



The NEHU Journal

Vol. XVI, No.2, July - December 2018

NEHU

ISSN. 0972 - 8406

The NEHU Journal

Vol. XVI, No. 2, July - December 2018

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Department of Biotechnology & Bioinformatics

NEHU, Shillong

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Contents

Editorial	iv
Self-Sacrifice: A Philosophical Analysis from the Perspective of Gender	
Danica A. E. Lyngdoh.....	1
Sanskritization, Genderization and Process of Making of A Woman	
Bhaskar Kumar Kakati.....	15
Higher Education and Socio-Cultural and Political Sustainability	
Ashok Dansana and Digambar Naik.....	28
Public Distribution Among Tribal Households in Karnataka and Telangana	
Jayan T.	41
Agricultural Productivity and its Determinants in Arunachal Pradesh: An Application of Cobb-Douglas type Production Function	
Maila Lama	61
Making of a Frontier Literature	
K. B. Veio Pou	75
Livelihood and Gender: Marginalisation of Khasi Rural Women in Land and Forest Rights	
Rekha M. Shangpliang.....	86
Authenticating the Self in the Slave Narrative of Frederick Douglass's..	
Amanda Khyriem.....	101
DECLARATION	
Form IV Rule 8	111

Editorial

Dear Researchers and Readers

This is the first volume since the new Editorial team took over the responsibility of The NEHU Journal during the later part of 2019. I place on record the efforts and time given by the members of the Editorial team and their contributions thereof.

The NEHU journal has been publishing articles/papers from wide range of academic areas and hence the present volume too consists of articles from different streams of socio-cultural, economic, political and mainstream science. While the Journal seeks to provide deeper knowledge and understanding in the specific areas, it also provides a forum for debate and expression of views which could be taken as basis for larger formulation of plans and policies specifically for Northeast region. Being multidisciplinary in nature, the editorial Board has tried to incorporate articles from different facets of academics contributed to experts in their own field.

The journal contains articles beginning with “ **Self-Sacrifice: A Philosophical Analysis from the Perspective of Gender**” by Danica A. E. Lyngdoh who throws light on the understanding of the concept of ‘self’ which cannot be complete without examining an ‘embodied self’. The self is always situated in a historical, social, political, geographical, familial context.

Bhaskar Kumar Kakati has made an attempt to critically examine the gender roles among men and women considering the existing power relation at both household and societal level in his article “**Sanskritization, Genderization and Process of Making of A Woman**”.

Ashok Dansana and Digambar Naik in their article “**Higher Education and Socio-Cultural and Political Sustainability**” present the possibilities in higher education in terms of its role in sustainable development based on a study limited to arts and science education provided in the colleges and universities in the State of Odisha.

The article “**Public Distribution Among Tribal Households in Karnataka and Telangana**” by Jayan T. brings forth the perspective on the [L]National Food Security Act as notified on 10th September 2013 emphasizing the Act that provides for the coverage of up to 75 per cent of the rural population and 50 per cent of the urban population for distributing subsidized food grains under Targeted Public Distribution System.

The article **“Agricultural Productivity and its Determinants in Arunachal Pradesh: An Application of Cobb-Douglas type Production Function”** by Maila Lama examines the growth in agricultural productivity and its determinants in Arunachal Pradesh, a hilly State of North-East India based on both primary and secondary data.

“Making of a Frontier Literature” by KB Veio Pou narrates the emergence of the writings in English from the Northeast of India which has attracted a lot of attention. He writes that although home to many diverse cultural and linguistic groups with their own rich oral traditions the region is often misunderstood to be a homogenous entity.

Rekha M. Shangpliang in her article **“Livelihood and Gender: Marginalisation of Khasi Rural Women in Land and Forest Rights”** highlights the role of women in natural resource management which has acquired a new dimension with the increasing focus on decentralization of community resources specially in developing nations.

Amanda Khyriem in her article **“Authenticating the Self in the Slave Narrative of Frederick Douglass’s Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself and Harriet Jacob’s Incidents in the Life of A Slave Girl”** highlights how all art involves self-projection to a certain extent and in the novel or drama, the writer projects his own personality into the characters that he creates. In their respective narratives or autobiographies, Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs have sought to tell their stories despite the restrictions of the period.

I take this opportunity to thank the reviewers who have reviewed the articles in a very short period of time and I request them to continue their support in future too. Faculty and research scholars are earnestly requested to submit their articles for publication in the future issues of The NEHU Journal.

Prof. S.R. Joshi
Editor

Self-Sacrifice: A Philosophical Analysis from the Perspective of Gender

Danica A. E. Lyngdoh

M.Phil. Scholar, Department of Philosophy, University of Delhi, New Delhi.

Email: dnclyngdoh@yahoo.com

Abstract

The understanding of the concept of 'self' cannot be complete without examining it's being embodied, which we understand as an 'embodied self'. The self is always situated in a historical, social, political, geographical, familial context. Some of these situations can be what we are born with. My main contention is to discuss what do men and women understand by self-sacrifice and how do they exercise it. The way gender determines our identities and ways of living, could also be located with reference to the notion of self-sacrifice. I would like to argue that the sacrifices should not be evaluated in a gendered way. Women who are making such sacrifices and men who are mostly at the other end, should recognize the value of these sacrificial acts. Just because most of the actions of women are of traditional set up and hardly questioned by them, it should not be taken for granted. The moral worth of women's action is as significant as that of men's. Human existence consists of rationality as well as emotions, and hence the involvement of these aspects of human personality should be valued equally.

Keywords: self, self-sacrifice, gender, private-sphere, public-sphere, traditional ethical theories, ethics of care

Introduction

The understanding of the concept of 'self' cannot be complete without examining it's being embodied, which we understand as an 'embodied self'. The self is always situated in a historical, social, political, geographical, familial context. Some of these situations can be what we are born with. For instance, a person is born into a particular family, maybe from a rich background or a poor background. The world we live in is so diverse and there is no doubt about it. The world is filled with different societies and living in a society, we are guided by different social structures namely our caste, race, economic background and gender¹. Discriminating someone or putting someone down because of from where they come is never justified. Every person is an individual and has the freedom to think for themselves until it is not hurting or harming themselves or someone else. For instance, a job that someone chooses to do is something that the person should

be able to choose as per her or his capacity.

In this article, I will discuss how does our gender influence the sacrifices we make. Human beings are social beings and in order to live in a society, we do something for others which requires the sacrifice of our interests. We can say that we all tend to sacrifice something in order to fit in the society we belong, so that the ‘society’ does not judge us for the choices we make. However, the question remains how are these sacrifices done and judged when it is done by people of different gender. However, since we live in a patriarchal society where our identities are gendered in way that we are expected to perform different roles and responsibilities, the evaluation of our being good or bad largely depends on those gender-specific duties.

Simone de Beauvoir, a feminist thinker, has asserted: “One is not born, but rather becomes a woman”² and “He is the Subject, He is the Absolute. She is the Other.”³ By these two statements, she has made an attempt to establish that gender is a socially constructed identity in which men have been given privilege over women. The ‘self’ refers differently to men and women, and this is because of the patriarchal setup of the society. Since gender is a social construct, the identities of men and women are also embedded with social, political and historical contingencies. Men and women have very different ways of living, thinking and working and this is not only because they are fundamentally different from each other biologically, but also due to the norms and meanings attached with their genders. One of the most common example is the case where, in a patriarchal set up, women are expected to take care of the private realm, whereas men are supposed to go out and be the part of the public sphere.

The way gender determines our identities and ways of living, could also be located with reference to the notion of self-sacrifice. In this article, I would like to find out how does the distinction between private and public realms affect and form the understanding and significance of sacrifices for women and men? Can we say that their sacrifices carry equal worth irrespective of the realms they sacrifice in? How is the notion of sacrifice associated with one’s morality and how do various ethical theories deal with this relation? Do ethical theories make any distinction between masculinity and femininity of the self? If the self is gendered in these ethical theories? If no, then why women have not been referred to various ethical theories as moral agents? and if yes, then what is the basis of this distinction?

Generally, self-sacrifice is understood as giving away one’s life or interest for the others

or for a cause. However, it can also be understood as letting go of something, like our money, time or emotions for someone or for a cause; this self-sacrifice in the article will be discussed according to the gender, i.e., man and woman. In post-industrial world, the sexual division of labour has largely become the distinction of public and private. Due to industrial growth, men started working in industries and hence established their hegemony in the public realm to secure the lives and well-being of family members in the private realm. On the other hand, women were supposed to work within their homes, remaining within the private realm, and taking care of the well-being of family members and in this way, they were carrying and protecting the norms and stability of the society. This shows that although the distinction between private and public was maintained and was apparent, the contribution in one realm had a certain impact on the other realm. However, this arrangement of the distribution of responsibilities and roles in public and private spheres created a hierarchy between these two genders. Before I examine, how the contribution in one sphere (the public sphere), which also contributed in the other sphere (the private sphere) with less direct association, became superior to the contribution in the other field (the private sphere), it is imperative to discuss and deliberate on the question, ‘what is sacrifice?’ The sacrifice will be discussed from the point of view of the public-sphere and the private-sphere.

I

One significant point is to be remembered that if the thing or position sacrificed is not affecting the lives of others, it would hardly be considered a sacrificial act. In order to be recognized as a sacrifice, it has to be beneficial for the others or at least should be intended for that. Hence, it could be argued that a sacrifice which affects more lives becomes more significant and valuable. The way ethical theories have defined the difference between selfish and moral acts, leads us to this understanding where we refrain from doing selfish acts and want to stick to the moral principles adhered to by the traditional dominant ethical theories.

A moral action is such that it involves an awareness of one’s choices and the freedom of will to choose to perform a particular act. In doing this, the use of the faculty of reason plays a vital role. Any action performed out of mere emotion, passion or feeling is not considered to be a moral action. Such kind of actions make us equivalent to animals as they are the ones who are controlled and guided by their emotions and senses. Immanuel Kant, Aristotle, J.S. Mill, believe faculty of reason to be the foundation of

morality. Although they differ from each other in the formulation of moral principles and Aristotle even argues against the possibility of developing any universal moral principle, all of them agree that morality could not and should not be based on our emotions.

This overemphasis on the use of the faculty of reason, raises one important question, why it has been the case that emotions have not been accepted as a source of morality. It has been argued by Aristotle and Kant that men are rational and women are emotional beings. Does it mean that women cannot be moral or that their actions could not be judged from a moral perspective? If this is the case, what would it mean for a woman to be good?

