enter in to the BPL list of the
Panchayat. Even though the people know about this nobody
dares to question them due to fear. The researcher has collected
court documents related with the mismanagement of funds. For
instance, there was a case against a Secretary of a BG due to the
alleged mismanagement of funds. He says that;

I lost my last five years for running after the court case.
I was unemployed that time and I even had to find the
court expenses from my own pocket. When I asks the
other BG members for court expenses they would reply
that since it is an issue between me and the secretary
why they should waste money for that. The court
judgment was in favour of me but what will make up
my agony and lost five years?. Now all the documents
regarding the BG is in the court and no BG meeting has
been conducted for the last four years.

These are also alternative conflict resolution mechanism at
the local level in which Panchayat has a major role. Usually
local politicians and elected representatives of the Panchayat
plays the role of a mediator. In Thazhekkodu Panchayat of
Malappuram district the Panchayat president has cited many
disputes resolved effectively through the Panchayat. It is clear

that Panchayat still has an informal responsibility towards issues of water. In some cases political differences would be a hurdle to effective intervention of the elected representatives. In that instances the complainant would go to the court thinking he would not get justice from the rival from the dominating political party. In all the court cases related with the mismanagement of funds, it has been exposed or questioned by the people from rival parties. Party affiliation plays a crucial role in the management of the project.

7. CONCLUSION

The state led diffusion strategies were always characterised as inefficient, non-transparent without accountability and plagued with corruption. The diffusion strategy adopted by Jalanidhi was conceived as community centred or individual centric with the participation of NGOs and state agencies. After the implementation the entire projects were transferred to the Beneficiary Groups and the state withdrew itself from playing any role or responsibility in the operation and maintenance of the project. The study revealed that the new diffusion strategy reinforced the structural imbalances in the society. The socially and economically marginalized people were always either marginalized or excluded from the project. The decisions were taken by the dominating sections of the society and the concerns of the poor people were never addressed. On the front of accountability and transparency the project could not overcome the power relations that were inherent in the rural society. The state, under its broader strategies of social engineering, has systematically incorporated civil society and civic organisations into the realms of service delivery. Broader consensuses on the new role of civil society eventually have been formulated. At the discursive level, concepts like social capital and civil society are being reinvented. Still, in many cases, the diffusion of technology through NGOs and civic grouping had to deal with failure. The top-down implementation and the drive for scientific objectivism have rarely taken into consideration the very local social and cultural environments on which they have to work with. This is also evident in the concept "participatory water governance" itself, as one could easily pose the question 'who participate by whose influence and why?' This ambivalence, moreover, calls into

question the new development interventions that try to integrate the international discourses with the local.

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YAK REARING SYSTEM AND CLIMATE CHANGE: AN EXPLORATION OF NORTH SIKKIM

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The changing climate is concern to all the nations of the world today. All heads of the nations are actively engaged to understand the change and the options available as remedy. Some of the nations which in the process of development has destroyed the ecology and contributed maximum to the pool of factors that are responsible for climate change. But the effect of it is not restricted in their territorial boundary. The Himalayan ecosystem is affected the most though it's not responsible for it. The flora and fauna in this serene high altitude has been under tremendous stress. Yak (Poephagus grunniers) is a multipurpose bovine species found in this high attitude (3000m and above) areas and now under threat due to increased temperature and low snowfall. In India, yak is found in East Kameng, West Kameng and Tawang districts of Arunachal Pradesh, East Sikkim and North Sikkim districts of Sikkim, Ladakh of Jammu and Kashmir, Lahul and Spiti of Himachal Pradesh and northern part of Uttar Pradesh.This is an important source of livelihood for the highlanders. Hence, the present study attempts to understand the effect of climate change on yak husbandry in North Sikkim.

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1. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The study was conducted in North Sikkim (27°25'N to 27°11'N latitude and 88°53'E to 88°26'E longitude). The present study has used exploratory research design. Total 10 yak rearers were interviewed in the month of March in 2015. Each interview was lasted for up to 1.5 to 2 hours. The scientists of NRC yak and the personnel of State Yak farm were also interviewed as key informants. The filed survey results were triangulated with extensive review of earlier works, delving into the gray literature and relatively parsimonious published work on this issue. The interviews were conducted in ethnographic mode where focus was put on open, intensive and dipper interactions, directed towards to retrieve from the respondents' experience and subjective view on the issue.The findings of the interviews are presented in narrative form. Further to understand the change climate in Sikkim gridded data on temperature (1° x 1°) and rainfall (0.5° x 0.5°) were retrieved from IMD data set and analyzed.

2. THE COMMUNITY AND DZUMSA, THE LOCAL PANCHAYAT

Societies were governed by some kind of system may be based upon the indigenous traditional, religious, political or a mix of all. But with the progress of time a kind of political system governed by centre or state has evolved in nearly all of the societies for the people inhabiting in a designated territory. Hence, the traditional political and systems have more less non-existent now, barring a few. The dzumsa (dzomsa) in the North Sikkim district (Lachen and Lachung) of Sikkim in the North East Himalaya in India is such an example of surviving traditional political and administrative system. In the 1970s, the Indian Government initiated the reorganization administration of Sikkim and introduced the 'panchayat' system but it was not imposed in the Valleys of Lachen and Lachung; rather, the Dzumsa was recognised in 1985. About 250 households of mainly Lepcha and Bhutia community who follows Bhudhism are the resident of Lachen and Lachung.

The word dzumsa, literally, refers to the 'gathering place' but generally it refers to the general council of the Lachenpa villagers composed of the household heads and manage village affairs, laws and regulations. During the Sikkimese kingdom,

the dzumsa and the pipons (spyidpon) or village chiefs were recognised by the king (chosrgyal) as a means of delegating his authority. The pipons were nominated by the group of people called theumi (thos mi) who were considered to be respected, honest and experienced member of the community. But since 1978-79, they are elected by the general village council. This council of representatives, referred to as the lheyna (lassna) or the panchayat, is composed of two pipons, six gembos(rganbo), two tsipos (rtsispo) and two gyapons (rgyadpon). The pipons are the king of the public or village head and Lachen's representatives to the outside world. The gembos ('responsible people' of the village), assist the pipons in their function, and issues the orders. The tsipos or 'accountants' were used to collect various taxes to hand over to the Chogyal, but now they calculate fines and maintain the books. The gyapons finally act as assistants during the village meetings.

The general village council is composed of Lachenpa household heads residing in Lachen. Only Lachenpas by birth can now join the dzumsa, and the general village council only accepts two new members a year. Lamas and the Lachenpas who recently reparated from their main houses are not the council members. A woman, except the widow whose son is minor, is officially not authorised to attend the council meetings.

After closing the accounts and wrapping up any unfinished business, the lheyna officially resigns by ordering the thenton (grolston) or last common meal and returning the dzumsa house keys to the public. Elections are organized in the next couples of the days by the transitional group designated by the general council of villagers. The first two candidates with the most votes become the pipons. Then gembos and tsipos are elected based on the number of votes the new lheyna is the place, the villagers have the meal offered by the departing lheyna (http://chungthangsubdivision.nic.in/dzumsasystem.php)

3. AGRICULTURE AND THE YAK ECONOMY

Inhabitants of both the areas are primarily dependent on tourism for their income and livelihood. Most of the households provide homestay facilities to tourists and many of them have tourist vehicles also. The agriculture practiced is of subsistence in nature and mainly for home consumption. Other than rice and

maize, a number of vegetables are grown in the area. Potato, cole crops such as cabbage, cauliflower, radish, beans and pea are major vegetables grown in small scale and many time in kitchen garden. Generally they cultivate potato consecutively for two years in the same parcel of land and then leave it fallow so as to sustain the productivity. The cooperative approach is still prevalent here. The farmers do not hire labor (it is expensive also) for agriculture but work in one another's farm by rotation. The respondents reported that the productivity of these crops has declined as state government has stopped supplying fertilizer (urea), only a few purchase urea from Assam. Besides agriculture, people work as labourer, some are in government job and yak rearing also contribute to the village income.

The lho-yak in Lachen and Lachung are said to be from the southern parts of Tibet Autonomous Region and Bhutan.Yak plays a vital role in livelihood of the yak rearers in difficult high altitude terrains where agriculture is of subsistence nature. Normally yak yields per day half litre of milk but in some cases it can be upto 2.5 lt/day. Yak milk contains about 7.50 per cent of fat, 5.94 per cent of protein and 11.50 per cent of solid not fat (SNF). Two to three days milk is stored and then they convert it in milk products such as ghee, mar (butter), churpi (fermented cheese) etc. People prefer yak meat in this area; even they dry the yak meat as food for future use, mainly in winter when cultivation of crops is impossible in this area. Yaks which die due to disease are buried and never used for meat purposes but in case if the yak dies from landslide or some other accident they used to sell it for meat purpose. They feel it is less sin as they have not killed the animal.

The yak fur is used for making wool which can be used as winter clothing such as woolen sweater and the skin of yak are also used for making bag, tents, ropes, jacket and boots. Yak tail (chawar) is used for traditional and religious purpose. Yak can carry load upto 50-60 kg in high altitude even in snow. During summer in lower altitude the animal is used in agriculture field also. Yak used to give birth once in two years or two in three years. Life span of yak ranges from 15 to 20 years. The price of fully matured yak ranges from Rs. 20-25 thousands and meat is sold at around Rs.50-60/kg. The price of yak milk ranges from Rs.30 to 40/L and price of ghee is around Rs.300/kg. In order to

make one kg of butter (ghee) it needs 9 to 10 litre of milk. Yak tail costs around Rs.400/chawar.

In Lachen and Lachung, in most of the cases the yak rearers and yak owners are not the same.The Lepchas are yak owner and Nepalis from Tezpur or Nepal are the people who rear the yaks, the tenant herdsmen. The owners occasionally turn up at the Kot (where the yaks are kept) and collect his 50 per cent share in milk, milk product and meat products and supply the ration and other daily necessities to the herdsmen.

4. TRANSHUMANCE PASTORALISM

Yaks are reared in semi-pastoral system. The herdsman let loose the yaks to graze on the pastures. For yak the thermo-neutral zone varies from 5°C to 10°C (Zhang 2000). The migration pattern i.e., the timing and route depends upon availability of pasture and temperature primarily (Maiti et al., 2014) and the local agreement between the communities of different villages en-route. This transhumance pastoralism facilitates the yaks to adjust and adapt to the seasonal changes and utilization of seasonal pasture at different altitudes (Sharma et al., 2016).
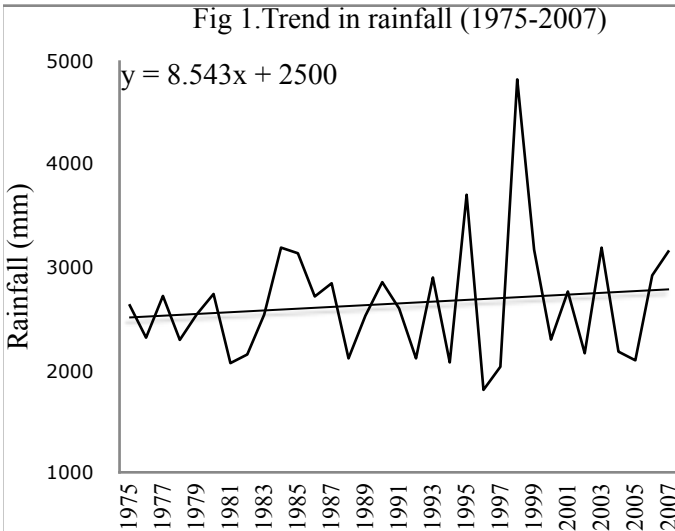
The herders start moving upward along with their yaks during spring (March – May) and the yaks graze at alpine pasture which improves their body condition. This is the period when calving and milking starts. It reaches to peak during May to September. During summer, they migrate to higher altitude (4000m and above) along with their yaks because yaks cannot survive in high temperature and the shortage of pasture in lower altitude which increase the burden for the labourers for milking.
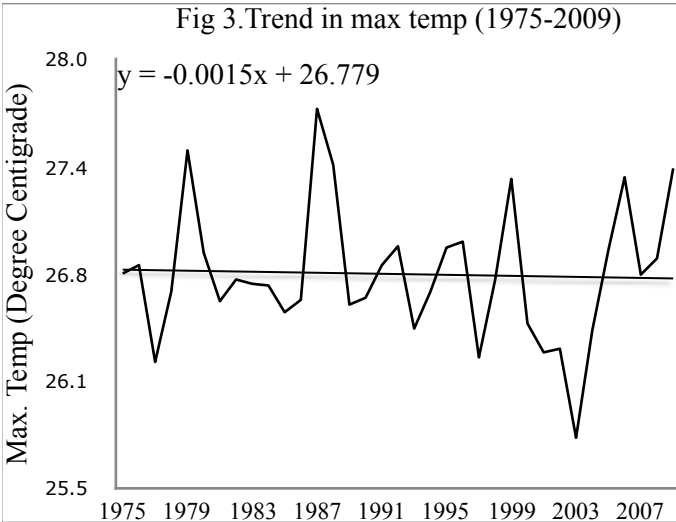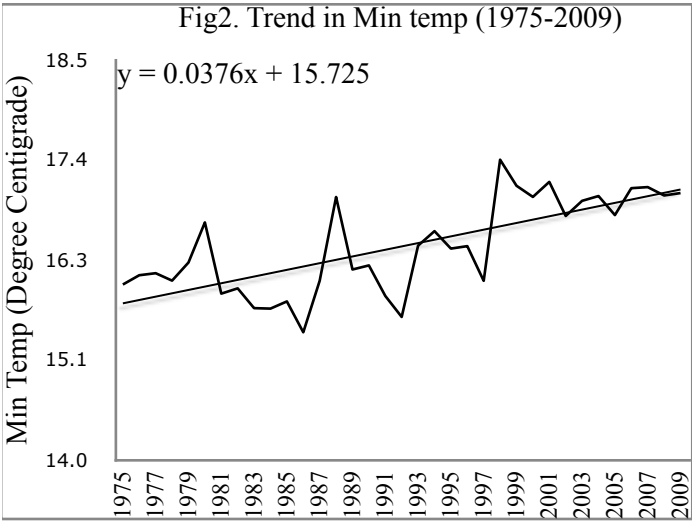
With the advent of autumn during mid September-October yaks starts moving downward and they return to the pockets nearer to villages located at the mid altitude (3000-3600 masl). This time the animals graze on temperate pasture at lower to mid elevation and the animals still remain productive. During December-February, as the hills get covered with snow availability of fodder get reduced hence milking stops in this period. The lactation length for yak is about 170-180 days.This is the period the yaks pick up disease from other animals due to mixing. Absence of immunity to lowland cattle diseases disposes them to parasitic and vector borne diseases (Krishnan
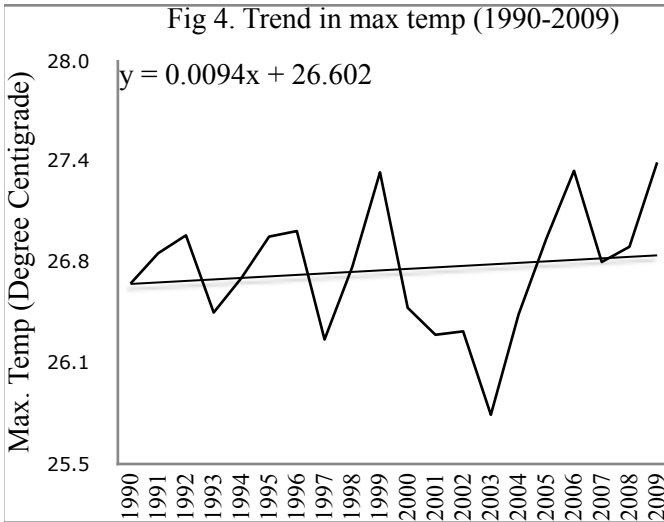
et al.,2016). Salt is spread over the rocks where the animals have temporary stay throughout the year.

5. CHANGING CLIMATE IN THE HIMALAYAS

The changing climate in the Eastern Himalaya along with increase in extreme events increases the vulnerability of the region. Dimri and Dash (2011) reported that the mean temperatures in the Himalayan alpine zone by 0.6°C to 1.3°C. What is alarming is that the temperature in higher altitude is rising faster than lower altitude which may decrease the temperature difference between different altitudes. Studies revealed that the raise in temperature is upto 0.04°C above 4000 masl (Shrestha et al., 1999, Sharma et al., 2009) whereas the warming rate is around 0.03°C for 3000 masl and 0.02°C for upto 2000 masl (Liu and Chen, 2000; Gautam et al., 2014).The mean annual rainfall has shown increasing trend in Sikkim during 1975-2009 (Fig 1.) The mean annual minimum temperature during 1975-2009 and maximum temperature during 1990-2009 has increased in the state (Fig. 2, 3, 4).