Before starting to analyse the posed question, it is important to discuss a few things that will make us understand it properly. Edward O. Wilson in *Human Decency is Animal* says that:

In hunter-gatherer societies, men hunt and women stay at home. This strong bias persists in most agricultural and industrial societies and, on that ground alone, appears to have a genetic origin... My own guess is that the genetic bias is intense enough to cause a substantial division of labor even in the most free and most egalitarian societies. . . . Even with identical education and equal access to all professions, men are likely to continue to play a disproportionate role in political life, business, and science.⁴

As they are brought-up with such a mind-set, men usually become dominant in a patriarchal set-up. It is without a doubt that the window of education, work and opportunities for men are limitless, the reason for this is because it is understood that men are capable of doing everything (or at least are encouraged to do so) and for that reason boys are exposed to better education. Marie de Gournay says that women “achieve levels of excellence” less often than men because of their “lack of good education.”⁵ Having been given such opportunities since their childhood, a boy, undoubtedly get a better chance of excelling in career. All of this is done because it is true that men are expected to be the breadwinners of their families. Education, primarily, becomes a means to this end where they are prepared for becoming financially independent, who has the responsibility of looking after the financial needs of family. In a patriarchal society, men are compelled (implicitly and explicitly) to follow this path and this becomes the source of their privileged position in society. This also gives them a status higher to that of women, who is supposed to be financially dependent on their men.

In today’s time, the trend is changing, where we see both men and women work. Women are also fighting for their rights and it has been realized by parents that in order to

lessen the social evil and crimes against women, it is imperative to educate girls and make them financially independent. However, this progressive step gets challenged once again by the set gendered roles of women in their families, in particular, and society, in general. After marriage, if given an option and a situation arises as to who should leave their job, it is usually the woman who has to leave her job in such a situation; for instance, if the work timing and the amount of work is too much for a woman to manage the responsibilities in the private sphere as well as in the public sphere, then it is her responsibility to put her private sphere over and above the public sphere. The reason why I am saying 'has to' is because as mentioned earlier, it is a woman who is expected to stay at home and look after the house while a man is expected to provide for the family; to take care of the needs and responsibilities of the house is primarily her domain and she is not allowed to transgress that in any case. Compromising with career for the sake of welfare of family is one of the examples where women struggle with maintaining both the worlds, public as well as private, and hardly succeed in any of them completely.

It could be argued that in the modern world, women's household burden is shared by maids and other domestic servants and hence they are not saddled with the responsibility of the private sphere. In this reference, whereas, on the one hand, it could be argued that still the job of dealing with the servants remains intact with women largely, on the other hand, it is worth mentioning that these house hold activities are generally shifted from one woman to another woman. Hence, it should be noted that this reallocates the gender-specific work.

Sometimes, such traditions are hard on women who are poor and who want to help out financially because most women (especially women from a weak economic background) are not allowed to venture out of their homes in search of work and this is not that they are not capable of working outside their homes, but because 'tradition' shows and teaches us that women belong to the private sphere while men belong to the public sphere and hence, sacrifices made are restricted to their gender specific sphere. Traditionally men, across most traditions, have been understood as being assertive, independent, intellectual, transcendent⁶ etc. and this has been one of the contentions of feminist ethics that traditional dominant ethical theories have overrated the culturally masculine traits of human-beings such as assertiveness, independence, intellectuality, rationality, capability to be transcendent etc.

Since patriarchy privileges men over other genders, men's sacrifices are also

privileged over women's sacrifices. In the traditional ethical understanding, selfishness is put in opposition to altruism. Hence, it becomes morally valuable to sacrifice one's ends for the sake of others. When we talk about sacrifices done by men or supposed to be done by men that is socially recognized and is intended for the achievement of the good of the society. The concept of sacrifice has been discussed by so many thinkers. Men are supposed to sacrifice their lives or interests for the sake of their nation, religion, etc. Hence, their sacrifices are considered to be something which make them acclaimed. There sacrifices too are the part of the public world. This does not mean that men never sacrifice in their homes, but the point is that their sacrifices are usually intended for higher social and political aims and are more recognized in comparison to that of women.

Men are conditioned and susceptible to making sacrifices for the sake of their professional life. Most of the sacrifices done by men are for the sake of their own welfare and are primarily related to their work-place. For instance, if work is important to a man, then he will sacrifice for work and in his work-place. A boy when he is brought-up is usually brought up to 'think like a man' and to 'think like a man' is to mentally prepare him to study hard and earn well. For instance, a boy, since in school, is taught that he should concentrate on his studies and perform well academically so that he gets into a good college and then his path to getting a 'hefty pay-cheque' is to some extent guaranteed. A boy on his way to becoming a man is taught that getting a good job is priority because earning well and being able to provide at home is what makes a man, 'a man'. In such a case, he maybe more sacrificial when it comes to work but maybe not when it comes to family. They sacrifice their comfort and work hard for sustaining in the public world. When they sacrifice, in the public realm for their jobs and financial independence, they get promoted and are paid more for that. The point is their sacrifices make them progress. Whereas, when women sacrifice their career for the sake of their children and family, it is considered to be their duty as mothers and does not lead to any recognized progress in their lives.

Many philosophers, such as Plato and Aristotle, have described men as being independent or autonomous. Aristotle in his book *Politics* says "The slave is wholly lacking the deliberative element; the female has it but it lacks authority; the child has it but it is incomplete."⁷ It is believed that men experience the world differently than the way it is experienced by women. Men are more independent than women in making decisions when it comes to their social-life and work-life. Whereas, for a man, the decision taken

by him for his career is primarily taken by him based on his capabilities and interests and it is hardly compromised after marriage due to the responsibility of family or by the views of his wife; on the other hand, a woman's career is mostly constrained by the limits of the issues of her security and safety and the suitability of her job for family's welfare. Since women are supposed to take care of their families, they tend to go for those jobs which require lesser working hours and work responsibility. After marriage, the decision about their career and other activities are guided and controlled by their husband. Hence, it can be said that men exercise more independence in comparison to women, be it the issue of their physical safety (they can choose any career option without being afraid of sexual exploitation), or financial security (they can choose to leave their houses even after marriage for the sake of better career opportunity). She cannot decide independently, like the way a man can decide for himself, independently. It is often the case that in a family, women move where their man's work take them, so even when that means a working woman should leave her job.

This could be reflected in the case of self-sacrifice too. We see that, women mostly sacrifice without any deliberation over the sacrifices done. They do it as their duty which has to be done and which has hardly been questioned. Hence the sacrifices done by them for the sake of their families are less recognized, as men sacrifice things not just out of their gender specific duties, which can never be questioned, but out of choice and deliberation.

The possibility of validity of moral rules is based on their being based on rationality. The masculine understanding of morality is universalistic and abstract meant for the individuals. This leads to the binaries of reason and emotion, public and private and men and women. It is argued by various traditional ethical theorists that the faculty of reason is the source of morality in human beings and this gives us scope of being impartial and independent in the exercise of moral actions. Hence, since men are considered to be independent, and rational, they are the ones who can maintain the impartiality in moral behaviour and hence are capable of being moral beings. Women, on the other hand, being culturally defined as emotional beings, are hardly capable of being moral in a true sense.

Dominance of men on women has been the ongoing problem. This dominance is not just limited to physical strength but is manifested in various fields, such as, academically, at work-places, and at home, etc. Men are dominant in the public sphere due to their

independence, privileged position in society, they also dominate women in the private world because women are dependent on them. The way women are conditioned, they consider themselves to be dependent on men and hence are dominated by them.

Considering the traits ascribed to men according to the traditional dominant ethical theories, such as independence and autonomy, intellect and rationality, dominance and transcendence, it can be said that men consider the success in the public-sphere as a state of freedom, because public-sphere is considered as an area where people would come together and speak freely and act independently and rationally so that they can make a difference in the society. While this is not possible in the case of private-sphere. The reason being that, the private-sphere is a sphere where only the family and the household chores exist and that is considered as a mundane life, where no personal growth is possible, and this sphere is given to women mainly because of the reproductive system and so, she is excluded from the public-sphere.

There is no doubt that men have sacrificed for their family, in terms of time, emotion and money. Such as, one, a father sacrificing his time, emotion and money for his children by putting their needs before his own. Two, a brother sacrificing his time to accompany his sister. Three, a husband sacrificing his money for his wife. Four, a son sacrificing his time, emotion and money for his parents' needs. In all these cases too, men are seen as the care-takers while women are the ones who need to be taken care of; the reason for this can be that women are seen as someone who can be harmed, sexually and physically, and hence the sense to protect a woman, in terms of a sister, daughter, wife or mother, is instilled in a man, in terms of a brother, father, husband or son. However, the difference is that if men decide to sacrifice in the private sphere then it is recognised and the man is held praiseworthy for it, while this is not so when it comes to women sacrificing in the private sphere.

The sacrifice of a self is closely related to the understanding of how do we define the self. Whereas the masculine traits of a self-include independence, autonomy, transcendence, rationality, feminine traits are dependence, being emotional, remain immanent. If we look at the primary distinction between the traits of these two selves, we find that it is very difficult to account women's sacrifices. Since they are already dependent, immanent, emotional, the sacrifices they make are not taking anything away from them. The self, which is already does not have anything to give away, cannot have

the scope for sacrifice. This is one of the primary reasons that sacrifices done by women are not noticed or praised.

Women generally perform their gender-specific duties in the private sphere and the dilemma of sacrificing their own interests for the sake of others hardly arises as it is assumed on the basis of the culturally defined traits of a feminine self that they should work for the wellbeing of their family members and that would make them ‘good mothers’, ‘good wives’, etc. However, the dilemma of choosing one over the other becomes significant in the case of clash between the roles required for public and private sphere. This dilemma of choosing one over the other is primarily related to the lives of working women as in a patriarchal setup, as culturally public-sphere is not considered to be of their gender.

Since in a patriarchal and heterosexual structure of society the public-sphere is primarily the realm of men and women are associated with the realm of private, their achievements could be accounted for when it is related to their duties within their houses. Due to this, she is taught to sacrifice in the public-sphere for the sake of private-sphere and is expected to do so every time she has to choose between ‘herself and work’, ‘herself and family’, ‘herself and other people’.

There have been different ways how feminists have seen the problem of the patriarchal setup. Some have said that both women and men have the same values and so there is no need to discriminate, instead women should be given the same opportunities as that of men. While some say that, because women are the only gender that can reproduce therefore their virtues and outlook is different from that of men and instead of discriminating women on the grounds of moral immaturity or lack of rationality, they should be given equal respect and appreciation for what they do. This becomes more prominent with the discussion of Ethics of Care and how different feminists have presented different formulation to Ethics of Care.

II

Care Ethics, which is a feminist perspective to morality and decision-making, concentrates more on emotions, especially care, and says that this trait is most culturally most common in women than in men. Women and men are different from each other and that is why we see their inclination to different things. Since biologically women are capable of giving birth to a child, motherhood is associated with them. It is believed that by virtue of being

someone who gives birth and nurtures babies, they are prone to be caring, nurturing and are emotional beings. Care ethics highlights this aspect of women's existence by maintaining that ethics should be based on care which is a feminine virtue. Hence instead of focusing on rationality, which is primarily considered to be the virtue of men and because of which women have been denied the status of a moral being, we should highlight and attach more importance to the feminine virtues. Instead of berating what is associated with women and struggle to make them equivalent to men, one should focus on feminine values as they are of great importance. Care ethics challenges the liberal justice traditions (deontological and utilitarian theories of ethics) and produces an alternative, but equally legitimate, form of morality which has put more emphasis on care, interdependency and interpersonal relationships. Whereas the significance and contribution of the works associated with the private sphere is hardly recognized as worthy of making anyone a moral being in the liberal justice traditions, as it is primarily seen as associated with and limited to women's lives and existence; care ethics has underlined how the feminine virtues such as caring, nurturing, and attachment and concern for others as well as to oneself are constitutive of moral behaviour. Carol Gilligan states:

In order to go beyond the question, "How much like men do women think, how capable are they of engaging in the abstract and hypothetical construction of reality?" it is necessary to identify and define in formal terms developmental criteria that encompass the categories of women's thinking.⁸

However, Ethics of Care is not opposed to the main traditional ethical theories, instead it tries to include 'care' along with the other moral virtues, such as justice, virtue, rationality etc., as has been argued by Virginia Held:

The ethics of care, it should be noted, has potential comparable to that of rationalistic moral theories. It appeals to the universal experience of caring. Every conscious human being has been cared for as a child and can see the value in the care that shaped him or her; every thinking person can recognize the moral worth of the caring relations that gave him or her a future. The ethics of care builds on experience that all persons share, though they have often been unaware of its embedded values and implications.⁹

Care Ethics, unlike the traditional dominant ethical theories, takes care of people and the different situations that people encounter. It attempts to draw attention to the importance of care which is associated with the virtues of women. They are interested more in incorporating emotional aspect of human experience in the concept of morality itself.

III

After reaching this far, this might sound clichéd but, what I've noticed is that men have been at an advantage, both in the public-sphere and the private-sphere. I am not supportive of the compartmentalisation concerning work opportunities of men and women just because of their gender and also having distinct ethical theories based on rationality and emotion. I fully support gender equality where men and women should get the same opportunity and this is only possible when both, men and women, are equipped equally educationally since childhood. However, this should start at home, where a mother, who **chooses** to stay at home to look after the house and the family, should get the same respect and value as a man who works in the public-sphere. The reason I stress on 'chooses' is because it must be realised and accepted that some women would not mind staying in and looking after the family and the house; however, it must be recognised that women should be free to choose what they want to do. It could be argued that what would happen if a woman chooses not to take care of the children, then who will be responsible for them. The point is not that we should argue for women leaving all the roles and responsibilities, but, that this responsibility should be shared equally between both genders and should be as respectable as other paid works are.

It must be understood that gender is a social construction and not a biological construction, because understanding gender as a social construct will make it more promising for a change in the society where, since history this biased confinement of women in the private-sphere and men in the public-sphere has been practiced and was justified on the basis of biological differences. As far as the moral worth of women's sacrifices are concerned, I would like to argue that women and men both are rational and emotional beings. It is hard to think of a human existence which is devoid of either of these aspects.

Through my article, I hope I was able to raise other questions too such as, first, do social constructions become moral rules overtime? Second, even if women agree to follow the rules pertaining to the patriarchal system, does this have to be taken for granted or unrecognised? I have made an attempt to deal with these questions throughout the article and I believe whatever work is done by either of the sexes, they must be recognized and valued equally.

Endnotes

¹In this article, I will only talk about the gender hierarchy in the social structure.

²Beauvoir, Simone de. 2011. *The Second Sex*. Great Britain: Vintage: 293.

³Ibid, p.6.

⁴Wilson, Edward O. "Human Decency is Animal", *New York Times Magazine*, 12 October, 1975. <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/10/12/archives/human-decency-is-animal-hawks-and-baboons-are-not-usually-heroic.html>

⁵Anderson, Nick. "Philosophy's gender bias: For too long, scholars say, women have been ignored", *The Washington Post*, 28 April 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/grade-point/wp/2015/04/28/philosophys-gender-bias-for-too-long-scholars-say-women-have-been-ignored/?utm_term=.6804f636ad65

⁶Tong, Rosemarie and Williams, Nancy, "Feminist Ethics", *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2018 Edition). <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2018/entries/feminism-ethics/>

⁷Borghini, Andrea. "Plato and Aristotle on Women: Selected Quotes." ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/plato-aristotle-on-women-selected-quotes-2670553>

⁸Gilligan, Carol. 1985. *In a Different Voice: Women's Conception of Self and of Morality* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 490.

⁹Held, Virginia. 2006. *The Ethics of Care: Personal, Political, and Global*. New York: Oxford University Press: 21.

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Sanskritization, Genderization and Process of Making of A Woman

Bhaskar Kumar Kakati

Centre Manager, Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam Centre for Policy Research and Analysis, Indian Institute of Management Shillong, Nongthymmai, Shillong- 793014, Meghalaya.

Email- bhaskarmorigaon@gmail.com

Abstract

Learning of gender roles is a complex process of power relation in where family plays a vital role in assigning different roles to new born according to their sex. As assignment of gender roles is an integral part of society so accordingly society develops different mechanism to maintain these gender roles. In this study, an attempt is being made to critically examine the gender roles among men and women considering the existing power relation at both household and societal level. Moreover, in this paper an attempt is being made to understand this socialization process from the angle of Sanskritization which talks about the process through which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently, 'twice born' caste.

Keywords: Socialization, Sanskritization, Tiwa, Gender Role, Patriarchy

Introduction

It is true that there are biological differences between a boy and a girl child. However, by birth they do not inherit all those traits, which a society expects from them in due course of life. These traits are 'conceived, enacted, and learnt within a complex relationships' (Dube, 2001:88) and internalized by both the sexes i.e. man and woman. Since society expects different roles from different sexes, the girl child and the boy child undergo a different process of learning which first starts at home and the surrounding environment (Oakley, 1972).

'Gender roles and gender identities are not acquired mechanically by the child from the parent, but because the child identifies with the parent in a variety of ways' (ibid:179). As the process of socialization begins at home, so the learning is inherited by the new born from the earlier generation and these learning are transferred from one generation to the other and different sexes are trained differently, i.e. the boys and the girls are trained in different fields. Therefore, as a boy or girl 'grows older society provides a string of prescriptions, templates, or model of behaviour appropriate to the one sex or the

other' (Connell, 1987:191). This process of learning of different roles by different sex is known as learning of gender roles, goes through four different phases (Oakely, 1972)¹. A child accepts these norms mainly because 'they are scolded, reprimanded or punished if they do not. Or worst, they are shamed if they dare to be different' (Geetha, 2002/2006: 32). Therefore, the process of socialization is based on legitimate power¹ relations where the agent of socialization has the right to influence those who are being socialized.

As a child has to undergo through the process of socialization and learn different sets of roles as decided by the society (Beauvoir, 1949/1997; Oakley, 1972; Connell, 1987), so the child has to act differently and plays different roles in future. Accordingly, some play the role of bread winner or domestic workers and so on. Whatever role they play in future, thus, it primarily depends upon how they were socialized. Therefore, it can be assumed that process of construction of gender is nothing more than mobility from sex to gender. Considering the process of socialization of different sexes both at household and societal level, an attempt is being made to analyse this process from the preview of another prominent theory of social mobility i.e. Sanskritization.

For the purpose of understanding the process of gender construction in the preview of Sanskritization, the empirical data collected from *Tiwa*-one of the major tribes of Central Assam and data was collected from two Tiwa dominated villages of Morigaon district of Assam namely *Udahinbori* and *Kapurpurabori*. Although, major tools of data collection were participant observation and interview, yet this research also deployed Focus Group Discussion for collection of primary data. For secondary data, the researcher has made extensive literature review on the said group of community.

Tiwa Women in the Study of Tiwa Society

Tiwa- originally a matrilineal tribal group changed to patrilineal group through the process of assimilation with Greater Assamese society, yet they maintained some of the traits of matrilineal society. Existence of *Gabhiyarakha*² marriage at field shows that still many of the matrilineal traits are being existed among them. As traditionally Tiwa was a matrilineal tribal group, thus it is expected that the status of women among Tiwas would be higher than other society. However, the field data gave a reversed picture and the life of Tiwa women was not different from other non-tribal societies of Assam. Like other societies, their daily routine begins from 4.30-5.00 AM and ends at 9.00-9.30 PM, which reveals that Tiwa woman 'does not go to work, she wakes up to work. Home is work and work is home' (Rowbotham, 1973/1981: 71).

As A Woman Tiwa Woman Has No Own Identity

It is generally said that name is not mere label rather ‘naming is a powerful tool for identity construction’ (Dzimiri, Runhare, Dzimiri and Mazorodze, 2014: 227). However, in case of Tiwa women, as suggested by the field data, personal name has no role in life of Tiwa women rather it was father’s name in case of unmarried girl or husband’s name in case of married women which play the major role in identity creation of Tiwa women. Thus, most of the women at field was not recognized with their name but with the name of her husband or father, creating a master-property relationship between man and women, in where woman became the property of her father or husband being identified by their name. Accordingly, being rooted in the natal house, this relationship transferred from father or brother to husband after marriage.

Division of Labour

Basics of sexual division of labour in the Tiwa society is allocation of power. The arrangement is being made in such a way that all economically and socially recognized productive works were being control by the men. Thus, in return women do not gets any cash income. On the other hand, by keeping the economically productive works, men at the village maintained economic dependency of women on men. The consequence of this division of work among sexes gave the upper hand to men, as being the controller of most of the economically productive activities; men controlled not only the economic resources but also the labour of women. Therefore, in this way, the division of work among sexes exploited women thrice. At first, woman had to give her labour without any reward or economic income. Secondly, as she was not getting any reward or income, thus her control over economic resources decreased as compare to men because by appropriating her labour without payment men could divert this income for appropriation of other resource which men might had to pay if hire others for doing the same in place of woman who was not paid. Further, because of this practice woman had to depend upon man over the question of her decision-making and mobility (Kakati, 2016).

Different social norms were being constructed to control the labour of women or to prevent them from controlling economic resources. For example, women were not allowed to touch the plough at the village like almost all the societies of Assam. However, a woman could hire and could invest in her field, but for this, she needed to invest extra money. Thus, by considering the plough as men’s exclusive right, men at the villages not only controlled this economic resource but being the exclusive owner of this resource

men also controlled the exclusive right over land as without ploughing cultivation is not possible. Therefore, control of economic resources by men at the field led to exploitation of women both as a labourer and as a cultivator. Thus, due to lack of economic resources, 'symbolically women are forced to sell herself to men or become bondage labourer' (ibid: 217).

Women and Decision Making

Although in domestic life Tiwa women had some control over some decision as said by the respondents basically in selecting life partner and over some strategic life decisions but only in few occasions, women were invited to give their opinion in public matters. It was informed that traditionally Tiwa women occupied some important office bearers' positions such as *Hadi Kumari*³ in religious hierarchy and some time they were projected with higher social status through different rituals such as *Akumari r ashirwad*⁴. However, it does not assure their claim over power as the field study shows that they could not exercise this power in secular life as this power assumed by them being Hadi Kumari or at Akumari r ashirwad was religious centric. Moreover, these powers are very limited and remain to the women who assume these positions for a short period of time as her services are not used in all through the year.