Fig 1.Trend in rainfall (1975-2007)

$y = 8.543x + 2500$

Fig2. Trend in Min temp (1975-2009)

$y = 0.0376x + 15.725$

Min Temp (Degree Centigrade)

Fig 3.Trend in max temp (1975-2009)

$y = -0.0015x + 26.779$

Max. Temp (Degree Centigrade)

Fig 4. Trend in max temp (1990-2009)

$$y = 0.0094x + 26.602$$

6. PERCEPTION OF YAK HERDERS ABOUT CLIMATE CHANGE

The yak rearers expressed that the climate is changing in this hilly terrain. About 15 years ago Lachen used to experience heavy snowfall and it was upto 4-5 ft but now-a-days the snowfall is only about 1-2 ft in Lachen and whereas about 2-3 ft in Yakshee (20 km far from Lachung).   Now the snowfall is limited to higher altitude only. The lower altitude which earlier used to receive snow some time, now for long period never experienced snowfall. The season of snowfall has also changed. Earlier during the end of November or in December it would snow but now snowfall occurs during the end of January to March. They perceived that the temperature both in winter and summer has risen in comparison to last decade but they could not perceive much difference in the amount of rainfall in the region.

7. EFFECT OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON YAK

Effect on pasture and increased species conflict

The rise in temperature is affecting the distribution of flora and fauna (Beckage et al., 2008) in high altitudes and the

species of alpine habitat is under threat (Dirnbock et al., 2011). Over the past 15 years, the grazing area has been reduced by over 40 per cent (Sharma et al., 2016).Wangchuck et al. (2013) reported that pastures will be affected at the highland due to warming and drying. The species composition of alpine meadows will change due to increased temperature and less snowfall. Some of the species which depend upon snow cover for protection would be exposed to frost and which require chilling for bud break may not get sufficiently low temperature over a long period to survive (Cannone et al., 2007).

Sharma et al. (2016) reported that due to increasing climatic variation the wildlife species such as blue sheep and Himalayan tahr are migrating to lower elevations to find good pasture and this has increased the grazing competition between the semi-domesticated and wildlife species. The predator species such as snow leopard and Tibetan wolf also follow them (prey) to lower elevations. Moreover, due to seasonal shift of snowfall events and frequent avalanches force them to come down. All these have contributed to increase the livestock-human-wildlife conflict and lead to a 10–20 per cent decline in the population of yaks, goats, and sheep over the past 15 years (Sharma et al., 2016).

Effect on yak migration

The yak rearers of Lachen and Lachungnow migrate further upward during summer season due to increase in temperature. Similar finding was reported by Maiti et al. (2014) for Brokpa pastorals (yak herders) of Arunachal Pradesh. This has increased the drudgery for the animal as well as yak rearers in the region. They have also reported that the migration has expanded by 2-3 months. At the same time the downward migration has been restricted to mid-elevation only in Sikkim.

The timing of upward migration has been advanced approximately by a fortnight to a month now due to increase in March temperature. Similarly the Brokpas of Arunachal Pradesh now moves upward by February to mid-March (Maiti et al., 2014). Reports on change in timing of migration in Ladakh (Manderscheid, 2001), Tibet (Pascale, 2012), eastern Sudan (Sulieman, 2013) and Syria (Leybourne, 1993) are available too.

Effect on milk productivity and reproduction

The increase in temperature at higher altitudes is expected to reduce the milk yield as well as affect the reproductive capacity of yak through its direct effect as well as indirect effect through the availability and quality of forage at higher altitudes.

Milk productivity depends on the ambient temperature and the optimum milk yield is achieved at 5°C-13°C (Zeng and Chen, 1980). Any kind of heat stress reduces the milk yield. Dong et al. (2007) reported that the milk productivity is lower on clear days at high temperature with strong solar radiation in comparison to the cloudy/rainy days.

Milk productivity is a function of feed and fodder. Study showed that as the quantity and quality of the forage or alpine pasture deteriorates due to increase in temperature the milk yield of yak is also negatively affected (Li et al., 2010).

Yaks are seasonal breeder. The mating and conception occurs during summer season (Krishnan et al., 2016). Zhang (2000) reported that the fertility and pregnancy rate in yak reduce due to loss in body weight as a result of shortage in fodder due to increase in the temperature.

Effect on disease incidence and increase in stress

Due to climate change the mean environmental temperature of yak habitat at the altitude of 3000 masl varies from 7.88°C to 19.69°C during summer season which cause extreme thermal stress to the yak (Krishnan et al., 2016). This heat stress results into educed feed intake and increased water intake, decreased activity, increased peripheral blood flow, sweating and panting etc. (West, 2003, Haynes et al., 2014). When the ambient temperature exceed 10°C (Krishnan et al., 2016) and 13°C (Wiener et al., 2003, Haynes et al., 2014) the respiration rate increase which is not an strategy to adapt to the changing oxygen requirement but also to changing temperature. The heart rate and body temperature also increase when the temperature reaches 16°C (Shihong, 1984).

As the temperature is increasing year by year, the mortality rate in yak has increased due to liver disease (liver becomes black in summer season) in Lachen and Lachung. Moreover pregnant bree (Yak female) sometime die in summer season as

they cannot survive in warm climate.The disease occurrence in Yak has increased due to climate change (Sherpa and Kyastha, 2009; Philip et al., 2014). Report on death of animals due to the emergence of new diseases such as respiratory diseases and foot and mouth disease, septicaemia, salmonellosis are available (Gyamtsho, 2000, Sharma et al., 2016).The lowering in snowfall is also considered to be unfavourable for the health of yaks.

Strategies to tackle climate change

Mitigation by physical modification of the environment, improved nutritional management and genetic development of strains that would be less sensitive to heat stress are the different strategies suggested by earlier researchers (West, 2003, Collier et al., 2006). Scientific management of heat by changing the rearing system can be one of the options to tackle the heat stress due to increase in temperature in the higher altitude. Instead of free range system yaks can be kept under temporary shed to protect from adverse climatic conditions. Housing of milking cows improves milk production than the free range (Krishnan et al., 2016).

West (1999) suggested that quality fed with low fiber, optimum proteins and energy is must during heat stress. Feed supplementation will also help to recover the body weight of the Yaks. The complete feed block prepared by NRC Yak is used by some of the herdsmen at Dirang, Arunachal Pradesh (Maiti et al., 2014). To improve the fodder quality pasture or grazing management is the option (Paul et al., 2010). Rejuvenation of degraded pasture at high altitude is a must for survival of yaks in the region.NRC Yak has introduced grasses like Dactylusglomerata L, Loliumperenne L., Seatariasphacelata, Festucaarundinacea and legumes like Trifoliumrepens L. and Trifolium pretense at Dirang (Maiti et al., 2014).Systematic crossing of yak with local cattle is common in case of yaks (Robinson, 1993). The hybrids have better heat tolerance (Joshi et al., 1994) and suitable for work at lower altitudes.

8. CONCLUSIONS

The present study reveals that the climate is changing, especially temperature is increasing at higher altitude and

snowfall has reduced in the study area. It has immense effect on pasture and therefore the migration timing and duration, milk yield, disease infestation and mortality of yaks. The local administration i.e., Dzumsa has a great role to play to protect the future of yak husbandry. It can be part of policy decision and in implementation too. With the help of NRC Yak and IGFRI, Jhansi and State Yak Breeding farm it can frame the policy which will be beneficial for yak as well as the yak rearers.

Construction of sheds for the animal, giving feed supplement to yak etc. require some additional investment which may be drawn, may be as one time support, from some developmental schemes run by the local administration. Rejuvenation of pasture is a mammoth task and one person cannot do it. It requires community consensus. So, scientific organizations and the community may be consulted by the Dzumsa and decide upon which type of grass may be suitable for the region and what method to be applied to rejuvenate it.

Dzumsa can deliberate on yak hybridization important issue with the herders as the male hybrid is sterile and the milk yield declines in future generations, though it adopts better in lower altitude. It is also feared if indiscriminate hybridization is followed in future pure breed will be extinct. Dzumsacan promote herd diversification as another alternative strategy to cope up with any risk to income due to climate change. Above all, the Dzumsa should conduct time to time awareness camp about climatic change in the area and its effect on different aspects yak rearing and available strategies; then only the yak herders will be motivated to take up some adaptation measure, which is a must for the future of yak husbandry.

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PARBATI HYDROELECTRIC PROJECT AND RURAL SUSTENANCE: AN IMPACT ANALYSIS

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1. INTRODUCTION

There are three major options for power production in India and elsewhere namely Hydro, Thermal and Nuclear. From the viewpoint of efficient production and low environmental cost, hydropower has become one of the most important clean sources of energy. India is endowed with enormous hydropower potential especially in the Himalayan region (Sharma and Kuniyal, 2016). The Himalayas has one of the largest concentrations of glaciers outside the Polar regions. The Parbati glacier is one of the largest glaciers in the Parbati river basin, a major tributary of Beas river and fed by almost thirty-six glaciers, covering an aerial extent of 188 km2. Melt water from these glaciers forms an important source of run-off in the Parbati basin (Kulkarni et. al., 2005). In terms of economics, the Parbati basin is important because an 800 MW power project is under construction and another 520 MW power project is being planned. Himachal Pradesh is a state, which is rich in hydropower potential with an estimated potential of 20,787 MW. In Himachal Pradesh, the five basins such as the Satluj (9866.55 MW), Beas (4527.90 MW), Chenab (27023 MW), Ravi (2226.75 MW) and Yamuna (602.52 MW) have estimated total identified hydropower potential of about 44,246.72 MW

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under different stages and sectors of development (HPSEB, 2003-2004). Hydroelectric projects are always considered as an integral part of economic development of a country like India whose economy is primarily based on agriculture (Sharma et. al., 2007).

Hydropower is a renewable source of energy in a sense that it is relatively economic, pollution free and compatible with a certain environment (Chandrasekharan, 1995). But the construction of hydroelectric dams has an enormous and devastating impact on the lives, livelihoods, culture and spiritual existence of indigenous, tribal and native people and on the physical environmental conditions and biodiversity (Slariya, 2013). Social environment has always been a major concern in respect of hydropower development. Usually, it is relatively easy to evaluate the losses and compensate where land is the only property affected people lose, however, particularly in case of hydropower development it is little intricate as there might be several direct and indirect losses people may suffer from (Lodhi et. al., 2016). It is also expected that the anticipated adverse effects are adequately communicated to the local communities and their consent and opinion taken into consideration in the project plan, design and implementation (Oruonye, 2015). To characterize and minimize these effects associated with proposed projects, environmental impact assessments (EIAs) have become a fundamental component of the planning process for large dams (IAIA, 1999). Every large hydro project is expected to conduct the Environment Impact Assessment (EIA) of that project to understand how many projects can be constructed in a river basin (SANDRP, 2005). An EIA lacking in time and resources for full scientific investigation can lead to a flawed assessment, thereby weakening the role of the EIA process as a platform for guiding the policy making and engineering for large development projects such as dams (Tullos, 2008). Himachal Pradesh falls in Seismic Zones 4 and 5 – a region classified as highly vulnerable to high-intensity quakes. Large-scale construction of dams in the Himalayas has alarmed geological experts (SANDRP, 2005). The activities associated with hydropower development in the fragile mountain areas like the Himalaya always leave behind some imprints of adverse impacts which in majority are associated with different forms of landslides, landslips, floods, soil erosion and cloudbursts

(Sharma and Kuniyal, 2016; Mazari and Sah, 2005) reveal that flash flood and cloudburst are common calamities in the Kullu valley. Some of the sites such as the Pulia seasonal stream (nala) in district Kullu of Himachal Pradesh have become major destructive sites where rolling large size boulders, muck and other materials such as tree logs cause massive damage in downstream regions.

There is a need to support new types of land-based economic activities on abandoned agricultural lands, reclaim degraded lands, and introduce new products and production methods (Chandy et. al., 2012). In order to make hydropower a sound and sustainable energy alternative, increased attention needs to be paid to the environmental and social issues when dams are constructed (Girmay, 2006). The developmental activities and environmental conservation measures have to be applied in accordance with the ground realities in such a way as these should go hand in hand together if a sustainable development is to be put forward to the generations to come (Sharma et. al., 2008). The present study, therefore, aims at (i) To carry out the demographic and socio-cultural features surrounding to Parbati Stage II Hydropower Project. (ii) Perception survey of the local communities to find some preliminary ways to bridge the gap between project proponents and local communities to make such projects people friendly and environment friendly. (iii) To know the status and perception of the natives regarding issues of land acquisition and compensation, natural resources and their depletion, along with resultant natural hazards and their increase in their occurrence.

2. STUDY AREA

The study area is located in Kullu district, that is centrally located in Himachal Pradesh, situated between 31°20'25" to 32°25'O" N latitude and 76°56'30" to 77°52'20" E longitude covering a geographical area of 5,503 sq. km. It is bounded on the south-west and west by Mandi district and on the north-west by Kangra district, on the north and east by Lahaul and Spiti district, on the south-east by Kinnaur district and on the south by Shimla district. The project area lies in Kullu hill ranges. The area presents a picture of diversified relief having deep narrow valleys, steep slopes, cliff faces and escarpments. The Parvati valley exhibits a complex geology with three distinct rock

formations, namely-Jutogh formation, Banjar formation and Larji formation. Total geographical area of Parvati Hydroelectric Project (Stage II) at the diversion site is 1,386 sq. km., which includes the catchment areas of Parvati Hurla Nal, Jigrai Nal, Parvati river and Jiwa Nal. The right bank tributaries like Dibi ka Nal, Gohru khol, Shetiruhan Nal, Tosh Nal and left bank tributaries like Bakar Bihar Khol,Daus Par Khol, Tundabhuj Khol, Tanang Khol, Bakar Kiara Khol and Chhoti Nal join the Parvati river at different places, which is then fed into the river Beas. Some salient features of Parbati Power Project stage II are given below.

Features of Parbati Hydroelectric Project

The Parbati Hydroelectric Project (Stage-II), is a run of the river scheme proposed to harness hydro potential of lower reaches of the river Parbati. The proposed scheme is 'Inter Basin Transfer' type comprising of a 91 metre diversion dam on Parvati river near village Pulga and a 31.53 km. long head race tunnel. The river near village Pulga in Parbati valley is diverted and water is carried through a tunnel across Garsa valley to Sainj valley where the power house is located at village Suind in Sainj Khad catchment. Thus, a gross head of 862 meters between Pulga and Suind will be utilized for generating 800MW power. Trench weirs in three additional Nal, namely Manihar Nal, Pancha Nal and Hurla Nal in the Hurla catchment and Jiwa Nal in the Jiwa catchments are structured to augment the water discharge. This project is proposed to generate 3108.66 Million Units in a 90 per cent dependable year and the power generated will be fed into the Northern grid (Kalparvriksh Environmental, 2007). Project was scheduled to be commissioned in 2007 at a cost of Rs.2,700 Crore. However, due to a delay in the tunnel work, it is assumed that the project should be commissioned by 2017 and the cost may run over Rs.4,000 Crores. Marred by scams, the Parbati-II has been running almost 10 years behind schedule (The Tribune, 2012).

Methodology

Both primary and secondary data has been used in this study. The primary information was collected through field investigations to gather data on compensation released for

project affected villagers, their current status of livelihood, their future security and degrading environmental conditions. The secondary data was generated from secondary (desk) reviews to identify existing literature on socio-economic impacts of hydropower projects on local communities. Data on significant salient features of the hydropower projects under study was obtained from the reports of National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC). Relevant and authenticated documents were obtained from the Gram Panchayats. The study reports from Himachal Pradesh State Electricity Board (HPSEB) were also procured to corroborate and interlink information. The eight villages under sample study are selected on the basis of their close proximity to the barrage and households are selected by purposive sampling. During the field trip, a direct face to face contact was established with the village Head to ascertain the number and location of project affected families due to various developmental activities. A perception survey in all these eight villages was conducted from December 2015 to September 2016. A two pronged methodology was adopted namely on the spot interview method and a semi-structured questionnaire on the focus area. The family head of every selected household was interviewed with semi-structured questionnaire as per the study objectives. Simultaneously on-spot impromptu interviews were conducted. The questionnaire focused on issues pertaining to disbursement of compensation, life sustenance of the natives on natural resources, degradation of environment, resultant natural hazards and its impact on the locals. Finally, based on the perspective given by the locals, suggestions and mitigating measures have been propounded to minimize adverse effects of such projects on people and environment through effective implementation of policies in a transparent manner so that the benefits outweigh the resultant negative impacts .

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Demographic Structure

The total population in the all the eight villages (Unch, Tawk, Barshaini, Tosh, Pulga, Tulga, Nakhthan and Sheela) is 3078, consisting of 655 households. The average size of a household approximately is five members per family. The male

population is 1565 and that of females is 1513. This is by and large in accordance with the State male female sex ratio of 1000:980, as per the data released by 2011 census. The average literacy rate, in all these villages is 52.07 per cent. The highest was observed in Barshaini (63.2 per cent) and the lowest percentage of literacy was found in Unch (43.2 per cent).

Occupation

The majority of the households derive their sustenance from cultivation of seasonal crops and horticulture. Manual handlooms set-up within homes and local handicrafts are also a popular means of livelihood primarily among women folks of the area. Some of the natives are engaged in small scale business like tourism. A few are employed in service sector such as teaching, health sector, skilled/semi-skilled/unskilled jobs. A miniscule segment of approximately 1 per cent has been provided with jobs by the hydropower project proponents.