Women and Property Right

Traditionally Tiwa women did not own any property. Although few women at the field hold a few portions of paternal land those who follow the matrilineal system but it was not equal share to her man counterpart. Two reason associates with this -first to control women in power relation as property is one source of power (Tumin, 1967/1987) and secondly to ensure the retainment of property by the clan. As they follow in clan exogamy so giving property to woman means loss of clan property with her marriage as she became member of other clan after marriage. Thus, socially the distribution of property among the men and women is being arranged in such a way that women are excluded from the property.

Women and Nutrition

Food and nutrition are one of the most important aspects of gender discrimination (Dube, 2009). Almost all the respondents of both the villages denied the presence of any kind of discrimination in regards of food and nutrition against the girl child. They said, "children are children, no matter, whether they are boy or girl" and according to them, they provide food equally to all children irrespective of any sex. An observation over

the pattern of distributing food reveals that children were served with equal quantity of food irrespective of any sex but in most of the cases women who prepared the food got less quantity of food. Thus, in day to day life, unmarried young girls were not deprived off in terms of the quantity of food. But when it comes to quality, sometimes they were being deprived off. Tiwas at these villages generally did not prefer milk, yet a section of rich families started to consume milk for its nutritive value. However, it was observed that generally milk was served to the boys only. They took food in one sitting together except the women who prepared the food. Although it seemed to be an issue of gender discrimination as a section of women took food late, however, these sections of women considered this process differently. According to them, being the cook, it was their duty to serve the food to other family members first. If all of them take food at the same time then who would serve the food. Interestingly, women had the sole responsibility of cooking food but most of the food menu, as informed by some respondents, were decided by preference and need of the men and the boys in the family.

Women and Education

Although there were many evidences of attaining higher education by both boys and girls at these villages, yet it was not equal between boys and girls. In general, girls at the field, studied up to class tenth standard. Only a few girls got the chance to attain higher education after class tenth standard. In general, after that, most of the girls either got tied-up with marriage or assisted their mothers in domestic works. However, lack of educational institutions at the villages or nearby villages forbidden many girls to go for higher study but it is not the sole cause of not attaining higher study by these girls. Further, the condition of girls' education was worst in those families which were economically backward or had school going boy children. This research found number of cases at field which shows that girl child dropped out from school education to support the education of their brother(s). As their families could not afford the cost of two children at one time, so they preferred to cut down the cost of education of the girl child even if the girl child was more brilliant than that of boy child. The main reason for this was the prevailed in the cultural notion of family assets. As boys were considered to be the real assets of the family, so they preferred boys' education first. They considered that, as the girl would move to her husband's family then there was no reason for supporting her education. According to them the boy would only generate income for the family. In such a situation, they preferred boys' education. Further, in some cases, division of work by sexes was

also found to be one of the major factors behind discontinuation of girl in education, especially for those families which had no adult women to carry out the domestic chores. Therefore, other family members to earn extra income for the family appropriated the labour of the girl especially in the domestic sphere. Therefore, here we can conclude that girls' education at these villages depends on three factors- the number of children attaining education at family, the number of women who can carry out domestic chores and number of women can earn some income for the family.

Dicussion

Among Tiwas the basic unit of social system is family. In all spheres of life from decision making to mobility of its members, family plays an important role among them. Therefore, it is not only the primary group of production and reproduction but it also decides the way of life of its members. For example, it is the family who decides who should own property, who will generate livelihood, who will take education, and who will attend different meetings etc. Moreover, family only has right to decide about the membership of different religious and economic groups for its members. Therefore, in spite of having very few families in both the villages, they have numbers of religious *khels* (groups), different economic groups and different political parties. Similarly, boys and girls have to play different roles that were identically different from each other. There are many evidences, which reflect the moulding of girl child to undertake socially recognized feminine works and boy child to undertake socially recognized masculine works. So, from the very beginning, that is, at the age of about 8-9 years, the family exposed the Tiwa girl child to different kinds of socially recognized feminine works such as cleaning, fetching water, collecting fire woods etc.

Moulding a girl child to carry out these works starts at very early years of her age so that she becomes familiar with these works in a very early period of her life. They considered that knowing these works are important for her future life, otherwise it would be difficult for her survival. On the other hand, it was found that no boy child was taught to carry out these feminine works. This process of a socialization of a girl child can be defined as the process of Genderization that derived from the term Sanskritization⁵. In simple, Genderization can be defined as the process of socialization of a girl child which paves the way for the patriarchy to dominate over her body and mind right from her birth to death.

The reason why this research is trying to incorporate the Sanskritization process

which deals with upward mobility in Hindu caste society with secular process of socialization of different sex is that ‘gender is a system of power relations, and way of signaling or signifying power’ (Brush, 2003:11). ‘In fact, the set of roles, behaviours and attitudes that societies define as appropriate for men and women (‘gender’) may well be the most persistent cause, consequence and mechanism of power relations from the intimate sphere of the household to the highest levels of political decision-making’ (Koester, 2015:2). Similarly, ‘Sanskritisation leads to heightened sensitivity to ideas of purity and pollution, and to the performance of elaborate life-cycle, calendrical, and other ritual’ (Srinivas, 1972/2011:229) and through these women hold an important position in family. Thus the ‘feminine preoccupation with ritual provides them with power over men’ (ibid:229). Those women who gained high status because of mobility in social hierarchy, however, got this status in the price of immurement (ibid) as they have to face many restrictions on their life. Thus, when a woman marries a man of upper caste she not only attains higher social status but she has to follow the rules of her husband. Similarly, in the process of Genderization a girl is train in the traits of feminine gender. Although a Tiwa girl was forbidden to do many things, which are considered boys’ work, but it was found that until her marriage the restriction on girl child was not rigorous. For example, although there is some restriction on girls’ mobility, there is no strict restriction on their dress code, etc., which was observe among married women. A married woman among Tiwa needs to follow restricted dress code, her mobility is highly dependent on her husband and her life is governed by a set rule as decides by the society. However, for this she enjoys high status as compare to unmarried girls in religious hierarchy. An unmarried girl among Tiwa does not have a high status in the religious arena. Only the married women are allowed to distribute food in community feast and can take food with men only in community feasts, but not along with them. Unmarried girls can take food only after all men and married women have finished eating. However, in case of boy there are no such norms. Thus, the Genderization is a process of adopting values, customs, rituals, ideology of a married woman by an unmarried girl wherein she was trained to accept whatever her husband decided. So that she can attain high religious status in future. This process of Genderization ended with marriage of girl and it is expected that she will follow whatever she learned during the process of Genderization throughout her life.

Tiwas consider unmarried girl as impure and a girl can only become pure if she marries a man. So, marriage of girl is considered to be one of the most important aspects

life of Tiwa girl. The principle of purity was so strict among them that the unmarried girls are not allowed to prepare community feast. Further, they do not have any say in the society. Except those religious meetings or ceremonies, no body invites them to attend any other secular or religious meetings and ceremonies. Akumari r ashirwad is such prominent example of such customs that organize for unmarried girls. However, with the marriage of girl, the whole situation changes. Now they become social assets and attained different social responsibilities. They can now perform different rituals. Thus, like Sanskritization in which the upward mobility of any caste does not affect Hindu cast hierarchy, in the process of Genderization the upward mobility of a girl child due to marriage does not have effect on the structure, as it is the positional change of a group of sex. As Genderization does not affect the power relations, so it is acceptable to the Tiwa patriarchal society. Moreover, in a patriarchal society like Tiwa society the Genderization process is found to be acceptable as it is the process, through which a man can control the labour of woman by controlling her body. Thus, as mention above, Genderization is only a positional change as it does not ensure upward mobility of Tiwa woman in social hierarchy where man hold the top positions. Further, this status is subject to her husband being alive. If any woman loses her husband then her position again changed and she was demoted to the position of an unmarried girl.

It will not be wrong to say that the process of Genderization begins much before the process of socialization among the Tiwas. They have different arrangements for different sexes to welcome the new born to the family. First birth ritual of the new born is observed differently for different sexes. For example, during *Asujiya* (first birth ritual), the child and the mother come out from the room for the first time from the birthplace in case of home delivery. In case of institution delivery, they need to stay particular room when they return to home up to *Asujiya*. The household arranged this ritual to get bless from *Giyati*⁶. One may make some interesting observation here. In case of boy child, the *Giyati* blesses the child to become the primary breadwinner of the family and hand over a bow as a symbol of physical strength made by his father. On the other hand, in case of girl child, the *Giyati* blesses the child to become the domestic worker and weaver and hand over cotton as a symbol of weaving. Further, they also sacrifice a cock in the name of deity in case of the boy child and a hen in case of the girl child. However, one of the prominent scholars of Tiwa, Balairam Senapati (2009) while discussing the Tiwa culture reveals that Tiwa maintained unequal numbers of the sacrificing cocks and the

hens for this ritual but due to economic reasons now this number decreased to one cock or hen. Earlier they sacrificed seven cocks during the Asujiya of a boy child and five hens for the Asujiya of a girl child (Senapati, 2009). Thus, when a child does not even know who she or he is, they fix different gender roles for boys and girls. Although the above description merely reflects the gender difference, it also reflects the power relation among these sexes. Sacrifice of a greater number of cocks than the number of hens reflects how the power was being distributed unequally among these sexes. It also reflects how the boy is projected as more powerful than that of girl. Therefore, gender difference is not only practiced in reality but was patronized through different cultural norms and customs.

The entire women of these villages have undergone through such processes of Genderization as it was expected by the society and through this, a girl's sexuality was tied to her future as a wife and mother. Therefore, division of works among the sexes was the outcome of such socialization process (Kelkar and Nathan, 1991; Geetha, 2002/2006) where in a girl is socialized to become a wife, who at any condition would under control of her husband.

Thus, though a Tiwa woman even undergone different pain throughout her life due to different expectations of the society, yet she never tries to violate these learning. Further, instead of resisting these norms, they insisted their girl children to follow the same⁷ throughout their life. Thus, this process of Genderization wherein a girl is prepared to accept the domination of her husband in future reflects the process of preparation of the girl child for submission of herself i.e. marrying a man. This submission is also reflected in the form of cultural traits. It was observed that all married women irrespective of age, religion, education, needed to take *urani*⁸ in front of the men. Taking urani in front of men was a symbol of such submission. Moreover, it was observed that women never speak in front of elderly men in community forum until they are asked to do so.

Conclusion

Construction of gender is a social process in where different sexes are being traits with different gender (Oakley, 1972). Those biological process when changes to social process it becomes gender and this is attaining through socialization process through disciplinary power⁹ in where the agent of socialization process itself works under the control of patriarchy. Although process of socialization is mostly responsible for construction of gender but this process actually take place much before the birth of child. People expect for boy child rather girl child. People had different traits for different sexes

so that they may be moulded to different genders. This is called Genderization. In simple this process is more phycological than physical.