Infrastructure and Public Services

These villages are remote and cannot boast of good public services due to the lack of requisite infrastructure in the area. There are no metal roads connecting Pulga, Tulga and Kalga. They are connected by Kutcha tracks. There are three government schools of Primary, Middle and Secondary level with only rudimentary infrastructure. There is only one dispensary catering to health services needs of all the eight villages. There is no hospital in that area.The amenities like street lights, sewage and sanitation system, recreational and sports facilities etc. are virtually non-existant. Majority of the houses are made of wood and mud and can be categorised as semi-pakka/thatched houses. The village folks stay indoor for a period of 3-4 months (November- February) due to harsh and inclement weather.

Land Acquisition and Compensation Aspect

A very crucial and sensitive aspect of any hydroelectric power project is the issues pertaining to the procedure adopted for acquisition of land from the natives and disbursement of compensation as it directly impacts the sustenance of their life. For Parbati Hydroelectric Power Project stage II, a total of 217.75 hectares of land was acquired by the project proponents.

Out of this, 149.96 hectare was forest land and 71.78 hectares was non-forest land. The eight villages under study have given 166.90 Bighas of land for the construction of the dam and its various development activities which is 6.2 per cent of the total land acquired. Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India has framed norms and policies for Resettlement and Rehabilitation in the year 2003 and 2007, which was supplemented by NHPC to meet the project specific requirements. The norms issued by the project authorities for disbursement of compensation in lieu of the land acquired fall in four categories (General guidelines issued by NHPC for Parbati Hydroelectric Power projects)-

- Families having more than 5 bighas and left with 1 biswa or no agricultural land - Rs.78,000/- .
- Families having less than 5 bighas and left with 1 biswa or no agricultural land- Rs.66,000/- .
- Families left with more than 1 biswa and upto 2.10.0 bighas of land – Rs.60,000/- .
- Families left with more than 2.10.0 bighas but less than 5 bighas of land – Rs.54,000/-

Villagers were not satisfied with the above mentioned categorization norms as they felt that such classification is discriminatory and puts many of them to a great disadvantage. Out of the eight villages under sample study, a total of 243 households were interviewed comprising a population of 1215. During the survey, it was observed that 62 per cent respondents felt that the policies on compensation were discriminatory, 33 per cent respondents were dissatisfied due to delay in disbursement of compensation, 3.2 per cent of the natives felt the quantum of amount to be inadequate and the remaining 1 per cent of the respondents did not offer any comment. The discrimination factor emanated from the perceived faulty categorization of the land by the project authorities for the purpose of compensation. As a point in case, the people left with more than 2.10.0 bighas and less then 5 bighas have been granted compensation at the rate of Rs.54000. They felt discriminated as compared to the range of next category in terms of rate and the benefits of R&R (Resettlement and Rehabilitation) plan.

Depletion of Natural Resources

The local communities of these villages have been living in perfect harmony with nature as their lives were intricately intertwined with natural resources for life sustenance. One such primary life sustaining force is the perennial water sources. A number of water sources emanating from snow clad peaks formed a network of nallah system. A very unique and popular water source called JAIRU was providing hot and cold water to the people of the region over the year which has now dried up. With the diversion of the water roots for the hydroelectric power projects, many of these nallahs have also now virtually dried up thereby degrading the local flora and fauna and adversely impacting the lives of local inhabitants. Similarly traditional system of wheat grinding called 'Hat and Gharat', located near Kalga and Pulga have now become dysfunctional.

Again the locals are heavily dependant on forests for traditional systems of medicine, firewood but now they have to traverse longer distance for collection of firewood and medicinal herbs due to deforestation. Another region-specific edible item of the area locally called 'Guchi' (Scientific Name- Morchella escuenta), grows under unique climatic conditions. It is sold for as much as Rs.5,500 per kg., a lot of money considering the meager income generating activities in the region. Many inhabitants were engaged in trade of this item in and around Kullu and Bhuntar for their livelihood. However with the deforestation and allied activities by the project authorities; this item is no longer accessible. These factors have thus added to the hardships of the local communities.

Another factor which has impacted the lives of farmers in the area pertains to the change in the fertility of the soil resulting in decreased yield of major seasonal crops like maize, apples and wheat. During interaction with the locals, 50.75 per cent of the respondents revealed that there is large scale depletion of life sustaining water resources. 30.3 per cent respondents stated that the soil fertility has reduced considerably with direct impact on crop yield. Damage to the fruit orchards consisting of Apples, Plums, Khumani and Apricot has been 23 per cent, 4.9 per cent, 7.5 per cent and 6.3 per cent respectively. 10.7 per cent of the locals from selected sample group stated that constriction of the forest area has put them to disadvantage in terms of life sustaining aspects such as

decreased grazing pastures, collection of firewood and timber etc. Eight per cent of the respondents indicated loss of medicinal plants and herbs impacting their traditional techniques of treatment and remedy.

Resultant Natural Hazards and their Impact

The Kullu region of Himachal Pradesh falls in the lesser Himalayan range and is susceptible to frequent natural disasters such as earthquakes, landslides, flash floods and cloudburst etc. The development of Hydro power projects along with associated construction activities with indiscriminate use of technology has cast its shadow on its already fragile topography. It has made the region more vulnerable to these natural hazards thereby adding to the miseries of the local people.

Many locals lamented that the incidence of landslides in the region have increased three fold, due to construction activities involving blasting. The deforestation activities have led to massive soil erosion and soil pollution in the area adversely affecting agricultural produce. During the construction activities, the dust and pollution generated by the heavy machinery has also impacted the nearby standing crops resulting in wilting of plantations. Flowing down of the slurry waste in huge quantities from the mixer to the inhabited areas was also mentioned as one of the problems.

Sixty-six per cent of the respondents reported increased incidence of landslips and boulder fall causing damage to life and property. Although the issue of recurrent landslips and boulder fall seemed to be a major problem in that area, highest percentage of respondents from the village Tosh reported increased incidence of landslips, resulting in high number of fatalities every month. 20.2 per cent of the locals brought out the losses caused by soil erosion resulting in intermittent caving in of the land, particularly in and around the villages. 7.3 per cent reported recurrence of flash floods in the region. Six per cent of the respondents informed that the development activities have rendered the region more vulnerable to tremors.

Measures to Mitigate Adverse Impact

The contours of policies, norms, regulations at the time of perspective planning for any development project has to be comprehensive and exhaustive so that they are implementable, realistic and viable as the project progresses through various levels of execution. The scope of the project, technical specifications and financial allocations should be clearly spelt out clearly at the planning stage itself. The policies must be in consonance with the directives in vogue issued by various concerned ministries to avoid inordinate delays and ambiguities. At its embryonic stage, the views of the local communities must be invited in a transparent manner and need to be embedded in the project document to the extent possible. As a step in this direction, small focus groups drawn from affected villages should be formed as a lynch pin between local communities and project authorities with an aim to explain the need to construct the project in that area. As per the project plan, the Parbati hydro electric power project stage II was to be commissioned in the year 2007. During the study it was revealed that the project has been delayed primarily due to incoherent policies pertaining to the following factors-

- Discrepancy in information about the height of the dam and date of forest clearance.
- Irregular reporting of compliance and issues of displacement.
- Revision of forest clearance changing the scope of the project

The site of Parbati Hydro Electric Power Project lies in Kullu hill ranges. To a large extent the region has retained its natural beauty, unique flora-fauna, un-ravished by the pressures generated by the ever expanding civilization. Therefore, it is incumbent on the part of hydropower project authorities to preserve its pristine purity. To achieve that a standardized laboratory sample testing of three fundamental elements of the environment wiz air, water and soil by authorized scientific institutes such as Indian Institute of Soil Science in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh should be carried out. The research outcomes of the respective parameters so obtained should be treated as a benchmark during the execution and post commencement of the project. In case any divergent variation is observed at any stage, requisite remedial measures should be instituted without any

delay to avoid degradation of these elements. The dominating public perception is that maximum degradation resulted due to non-compliance of policies pertaining to muck disposal, extensive blasting activities, deforestation in contravention to the laid down norms. During field investigation, it was noticed that the debris were not been dumped at the pre-determined 18 dumping sites.

Wildlife

With the drying up of various water sources there has been significant reduction in the wildlife population of many species in this area. During the survey, disappearance of species of Himalayan Black Bear (Ursus tibetanus) and Himalayan vulture (Gyps Himalayansis) were reported by the natives. These were commonly seen in and around the region but are now difficult to spot due to changed environmental conditions. The story of the Parvati and the Tragopan is emblematic representations of development and conservation- as it has played out in the Great Himalayan National Park (GHNP) over the last two decades. With the construction of underground tunnels and diversion weirs pertaining to the construction activities of Parbati Hydroelectric Power Project Stage II in area that is preferred by the Western Tragopan, it has edged out the larger interest of 'conservation' of these endangered species (Saberwal and Chhatre, 2001). Hence, there is a need to designate their original habitat areas as protected zones with an aim to provide conducive conditions for their proliferation once again.

Livelihood and culture

During field survey and interaction the natives of the affected villages expressed deep resentment for not involving them while formulating policies governing the grant of compensation and job opportunities. It was observed that the project authorities resorted to importing of cheap labor from outside the state to minimize the cost factor putting local population to great disadvantage.

During the survey, 35 per cent of the respondents wanted transparent and people-friendly policies to ensure speedy disbursement of compensation. Over 22 per cent suggested that maximum employment in skilled/semi-skilled and non-skilled jobs should be given to the local population. In addition to the

compensation, more incentives could also be extended to the affected families for their livelihood. 20 per cent of the natives felt that benefits such as infrastructure development pertaining to health, education, communication and road connectivity need to be undertaken solely for the benefit of local populace.13 per cent and 10 per cent of the locals suggested proper muck disposal techniques and development of artificial sanctuaries to protect the indigenous flora fauna respectively.

4. CONCLUSION

The construction of hydropower electric projects is a very complex affair since there are multiple stakeholders such as the centre government, state government, local communities and various pressure groups. In many cases, it is a very traumatic experience for the natives who are generally unaware of the policies and norms and hence they are more susceptible to exploitation leading to their marginalization.   The fragile topography of the mountainous regions of the Beas Valley makes it highly vulnerable to ecological degradation due to the construction activities of such projects. The development should not be at the cost of degradation of fundamental elements of human existence viz. water, air and soil. The onus of preserving the sanctity of these elements during the decision-making stage, execution stage and post commencement of the project lies squarely with the project authorities. The major beneficiary of the hydroelectric power projects should be the local communities in terms of job opportunities, rehabilitation schemes, education and health facilities, inter-linking of roads etc. During the survey a noticeable gap was observed between the expectations of the people and the benefits extended to them. This gap needs to be bridged. Hydroelectric power projects are undoubtedly a vital source of renewable energy and play a stellar role in the economic development of the nation. However, the future of the hydropower projects would lie in a collaborative and inclusive approach to the multiple issues involved in the development of such projects so that all stakeholders derive maximum benefits without causing irreparable loss to the ecology and the environment.

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PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AND
DEVELOPMENTALISM: AN ADIVASI REGION OF
INDIA

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1. INTRODUCTION

   The model of state developmentalism has its root in
capitalist mode of production. The word development is itself
contested and ambiguous (Peet and Watts 2004). Ideologically
as a term it is constructed at a positivist level to signify
qualitative change at all spheres of life. But ironically it
demands an examination because the way it has been practiced
altered the livelihood of the Adivasis and other communities
whose economy and ecology is different from the mainstream
economy. The wider systematic forces and the web of relation
based on domination (Escobar 2011) has politicised the holistic
process of development. For the illustration, we can argue from
the existing literature that development projects should not be
viewed in isolation as those are politically constructed and are
perceived as an ideal (Baviskar 1997a; Dwivedi 2006). The
model of development in India is based on two interrelated
processes: one is related to the immediate use of the natural
resources and the other is to transform the people and
communities against their will, into a hegemonised
dispossessed class (Baviskar 1997a). The post-independence
developmental model of India is based on achieving the major
four basic goals: a) integration of the diverse social structure
into one homogenised discourse of national integration, b)

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economic development in terms of raising the standards of living of the larger section of the society, c) social equality in an in-egalitarian social order, and d) political democracy in a culture that had valued authority based on status and power concentrated in the hands of the minority elite (Kothari 1990). Through developmental projects, states impose the prerequisite condition of capitalism to pursuit the goals of lakshmi (Rudolph and Rudolph 1987) and assume that these goals would generate capital centric growth. In reality, development projects have generated malignant growth (Bhaduri 2016).

The political economy of the development in India in general and Adivasi regions in particular drew attention because the uses and access of the resources are based on the mode and means of production. Specific modes of production or distinctive patterns of resource use remain the foundation of any distinctive culture. However, with the rise of neo-liberal resource accumulative regime, which facilitates the global development discourse of actually existing capitalism and vice versa, the world's cultural diversity constituted by numerous conventional "little" traditions, alternative productive systems and organisations have progressively been absorbed into a lineal-line of assimilation. Moreover, while these processes continue unabated the aspect or the idea of justice has progressively been allowed to evaporate. This poses serious challenges to the continued existence of humanity and the natural eco-system. Due to the presence of capitalist players and state politics of neoliberal development, Adivasis mode of existence is an impasse that can be characterised as dispossession and destitution. These processes have transformed predominantly Adivasis territories into virtual conflict zones by increasing stratification and social differentiation (Shah 2010). Deliberate misuse of the state apparatus goes on against those who resists and speak up against the neoliberal reign of development for violating of their constitutional and fundamental rights (Dayal 2010; Sunder 2005). A critical analysis of these processes is the central subject of our paper. We examine how the dominant development discourses (a kind of state developmentalism) subvert more sustainable modes of resource use practiced by Adivasis social formations through dialectic interactions between the market and moral economy. We attempt to show that the prevalent development-paradigm facilitated by

neoliberal state is a type of capitalist colonialism, which induces distorted reciprocity and equality, makes access to resource more acute which often leads to conflicts between the two classes commonly termed as defenders of moral economy and the representatives of neo-liberal capitalist economy.

The role of the state is so vital in this developmentalism. It is the state's social investment in nature and its resources that gives nature a social life within its territory. Appadurai (1988) has mentioned that nature may exist outside the society but natural resources derive from the social investment that the state makes to give a social life to nature. Nature may begin its social life in place of territorial dominion. So, these resources in the hand of the state have been used for the commodification of the resource and cultural reproduction of nation's growth. Developmentalism in India is merely a neoliberal project and capitalist constructed discourse. It is not only about the economics but it also ensures to promote political and ideological condition for capitalist to tackle the other economics and political institutions in the name of nation integration and growth. Associated with the ideology of market fetishism, this capitalist form of state mediated development only promotes the policy of capital. The primary concern of this paper is to strengthen the politics of state corporate developmentalism (capitalist developmentalism) in relation to Adivasi resource rich region which can be conceptualised as the will to improve or governmentality (Li 2007). The central feature of the state which facilitates capitalism is that it creates powerful anti-common institutions (Ioris 2015). To secure the growth of commodity production and technological progress, state largely depends on resource appropriation and exploitation of the assets which have been collectively held by the tribes, peasants and others. Secondly debates pertaining to the Adivasi struggle against the state and corporate developmentalism can be better understood as the debate between every day oppression (Chatterjee 2004) and everyday resistance (Dove, Jonsson, and Aung-thwin 2011; Scott 1989). Study has also taken the concept of 'governmentality' (Foucault 2004), Fuller and Bénéï (2001) concept of everyday state and state apparatus (Althusser 1969) to demarcate the critical articulation of development. This type of developmentalism must be seen as the restoration and fortification of the class power (Harvey 2004). So there is need of totalizing critique of development because it has a feature of

market fetishism (Das 2015). Das again goes further and mentions that if neoliberalism or this developmentalism is such a wonderful thing then why it increases poverty and inequality.

The present paper seeks to show a number of critical observations from West Singhbhum and Kalinaga Nagar to describe how developmentalism is the neoliberal programme of the bourgeois class and the state. This kind of developmentalism represents the production of the commodity from the nature (Castree 2008). Development which is enacted in neoliberal economic policy of state always demands for market fetishism. To facilitate this kind of commodity fetishism, various laws and policies are made and overruled by the state and through that state ensures political and ideological condition for the capitalists to employ different accumulative strategies in the name of development. So, here we argue that development is not limited to only the role of the state alone but it is also embedded with the expanding system of capitalism. While talking about this kind of developmentalism, we have to remember that the political economy of the capitalism and the web of relation (state developmentalism) mutually shape each other. As a model, it is always in pursuit of growth necessitated large injections of capital into the national economy for developing industrial infrastructure (Baviskar 1997a:35). Some of the cases are discussed in the succeeding sections of this paper to elaborate how developmentalism as a class project works in West Singhbhum of Jharkhand and Kalinga Nagar of Odisha have destructed the ecological base of Adivasi and forced them to integrate their imaginations, beliefs and practices into one linear homogenised line of development where alternative practices and economy have the least significance.

The paper has four sections. First section is introductory that has covered the background of the study. This section provides an abstraction of the term development and its discourses and practices along with the role of state and makes a fertile ground for our paper to demarcate and fix the discussion. The Second section covers the historical and ethnographic account of the region (West Singbhum and Kalinga Nagar) to show how a region whose economy is highly tuned with ecology and economy is in disequilibrium (Das Gupta 2011; Padel, Dandekar, and Unni 2013). With the help of field notes, cases and reports from newspapers, we will discuss how resource

appropriation in name of development by extractive mining in West Singhbhum is dominating over other mode of existence that led the issues of every day resistance over the access of the natural resource whereas in Kalinga Nagar state developmental practices and discourses are highly mix-up with the capital centric industrialization that led the displacement and commodification of land and labour and resistance to the project. The most significant aspect of land dispossession is deeply rooted in political process that includes state policies, involvement of state apparatus in land acquisition, financing and distribution of assets from one class to other.

The scenario of the both regions is a subject matter of this section that comprises some cases that were collected through fieldwork by us during the time period of April 2014 to June 2016. These cases are mainly associated with the issues of land accumulation, development politics and state meditation. It shows how state serves the bourgeois capitalist class which led dispossession, resistance, dispossession and crisis of identity whereas, third section explains how capitalism and the state discourse of development subsume other practices and beliefs of the Adivasi who have alternate political and cultural imagination for their conspicuous consumption that led resistance and movement. State with corporates nexus and their socially and culturally constructed discourses and practices of development helps to form a class distinction which often works to reproduce the class inequality, dispossession with a fraudulent hegemony. The last section concludes the following discussion and provides a concluding comment on the state-capitalist developmentalism.

2. CONTEXTUALISING DEVELOPMENT AND RESOURCE APPROPRIATION

West Singhbhum is one of the older and largest districts that constitute the Kolhan administrative division of Jharkhand state having a specific kind of alternate production system in comparison to mainstream economics. Ho community has developed a specific mode of societal formation which had made Singhbhum (Kolhan) "a secure asylum" for themselves much before the first British colonial contact (colonial state) to the region during the 1817s (Dalton 1960:164). The British eventually defeated and subjugated the Hos in 1836 after the

Kol-rebellion in 1831-32. Since then, the geographical territory of the present West Singhbhum district was set aside by the British as an 'exclusive Ho reserve' to protect and preserve the Hos' ways of life, culture and traditional practices. Accordingly, the British colonial regime appointed a "sympathetic" British officer to govern the Hos through their own traditional self-governance system, called the Manki-Munda system. After independence, India constitution also promised to safeguard the Adivasi interests of this region. The entire region of West Singhbhum comes under the fifth scheduled having a protective legislature for the Ho communities. Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) act 1996 is also bound to protect the interests of local Ho Adivasi. Though there is also a protective land law popularly known as Chotanagpur Tenancy law (CNT) that also prohibits the land transfer and land alienation. Though, there are many laws but at every stage in the history and the practices of mining and land accumulation continues in the name of development for this region.

The developmental debate of the West Singhbhum in Jharkhand mainly deals with mining and extraction of resources. The state has vast mineral resources, accounting for 37 per cent of the total mineral wealth of the India (George 2009) and many of the minerals base is located in West Singhbhum (Karan 1957) and it be a curse for the local inhabitant that must be termed as a rich land with poor people. Post-colonial nation state has adopted a euro centric modernization path for development and Jharkhand that formed as a state in the name of Adivasi development is also not an exception. In Jharkhand, mining, production and capital centric investment for commodity production is automatically translated into the term 'development'. While this type of developmentalism has its root in state apparatus and the way it interacts in resource rich Adivasi rich regions is highly paradoxical. The region of West Singhbhum itself has a long history of mines, labour and resource extraction in the name of development (Corbridge 2009; Jewitt 2008) which has displaced the local peoples and forced them to migrate toward Assam tea garden and other regions of the country. The establishment of the mining companies resulted displacement, marginalisation and ecological degradation, and more often the local people (sadan) and Adivasi (original Inhabitant) being displaced by the peoples of other side of country especially

north Bihar (Corbridge 1993). New infrastructural development has also created an alien space for the locals. Post liberalization period mechanised the job and the number of jobs in the mining areas has declined and that has resulted the loss of employment which was earlier promised to be given at the time of land acquisition and factory establishment. In many villages of West Singhbhum, where big mining companies like Tata of Noamundi, Sail and ACC of Jhikpani block are operating have cut down the outsourced jobs. This populist developmentalism has induced a dispossession of large number of Adivasi whose land is given to industry and mining with the full support of state agencies (Sundar 2009). Jairam Ramesh a union minister of India was also worried the way mining operation is going on in West Singhbhum. He said;

> Unfortunately the track record of mining operations was neither environmentally sustainable nor socially beneficial to be in public sector. Mining is not essentially a boom but a curse. Cited in (Dungdung 2015:59)

In the name of development, accumulation of the land, diversion of forest, river pollution, degradation of the forest by using the public purpose clause that came under 49 section of CNT act which disproportionally benefited the capitalists, industrial bourgeoisie, and other elites of several sectors (Bardhan 1973; Baviskar 1997b; Dwivedi 2006; Nilsen and Roy 2013). Public purposes and public interests are the cultural categories and such a term is used to serve the particular corporate class interests. The developmentalism in the form of mining excluded the majority and created a kind of hype that is associated with the agreement between the corporate and state (Tsing 1993). This propaganda makes easy to corporate and state to accumulate natural resources. In this vein, forest and land is taken for the public purpose and infrastructural development. Not only accumulation of natural resources is happens but many times it is reported that mining companies has seized huge profit by encroaching unallocated land. Illegal mining was so common in this region. It was also reported by justice Shah. The commission was formed by Government of India to enquire about the mining status, illegal trading transportation and impact of mining. Commission noticed that huge deforestation, illegal mining and unlawful trading of iron ore and manganese is very rampant and mining operation is not

transparent (M. B. Shah 2013). Illegal mining was so rampant by the legal lease holders.

Table 1: Approval and Mining of Minerals

Name of the company	Mines	2008-09 (in mtpy)	2008-09 produce	2009-10 (in mtpy)	2009-10 produce	2010-11 (in mtpy)	2010-11 produce
Usha Martin ltd	Bijaya- 11	0.650	1.833	0.650	2.324	2.400	2.572
Shah Brothers	Karampada	0.612	0.715	0.090	0.679	0.900	0.972
P K Jain	Thakurani	1.000	2.000	1.300	1.910	1.300	1.680
OM& M Ltd	Ghatkuri	0.000	0.180	0.720	1.200	0.720	0.943

Source (Mukesh 2012a).

It has been alleged that these above mining firms in Saranda region of West Singhbhum have produced and dispatched excess quantity of iron ore against the granted permission under Environmental and mining laws. In this vein Mukesh (2012b) in his reporting in a national English daily 'The Telegraph' mentioned about the letter of registrar Sudhir S. Shah who questioned the role of concern authority to not taking any action against the mining illegalities done in year 2008, 2009, and 2010. Although former rural minister Jairam Ramesh was against the mining done by private players but he itself as a minister of environment and forest gave environment clearance to private company Usha Martin Ltd. to operate mining

activities. However, his point of view was varied with the time. He might be realised about the destruction mining company has done in the name of development. His suggestion of not giving clearance to private companies was neglected by his ministry successor Jayanti Natrajan. Many companies, including Jindal, Rungta, JSE steels etc., were given clearance for mining (Dungdung 2015). The environment clearance for mining shows that how economic growth and maximisation of surplus and profit is much important than the life of the commons and ecology. This maximisation and diversion of the forest is done in the name of public purposes and nation growth but it is the fact that the very grammar of public purposes and nation's growth in developmentalism refers mainly the interest of mainstream bourgeoisie and it exclusively excludes the local Adivasi who are a kind of proletariat. The bourgeoisie always attempts to convert the surplus value or accumulated land and resources in profitable value whereas the proletariat always tries to resist them (Naik and Tiwari 2007). Though, two societal formations are interacting in which state always mediated for dominant production system and societal formation. The everyday state intervention is a kind of state formation in Adivasi areas that politicised the whole ecology. Shah (2013) has shown how state formation among Adivasi social formations has been instrumental in driving class differentiation, accumulation and stratification.

> It was the state that brought in the outsiders in the early part of the nineteenth century, who then introduced a market economy and petty commodity production. It was the state that, in recent years, promoted education amongst the local population and created a few government-sector jobs reserved for Adivasis. It was the state that was creating wage work in the local economy. It was the state that was promoting petty contractor ships and the related black economy around development schemes. The state was playing a driving role in sowing the seeds of class differentiation in these forests and hills in Jharkhand (Shah 2013:446).

Mining industries in West Singhbhum came with an apparatus that exclusively exclude the simple and innocent Adivasi. The local Adivasi have very less mechanized skill therefore they can only be used as a manual labour. This structure of capitalist mode of resource extraction produces new

form of poverty and dispossession that can be visible in terms of market access. Their lives are governed with 'dull compulsion'(Li 2014) as the local people who have lost their land and access to forest must have sell their labour or search out other alternate to sustain their livelihood and survival.

Not only accumulation of land and forest degradation for iron and manganese mining is a problem. The soft developmental intervention of state in this region also is also a kind of governmentality that provides a fertile ground for commodity consensus. One of the interesting case of the state soft developmental intervention is 'Saranda development plan', In December 2011, Jairam Ramesh the then union minister of the UPA 2 has launched the development plan for the 56 villages of Saranda forest covering six gram panchayats of West Singhbhum. This programme was for the 36000 population (7000 household). The main features of that programme were highlighted in the English daily 'The Hindu'. Ramesh (2012) mentions:

a) Building house for 60000 household under the Indira Awas Yojna;
b) Creating job opportunities by appointment of 56 Rojgar sevak from local youth. For MGNEREGA work. The estimate to distribute 6000 job card to disbursed 60 lakhs;
c) Implementation of Forest Right Act 2006 by recognizing the land titles;
d) Distribution of 7000 solar lamp, bicycle and transistor. This distribution of assets is sponsored by sail (leading public mining companies) which should be completed by end of 2012;
e) Launch of five mobile health units as a part of CSR programme of Sail mining company. At a same time six watershed developmental programme which covers an area of 36000 hectares and it should be sanctioned in February 2012;
f) Improvement the access of water quality. In this vein 128 water hand punp has been installed; and
g) Infrastructural development, making of infrastructural development like bridge and road for better connectivity.

New practices and new actions or rules promoted by state are a kind of optimism and or partake what Chatterjee argues as the "unscrupulously charitable theoretical gesture of neoliberal ideology"(Chatterjee 2004:39). State reductionist role is to

facilitate modernization thesis. This kind of development can be viewed as a flow of gift (transistors, subsidized rice in name of 'Antyodava Anna Yojana', road, infrastructures and generating manual jobs) had a disciplining effect. These disciplining effects can be noticed through the way reductionist state deals with the governed subject (Corbridge et al. 2005). We have to pay more attention to the ways state action takes place then it helps to understand the how state is experienced and understood; and how Adivasi or the local communities react to its everydayness and their senses of what it is to be a citizen, client and or the subject (Corbridge et al. 2005:8).

The major features of the Saranda development programme are to integrate the local population into mainstream capitalist economics without caring what the basic needs of the local peoples are. Not only the soft intervention is done but at the same time 22 mining companies had been sanctioned to mining companies. The corporate nexus with government started to force of production. This force of production is within the webs of relations. These webs of relations mainly act, interact and react to maintain the dynamic process of market production. We here, extend the meaning of term production relations and use it as beyond the economic base. As a matter of culture, knowledge and ideology with the superstructure, this force of production regularly shapes the Adivasi societal formation. Through this it is easy to shape the ecological relations of production. The restructuring has proven a curse for the people whose production and ecological relation are embedded into the ecosystem.

The resource curse is not limited in only hilly and forest areas of West Singhbhum. The plain area where limestone, quartz and other minerals are found became also a curse for the local people. Perhaps, state developmentalists conceived to believe that whatever they decided in the name of development of the region is best for the local people. They never bother to talk to the peoples whose lands are supposed to be accumulated. One case that deal with the people unawareness about the quartz mining in their land. The case was from the Abaru village where land was secretly given to the Industrialists by the state officials. Adivasi right to choose their way of development is a kind of constitutional right that has been denied by the State by secretly leasing out their land to the outsiders and industrialists.

During our field work, villagers narrated the incident to us; on morning in early 2008, a few agents of the lease holder and administrative employees from block office arrived Abaru village to demarcate the leased land, eventually to begin extraction of quartz. Seeing Dikus (alien exploitative outsiders) in their village without any prior information from the local chiefdom (Munda) and gramsabha, the villagers got around. Villagers asked the block officials why they are demarcating the land. Block officials told government has chosen their land for mining. After getting answer from block officials that their land is already leased out for mining without their permission. People gathered to oppose their move. The block officials and agents of industrialists promised them to provide adequate compensation, jobs along with health and schooling facilities. The resistance is still going on. Agents of the industrialists started to use several tactics and ploys to differentiate the resistance homogeneity. As the industrialist and his agents took notice of the villagers' united resistance against the project they started to offer jobs and other monetary benefits to the locals. The capitalists used Ponzi ploys and tactics that put aside the village solidarity. Devi (1981:1597) has succinctly stated it, "In order to keep the pattern of exploitation running smooth, tribal solidarity must be broken into atoms." While our visit, we noticed that villagers were started to reunite and revive their opposition because they came to know that the capitalists agents of the industry was again planning to revive the project. There are many similar official cases of land acquiring that shows how state involvement was a kind of fraudulent hegemony. Stuligross mentions the procedure of land acquring in West Singhbhum as follow:

> The case of the Sarda Mine in Chaibasa is typical. The villagers were not willing to part with their lands, which comprised their sarna [sacred grove], agricultural lands and house sites. In order to obtain the lease, compensation and agreement papers had to be signed and produced before the mining department. These signatures were obtained by making some tenants drunk and dragging and beating others. Those who still did not yield had a taste of police lathis [nightsticks] and jail life before their thumb impression on blank paper could be bought for a nominal sum. . . . Practically, every mining lease in Singhbhum is purchased in a similar way (excerpted from a petition filed by the Singhbhum

Labor Union Chaibasa during the early 1980s, quoted in (Stuligross 2008).

This is the ways by which the government of Jharkhand intents to develop Adivasi regions and therefore the resource politics of West Singhbhum needs groudedness to cultural studies that includes the conceptual discussion of phenomenon within the lens of ecological marxism, political economy and the political ecology. The micro politics of resource access and control in post-colonial state are embedded in the political economy of resource use. These struggles are animated by local history, mediated by cultural idioms and political imagination that shows how different practices have pursued by local inhabitants in defense of their livelihoods. In context of developmental project, this resistance against the state intention to develop the Adivasi region showed that state features itself is internally differentiated in nature. If the state is internally differentiated in nature then it became a site of struggle (Mitchell 1991). This struggle has very nominal effects on state because state is also a sovereign theater in which resources, property rights and authority are struggle over (Watts 1989:4). The agendas of state apparatus are to pursue the dominant neoliberal agendas in this region and the opposition against any developmental intervention is advertised as an opposition between a monolithic state and an undifferentiated peasantry (Moore 1993). State can also be described as ''those aspects of the governing administrative and coercive apparatus that are experienced as external yet hegemonic'' (Tsing 1993:26). So it is necessary for social scientists to move further to understand the resource struggle within the political economy of state capitalism and cultural production of local ecology and resource. The next part of this section discusses how capital centric Industrial development in Kalinga Nagar also induced the involuntary displacement of the Local Ho Adivasi from their cultural landscape and resources.

3. CAPITAL CENTRIC DEVELOPMENT IN KALINGA NAGAR

This part of the study discusses the accumulation of land for establishment of Industrial complex is a hegemonic developmental propaganda of the state. State through industrial projects shows its administrative and bureaucratic practices.

This is the ways state power creates 'a world of meanings'(Mbembe 1992:2). Yet this meaning is to secure the models, practices and discourses of state developmentalism but development and its fall out - displacement and dispossession are linked with the cultural politics of the state and therefore, it is a question of the 'political authority'. Dispossession can be mystified. As Levien (2015) mentions that coercion, material compensation and legitimacy are the basic means to mystify the development cost. State's use of public interest appeal is very convincing but it has a class character. It mainly joins with the neoliberal economic purposes and it is commonly used to justify dispossession. Like other regions of the third world, Odisha, along with some mineral rich states in India has been undergone a path of development since 1991, in the form of extractive industrialization attracting various investments through Transnational Corporations (TNCs) and Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) to invest in the state. Between 2002 and 2008, Odisha signed 49 Memorandum of Understandings (MoUs) to produce 75.66 MTPA steels and other metal industries consisting of Rs 198,149 crores of investments (Department of Steel and Mines Government of Odisha, 2016). As an initiation Kalinga Nagar Industrial Complex (KNIC) was planned. Presently it houses 12 steel industries and some others have signed MoUs to establish their plants in the near future. Odisha government has sent a proposal to central government to declare KNIC a NIMZ (National Investment and Manufacturing Zone). However, whole issue of development is often rationalised in terms of 'poverty reduction' (Moose 2007), while it is a clear fact that development induced dispossession have turns many people impoverished (Cernea 1988, 1990) and marginalized the indigenous people, women, peasants, farmers and industrial workers and a reduction in labour, social and environmental conditions on a global basis what Brecher and Costello (1994) called 'the race to the bottom' or 'global pillage'. Demarcating the contexts, of development, displacement, conflict and resistance this section deals with developmental politics and its result in term of dispossession and displacement. At the same time, how development induces conflict, dispossession, and livelihood insecurity and resistance movement in Kalinga Nagar is also being discussed.