Although the theory of Genderization can give a clear picture about the process inheriting values, attitude, custom of married woman by an unmarried girl, yet this theory is based only on understanding of Hindu families, especially among the Tiwas of Morigaon, as they were the bases of the study. Further, we may need to understand the Genderization in different castes and religious societies on basis of fundamentals of the society which could not be done in this study due to lack of time and resources as well as because it is not covered in the specific study.

End Notes

ⁱLegitimate power is one of the important bases of six power bases. Other bases of power are Informational, Reward, Coercion, Expertise and Referent. These bases provide the resource bases for the influencing agent or power figure to influence the action of another person or target of influencing agent, which in turn led to change in belief, attitude or behaviour of target of influence. The legitimate power depends on certain bases. These include cultural values inherited by the society, acceptance of social structure, designation of legitimizing agent. For further details, see French, R.P., and Raven, B.H. 1959. 'The bases of social power', in D. Cartwright (ed.), *Studies in social power*, Institute for Social Research, Ann Arbor: 150-67.

ⁱⁱIn this system the boy needs to move girls house as well as take the surname of his wife after marriage.

ⁱⁱⁱWoman only occupy this position and to occupy this position a woman must be the daughter of the Bongsha (Clan). Although after marriage, the daughter of Tiwa families leave the own clan and incorporated the clan of her husband, but in case of Hari Kuwari, the husband had to accept the clan of her. For further details see, Senpati, B.2009. 'Tiwa Janagosthir Janmo-Mritu aru Bibah Pradhati', in K. Mili (ed.), *Tiwa Sanskritir Rehrup*, Hills View Publication, Guwahati: 98-106.

^{iv}In these ceremonies, the family feed all the girl children of their clan or neighbours who had not attained puberty and in return, these girls blessed them to be happy. Only women could perform the rituals of this ceremony.

^vSanskritization is the process by which a 'low' Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and

frequently, 'twice born' caste. For further details, see Srinivas, M.N.1972/2011. Social Change in Modern India. Orient BlackSwan, Hyderabad.

^{vi}They performed the rituals in place of host families and represented the host families in the rituals. Each family had their own Giyatis selected from different clans of their own religious division. The Giyatis were selected from different clans, so that they could perform those activities, which could not perform by the host families due to social norms.

^{vii}Even most of the married women at the field did not have a good outlook towards the girl child who attended different educational institutions situated outside the village. According to them these are the institutions where they learn different elements of different cultures from different people and brought back to their villages when they returned to the village during vacation. Many of such elements of different cultures were new to the village women who had not gone beyond the district; hence, they considered them as foreign cultural elements, which according to them had no relevance in their society. Further, sometimes many school going girls behaved like boys, which the rural village women discard as foreign elements.

^{viii}It is the process of covering the head of woman with her sadar (Saree).

^{xi}It is a process of controlling the powerless by powerful. In this process the powerless supervised themselves in a disciplined manner and power was retained by the powerful. Thus, the powerless considered the tradition and social behaviour as the rules, which they should abide by and maintain for running the society. Therefore, there was no social control imposed from the above through outright coercion, but by disciplining people in serving power themselves. For details see, Foucault, M. 1977. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Pantheon Books, New York.

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Higher Education and Socio-Cultural and Political Sustainability

*Ashok Dansana**

Assistant Professor in Education, School of Education, Ravenshaw University, Cuttack.

Email: dansana.cie@gmail.com

Digambar Naik

Ph.D. Scholar, School of Education, Ravenshaw University, Cuttack.

Email: digambarnaik06@gmail.com

Abstract

In this paper an attempt has been made to present the possibilities in higher education in terms of its role in sustainable development based on a study limited to arts and science education provided in the colleges and universities in the State of Odisha. Socio cultural and political sustainability is the state of affairs where it refers to achieve distributional equity, adequate provision of social services including health and education, gender equity, and political accountability and transformation of cultural identity by a society and nation. It is found that contribution of higher education in the development of quality and equity education is significant. Higher education can minimise the discrepancies in quality, gender equity and helping in developing positive attitude among the conservative people. It can make people assertive and informative about their rights which can secure a better social order and health condition. It is revealed that the relationship between an individual graduate and society is comparatively more productive than the symbolic and semantic relation between university as a whole and society.

Background

In the 21st century there are wide ranges of concerns over the purposes of education especially of higher education while shaping educational policy and plans. For instances, at the first Earth Summit in 1972 in Stockholm, government representatives and non-governmental organisations, education was identified as fundamental to the successful achievement of sustainable development, and a point that has been reiterated by numerous governments and practitioners in the intervening years. Recently, in 2005, the UN adopted a Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, 2005-2014 (DESD), which seeks to “integrate the principles, values, and practices of sustainable development into all aspects of education and learning.” The debates and discussions on the purposes of higher

education basically divide people mainly in two blocks. One block supports the idea of university that of higher education to produce skilled manpower and to serve the ever increasing needs of economic growth of the society, while intentionally or unintentionally blinding their eyes in assessing the social and ecological cost, and another block comes out with the idea of the university to produce intellectuals of critical understanding and high moral traits, appears to be guided and tilted with the foundation of inclusive growth and development in society in a sustainable manner.

This study is confined to general higher education that is arts and science education provided in the colleges and universities in the State of Odisha. The post graduate students from subject like Economics, Political Science, Geography, Environmental Science, Life Sciences (Botany and Zoology) and Earth Sciences who were enrolled for the academic session 2010-2011 in Utkal University, Sambalpur University, Berhampur University and North Orissa University were involved. Out of 520 post graduate students of four major universities, of the targeted subjects and disciplines, 400 students had been involved and explored which is near about 77% of the existing strength. Besides the students, data had been collected from the Heads and teaching staffs of the Departments and Centres of universities through questionnaire and semi-structured interviews cutting across Arts and Science streams.

Socio cultural sustainability is the state of affairs where it refers to achieve distributional equity, adequate provision of social services including health and education, gender equity, and political accountability and participation and retention and transformation of cultural identity by a society and nation. The United Nations 2005 World Summit Outcome Document refers to “independent and mutually reinforcing pillars” of sustainable development as economic development, social development, and environmental protection. Indigenous people have argued, through various international forums such as the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous issues and convention on Biological Diversity, that there are four pillars of sustainable development, the fourth being cultural. The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO, 2001) further elaborates the concept by stating that “cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity for nature”. It becomes “one of the roots of development understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence”. So, talking about the alternative and viable model of development ‘sustainable development’ is incomplete without

addressing the socio-cultural problems within the ambit of sustainable development. The socio-cultural problems in India are not a new area of discourse; it is there and more markedly since pre-colonial period to till present-day. However, the questions of the present days conception of socio-cultural sustainability has some new faces and features. Among them, the questions of social and communal harmony and indigenous identity and heterogeneity have been emerged as significant areas of contentions across the world. Due to unchecked surge of neo-liberal practices and globalization, homogenization and abolition of indigenous practices in the different parts of India have been foreseeable, very often at the cost social order and communal harmony and cultural identity. The succeeding sections set discussions with various possibilities in higher education in terms its constructive role in socio cultural and political sustainability in different geo-political sub-regions of Odisha.

Socio-Cultural Sustainability

Amid the complexities on the paths of development and socio-cultural integrity there are several affirmations in relation to higher education and socio-cultural sustainability of a region and nation. The students are expected that ‘they should grow into independent, critically minded citizens, fully aware of the traditions, histories and ideologies which formed them and respectful of their responsibilities towards their communities and the biosphere. B.R Ambedkar says, “higher education the panacea of our social troubles”. Comim (2007), refers to Amartya Sen’s Capacity Approach (CA); Sen as influenced by John Rawls’ conception of education in shaping a contractualist view of liberal societies, in which following ‘the value of education shouldn’t be assessed only in terms of economic efficiency and social welfare. Equally if not more important is the role of education in enabling a person to enjoy the culture of his society and take part in it affairs and in this way to provide for each individual a secure sense of his own worth. He, further aiding to human development perspective says, “impact of education is not only related to the capabilities of ‘senses, imagination and thought’, as a superficial reading of Nussbaum(2000),but it also present in the capabilities of ‘practical reason’, ‘affiliation’ and ‘control over one’s environment’. Thus, education and its influence on the constitution of autonomous human beings come to be considered the main engine of development. Investment in primary education becomes a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the achievement of human development, given that important functioning and capabilities can be achieved only as part of individual’s further

pursuit of higher education. The university has come to be established as the apex of the educational system and learning institutions to safeguard and ensure the unity of knowledge on the one hand, and to conserve, transmit and diffuse knowledge over the centuries, from generation to generation. In this normative statement of the university's function there is no reference to the function of change, unless this is regarded as fallout from the stated role. Reflecting about cultural and intellectual challenges, Ronald Barnett (2000) has argued that we have entered the age of "supercomplexity", and that this has profound implications for our universities. He explains supercomplexity as follows: In short, professional life increasingly becoming a matter not just of handling overwhelming data and theories within a given frame of reference (a situation of complexity) but also a matter of handling multiple frames of understanding, of action and self-identity. The fundamental frameworks by which we might understand the world are multiplying and are often in conflict of the multiplication of frameworks, there shall be no end. He also claims as: Amid supercomplexity, the university has the dual responsibility not only of compounding uncertainty but also of helping us live with the uncertainty; even to revel in it. In this study it was found that in several occasions female graduates are working as role models as well as active agents in development of education in their community and society. As earlier mention that around 80% of people in Odisha live in the rural set up are yet to recognize as advanced and developed on many fronts among them education, particularly higher education is one. In such circumstances the present level of participation and self-capacity building by the graduates is welcome condition in the processes of sustainable development.

Human health in its broadest sense of physical, mental and spiritual wellbeing is to a great extent dependent on the access of the citizen to a healthy environment. For a healthy, productive and fulfilling life every individual should have the physical and economic access to a balanced diet, safe drinking water, clean air, sanitation, environmental hygiene, primary health care and education. *Agenda 21*, the blueprint for action adopted at the Rio Earth Summit, acknowledged the close relationship between health, the environment and development, as well as the need to improve health in order to achieve sustainable development. Poverty eradication and economic development cannot be achieved where there is a high prevalence of debilitating illnesses. And the health of the population cannot be sustained without responsive health systems, a healthy environment and an intact life-support system. People who are poor are more

likely to get sick. But now much more is known about the reverse, which is also true: people who are sick are more likely to become poor. Ill health creates and perpetuates poverty, triggering a vicious circle that hampers economic and social development and contributes to unsustainable resource use and environmental degradation. So, efforts to protect the health of the environment need to be closely linked to programmes to protect the health of people. “Health and development are intimately interconnected. Both insufficient developments leading to poverty and inappropriate development resulting in overconsumption, coupled with an expanding world population, can result in severe environmental health problems in both developing and developed nations. Action items under Agenda 21 must address the primary health needs of the world’s population, since they are integral to the achievement of the goals of sustainable development and primary environmental care” (Para 6.1). National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences (2011) in its report says “a healthy population is essential for economic development. The poorest people on the planet tend to suffer most from the health effects from exposures to environmental hazards like air pollution and impure water. In turn, disease and disability related to polluted environments slows and blocks economic development. In addition to its toll on human suffering, illness carries a significant financial burden in the form of healthcare expenditures and lost productivity. For example, unhealthy children often cannot attend or perform well in school, and unhealthy adults cannot work or care for their families”. E. Buch, in looking at the linkages between poverty and ill-health said that it could be seen that poverty was at the root of much ill-health, and this poverty was multi-dimensional. At the same time, poor health could lead to poverty, both at the national and household levels. Conversely, good health could add billions of dollars to gross domestic product, and he further outlined some of the pathways through which this would happen. He asserted that sustainable development was the key to improved health, since the poverty driving ill-health was interconnected with factors such as poor economic growth, inequity, globalization, environmental degradation and weak health services. Health services had an important role to play in sustainable development by reducing the disease burden. However, this role was being undermined by the insecurity of health services in many developing countries, as well as under-funding and stunted technological development (Health and Sustainable Development, 2002).

Education plays vital role in protecting health. Through it one can get access to information and knowledge and empower oneself related to deal with various diseases,

unhygienic environments and hazards. According to the 2003 Human Development Report, “Education, health, nutrition and water and sanitation complement each other, with investments in any one contributing to better outcomes in the others”. Very often people in the underdeveloped and developing regions like Odisha do not have adequate access to those knowledge and information or any other components of development such as health, nutrition, water and sanitation standardize by United Nations. These lead them to vulnerabilities to various chronic diseases at work places like in the field of agriculture, industries and even in the household activities. People are innocently becoming victims of unhealthy practices such as using of contaminated water, production and consumption of chemically and genetically manipulated vegetables and food grains. Considering the educational attainment especially that of higher education in the state of Odisha, it is important to assess its role in the form of productive students’ participation in the development of health standard in their daily life of common people.

It was found that out of 1200 responses in 1146 responses (95.5%) the graduates had agreed to have participated in the development of healthy practices and health in their respective sub-region. On aggregate 94% graduates, across four universities, had participated in the development of health and healthy practices in their society and region. Except North Orissa University, where 88% of graduates participated, in other three universities more than 94% graduates participated. The areas of their participation were: participation in developmental schemes like maternity scheme, children’s scheme, old age schemes; participation in discouraging bad habits like consumption of toxic agents such as cigarette, tobacco, wine/alcohol etc and consumption of contaminated water, vegetables, food grains etc. Although there is not much scope for the graduates there to participate in such affairs due to certain limitations, such as what to consume and what not, is more of personal. But still then students had different nature of participation in promoting healthy practices among people who were in their contact in different situations of their lives. They speak about their nature of intervention and some of them have been brought here. A student of political science discipline, from Kendrapada district, under jurisdiction of Utkal University, saying about his intervention in old age problems, says “the old age pension scheme is not being properly implemented in our *gram panchayat*, the *sarpanch* is not very keen to register all those eligible people under the scheme as a result old age deserving people are unable get benefit of the scheme. In some cases, I appealed the *sarpanch* to register their name so that they can get benefit of

the government scheme and finally he considered their cases and registered in the name list of old age pension scheme.” Similarly, a student of Political Science, Berhampur University, of the view, “there were some cases where the deserving old age people had to give bribe to the official and members of the *gram panchayat* to get benefit of the scheme, I thoroughly convinced people, that, they should not give any bribe for getting benefit of the scheme, this is their right..” A student of zoology, from Jajpur district, under the Jurisdiction of Utkal University, says “in my village people are easily get affected by water borne diseases during rainy season, because they use the open well and tube well water directly without filtered. I often make my village community members cautious in using water from these sources. I advise people to use water purifier like bleaching power and other kind of purifiers available in market, at the office of *gram panchayat* and at the office of Block Development Officer (BDO) supplied by government. People have often kept my advises and have got benefit out of that.” A student of economics, from Jharsuguda district, under the jurisdiction of Sambalpur University, says “in my locality people are not much careful about the uses and conservation of water. I warn and guide people, especially in my village, about the drainage and uses of the contaminated water. I strongly suggest people that they should not discharge the water from their agricultural fields to water reservoirs, especially on which they depend for washing and drinking.” The graduates are playing vital role in the form of guiding people in healthy practices such as using of uncontaminated water and consumption of healthy vegetables and food grains in their day to day lives. In the rural set up of Odisha people are not much sensitive about the use water and they become victims of water borne diseases especially during the rainy season. Besides that, consumption of contaminated vegetables by ignorant people often become victims of diseases.

Political Sensitivity and Sustainability

To understand the sphere of political development is a quite complex phenomenon. However, certain dynamics are understandable particularly in a situation like in a democratic country, India. The Indian constitution has wide range of provisions within the ambit of its Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policies for socio-political and cultural development of society and nation. The people reside within the sovereign territory of India have been guaranteed with the fundamental rights such as: right to equality, right to freedom, right against exploitation, right to freedom of religion, cultural and educational rights and right to constitutional remedies.

As earlier pointed out besides fundamental rights there are directive principles such as: right to work, right to equal pay for equal work, right against exploitation, right to equal opportunity for justice and free legal aid, right to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness, right to human conditions of work and maternity relief, right to living wage and conditions of ensuring decent standard of life for works. These rights and directives coupled with political rights such as: right to vote, to be elected, to access public offices, to criticize government and to hold public meeting give ample opportunity for socio-political and cultural growth, if they are enforced and protected without favour and fear by the designated agencies. Nevertheless, India is yet to get wider recognition in terms of materializing those provisions where many of them had been effective before 1950 and few after consecutive amendments in its constitution.

The constitution of India guarantees for the practices and protection of fundamental rights including that of right to life but paradox is that substantial population in the rural areas are ignorant about it. To practise some of those rights there is provision and practice of local self-government but still there are some people who cannot participate in materializing their rights. In such situation often the graduates, who understand the rights and duties of common people and public personnel, are acting as productive forces in making the system more responsive towards the development of people in the right direction and realizing the goals of grass root governance in more stable and inclusive manner.

As earlier mentioned and cited graduates have enough space and scope to work as leaders and advisors at different levels for developing political sensitivity and sustainability in their society, especially in the underdeveloped and underprivileged sub-regions and regions of Odisha. Amid complexities, there are several affirmations in relation to higher education and socio-cultural sustainability of a region and nation. Among those many very few have been briefed here. The students 'should grow into independent, critically minded citizens, fully aware of the traditions, histories and ideologies which formed them and respectful of their responsibilities towards their communities and the biosphere (Jucker, 2002). Comim (2007), refers to Amartya Sen's Capacity Approach (CA); Sen as influenced by John Rawls' conception of education in shaping a contractualist view of liberal societies, in which following (1971:101), 'the value of education shouldn't be assessed only in terms of economic efficiency and social welfare. Equally if not more important is the role of education in enabling a person to enjoy the culture of his society and take part in its affairs and in this way to provide for each individual a secure sense of

his own worth. Ronald Barnett (2000) says “amid super complexity, the university has the dual responsibility not only of compounding uncertainty but also of helping us to live with the uncertainty; even to revel in it. This is the task in front of the university. In a world where every-thing is uncertain, there is no other task”. In this regard graduates reveal about their participation in making people aware and sensitive towards family planning, civic, political and fundamental rights.

It was found that graduates are participating in developing political sensibility in their respective sub-regions of Odisha. This includes their involvement in making people aware and sensitive about their civic, political and fundamental rights. Some personal accounts of graduates may be referred here for a closure view of the reality. In the view of a male graduate, from the discipline of economics, Berhampur university, “whenever I meet the Christian religious leaders, I always suggest them to not to preach the religion by offering money and kinds, this hurts the sentiment of other community members who live together from the time of their origin. If people voluntarily showing interest to accept any religion then that is a different situation, and then people should be convinced with idea of secularism. I personally suggest people saying that there is no harm in following any religion of one’s own choice and peace and it does not matter if it hurts people sentiment, and there is no religion to hurt people, their religion hardly makes sense if it does not respect the other sentiments and feelings....” it shows greater understanding of secularism... In another view, a female graduate from the discipline of economics, Berhampur University, says, “I encourage people in my circle that there should not be outward force in following a religion or following the principles of religion rather it should be left to individual choice. And there should not be competition among the religious groups to preach their religion in a manner which causes disharmony among the people rather bringing peace and prosperity. If preaching religion causing disharmony then what are the values of preaching it. Let people free to adopt any religious principle of their own....” concurrence with the secular ideas and told to have convinced people to make their own choices during practising religion.

Conclusion

Graduates can be prepared better to deal with any kind of challenge prevailing in given situation. During this stage (17-23-25 years) the youths are capable enough to understand the challenges around them and if they are guided in understanding those challenges. They can be valuable assets for their society and nation in particular and for

the world community in general, in the context of sustainable development. Although it does seem to be a mandatory approach of the universities of the State of Odisha, constructive effects of youth of general higher education is reflected in different sub-regions of the State. Among the major three components of Human Development Index 'education' is considered as one. Education in rural set up of Odisha is comparatively not well represented in terms of quality, equity and accessibility. Education helps in development of free and autonomous beings needs to be managed collectively. In this study it was found that graduates hands in the contribution of quality and equity education is significant in the processes of collective efforts, management and deliberation. In a developing and diversified society, the graduates' interventions in the form of teaching as private tutors, voluntary part time teacher in school and at home, encouraging parents to send their children to school etc. are essential. The graduates' intervention in development of education has brought multidimensional effects. It helps in the processes of teaching and learning where latter is being seriously neglected by the state, where there is lack of trained teachers, where there is need of economic support to graduates to sustain themselves and continue their own formal-informal education. The interventions of the graduates have, to some extent, reduced the discrepancies in quality, gender equity and helping in developing positive attitude among the conservative people in their society. Their intervention has created positive environment in ever growing competitive knowledge society, because people cannot keep themselves isolated or disintegrated. They have to live there without losing their own identity. In this processes quality education empowers an individual to sustain its own worth with mutualism rather become victims of exploitation in the hands of advantageous groups as negative forces of globalization. The graduates' intervention not only increasing the quality of education at primary, elementary and secondary levels rather they are working as positive forces to education of those who were neglected or dropped out due certain reasons, so they are also taking care of the equity aspect. So, in this context they are also working as agent of quantitative growth of education. The qualitative and quantitative growth of education, as a result of graduates' intervention, not only empowering peoples for informed practices but also make them capable to sustain in a competitive environment by securing their own worth.