The idea of Kalinga Nagar industrial complex was conceived in the early 1990s on the onset of neo-liberal

globalization that is a kind of actually existing capitalism. Kalinga Nagar is situated in the union of Sukinda and Danagadi blocks of Jajpur district in Odisha. This region is a resource rich region. This region possesses the largest reserves of Chrome, Nickel, and Manganese. Odisha possesses 3120 MTs (one-third) of hematite ore as compared to 10,000 MTs reserve of India. Iron ore is found in the nearby mines of Tamka, Joda, Barbil and Daitari. All of them are essential inputs of steel making which can be supplied from Sukinda, Daitari, Joda, Tamka and Barbil mines that located between 15-50 KMs from the Industrial complex of Kalinga Nagar. Township is also developed and alien market is facilitated by the state and corporate for domestic consumption. The second largest river of the state Brahmani flow nearly 5 KMs away and will make a steady supply of water, both to steel plants and the township for domestic and industrial consumption (Sinha 2008).

In addition to resource richness, the area was historically pointed out by state for industrialization. In 1964 the Government of Odisha had written a memorandum to the central government to establish the second steel plant in the state. The memorandum identified three most suitable sites - one coastal area of Paradeep and the other two are inland based near Bonai of Sundargarh district and Nayagarh of Keonjhar district. It rated the latter choice better. The memorandum emphasised a careful details of economic factors regarding the locations. It mentioned location wise details of the raw material availability, transport facilities, access to important inputs like water, power, site land and even land for resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced people. In 1965 M N Dastur committee had made a detailed study and submitted a report to the central government for the establishment of the integrated iron and steel companies in the country. After that in 1970, there was demand in the Parliament by Odia parliamentarians (MPs) to set up second steel plant in Odisha due to techno economic feasibility study favouring the state and backwardness of the state (Lok Sabha Deb. (1970) col. 242 and (Das 1997)). In the meantime in 1970 Ispat Karakhana Sangram Samiti (IKSM, an Organization for the Establishment of Steel Plant) also demanded the establishment of second steel plant in Odisha during the fourth plan period. IKSM called a state wise bandh for the establishment of 2nd steel plant in the state and even some of its leaders were arrested for demanding the steel plant.

However, the establishment of 2nd steel plant could not be realised in the state because of 'regional pulls' ground of the federal government and political ad hocism (JagMohan 1973). After that a time came in 1981, when Industrial Development Corporation of the Odisha a nodal agency of the government acquired the agriculture and community land in 1992-93 to develop an industrial infrastructure including factory shed, industrial sites, and basic infrastructural development such as water, electricity, housing and communication. For that a large areas of this region is acquired. IDCO (Industrial Infrastructure Development Corporation of Odisha) provides this land to others but the factual truth is that a part of the acquired land cannot come up in the Industrial Estate and Areas. Although Kalinga Nagar and its surrounding areas possess abundant resources but the significant section of the population has not a commodity consensus. They are mainly dependent on agriculture and having a least market skill. After industrialisation, this phenomenon of the region can be conceptualised through resource curse thesis. Auty (1993) resource curse thesis shows how a resource rich region failed to get benefit from the favourable endowment. The compensation for land was paid at the rate of Rs 35,000 and Rs 37,000 per acre of the land categorised as sarada (Kharif which is best suited for the low lands subject to flooding) and Biali (land slightly elevated and free from flooding) respectively in 1993-94. Although land was acquired only officially, no person was physically displaced. People had access to livelihood as usual. However, the villagers have shown their dissatisfaction towards the compensation they received. Their demand for getting rupees 1.5 lakhs per acre instead of rupees 35/37 thousand per acre as compensation was ignored by the authority. However, while an amount of rupees 35/37 thousand per acre is being paid to them as part compensation, the same land sold by IDCO to industries at the rate of 3.5 lakhs/acres. This phenomenon gave fuel to lead resistance in future.

In the first phase of land acquisition in 1992/93, state through its agency IDCO provided Rs 35,000/37,000 per acre of land as compensation to the displaced people. However, when NINL (Nilachal Ispat Nigam Limited) acquired land in 1995 it gave Rs.52,000 amount of compensation per acre of land. Later, other plants like MESCO, Jindal Steel and VISA Steel also increased their compensation. When Tata Steel established its

Steel plant it increased its compensation upto about Rs 5 lakh including Government compensation. IDCO was negotiating compensation between industry and displaced people. When resistance to the project continued Tata Steel even provided Rs 4 lakh compensation to the land losers who lost non-patta lands.

In addition to this the payment of compensation only to those who had land deeds, created a sense of livelihood insecurity in the minds of non-patta (Land having no record of right) holders. And they became major stakeholders in the process of resistance. Apart from individual land the Adivasi in the area also had access to local hills and forests and Common Property Resources (CPRs). Since centuries they protected some forests and hills like Kasi Huri (Huri stands for hill), Bainshipur Huri, Badasuli hill and forest, Chandia forest and Gobarghati Huri. The destruction of these resources due to relentless industrialization has destroyed the livelihood resources of these poor communities. It forced them to join hands in the resistance. This was first reflected in 1996 when Bhusan Steel plant came and performed ground levelling works on the agricultural lands near Gadpur and Chandia villages. Adivasis people in the nearby villages led by their village leaders demanded alternative livelihoods and reiterated the demand of compensation for non-patta lands. However, their demands were not properly addressed by the authority which intensified the conflict among the Adivasi, the State and industry. People strongly protested and demanded halt of the ground levelling work. Adivasi gathered on the sites engaged in stone pelting and drove out Bhusan Steel from KNIIC. Later Bhusan Steel shifted to Dhenkanal and Jharsuguda districts in the state. However, there was no movement organization and leadership in this protest. Again people started cultivation of their land as usual. In course of time lots of movement were organised to protect the interest of the Adivasi communities in this area. In the following paragraph, we will discuss resistance movement in Kalinga Nagar Industrial complex focusing one movement organisation i.e., Bisthapan Birodhi Jan Manch (hereafter BBJM). We will discuss the formation of BBJM, its organisation, demands, strategies and split of the organisation.

BBJM was formed in April 2005 in a gathering called by local tribals in Kalinga Nagar. One elder Adivasi from the local Gobarghati GP named Chakradhar Haibru was elected as its

secretary. Rabindra Jarika, a post graduate from Utkal University, a local tribal youth of Chandia village was elected as its secretary. People of more than 50 affected villages and two Gram Panchayats (GP) namely Gobarghati and Chandia which was listed for acquisition by Tata Steel were its participants. Two GPs were the centre of resistance. Tribals of the Sukinda regions provided sympathy and solidarity to the movement. The organization formed various hamlet and village committees with a village youth in each village/hamlet as its head. All the people of the hamlet or village remained its members. BBJM had its organizational core committee consisting of 8 members. It made ad hoc alliance with various political and civil society organisations like Lok Shakti Abhijan, a people's organisation fighting against globalisation and for the right to livelihood, Odisha unit, Kashipur Andolankari, Lower Suktel Ekta Manch, Sambalpur Chashi Sanghthan, Posco Pratirodh Sangram Samiti, CPI (ML) New Democracy, CPI (ML) Liberation, CPI (M) and CPI(Maoist), CPI(Janshakti). It performed village and core committee meetings and discussed the issues of displacement related problems in the area. It was made aware of the problems of displacement and the plight of dislocated people displaced by NINL, MESCO, and Jindal Steel in the area and to a larger extent of the displaced people of Hirakud and Rengali Dam and Rourkela Steel plant. With these discussions and debates BBJM came to the conclusion that in the contemporary political structure and development model practised by the state it is impossible by the state to provide a just resettlement and rehabilitation to the dislocated people. The state cannot guarantee the livelihood security of the displaced people. BBJM demanded the state government to give a 'White paper of all development projects undertaken after 1996 in Odisha'. The main motto of BBJM was 'Ame Jamin Chadibu Nahin' (We won't let our land for acquisition). It demanded no further displacement in the area and resisted the acquisition of land by Tata Steel. During 2005, the BBJM resisted all kinds of activities like land survey, bhumipuja, levelling, boundary wall construction, etc., relating to setting up of industries in the Kalinga Nagar Complex. It is necessary to highlight some events that intensified conflict.

On 9th May 2005 Maharashtra Seamless Steel Limited was performing its Bhoomi Pooja (Worship of Land) near Gadpur and Bandargadia Village to establish its steel plant. The local

tribals violently resisted the event and reiterated their demands. The police resorted to lathi-charge (Caning) and women were obstructed on the ground. People broke the police van. The bhoomi pooja was abandoned.

On 23rd July 2005 Tata Steel performed Bhoomi Pooja with the presence of the then District Collector and Superintendent of Police (SP). Around 3000 adavasis and dalits protested and police lodged cases against the leaders of BBJM. The Bhoomi Pooja was postponed. But Tata Steel went ahead with the project with assurance from authorities in spite of the violent protests. On 27th July a notice was served to the people of the area by the state administration to attend a public hearing in Jajpur Road. On 7th October 2005 adivasis resisted against the performance of Bhoomi Pooja again on the same land by the Tata officials even if accompanied by police force and district administration officials. A constable was reportedly beaten up by the protestors and according to police, protesters snatched away his gun.On 25th October 2005 Rabindra Jarika, the secretary was arrested by the Jajpur police while he was returning from attending a tribal conference in Bhubaneswar, the state capital. On his arrest, various organisations including PUCL (People's Union for Civil Liberty) protested against the government on its attempt to suppress the movement of the people.

On October 27 2005, BBJM and its alliances gheraoed Kalinga Nagar police station protesting against the arrest. The police reported by trying to arrest the other local leaders of that organization.

On 17th November 2005 in the face of strong resistance by BBJM, the Maharashtra Seamless Steel Limited had suspended its construction work and later its project was abandoned from Kalinga Nagar.

On 2nd January 2006 Tata Steel started the levelling of land early in the morning in the area with the help of state administrative officials like District Collector, SP, and 12 platoons of police force. About 300-400 tribals with traditional weapons like bows and arrows, axes gathered in the area sent a delegate of four members for a dialogue with the officials. When the delegates were marching ahead police resorted tear gas cells. The tribals retaliated by throwing back these tear gas

cells. Tear gas cell followed by indiscriminate firing killed 12 tribals and wounded 41 tribals. This incident intensified conflict in the area. Soon after this the adivasis blocked the Express Highway that runs through the area sat on a dharna at Madhuban Chhaka.

On 4th January district administration returned the dead bodies to the tribals. They found that the wrists, breasts and genitals of some of the dead bodies have been mutilated. The event further accelerated the discontent among the tribals. On that day the tribals collectively cremated the dead bodies and vowed in the funeral pyres of the sahids (martyrs) not to vacate the lands. In a public meeting near Duburi, BBJM and attended by its alliance organizations articulated a seven point demand-:

1. Put an end to displacement. Five acres of land be given to families who have already been displaced;
2. The Chief Minister, the finance minister, Minister of Mines, Industry, Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Welfare Minister be removed from ministry, and the Minister of Finance and chief minister be booked for murder charge;
3. The Home Secretary and DGP should be suspended and SP and Collector of Jajpur District and ADM, Kalinga Nagar should be suspended and booked under IPC 302;
4. Declare Rs. 20 lakhs compensation for the family of each dead and Rs. 10 lakhs to the family of each injured;
5. MNCs and monopoly companies be driven out from the soil of Odisha;
6. Adivasis be given the rights over mineral resources, land, water, forests and industry in tribal areas; and
7. Unconditional release of leaders and activities of the movement and withdrawal of all cases pending against them.

BBJM Sukinda articulating these demands organised various rallies, campaign and public meetings in each villages of Sukinda and Danagadi blocks for public sympathy and support.

The tribals and dalits from both the blocks, particularly Sukinda supported the demands of Kalinga Nagar movement. From March 2 to 9 BBJM convened a cycle rally which BBJM called as Sukinda Sangram Yatra, (Movement Rally in Sukinda). Organising various public meeting, cycle rally in various villages of Sukinda BBJM succefully organised a big movement conference on March 11, near Ambagadia hamlet.

Many political parties and grassroots movement organizations fighting for displacement and injustice attended the conference. Similar conferences, rallies and demonstrations were organised in Kalinga Nagar industrial complex and in the state capital to justify the demands of the movements. The movement was able to sustain about 6 years, i.e. from 2005 to 2011.

Rabindra Jarika, replied regarding the impact of Kalinga Nagar resistance movement:

> Our movement was able to formulate Odisha Resettlement and Rehabilitation policy 2006. The movement also forced the government for proper implementation of the policy. We, the adivasis got a voice to say about displacement to Tata Steel. (Interview 08.06.2015).

Jarika claimed that due to the strong protest and 14 months road blockade by adivasis supported by civil and political society was able to force the government to call the BBJM leaders to discuss the issues with the government. The organised resistance forced Odisha government to bring the Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy 2006 (hereafter R & R policy) one year before the Central government to formulate the policy. The process of finalising the Odisha R & R policy came in a 'kneejerk reactions' to the Kalinga Nagar police firing. Not only this, the policy was a consequence to counteract the gathering strength of several high-profile movements that stroke the industrialisation process in Odisha (Mathur 2012). The repression of the Adivasi demands and declaration of resettlement policy is kind of state power dispersion at various sphere. The things that were included in R and R policy of Odisha is that it only represent the interest of capital. It is because capitalism destroys the social and environmental condition in which it relies (Escobar 2011:200).

In May 2006, the state government finally proclaimed the much awaited policy to resettle and rehabilitate people who would be displaced by new industries and other development projects (Government of Odisha, 2006). One of the necessary illusions of this R and R policy was that it also tested the post-independence state's administrative capacity and political will. The declared R and R policy was governed with the law of value and market.

The movement was declined due to the dynamics of state violence and repression, movement fragmentation, consciousness of opportunity of the leaders, internal differentiation both among the tribal and non-tribal. How state violence and repression lead to the decline of a movement? There are scholars who theorised 'development as violence'- that is a process involving the physical or material destruction of nature and dispossession of native population, which Vishvanathan (1987) referred to as development triage. There are similar explanation given by (Escobar 2006b, 2011). In Kalinga Nagar there are many such incidents of violence and repression are seen. There are more than 60 police cases pending on each of the frontline leaders of BBJM. All the leaders of BBJM faced death threats from the corporate goons. There were many cases of beating and torture by the police to the displaced people. In addition of the killing of 12 tribals and wounding about 41 tribals in 2nd January 2006, in Kalinga Nagar one leading activist was murdered and another was killed in the POSCO area. Amin Banara was gunned down on 1st May 2008 by goons who approached him near the Tata Plant site. Later gangster Arvind Singh was arrested for his allegedly involvement. A month before this incidence, another activist, Jogendra Jamuda, was shot in the back while driving his mother and wife on a motorbike near the Kalinga Nagar police station.

Bisthapan Parivar Unnayan Parishad (BPUP) was emerged from the very organization BBJM from its fragmentation during the middle of 2007. The main role of the organization was to persuade/force people to displace and resettle in the R and R colony and support Tata steel. BPUP having corporate and state nexus resisted the activities of BBJM and always raised disagreements and disputes with its leaders. Many times BPUP and BBJM involved in open fight with each other which frustrated the Tribe as both resembled the same ethnicity. The leaders of the movement were conscious of their opportunity and Tata steel provides them various types of opportunities. Apart from differentiation and fragmentation from the local people, the movement also fragmented from the outside villages.

In Kalinga Nagar area 20 villages particularly dominated by Hinduised caste people united and formed an organization called Bisthapita Kshatigrasta Parishad (BKP- a Forum of

Affected People) in 2008. People belongs to the villages of Pankapal, Manoharpur, Mantira, Kendudipi, Masamania, Ravana, Dakharapada, Marutikar, Kumbhiragadia, Khapuriapada, Chakua, Marthapur, Rachhipur, Jakhapura, Balungabandi, Telibahali, Chhatrakana, Tikar, Baragadia etc., were active supporters of the organization. This organization manufactured support for the establishment of Tata Steel in the area and many time they fought with BBJM activists. Gradually people resisting the project assimilated in the process of development.

4. STATE AND CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENTALISM

In previous section we have discussed that how development accumulated the natural resources and existing productive force. There is a need of discursive understanding and analysis of development. The work of Ferguson (1994) on development in Lesotho shows that development is an ant politics machine that is implemented by state with the help of world bank to restructure the existing rural social relation. In post-colonial era, development has relied mainly on the state knowledge system so development of any regions through soft and hard development intervention is a subject matter of state apparatus. Developmental intervention necessarily involved in a state institutional field from where discourses and models of development intervention are produced, recorded, stabilized and put into circulation for establishment of hegemonic order of a dominant mode of production. Establishing a hegemonic order can be placed within the broader social analytic of governmentality. It mainly refers the mentalities of the modern government.   It is also a 'regimes of institutional practices' (Peet 2007). Escobar (2011) also mentions that the discourse of development has made possible an endless no of practices through which a new mechanism of control in form of power and knowledge is positioned. Developmentism or development as operation is organized through three main strategies; intervention of power, professionalization of development and institutionalization of the development. The first strategies worked in the formation of the field of the power, second is the professionalization of the development that includes technification which allowed experts to intervene or classify the problem and formulate the accumulative policies in the name of development that also produce a reign of truth and

norms of the development. Escobar conceptualized this process as a field that is used for control of knowledge. Controlling of knowledge is the way through which state is able to create a grammar of the capitalist development. This is the way by which state developmentalism ideologically fuelled up by capitalism that economizes the life of the people. The third strategy is the institutionalization of the development. State apparatus or institutions became the agents of the deployment of the development. State apparatus interact with the local bodies can be better understood as state reductionism which is a kind of the governmentality (Corbridge et al. 2005). It led the dispersion of the local center of power and knowledge in the name of development. These strategies of state developmentalism with ideologically and practically nexus with corporates leads a varieties of knowledge about the subject but state who failed at many level use these developmental strategies get success to penetrate, integrate and control the territory. That is the way through which the region where developmentalism works became politically and economically manageable.

In this form of state developmentalism (capitalist development) production and extraction process is organized at ecological costs of the commons. Unlike the other modes of production, capitalist development formed a commodity consciousness and it multiplies with practical monetary value to the resource in economy whereas in livelihood economy (Escobar 2006a, 2014) or the subsistence based economy of the Adivasi have different sacral polity Shah (2010) and cultural imagination (Devi 1981; Das Gupta 2011). This developmentalism has formed a new kind of social structure at regional level in which capitalist relations are embedded and the way it produces a new kind of destitution and dispossession can be visible in both the regions. Indeed this kind of development wants that natural resources must be commodified and so that the nation growth and state development project will be achieved. To achieve growth and surplus state managed the socio-ecological system and production of nature became central tasks of the contemporary state. State's quest for capitalist expansion has been based on interrelated strategies of territorialism and financial capitalism (Arrighi 1994). We have already discussed some cases in our above discussion. In above discussed cases we have found that the nexus of the corporates

and the state dispossess the commons land for serving their interests. Dispossession of the Adivasi or the people is not possible without the state's intervention. Levien (2015:142) mentions that dispossession requires a state that is willing and able to use its monopoly of the means of violence to expropriate land from certain classes for the benefit of others. It often arises, as in the case of land dispossession in India, from the desire of states to help capitalists overcome barriers to accumulation.

Accumulation by dispossession, in the context of Kalinga Nagar and West Singhbum shows that state, politics and ideology are embedded in the capitalist developmental discourses. The internal and constitutive features of pre-capitalist mode of Adivasi and agrarian social formation itself have an internal and external feature of accumulation itself that is shaped by the state, politics and dominate ideology. Capitalism as a dominant ideology subsumes all ideologies and dispossession can be aligned with a widely accept notion of national development. Where the capitalist ideology and state ideological and monetary justification prove inadequate then resistance continues but state by vices and virtues, by using its ideological and repressive apparatus, is able to balance the lineage of the resistance and other issues. Struggle against the capitalism and the state developmentalism shows that how the local inhabitants attempt to keep natural resource under their communal structure. The local people resists against the state is because of their different culture, practices and 'ecologism'(Martinez-Alier 1994). State policies and developmentalism is working for the capialisation of nature and therefore state must be seen as the mediator which interfaces between capital and nature. So for social scientists it is needed to trace an uninterrupted capitalist genealogy of both the pre and post-colonial state in India. Abrams (1988) mentions the difficulty to study the state. He emphasizes that state is an idea, an entity, function and relation over and above the state system and state idea. He went further and argues that the mask of state itself prevent us to study the political practices of state.

5. CONCLUSION

Development as a project of rule or governmentality and their actual unjustified accomplishment in practice needs crucial

sociological surgery. Development programme or intervention (developmentalism) is itself a conjunctural and crisis ridden enterprises that facilitates resistance, dispossession and other subjects. Development intervention in West Singbhum and Kalinga Nagar brought changes in the people's daily engagement with the land and other natural resources. Developmentalism as a crisis ridden enterprise engenders its own mode of dialectism and makes, meets, molds and also contested by the new subjects. Adivasi who failed to compete with their loss of ecology and resource and were compelled to sell their labour and socio cultural imagination. Natural resource became a commodity in a state developmentalism that advocate the capitalists market as the route of nation growth and productivity. It demands that natural resources like land and forest is needed to engage in chain of capitalist production that is largely facilitated and mediated by the state. We have focused that state dominant developmentalism works with two essential components; first is state willing to dispossess the commons or the people who have been dependent on land and other natural resources for a particular set of economic purposes and policy (neoliberalism). The will of state to develop a particular region is mainly tied with the particular class interests and second state maintains passivity to this dispossession. Adivasi who have an agro forestry economy are losing access to land and forest due to land acquisition and deforestation or restriction on access of forest for corporate industrialisation. To facilitate growth, land laws are reversed or overruled in case of West Singbhum because these laws especially CNT and PESA are considered to be constraints on capital flows and mining. Capitalization of nature has degraded water bodies and creates water scarcity and land degradation. This is the main reason of the Adivasi dispossession. Due to land accumulation, access restriction over natural resources and water degradation, food production continuously decreasing in both of the regions. The capital centric development growth in Kalinga Nagar and mining in West Singhbhum shows the history of capitalization of local ecosystem and the productive condition. Land and other natural resources are converted for industrial use and the capitalization of nature in these regions has been the central to the discussion of the advanced capitalism. The new modes of societal formation have led to the death of the long term relation that the Adivasi had with land and forest. Intense exploitation of

labour, land and water for mining and capita centric development in West Singhbhum and Kalinga Nagar complex became a grave threat for agriculture and other relation of the ecology. The new mode of capitalist development attempts to restructure the old economic productive relation and productive condition in order to reduce costs and defend profit by shifting its environment and ecological cost to the commons and at the same time we must know that the capitalist mode of production doesn't only represent the interest the capital but it also represents the interest of the state in this regards. State also advances the capitalist clientelism, by distributing unequal cost. Accumulation and capital-centric development necessarily takes place through clientelism. So we argue that there is also need to understand the capitalist clientelism. Accumulation of natural resources especially land for productive growth also induces opposition and resistance. The distribution of the manufactured good and capital is based on power asymmetry. State when experienced the crisis of hegemony or growing disunity within its system, state attempts to satisfy specific demand of the communities in mechanized manner. The R and R policy of Kalinga Nagar and the Saranda action plan just represent the clientelist kind of development intervention for reproduction of capital without any hindrance.

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13

SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND DISCRIMINATION: A STUDY OF TRANSGENDER PERSONS IN INDIA

*Aditi Basu**

1. INTRODUCTION

Transgenders continue to face exclusion and discrimination across India in all spheres of life. Homophobic violence and abuse targeting lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and transgender (LGBT) persons occur on a regular basis. Transgender people do not conform to conventional notions of male or female gender but combine or move between the two. Their vulnerabilities, frustrations, and insecurities have been historically overlooked by the mainstream society. As a marginalised group transgender people do not enjoy the same rights and protections as mainstream society, and consequently suffer from discrimination and disadvantage in access to different spheres of life such as social, education, labour market etc. Specially young transgender people are most vulnerable who experience estrangement from family and friendship networks, harassment at school and invisibility, which can lead in some cases to underachievement at school, school drop-out, mental ill-health and homelessness. In the labour market, a majority of transgender people continue to hide their sexual orientation or to endure harassment out of fear of losing their job. This discrimination not only denies transgender people equal access to key social goods, such as employment, health care, education and housing, but it also marginalises them in society and makes them one of the vulnerable groups who are at risk of becoming socially excluded.

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In the 2004 Joint Report on Social Inclusion, the European Commission and European Council defined social exclusion as a "process whereby certain individuals are pushed to the edge of society and prevented from participating fully by virtue of their poverty, or lack of basic competencies and lifelong learning opportunities, or as a result of discrimination" (Report of European Commission,2004). It was also emphasized that social exclusion "does not only mean insufficient income. It even goes beyond participation in working life; it is manifest in fields such as housing, education, health and access to services. It affects not only individuals who suffered serious set-backs but social groups, particularly in urban and rural areas, who are subject to discrimination, segregation or the weakening of the traditional forms of social relations" (European Social Policy, 1993).

2. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIAL EXCLUSION

The term "excluded" was originally coined in France in the 1970s in reference to social assistance, describing various categories of people left out of State contributory benefits. Such people were labelled "social problems" and were not protected by social insurance, particularly the young, the elderly, the disabled and single parents. Social exclusion initially referred to a process of social disintegration, a progressive rupture of the relationship between the individual and society. It later extended to incorporate those suffering multiple deprivations in worst affected locations. Since the late 1980s, the concept has become increasingly concerned with the problem of "new poverty" associated with long-term unemployment, unskilled workers and immigrants. Following the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 5-12 March 1995), the concept of social exclusion entered the development debate by several multilateral agencies, notably the World Bank, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the Department for International Development (DFID). Silver's classification is found pertinent in the analysis of social exclusion as she describes three paradigms representing theories of society. Her models essentially permeate existing literature on exclusion in Western Europe and North America and reflect different national notions of social integration. "Each of the three paradigms attributes exclusion to a different cause, and is grounded in a different political philosophy: republicanism,

liberalism, and social democracy. Each provides an explanation of multiple forms of social disadvantage—economic, social, political, and cultural—and thus encompasses theories of citizenship and racial-ethnic inequality as well as poverty and long-term unemployment".

Although LGBT people have not been previously considered within debates about social exclusion, there is acknowledgement that they experience health inequalities (Fish, 2007a; Hutchinson et al., 2006; Scott et al., 2004). This section analyses some of the theoretical foundations which might lead to recognition of the concept of LGBT social exclusion. In their discussion of the fundamental causes of social exclusion, Hills et al. (2002) identify three schools of thought in the literature:- 1). 'placing individuals' behaviour and moral values at centre stage; 2). highlighting the role of institutions and systems; 3). emphasising issues of discrimination and lack of enforced rights' (Hills et al., 2002; p. 3).

These three approaches will be used to assess whether LGBT people could be considered as socially excluded.

1. Placing individuals' behaviour and moral values at centre stage:- In these debates – which Levitas (1998) has conceptualised as the moral underclass discourse – those who are socially excluded are blamed for their circumstances and the burden of responsibility for being cut off from mainstream society is placed onto individuals themselves (Burchardt et al., 2002). The approach of blaming individuals' behaviour was illustrated in the early 1980s by Edwina Currie, then Conservative health secretary, who criticised the eating habits of northern working class families and suggested that a diet of beer, fags and chips had contributed to their own ill-health (Blaxter, 2004). The censure of LGBT people's moral values was exemplified by the aspiring EU Commissioner, Rocco Buttiglione, who suggested that homosexuality is a sin (Fish, 2006). The ill-health of LGBT people has been frequently ascribed to their so-called deviant lifestyles.

2. Highlighting the role of institutions and systems:- The notion of being shut out of societal institutions and the non-participation in key social activities has shaped the patterning of LGBT people's public lives. Until 2005 in the UK, there was no social institution equivalent to that of marriage which enabled

the public recognition of LGB people's intimate relationships; as a consequence, LGB people were unable to access the social and health benefits conferred by marriage-like status (King and Bartlett, 2006). Their place within other social institutions, such as religion, the Criminal Justice System and the armed forces, has had a history of contestation and opposition (Moran, 2007). Multi-system factors inhibit their access to healthcare and contribute to disparities in health outcomes: the culture, norms and values of social institutions act as barriers to effective healthcare (Hutchinson et al., 2006). LGBT people have often been invisible users of healthcare, and service provision has been 'sexuality blind' in treating LGBT people in the same way as everyone else without consideration of their different requirements (Fish, 2009). Across public and voluntary sector services, in housing (Gold, 2005), social care (Concannon, 2009) and education (Rivers, 2004), the needs and experiences of LGBT people as service users have been overlooked in policy development and implementation.

3. Emphasising issues of discrimination and lack of enforced rights:- A third theoretical approach to social exclusion emphasises the denial of civil, political and social rights. In this formulation, those who are socially excluded are not accorded full membership of society and are unable to achieve 'normal' levels of social acceptance and participation (Burden and Hamm, 2000; p. 184). In the social exclusion literature, there is recognition that the 'false universalism' of citizenship has prevented lesbians and gay men from attaining the status of citizen (Lister, 1998; p. 29). Until the early twenty-first century, LGBT people endured a historic lack of social protections in employment, in the provision of goods and services, in housing tenure, and in pension rights, and there were a range of other social rights to which they were not entitled; moreover, they did not have access to legal systems that could make those rights a reality (Fish, 2006, 2007b). Discrimination and negative social attitudes are common to the experience of social exclusion (Burden and Hamm, 2000), and this has led to the inclusion of women, black and minority ethnic people and faith groups among those who are socially excluded. On each of these three grounds – individuals' behaviour and moral values, the role of institutions and the lack of enforced rights – LGBT people can be said to be socially excluded. They have been considered as a

moral underclass, shut out of social institutions and have been excluded from the rights associated with citizenship.

Socially-excluded people or groups of people are not able to participate in societal mainstream activities. Factors contributing to social exclusion include poverty, non-dominant social identities, e.g. race, ethnicity, religion, and gender; social locations (migrants, refugees); demographic features (occupation, educational level); and health conditions, e.g. disability, stigmatized diseases, such as HIV and AIDS. Social, economic, cultural and political aspects of exclusion enforce deprivations of the basic amenities of life.

Citizenship concepts are getting importance into the discussion of the multidimensional social exclusion mechanisms has several advantages. This approach emphasises that the inability to participate in (and be respected by) mainstream society is a violation of a basic right that should be open to all citizens; and thereby places a burden on society to ensure that it enables participation and integration of all its members. As a result, there is less temptation to blame the excluded for their fate. Instead, citizenship concepts can highlight the role of political, economic and social arrangements in generating exclusion, and the role of solidarity among members in overcoming it. Another advantage is that instead of demanding uniformity of outcomes, it calls for equal freedoms for all to enjoy all aspects of citizenship. The citizenship discourse of social exclusion thus focuses on claims for equal capabilities – to be interpreted as the ability to exercise civil and social citizenship rights – which may necessitate extra efforts by society. In this context it is important to realise that an equal starting point – i.e. providing 'equal opportunities' – may not be enough to ensure equal capabilities (Klasen 2002).

Interpreting social exclusion as the denial or non-realisation of civil, political, and social rights of citizenship – where citizenship is defined as a status enjoyed by persons who are full members of a community (Marshall 1963) – is also a useful approach to highlight the specific nature of social exclusion mechanisms targeting transgender people in general and transgender youth in particular.

3. PRESENT LEGAL STATUS OF TRANSGENDER IN INDIA

Homosexual intercourse was made a criminal offence under Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860. This made it an offence for a person to voluntarily have "carnal intercourse against the order of nature." In 2009, the Delhi High Court decision in Naz Foundation v. Govt. of NCT of Delhi found Section 377 and other legal prohibitions against private, adult, consensual, and non-commercial same-sex conduct to be in direct violation of fundamental rights provided by the Indian Constitution. On 23 February 2012, the Ministry of Home Affairs expressed its opposition to the decriminalisation of homosexual activity, stating that in India, homosexuality is seen as being immoral. The Central Government reversed its stand on 28 February 2012, asserting that there was no legal error in decriminalising homosexual activity. On 11 December 2013, the Supreme Court set aside the 2009 Delhi High Court order decriminalising consensual homosexual activity within its jurisdiction. On January 28, 2014 Supreme Court dismissed the review Petition filed by Central Government, NGO Naz Foundation and several others, against its December 11 verdict on Section 377 of IPC.On December 18, 2015, Shashi Tharoor, a member of the Indian National Congress party, introduced the bill for the decriminalisation of Section 377, but the bill was rejected by the house by a vote of 71-24. However, Shashi Tharoor was planning to re-introduce the bill. On February 2, 2016, the Supreme Court decided to review criminalisation of homosexual activity. In 2016, Kerala mooted free sex-reassignment surgeries in Government hospitals after it introduced the first State government policy on trans-genders.

4. METHODOLOGY

The present study is based on the primary data and secondary data. For primary data, in-depth interviews have been collected from 60 transgender persons of Kolkata. Respondents were contacted with help of Kolkata based NGOs. Secondary data includes different articles, documents related to laws about transgender persons rights etc. Respondents have been selected by using the methods of purposive and snow-ball sampling. This is a mixed method approach- combination of qualitative and quantitative method. The main objectives of the present study are to: (1) know the socio-economic and legal status of

the transgender persons; (2) identify the different aspects from which transgender persons are socially excluded; (3) analyse the causes of being socially excluded.