Healthy living conditions are essential for healthy life. Lack of knowledge about the rights to decent healthy life or knowledge about healthy production and reproduction, consumption of the produced, people often become the victims of diseases. The diseases,

due to unhealthy life conditions and habits, peril the individual economic and social sustainability up to a greater extent. The graduates have been worked as acumen to inform people for their habit patterns and rights. They advise people to keep away from unhealthy and unnatural agro-production which would no doubt alert people in doing agro-practices more cautiously as a result the causalities of diseases, to some extent, go down and ecological balance remains maintained. The graduates inform people about their rights which secure a better social order and health condition as the cases of their intervention in the old-age problems, child development scheme and facilities available at the official out-lets of local self-government. The study suggests that there are active citizenry by the graduates in Odisha. Despite a wide range of efforts in post independent time people of India are living in the darkness of ignorance of State's responsibilities, their rights and benefits. The ignorance not only curtailing their rights and benefits in public sphere but also causing socio-political instability. People promoting the tainted candidates as their political representatives to rule, who often earn their narrow gains at the cost of the ruled, which can be termed as unpopular sovereignty. In such circumstances graduates have attempted to bring light in the darkness of ignorance in the form of alerting people of their civic, political and fundamental rights. When people would start realizing their justifiable rights they could restore their socio-political and cultural sustainability as it was evident 'the man who dared to contest in the local election' despite external pressure and intimidation, and eventually registers a victory, where prior to that a situation of illegitimate power domination was in place for more than a decade.

Social and cultural lags are some forms of illnesses which push an individual in the trap of exploitation. It brings disharmony in an individual, in nuclear and joint family and in society. Besides the existence of legal provision graduates are working as the active forces to reduce the gaps and misunderstanding among people. The graduates not only bearing higher order of knowledge and understanding but also, they have shown their keenness towards its expansion to other members of their community as a result some positive changes among their community members have been brought about. The nature of extension of the university in the hands of graduates is appreciable than any form of collective extension, which hardly being realized among the universities of Odisha.

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Public Distribution Among Tribal Households in Karnataka and Telangana

Jayan T.

Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi.

Email: jayannagaroor@gmail.com

Abstract

National Food Security Act was notified on 10th September 2013. The Act provides for the coverage of up to 75 per cent of the rural population and 50 per cent of the urban population for distributing subsidized food grains under Targeted Public Distribution System. The eligible persons will be entitled to receive 5 kgs of food grains per person per month at subsidized prices of `3/2/1 per kg for rice/wheat/coarse grains. The existing Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) households, which constitute the poorest of the poor, will continue to receive 35 kgs of food grains per household per month. This study enquires the performance of PDS under National Food Security Act among the tribal households in the Khammam district of Telangana and Raichur district of Karnataka. The tribal priority and Antyodaya (poorest of the poor) households obtained around the entire quantity of entitled food grains. Leakages and diversions of PDS food grains declined substantially following the implementation of National Food Security Act. The food grain consumption of beneficiary households increased substantially following the off take of PDS food grains.

Introduction

Although the food grain production and procurement for PDS were sufficient for eliminating hunger from the country, Indian PDS had to undergo vast overhaul for ensuring food security among the poor and poorest of the poor living in the rural areas of the backward districts. National Food Security Act was notified on 10th September 2013. The Act provides for the coverage of up to 75 per cent of the rural population and 50 per cent of the urban population for distributing subsidized food grains under Targeted Public Distribution System. The eligible persons will be entitled to receive 5 kgs of food grains per person per month at subsidized prices of `3/2/1 per kg for rice/wheat/coarse grains. The existing *Antyodaya Anna Yojana* (AAY) households, which constitute the poorest of the poor, will continue to receive 35 kgs of food grains per household per month. This study enquires the performance of PDS under National Food Security Act

among the tribal households in the Khammam district of Telangana and Raichur district of Karnataka.

Public Distribution System in India continues to be a panacea for ensuring essential food grains at affordable prices to the poor and the vulnerable sections of the population who spend a bulk of consumption expenditure on purchasing food grains. Apart from that, it stabilizes open market prices of food grains and ensures reasonable remunerative prices to the farmers. The 68th National Sample Survey data collected in 2011-12 reaffirms the wide inequality between the rural poor and the urban upper classes of expenditure. The lowest 10 percent of the rural population in the country is estimated to have spent only rupees 16.78 per capita per day whereas the corresponding figure among half of the rural population is 35 rupees. In urban India, the lowest 10 per cent of the population spent on an average 23.41 rupees per capita per day.

Stability of food grain prices is the biggest challenge and active government intervention is needed in this regard. Food grain production in the country is mainly concentrated in the States of Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. Public Distribution System ensures movement of food grains from surplus areas to deficit areas and minimizes the variation in the food grain prices across the country. A study conducted by Bhattacharya (1991) found that a 10 percent increase in food grain prices in the current year would increase rural poverty by 10.6 percent in the next year, while a 10 percent increase in food grain output in the current year would reduce rural poverty by only 6.2 percent in the succeeding year (Bhattacharya *et al.*, 1991).

During the last decade, open market prices of food grains, particularly of rice, rose at an unprecedented level whereas the central issue prices of rice and wheat remained unchanged. It thereby contributed substantial price and income benefits to the poor and the economically vulnerable sections of the population. Huge release of food grains through fair price shops during price rise will depress the open market prices.

Public Distribution ensures the sustainability of food grain production in the country by guaranteeing reasonable prices to the farmers. The Government through Food Corporation of India purchases food grains during bumper harvest at pre-announced Minimum Support Prices for averting disasters in the food grain economy of the country.

The State Wise Hunger Index discloses the extreme fact that not a single State in the country is less than the hunger index of 9.9 and almost all States have serious to acute situation of hunger. Even the States of Punjab and Kerala have the hunger index of

13.63 and 17.63 respectively implying extreme hunger situation. The situation in Madhya Pradesh is very pathetic. The hunger status of industrially better performing States of Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Gujarat measured by Hunger Index is worse than that of Assam, a poor industrially performing State. Similarly, the performance of UP, West Bengal and Rajasthan are better than that of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka. The hunger situation in most advanced industrial State of Gujarat is worse than that of Orissa, with highest incidence of poverty. This corroborates the fact that inclusive growth and target oriented policies to ensure food security are urgently needed to wipe out hunger and poverty from the country as economic growth alone cannot do so.

PDS evolved as a measure of distributing food grains in the urban scarcity areas from the critical food shortages of 1960s. It significantly contributed to contain the undue rise in prices of food grains and to ensuring access to food grains to the urban consumers. Following the effects of Green revolution, PDS was extended to tribal and poverty-ridden areas in 1970s and 1980s. As part of geographic targeting, Revamped Public Distribution System was launched in June 1992 in 1775 blocks across the country.

OBJECTIVES

- To examine the performance of Public Distribution in providing food security among the tribal households.
- To measure the leakage and diversion of PDS (Public Distribution System) food grains among tribal households.
- To examine the extent of dependence of tribal households on NFSA/PDS for meeting food grain consumption.
- To examine the impact of NFSA/PDS on the food grain consumption of beneficiary households.
- To examine the reasons for not buying available entitled quantity of PDS food grains.
- Overall performance of the working of Public Distribution System including quality of food grains and viability of fair price shops.

HYPOTHESES

- All tribal priority and Antyodaya (poorest of the poor) households obtained the entire quantity of entitled food grains.
- Leakages and diversions of PDS food grains declined substantially following the implementation of National Food Security Act.

- The food grain consumption of beneficiary households increased substantially following the off take of PDS food grains.

Methodology and Sample Design

To study the performance of PDS under National Food Security Act among tribal households, Khammam district of Telangana and Raichur district of Karnataka were selected. Around one –fourth households in these two districts belong to scheduled tribe category. Five blocks having different population size was selected from five administrative regions of each district for collecting the data. The study has selected four villages from each block. The block wise information with regard to the number of sample households in Khammam district has been given in tables 1 and 3. The State Government also provides food grains under its own food security scheme in both the study districts. Therefore, the coverage of scheme in the districts is cent per cent. The study selected around 10 per cent of sample households from Antyodaya beneficiaries. The sample households in each village was selected from the list of beneficiaries maintained by Fair Price Shops and Civil Supplies Department following the circular systematic sampling. At least 8 fair price shops from each district was also covered for the collection of data. Thus, the study covers 749 tribal households and 16 fair price shops. The selected blocks in Khammam districts are Kusumanchi ,Chinthakani, Bonakal, Madhira and Konijerla. The following blocks Lingsugur, Devadurga, Manvi, Sindhnur and Raichur were selected in Raichur district of Karnataka.

Table1 Block wise selection of sample households in Khammam district.

Blocks	Villages	No. of ST Households for the survey in each village
Kusumanchi	Kusumanchi	16
	Chegomma	12
	Palair	19
	Naikanigudem	17
Chinthakani	Nagula Vancha	30
	Basvapuram	11
	Nagili Konda	19
	Pandillapalle	10
Bonakal	Mustikuntla	22
	Ravinoothala	18
	Laxmipuram	13
	Kalakota	10

Public Distribution Among Tribal Households in Karnataka and Telangana

Madhira	Madupalle	24
	Dendukuru	20
	Matoor	17
	Rayapatnam	13
Konijerla	Gubbagurthy	19
	Gopathi	16
	Konijerla	19
	Tanikella	20
		345

Table 2. Block wise selection of sample households in Raichur district.

Blocks	Villages	No. of ST Households for the survey in each village
Lingsugur	Komnur	21
	Lukkihal	11
	Lukkihal	21
	Nandihal	17
Devadurga	Gajaldinni	23
	Mundargi	22
	Ganajali	21
	Katmalli	20
Manvi	Yapala	19
	Bomsandoddi	18
	Donmardi	18
	Heera	20
Sindhur	Chikbhergi	24
	Kalmangi	20
	Jambunathana-halli	25
	Gandhinagar	21
Raichur	Mangigaddi	21
	Korvakhurd	22
	Yapaldinni	20
	Appandoddi	20
		404

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Planning Commission evaluation study (2005) covered 60 districts, 88 blocks, 16 towns, 176 village panchayats, 240 Fair Price Shops and 3600 households spread over 18 States to generate the relevant data base. Taking into account all the inefficiencies of PDS, it is found that Government of India spends Rs. 3.65 to transfer Re 1 to the poor. About 57% of subsidized grains did not reach the target group, of which a little over 36% is siphoned off the supply chain. Implementation of TPDS is plagued by large errors of exclusion and inclusion. A fresh BPL identification survey through independent agencies engaged in social science research is required to eliminate targeting errors. PDS is a less efficient mode of income transfer to the poor. The Economic costs of grains are higher than the market prices in most of the States. Only 23% of sample FPSs are viable. The rest survived on leakages and diversions of subsidized grains

The evaluation study of NCAER (2015) covered 6,734 beneficiary and 1,000 non-beneficiary households along with other stakeholders in six states; Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka and West Bengal. Three of the six states—Bihar, Chhattisgarh and Karnataka—switched to the NFSA while the field survey was being conducted. The remaining three states—Assam, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal—were following the TPDS. Of the three states that implemented the NFSA, Bihar implemented the NFSA fully while the remaining two states adopted it partially and launched a food security programme under state Acts, namely, the Chhattisgarh Food Security Act (CGFSA) and the Anna Bhagya Yojna in Chhattisgarh and Karnataka, respectively. The study indicated that the proportion of total food grain off take from PDS in the rural parts of Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal are 56%, 38%, 60%, 65%, 53% and 37%, respectively, as against 35%, 5%, 41%, 16%, and 24% in Assam, Bihar, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, respectively, in 2004–05 (GOI, 2005). The average food grain off take was quite high in all the states under the study. However, a considerable proportion of households, except in Chhattisgarh, receive less than their full grain entitlement. The incidence of receiving less than the entitled quota is the highest for BPL cardholders in Assam. The mean quantity of the per capita purchase of rice from the PDS is the highest in Chhattisgarh and the lowest in West Bengal. The difference between the open market and PDS prices was one of the most important reasons for the high usage of the PDS among the poor. The effective income gain at the household level is higher in NFSA states than in non-NFSA ones. It was the highest in

Karnataka and Chhattisgarh at the household level since these states provide additional subsidy on top of the central subsidy for the food security scheme. The exclusion error was found to be the highest in Assam. Interestingly, Bihar also faces a high exclusion error even after using broader identification criteria to identify eligible beneficiaries for the NFSA. Chhattisgarh experiences the lowest exclusion error. The highest inclusion error is observed in West Bengal, while it is the lowest in Bihar. The leakage from the allocation for the BPL category in Assam, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal ranged from 28% to 37%. Diversion of food grain was fairly low from allocations for AAY ration cardholders in these states.