Aspects such as the age at which trans-gender persons became aware they are trans-genders were examined to produce statistical analysis. The survey also examined the perceptions, experiences gained from the society (family, school and at public places) as trans-gender persons, their stress and copying mechanisms. Data was organised to identify themes arising from these experiences and these were then analysed more closely to enable the construction of a picture of life as a trans-gender person from which implications may be drawn.

Data collection has been done mainly by face to face interview and partly over telephone as few of the respondents did not want to face the interviewer physically because of they consider the issue as "very personal and sensitive". A well-structured interview schedule was used for collecting data. The schedule consists of both the open and close-ended questions. This study was conducted from October 2015 to December 2015 in and around of a metropolitan city, Kolkata. The data were analysed through the software "Statistical Package for Social Science" (SPSS).

5. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

LGBT people as social minority group members suffer from various forms of socio-economic and cultural injustice, but according to Nancy Fraser their political claims can rather be identified as claims for recognition aimed at remedying cultural injustice than some sort of political-economic restructuring referred to as redistribution aiming at redressing economic injustice. In this context recognition is defined as a cultural or symbolic change involving the upward revaluation of disrespected identities, or even a complete transformation of societal patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication in ways that would change everybody's sense of self.

Lack of social recognition is closely connected to the ambiguous citizen status of LGBT people, especially if we take into consideration that full citizenship "requires that one be recognized not in spite of one's unusual or minority

characteristics, but with those characteristics understood as part of a valid possibility for the conduct of life" (Phelan 2001:15-6).

The mean and median of age among the total respondents are 25 years and 24 years respectively. So, basically they belong to the young adulthood stage of the life cycle. Mostly they belong to Hindu community. 65 per cent respondents are either graduate or post-graduate. So, respondents are highly educated. An important observation has come out here that "F to M" trans-persons or trans-men have possessed higher academic degree than "M to F" trans-persons or trans-women. That too is reflected in their occupational background. 57.7 per cent of "M to F" trans-persons are engaged in make-up industry as make-up artists. This profession does not demand higher academic qualification. Another reason for coming to this profession is, according to the respondents of this group, in this industry nobody bothers about individual's trans-gender identity. So, trans-women feel comfortable here and usually are not victimized or harassed due to their trans-identity. 78.6 per cent trans-men are engaged in service, as we have seen they have higher academic degree than trans-men. Mostly they engaged with different NGOs. They feel comfortable with this field. Three-fourth trans-persons belong to nuclear family, whereas one-fourth belong to joint family. The mean and median of individual income are Rs 17,150/- and Rs. 15,000/- respectively. The mean and median of their family income are Rs. 42,825/- and Rs 35,000/-. Mean and median of individual income are seen low as 20 per cent of total respondents are students as well as unemployed.

Concepts of intimate and sexual citizenship underline the need not only to broaden the scope of modern citizenship, but also to revise its normative content. This need can be reflected by the formation of broader temporary "plastic coalitions" to fight against social exclusion practices denying certain citizenship rights from overlapping segments of otherwise potentially very different populations. Transgender youth often become victims of multidimensional mechanisms of social exclusion and multiple forms of discrimination on the basis of age and sexual orientation. These overlapping aspects of vulnerability imply that they can be socially excluded as a result of their low incomes, unemployment, poor education, health,

and housing conditions, gender, religion, ethnic origin, as well as the inability to realise their autonomy and citizenship rights.

According to the first findings of the present study young transgender people have a lot of troubles with the main agents of socialisation: family, school, peer group and media. School and family seemed to be especially problematic social contexts for transgender youth to fit into. Almost three-fourth of respondents referred to negative personal experiences at school related to their transgender status. More than half of them reported bullying that included a wide spectrum of negative experiences from name calling through ostracism to physical attacks. Longer term or repeated bullying was shown to have serious consequences on the victims. Some of them became withdrawn and socially isolated, or dropped out of school. Respondents claimed that mostly their peers were responsible for their negative experiences and especially for suffering from bullying. Bullying was often interpreted as being related to or being the consequence of gender nonconforming behaviour, character and look – or what was perceived to be such by others. Perceived nonconforming gender behaviour leading to assumptions and suspicions of being non-heterosexual leading to anti-gay/lesbian victimisation in school could equally affect non-heterosexual as well heterosexual youth. Many respondents gained negative experiences of anxiety related to fear of discrimination or bullying.

While 45 per cent of respondents found that their school curriculum expressed prejudice or included discriminative elements targeting LGBT people, more people referred to the lack of representation of transgender issues in the school curriculum as a deceptive representation of real life. The fact that transgender issues are not included, mentioned and covered in school curriculum, was interpreted by many respondents as an institutional tool for maintaining LGBT invisibility in school and as such being discrimination in itself.

A number of respondents (60 per cent) mentioned teachers as being the source, or being a part of their problems. These teachers were described as passive outsiders failing to provide help for the isolated, hurt and/or bullied students. Homophobic and heterosexist manifestations of teachers were also shown, including for example, intrusions into the personal lives of students. Teachers' offensive and/or threatening language use

could also indicate their homophobic attitudes. In this context the need for teachers' training to present or handle LGBT issues was highlighted. Lack of openly LGBT teachers – serving as potential positive role models for LGBT students – was also perceived to indicate the general problems of acceptance. Among those who did not have any negative experiences in school, 4 per cent mentioned good attitudes, respectful treatment and acceptance from teachers.

Half of the respondents (50 per cent) reported experiences of prejudice and discrimination in their family. Typical family reactions to revealing one's LGBT identity to close family was shown to be disbelief, denial and demands for "changing back to normal". Stereotypical misconceptions of what it means to be gay, lesbian, bisexual or transsexual greatly contributed to the non-accepting attitudes towards LGBT family members. Transgender respondents mentioned that they had to go through a double coming out with a double burden: since before identifying as a trans-person most of them believed to be gay or lesbian. Being rejected as a transgender person by close family members was shown to force young people into self-denial and/or constructing a double life strategy. In some cases coming out to parents could pose the threat of or actually lead to being forced to leave the family . Rejection by family members often reflected fear of social stigmatization affecting the parents and the family as a whole in a heterosexist environment. Many respondents were/are unable or unwilling to reveal their transgender identity within their family because the discouraging homophobic environment of the family itself. In contrast with the many negative experiences of most of the respondents, there were a few reports on positive, accepting family atmosphere. In some of these families there were already openly gay or lesbian family members providing positive role models for young LGBT people. Less than one-third of our respondents (30 per cent) reported experiences of prejudice and/or discrimination targeting them as transgender people in their close circle of friends. In comparison to the relative hostility of the family environment they seemed to find more acceptance and recognition in their friends' circles. After revealing their transgender identity, some respondents indicated a certain restructuring in their friends' circle: some old friends they lost, while finding new ones – especially from the LGBT community. In the lives of young LGBT people friends can play

a very significant role by providing them with the sense of belonging and being accepted that is often refused to them by their family of origin. Friends – especially LGBT friends and LGBT community members – can become members of a family of choice that can provide young LGBT people with an accepting family-like environment where they can feel at home.

Many respondents referred to instances of institutionalised discrimination – affecting them as citizens whose full community membership is denied by hetero-normative institutional policy designs – including discriminative legislation failing to provide heterosexual and non-heterosexual citizens with equal rights, restrictions on giving blood, discriminative insurance policies and everyday practices. A lot of respondents felt restricted in their use of public spaces – for example, walking on the streets – without being harassed. Safety is a basic concern for everyone but it seems that it cannot be taken for granted so readily by LGBT people who are often reminded to be aware of potential attacks, abuse and other acts of hostility.

More than a quarter of respondents (28 per cent) identified themselves as being religious, and one third of them reported to have encountered prejudice or discrimination in their religious community. Religious institutions were often described as inherently homophobic – leading to the development of internalised homophobia. In spite of the seemingly inherent incompatibility of religion andhomosexuality a number of responses illustrated that it is possible to reconcile faith and sexual difference.

Seventy-five per cent of the respondents found that the media products of their country expressed prejudice or included discriminative elements. LGBT people and issues were seen to be excluded from media in the sense that if they are shown at all, it is in a negative or stereotypical setting.

Transgender people consider the most important cause of social exclusion of LGBT youth in India are: social stigma attached with LGBT people among the members of the mainstream society; lack of knowledge; ignorance as well as misinformation; fear of the unknown; homophobia, lack of full community membership, equal rights, respect and recognition; distorted representation or invisibility in media and all spheres

of life; lack of LGBT activism; lack of a public awareness and debate; stigmatisation and marginalisation; patriarchy.

While these – often interrelated – causes can explain social exclusion of LGBT people in general, LGBT youth was shown to be especially vulnerable to social exclusion because of additional, youth-specific reasons including their economic as well as emotional dependence on parents and adults in general; lack of resources and support; lack of positive role models; heterosexist socialisation – through which they learn that heterosexuality guarantees social inclusion, whereas non-heterosexuality leads to marginalization, to being thought of as somewhat less of a person; lack of courage (to come out) and groups to belong to; being silenced and isolated; feeling a freak, different, and lonely; rejection by friends and family; parents' disappointment and feelings of failure; school culture in general: lack of education and communication on LGBT issues in school, lack of teachers' and parents' training; lack of representation in school curricula, and failing to acknowledge bullying in school as a problem.

Hetero-normative practices of families, schools, different community settings, workplaces, and symbolic media environments were shown to have disempowering effects on LGBT youth: the pervasive silence concerning LGBT experiences and lifestyles contributed to their feelings of isolation and invisibility, resulting in the perception that coming out would endanger their physical and emotional well-being and in their choice of disguising their identities (Quinlivan 1999). Many of them become withdrawn and socially isolated in the period while most other young people learn to express themselves socially, as they spend enormous amount of energy and time with monitoring their own behaviour and using hiding strategies to minimalise the risk of being found out, often at a cost to their mental health.

6.   CONCLUSION

The present study shows that transgender people are facing discrimination just because of the social stigma is attached with their gender identity and sexual orientation. The wider society, the community and the family are not in a position to accept transgender persons' own distinct cultural norms. The study seeks highlight the effects that discrimination on the ground of

sexual orientation and gender identity has on LGBT people's capacity to participate fully in society. Second aim of this study is to raise awareness about the need to take into consideration how multiple forms of discrimination interact to put people at a particular disadvantage and risk of exclusion. To this end, the main focus of this research was placed on young transgender people. On one hand, young people have repeatedly been identified as a group particularly vulnerable to social exclusion and poverty. Yet, there is little awareness of the particular vulnerability of young LGBT people and limited understanding of the double disadvantage which these young people suffer because of their age and their sexual orientation, a disadvantage which can sometimes be increased by discrimination on grounds of sex, gender, disability, ethnic origin or religion. By bringing to light the existence of multiple forms of discrimination which have an impact of social inclusion of young LGBT people, this research wants to stress the importance of looking at all the factors which make people vulnerable to exclusion.

To achieve these two aims, this study examines the main mechanisms of social exclusion which affect transgender people, in relation to education, health, employment and active citizenship. It establishes that young LGBT people can be socially excluded as a result of socioeconomic factors (such as low income; unemployment; poor education, health, and housing conditions) and as a result of discrimination based on their sexual orientation which affects their ability to realise their autonomy and their citizenship rights.

This study emphasises the effects of the discrimination that young LGBT people encounter in their family, of the mechanisms of social exclusion which affect young LGBT people and it illustrates the everyday discrimination and marginalisation which LGBT youth continue to experience in Kolkata.

It is therefore important to adopt a more inclusive scope and context of social exclusion, especially when addressing social exclusion of transgender people which cannot be defined strictly in socio-economic terms. One approach is to focus on the lack of full social, economic and cultural participation opportunities for individuals and social groups, as well as their social powerlessness regarding their ability to represent their

interests as factors determining social exclusion. Doing so entails defining social cohesion as the capacity of a society to ensure the welfare of all its members and as a solidarity-creating strategy to tackle different forms of exclusion by means of both prevention and cure.

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VOICES OF THE POOR: LESSONS FOR POLICY MAKERS

*Pamela Singla**

The paper shares the importance of inclusive policies which are based on the voices of the poor and the vulnerable with focus on the women as gender inequality needs to be addressed while attending to the theme. Robert Chambers (2013) says that there is an accelerated change today for people living in poverty and the decision makers are increasingly isolated, out of touch and out of date, hence reinstating the significance of the theme. Based on empirical data and observations the author takes illustrations from her field to show that policies could be based on stereotypes while the reality is different which could be a hindrance to effective policy formulation.

1. POVERTY AND EMPOWERMENT

Poverty as an area for academic discussions and research has been much sought after and lot of work has been done in this field. The official norm for measuring poverty in India is the calories and anyone below the average intake of 2500 calories is seen to be poor and internationally the poverty line stands at a rough figure of $1.25 per day. As per the recent definition of poverty by India, access to six basic amenities in addition to consumption of food is included. Poverty is now more comprehensively as deprivation of access to facilities like education, health, infrastructure, clean environment, and benefits for women and children. MK Gandhi gave an added dimension to the concept of poverty when he said that not only does poverty deprive the poor of the basic amenities but also

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their soul. Needless to say that the poor are dispossessed and they lack opportunities. Poverty can be redefined as all about 'power and powerlessness'. The need of the hour is 'empowerment'.

Empowerment just like poverty has been much talked about and the term has been in circulation for more than two decades. Though there is no fixed or authoritative definition of the term but is frequently used to describe a process wherein power is given to certain underprivileged sections of the society (Mohtany, 1995; Batliwala, 1994). The word empowerment cannot be understood without understanding the word 'power'. Empowerment is clearly concerned with power, and particularly with changing power relationships and the redistribution of power between individuals and groups. Power can be defined as control over material, human and intellectual resources. Such resources can be land, water, forest, people and their labour and skills, knowledge, information, ideas, money and access to money etc. Power is dynamic and relative and is unequally distributed. Power is closely related to the term 'ideology', for every power structure requires a separate power ideology to justify and perpetuate the existing pattern of control and distribution of resources. Ideology itself is a complex structure of beliefs, values, attitudes, and ways of perceiving and analyzing social reality. The survival of power structure is dependent on the acceptance and participation of all these segments — including the powerless. Though power can be perpetuated initially through coercive means, subsequently ideology of the dominant group is seen to take over and produce a rational for inequality. Such inequality through such ideology is widely disseminated and enforced through all social, economic, political and religious institutions and structures. The division of power based on the caste system is self explanatory (Batliwala, 1994).

The term has been widely used in relation to women. Terms like women's welfare, uplift, development, awareness raising, and reservation are some of the terms that have proceeded to mean and referred to as empowerment. The distribution of power unfavorably to women arises from two sources, viz., gender and patriarchy (Singla, 2007). Empowerment, particularly women's empowerment, may be defined then as the process—and the result of the process—whereby the powerless

or less powerful gain greater access and control over material and knowledge of resources and challenge the ideology of discrimination and subordination which justify this unequal distribution. Particularly, women's empowerment is the translation of the structures of subordination, including changes in the law, civil codes, property of inheritance rights, control over women's bodies and labour, and the social legal institutions that endorse male control. For the women at the grassroots level, empowerment means a range of activities from individual self assumption to collective resistance, protest and mobilization that challenge the basic power relations. Venessa Griffen (1987) describes women's empowerment as 'adding to women's power' and lists the characteristics of women's empowerment as: having control, organizing further control; having a say and being listened to; being able to define and create women's perspectives; being able to influence social choices and decisions affecting the whole society; being organized and respected as equal citizens and human beings with a positive contribution. Empowering through inclusive growth inclusive with active involvement of the poor people specifically the women are suggested.

2.   INCLUSIVE GROWTH AND POLICIES

Wealth should mean well being and not money. Growth which does not provide for jobs for people will not help poor. Hence today policy makers and implementers often understand development to refer to both human development and economic development. "The purpose of development is to help people live longer, more productive and more fulfilling lives" says, Magbub ul Haq. "Economic growth that does not put people at its center is development without a soul", says Haq (Baru, 1995). The need of the hour is inclusive growth and inclusive policies. Inclusive growth focuses on creating opportunities accessible to all. Growth is inclusive when it allows all members of a society to participate in and contribute to the growth process on an equal basis regardless of their individual circumstances (Ali and Zhuang, 2007). An inclusive growth gives voices to the people and results in effective policies. This leads to working in togetherness wherein the vulnerable and the marginalized craft out their future with the government. In the process making the executive and the legislature bodies of the

government aware of pertinent aspects of poor people such as (Chamber, 2013):

- their priorities
- their experiences with institutions and their attitudes
- people's words and concept of well being and
- their gender relations.

Growth processes that include primitive tribes tribal groups, adolescent girls, women, marginalized groups and others who do not have strong lobbies to ensure that their rights are guaranteed, forms one of the dimensions of inclusive growth in the 11th FYP. The following section shares field situation/s which would be unknown and untouched by our policies in the absence of inclusive growth.

3. GRASSROOTS REALITY

This section shares the life and experiences of various groups and includes the scavengers as an occupational group, the elected women representatives of the panchayats, the women headed poor household and the tribal women of Madhya Pradesh.

Scavengers of Delhi

Scavenging is a blow to the human dignity and needless to say that the change of their vocation would be most welcome by this occupational group who have been doing this job for centuries right from the time of their forefathers. The same was reflected in the author's conversation with a group of scavenger women during her research work. On being asked by the author whether they like their job, the response was an expected one, 'who would like to clean someone else's dirt?' which unquestionably implies that they wish to change their jobs as the present job is dirty. On asking the alternative vocations that they could take up, the women seemed clueless and left it to the author to decide for them saying, 'hum jane ya tum, padi likhi tou tum ho (You are educated and would know what is best for us). The situation however changed when the question put across was 'if the same job is converted into a government job?' The responses were that if the job is converted into a government job they would most willingly like to continue doing it as that is the only work they know and nothing else.

Reasons given for their inability to attend any training programme were- poor health, growing daughter and their marriage, children's education, taking care of home, poor eye sight, to name a few.

The inference is that while a rehabilitation programme for one of the most despised occupational groups i.e., scavenging may be seen as the best alternative, the reality is different. Women comprise 80 per cent of the scavenger population. Majority of them are unwilling to undergo any change of job or attend any training programmes as according to them scavenging is the only job they can do best and it being a part time job while it adds to their family income it also gives them sufficient time to look after their families. Besides, they are not educated to learn a new vocation and neither do they have time or inclination.

It is important that they are heard and policies and programmes get framed accordingly for optimum benefit to them without wasting resources. Since their concern is the well being and education of their children money can be invested to ensure them good quality education by way of proper schools and appointment of teachers along with the wellness of the scavenger population.

Elected Women Representatives of Haryana

In recent decades 'decentralization' is looked at as a innovative change as it pushes power and decisions down from national to local levels. The positive side definitely is that it brings power closer to people ensuring that local decisions match local needs. One of the prominent cases of decentralization of recent decades is the 1992 constitutional amendment which required at least one third of the seats in local councils to be allocated to women. In India decentralization combined with affirmative action has led to an upsurge in women's leadership. It was seen that around 40 per cent of the women elected came from families below the poverty line, triggering shifts in public spending on water, community toilets, the promotion of school attendance for girls and other essential services.

However, empirical data shows that in the northern states of India the women's entry as sarpanch or president of their tier

has led to formation of terms like 'sarpanchpati' or 'proxy' women heads. Similarly while it is understood that women's presence in the PRIs gives voice to women's issues it also cannot be denied that women would be giving importance to those issues which men consider as important. It also cannot be denied that while there are men who have not been comfortable with women's entry into the PRIs there are also cases where men speak more positive of the women's reservation than do the women themselves (Singla, 2007).

These ground level realities need to be known to the policy makers. To add, the draft National Policy on Women, 2016 once again misses out the ground reality and reiterates the 2001 document which mention about the reservation of seats for women at different levels of government without addressing to issue of 'sarpanchpatis' and similar others like the physical violence on the EWR .

Woman headed household and poverty

The poor woman with five young children fears the morning sun rays peeping into her room through the window. She hurries up to cover the window with the sack so that the children don't wake up seeing the morning and start demanding food. A situation where food scarcity leads to the families placing moist bricks one upon another and remove them after a week or so to pick up the worms that get formed for their day's meal.

It is important for the government to know what hunger is and possibly then more relevant solutions may be found to dealing with the problem. Hunger paralyses the mind to the extent that the only thing that one can think of is 'food'.

Tribal Women

During one of the visits to the field in the Madhya Pradesh s part of an assignment with Dr. Shroff eye hospital, the interface was with the local tribal women regarding eye care. It was observed that children ate glow worms to improve their night blindness due to the prevailing myth that glow worms help in curing night blindness. Similarly, during application of kaajal (paste applied in eyes for beautifying the eye) by their mothers the little children cried breathlessly. The mothers still enforced it little realizing that their chapped fingers were doing more

harm and little good to the eyes. There was only one bus that passed by early in the morning through the villages and that also not on regular basis. That was cited as one of the reasons for large number of deliveries at home and high death rate of the new born or the mother.

The point is that all these situations go unobserved and unmentioned in the policy statements for the poor and the tribal women and men.

Goonj

Similarly, during the author's recent visit to the jungles of Kabirdham/ Kawardha, district in Chattisgarh, as part of her research with the NGO Goonj[1], the interaction with the families of the Baiga tribe showed that the women were not very happy with the cloth received as it did not suit their purpose. For instance they needed the 8 meter long cotton saree and what they got was the 6 meter synthetic saree which was not of much use as it was fancy and did not suit their purpose of wrapping their infant on their back with the saree during their work. Similarly the churidars (Indian pants) are not of much use and the salwars are preferred as they facilitate work. Similarly under their cloth initiative NJPC (Not just a piece of cloth),.the sanitary napkins send to this area did not find much of a support as the baiga women use a bigger cloth in contrast to what was send as a part of the kit.

Due to accessibility of the Founder the field scenario was shared with him which was noted for future action.

These realities are cited as an illustration to state the point that the policies need to be inclusive by way of incorporating such deviations of behavior from the stereotyped.

4. REFLECTIONS

Eventually the formation of good policies is related with good governance and putting systems in place. It may be in the form of high taxation as is the case of Nordic countries or it may be generating employment which is another major way of redistribution and establishing a system. Women's employment deserves a special mention as it ensures gender equality as part of good governance.

World over several efforts are made for empowering the poor which can be stated as individual cases but I doubt if they can be seen as a recipe to solve the problems of the poor. The poor have not one but 'n' number of problems. So what does one do? One alternative is by giving them more things say more schools that is the supply increases but then the other side says that let the demand come from them. Also what is the guarantee of education in the schools as there are no teachers, no blackboards, no chairs no washrooms. Then somewhere someone had stated that one of the ways to motivate the children to come was to give them a kilo of lentils in schools. Another answer to the question of why the poor remain poor could be because the policies that are framed are based on stereotypes such as the poor are lazy, passive, self sufficient and helpless, they have no economic existence, possess very little or nothing and thus the policies get framed as readymade formula.

What is needed is to be in the ground, spend time on the ground, talking to people, collecting own data and trying things out. Policies need to be based on facts and data and not on guess work. Also it seems that there is lack of ideas on how to work and here I am reminded of Abhijit Banerjee, when he talks about a man from history called Kapuscinski who was greedy and not interested in any policy. He played checkers during the day or joked around with his staff, the drivers, cooks etc. and did not have any strategy to do things. He did not have any grand plan for being in power. He was in history by accident. It seems that 17 people had entered the palace, killed the king and he became the president because he had some qualification which others did not have. So just like him there is lot of greed in lot of places and complete lack of ideas of how to work. Somewhere there is this question of good politics and bad politics. Small interventions can change things in significant ways and thus it is important to be engaged at the policy at the level at which it is carried out.

The following section traces case studies which are reflective of the above and further show impact of gender equity approach in the entire process.

5. CASES STUDIES

This section provides three case studies which show how effective policies and intervention strategies get framed when

direct contact is established with grassroots. The third case is from France and similar to the others by way of empowerment.

Livelihood Opportunities

This case shares with the participants the PRADAN's model of Kesla Federation which offers a platform to bring rural poor women together and through sharing, help them to get out of the clutches of poverty. The section is based on the author's week long rural camp in PRADAN, Kesla along with her students to study their livelihood programme.

Established in 1983, the organization PRADAN operates at three levels with the local women—SHG level formed at village, Cluster level formed by combining two-three village SHGs and Federation level which is at the level of district, implying a high membership. At a time when organizing the poor is not easy this organization has been able to get a membership of 8000 women at the level of the Kesla Federation. This has been done through the basic approach of 'peer learning' alone. The members are encouraged to pool in their own resources as the organization does not lend any financial support.

Kesla block in Madhya Pradesh is dominated by the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) population which is among the most deprived not only economically but also on their citizenship rights due to absence of basic amenities for the local people. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes women are assisted in conquering poverty by enhancing their livelihood capabilities and providing them with sustainable income earning opportunities. The livelihood options developed by PRADAN include Sericulture (Tasar Cocoon Production), Lac cultivation, Livestock development, Poultry rearing, mushroom cultivation to name a few.

Livelihood Options for Poverty Alleviation

We visited the villages where women have undergone training and have adopted any one of the vocations. These women are members of their village SHGs and have shown initiative to come forward to invest and start a livelihood. Depending on the resource endowments of the area the women choose the livelihood. They shared their rigorous training

schedule which is hands-on training. In case of poultry farming which is the best doing livelihood programme in the area, the interested women underwent a training of 35 days and were given one day old 400 chicks in one batch to rear. The women confidently explained the nature of training which included morning and evening classroom sessions and their taking care of chicks during day. They were educated on the feed, vaccines, cleaning the shed, monitoring the shed space depending on the chick size, broiler breed. Similarly, the women into mushroom production showed us their production. They produced the Oyster variety which requires lot of care and had to be dried for marketing as they are delicate and rot fast which prevents from trading them in fresh form. The sericulture vocation women demonstrated the cocoons and their feeding on the castor plant, the care required while breeding and during boiling the cocoon.

Marketing through PRADAN's Cooperatives

The organization has formed co-operatives to market the products produced by the women SHGs. Each co-operative has representatives of the SHG, a staff as a supervisor who networks between the women and the traders. In case of poultry the traders are referred to the women by the co-operative from whom they would pick the chicks and hand over the bill which the woman gets reimbursed from the co-operative. In case of sericulture the Department of sericulture had stepped in to buy the boiled cocoons from the women. In case of mushroom farming the dried mushrooms were being supplied to Hindustan Levers for Knoor soups, hotels and restaurants, along with wholesalers and retailers.

The women shared their economic independence and the very systematic way of functioning. On an average the women of the poultry vocation shared a profit of Rs.2500 per batch and on an average they produced 5 batches in a year.

SHG, Cluster and Federation Level

The meetings of SHG and cluster level takes place once a week while for the federation it is once a month. Though we could not attend a meeting in process but for our purpose the organization had called few eminent members of the federation to share their experiences with the students.

SHG Level: At the level of the SHG PRADAN works at building the economic capacities of the women through livelihood interventions (as mentioned above). The strong banking infrastructure in the country is utilized rather than creating a simultaneous parallel banking system for micro loans. The women are trained to utilize the banking services.

Cluster Level: A cluster is formed with two to three villages and comprises of SHG women and other women of the village who come together to share their experience. The experience sharing ranges from livelihood to social issues and matters pertaining to domestic violence child marriage, female foeticide etc.

Federation Level: The federation has a wider membership. It provides a platform where women from a much wider geographical area like the district come together to share their experiences learn and deal with the situations of adversities. The federations of PRADAN perform a wide range of functions such as collecting information, providing training, helping to resolve conflicts and lobbying government. But, they do not take on managing finances.

Economic and Social Empowerment of Women and their Families

Interaction and dealings at wider levels through the federation has changed the lives of the local women both economically and socially. The federation provides a platform where active and enterprising women members act as role models for other women who get motivated to come out of the clutches of poverty. We felt that it is something like, 'if she can do it why not me'. Thus many women had got inspired by others and taken to livelihood training provided by PRADAN. Alongside the federation provided a sharing ground for reforming social evils existing due to the patriarchal society. Members had collectively tried to fight practice of domestic violence in their villages including child marriages and school drop out cases particularly of girls.

Members shared that they were out of clutches from the moneylenders, earned livelihood and their children were now able to go to school, eat and clothe better. There were cases of

domestic violence being resolved as well efforts to stop alienation from property.

In visits to their homes women members shared that the men no longer had to travel to far away places in search of 'mazdoori' (livelihood). They (men) now worked at home and were occupied in activities such as looking after the cows which included taking them to the fields and looking after their fodder; supported their wives in their newly adopted vocations which had helped in many ways particularly in strengthening the family as a unit. Cases of liquor consumption were also on the decline. Another very important impact was that children no longer had to miss school to sit at home and take care of siblings or to do the household work while the parents were away to earn 'mazdoori'. This had further led to increase in the attendance and enrollment of the children in school.

An SHG member who is a role model for many women in her federation spoke about the times when her family of eight (8) members had survived on 250 grams of rice and on forest vegetation. SHG membership of PRADAN not only helped her financially but also in learning about the government schemes and programmes. The member's empowered status was evident from her confidence and from her decision to marry her daughter after the age of 18 years the minimum age requirement for girls in India for marriage. She expressed her being open to inter-caste marriage if that made her daughter happy. Another member shared that her family despised her, her father-in-law would misbehave and when she raised voice against his misdoings she was outcasted by the village. She gathered courage by becoming SHG member with PRADAN and today she lives a comfortable life as she has restored back her lost dignity and self respect. Even her husband who earlier used to be against her had now joined hands with her in the SHG generated work.

The women in Kesla shared that the men drink but quietly now as 'they dare not make any undesirable gestures'. This was also because the SHG women find place as panchayat (village level governing body) members and were doing good work in their newly acquired portfolio all because of the women power exhibited through women's SHG and federation.

Chowmein

Near about 150 women are working with a NGO Goonj in Rishikesh. Most of them are between 25-35 years, uneducated, married and belong to the poor families, some even below the poverty line. They have joined Goonj as daily wagers or piece rate worker. Goonj is no less than God for them. Their families refused to allow them to work anywhere but consented for Goonj, an all women organization. They would like to forget their difficulties and problems of home when they are at Goonj. Infact Goonj helps them to forget their worries and they like working at the Goonj center. 'Time ka pata hi nahi chalta yahan aa kar (time for us just flies when we are at Goonj)' say the women. The women are divided into two categories on basis of their earnings, one is those who earn as daily wagers and others who earn on piece rate wages. The daily wagers get Rs. 350/day and the piece raters work on Sujni (hand made quilt) and assans (hand made seat) @ Rs. 75/- and Rs. 25/- respectively. On an average a woman can make four sujnis in a day and around eight asans.

They have gained in multiple ways after their association with this organization. First, they have become economically independent which is a very important aspect as their husbands belong to the unorganized sector and thus survival is an issue. Those who had taken any loan from informal institutions were able to repay it. Taking loan from formal institution like the bank or any such body which requires collateral is not possible for them. The women are not very mobile but do go out together. They are not educated but the younger ones have some education by way of an intermediate. The women have accounts of their own which have been opened by Goonj and they can also operate an ATM.

The money earned has helped them to send their children to school. Some have been able to afford tuition also for their children. As they say that 'their child benefits when they work'. Husband's medicine, daughter's marriage, surviving through economic crisis at home also got a mention in the benefits of their working. But how has it personally impacted them and then came the reply with the coy smile, 'ab chowmein bhi kha sakte hain (now I can eat chowmein)'. Earlier she had to ask my husband for the money which led to tension but now she has the freedom to eat whatever she/ they want to. 'Samosa too' said

another voice and they all had laughed. 'My man thinks I am arrogant now as I don't ask him for money.' The statement is reflective of a blow to man's pride when his wife gets economically independent. 'We are safe here, we will never leave Goonj,' says a lot about the good governance of the organization and systems being in place.

All this could happen because the organization kept in constant contact with its workers and attended to their real life agonies and experiences rather than working on any stereotypical constructs. The hallmark of the case is the nature of empowerment women derive in their association with the agency. Not only do they forget their worries but are also able to generate options like 'what to eat' due to the economic freedom that they have generated. These aspects are important for framing a policy which is familiar with all such joys of poor women.

Engaging parents to help their children succeed at school[9]

Engaging parents to help their children succeed at school is a low cost strategy to improve educational outcomes. Research by J-Pal affiliates has shown that a program of structured group meetings between parents and school teachers increased parents involvement in their children's education, which in turn improved student behaviour and reduced dropout rates. The policy influence of this is that based on the evidence from the randomized evaluations, the French Ministry of Education has encouraged schools to foster parental involvement during the decisive moments of their children's schooling. In 2015 the Ministry made a parental program available to all French public schools wishing to participate. The program is implemented at three stages: in grade 1 when students enter primary school and start learning to read; in grade 6, when students enter middle school; and in grade 9, when students choose their high school track. The Ministry provides schools that wish to participate with discussion guidelines and supporting materials.

6. CONCLUSION

Poor quality of governance excludes people from growth and other benefits of growth. Social inclusion should be a tool of social policy or public policy. Government should be interested in inclusive policy. That's how poverty is reduced.

There should also be redistribution of political power that is include people who are at the bottom of the pyramid. Policies should be evidence based and practical. Important to listen to the voices of the people and that can happen only if there is such a system. We have decision makers but we need a system of government which is honest and effective.

Notes

1. Goonj, the Delhi based NGO distributes cloth like a parallel currency to money. It uses urban waste as a tool to address ignored basic needs and trigger large scale development work. In the entire initiative the organization encourages researchers to conduct studies to get insight into the grassroot reality which would otherwise get ignored by them or their partner organizations due to work pressure.
2. Abhijit Banerjee is an Indian economist who is presently Professor of Economics, MIT, USA.

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