Using a sample of 793 households in the district of Koraput in Odisha, Mihia Chatterjee (2014) reviewed the performance of the PDS and highlighted three important points: first, distribution of food grains, specifically rice, through the PDS underwent vast improvements in the past five years; second, while the PDS was fairly inclusive in the district, households excluded were massively deprived, supporting the need for an expansion of coverage; and third, access to grains was fundamentally important in a region where the primary source of livelihood was a combination of subsistence agriculture and casual labour, and where child under-nutrition was rampant. The PDS in Koraput functioned well in many areas: rice was supplied regularly, available items were utilised by PDS users, and satisfaction with the scheme was widespread. On average, nearly all households – approximately 97% of cardholders in the district – received their entitlement of rice in the three months preceding the survey. The median quantity of rice drawn, as per both recall and card observation – 25 kg for the APL and the BPL, and 35 kg for the Antyodaya – aligned with entitled quantities. Another major drawback of the system was that “exclusion error” in the district was substantial, and a large section of deserving households currently did not have PDS access.

Jean Dreze and Reetika Khera (2015) examined recent developments of PDS based on a survey of 1,000 rural households in four districts of Bihar. The survey questionnaire consisted of questions such as whether the respondent (normally, an adult woman) had a new ration card, how much rice or wheat had been purchased from the PDS each month during the preceding three months, and how the respondent felt about the quality of PDS grain. Priority cardholders were asked how much rice and wheat they had actually purchased from the PDS during the two months preceding the survey. On average, they had purchased 20 kg as against the average household entitlements of 27.5 kg. Very

often, they charged an extra rupee. People's perceptions of the quality of PDS grain were generally positive. The faulty BPL list, with its high exclusion errors, has been replaced with a more logical, transparent and reliable list of eligible households clearly linked to the SECC. Leakages in the PDS have declined. The distribution of PDS rations was also more regular, and the quality of rice and wheat had improved.

Identification of BPL Households under NFSA

The estimation of poverty in the country was done by the erstwhile Planning Commission on the basis of a large sample survey of Consumer Expenditure carried out by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO). The Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India conducts the Below Poverty Line (BPL) Census with the objective of identifying the BPL households in the rural areas.

The Telangana State Government follows the below given criteria for the identification of households for the distribution of food grains under National Food Security Act. The annual family income ceiling for issue of Food Security Cards is 1.50 Lakh Rupees in rural areas and 2.00 Lakh rupees in urban areas. The land ceiling limit is 3.50 acres and below for wet land and 7.5 acres and below for dry land. The mere possession of land shall not alone be the criteria for deciding the eligibility for Food Security Cards. The income on the land prescribed above shall also be taken into consideration. If the income from the land is less than the income ceiling prescribed above, the family shall be entitled to food security cards.

The Karnataka State used its own exclusion criteria for identifying the BPL households under National Food Security Act. They are:

- i. All families with member paying income tax
- ii. Government employees of all groups
- iii. Permanent employees of public sector Undertakings/Boards/Corporations
- iv. Employees of NGOs
- v. Permanent employees of cooperative societies
- vi. Professional groups: Doctors, Hospital Employees, Advocates, Chartered Accountants
- vii. All businessmen except those selling goods on cycle or pushcart or on foot path and those selling only vegetables and those selling in petty shops
- viii. Those in possession of 3-hectare dry land or wet land
- ix. Families in possession of vehicles (two-wheeler, three-wheeler, car etc)

exceeding 100cc and fuel driven (except those having an auto rickshaw, self-driven and without any other source of income)

- x. Aided/unaided school and college employees except employees of unaided Kannada schools
- xi. Registered contractors, APMC traders/commission agents/dealers in seeds and fertilizers and other dealers
- xii. Those earning income by renting out house or shops or buildings
- xiii. Families paying average monthly electricity bill of more than 450 rupees
- xiv. Those working in multinational companies, firms or industries

The Act provides for the coverage of up to 75 per cent of the rural population and 50 per cent of the urban population for distributing subsidized food grains under Targeted Public Distribution System. The eligible persons will be entitled to receive 5 kgs of food grains per person per month at subsidized prices of `3/2/1 per kg for rice/wheat/coarse grains. The existing *Antyodaya Anna Yojana* (AAY) households, which constitute the poorest of the poor, will continue to receive 35 kgs of food grains per household per month. End-to-end Computerization of TPDS has been taken up by the Department of Food and Public Distribution with a view to address challenges such as leakages and diversion of food grains, inclusion/exclusion errors, fake and bogus ration cards, lack of transparency, weak grievance redressal, etc. To eliminate leakages, the Department has suggested two models to States/ UTs under Direct Benefit Transfer Scheme i.e. Direct Cash Transfer and Automation of Fair Price Shops (FPSs). Cash Transfer of Food Subsidy Rules, 2015 have been notified in August, 2015. Direct Cash Transfer scheme has already been started on pilot basis in UTs of Chandigarh and Puducherry from the month of September, 2015. Fair Price Shop (FPS) automation involves issuance of food grains to beneficiary after his successful authentication at the FPS using Point of Sale (PoS) device/ mobile terminal. So far, more than 1,77,391 FPSs are automated across the country. The States/UTs are expected to automate entire 5.42 lakh FPSs by soon. Sustained efforts have resulted in significant reforms in TPDS making it more transparent, leak proof and better targeting of food subsidy. The major significant reforms have been given in the parentheses (Digitization of ration cards 100 per cent, Aadhaar seeding of ration cards 71.96 per cent, On line allocation of food grains has been started in 29 States/ UTs, Supply chain computerized in 19 States/UTs, Toll free numbers/ online grievance redressal system implemented in 36 States/UTs, Direct Cast Transfer in PDS launched in

3 UTs).

The present study enquires in the context of end to end computerization of PDS and the automation of fair price shops with the extension of coverage and entitlement, the extent to which the entitled food grains and subsidy reached the poor and poorest of the poor households under the NFSA and how much of the entitled food grains did not reach the beneficiary households. The study is of paramount significance as it contributes valuable findings on the impact of National Food Security Act in ensuring food security among the tribal households in the backward districts. It measures the extent to which subsidized food grains reached the Below Poverty Line households. The study will give an account on the extent of leakages and diversions of food grains meant for distribution to Antyodaya and Priority households.

Table 3. Primary Occupation of Sample Households

Occupation	Khammam	Raichur
Cultivation	6.4	0.3
Casual Agricultural Labour	84.0	97.4
Self-employed	4.3	1.9
Skilled wage Labourer	1.5	0.0
Small scale business	3.8	0.4
Total	100	100

Source: Primary survey

Table 4: Total income of Households from all sources in a month

Rupees	Khammam	Raichur
Below 1000.00	3.2	1.3
1001.00 - 2000.00	15.8	21.5
2001.00 - 3000.00	32.6	58.2
3001.00 - 4000.00	26.3	7.6
4001.00 - 5000.00	15.8	7.6
5001.00 - 6000.00	4.2	3.8
Above 6000	2.1	
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary survey

In Raichur district, 80 per cent of the sample tribal households had a monthly income of Rupees 3,000. The corresponding figure among the tribal households in Khammam district was 50 per cent. The primary occupation of 90 per cent of sample households was casual agricultural labour. The monthly income of households from all sources was very low in the study areas with more than half of sample households reporting it below 3000 Rupees per month.

4.2 Off take of PDS Food grains

The scale of issue of food grains in Khammam and Raichur districts are given below. Under the National Food Security Act, the food grains are being issued on per capita basis to Below Poverty Line Priority households. It is 6 kg of rice and one kg of wheat in Khammam district. In Raichur district, the PDS entitlement is up to 20 kg of rice and 3 kg of wheat in a month to Below Poverty Line priority households. In Khammam district, the Antyodaya or poorest of the poor households were entitled to 35 kg of rice. The corresponding entitlement in Raichur district is 29 kg of rice and 6 kg of wheat in a month.

Monthly Scale of issue of food grains in Khammam district of Telangana

BPL (Priority HH) - Up to 6 kg rice per unit

1 kg of wheat per unit

AAY - 35 kg of rice

Monthly Scale of issue of food grains in Raichur district of Karnataka.

BPL (Priority HH) - Up to 20 kg rice

3 kg of wheat

AAY - 29 kg of rice and 6 kg of wheat

Around 98 per cent of tribal households obtained ration cards in the study areas of both the districts. Around 100 per cent of the sample priority and AAY cardholders lifted grain from the PDS. The Antyodaya and Priority households in Khammam district obtained 35 kg and 22 kg of food grains in a month respectively from PDS whereas it was 33 kg and 25 kg respectively in Raichur district. This figure was calculated from the average of three months' off take of PDS food grains. The Below Poverty Line priority households in Khammam district met 53 per cent of their food grain requirements from public distribution system. The corresponding figure among the Antodaya or poorest of the poor households was 83 percent. Similarly, 58 per cent and 80 per cent of tribal

households in Raichur district met the food grain needs from public distribution system.

Table 5 Household Purchase of food grain from PDS and open market in Khammam (average of three months)

<u>PDS</u>			<u>Open Market</u>	
Blocks	<u>Rice</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rice</u>	<u>Wheat</u>
<u>BPL</u>				
Kusumanchi	<u>19.00</u>	<u>1.60</u>	<u>18.54</u>	<u>1.09</u>
Chinthakani	<u>21.40</u>	<u>1.43</u>	<u>19.87</u>	<u>1.96</u>
Bonakal	<u>19.45</u>	<u>1.26</u>	<u>15.79</u>	<u>2.56</u>
Madhira	<u>21.32</u>	<u>2.00</u>	<u>16.87</u>	<u>1.23</u>
Konijerla	<u>20.32</u>	<u>1.78</u>	<u>16.23</u>	<u>2.00</u>
<u>Average</u>	<u>20.30</u>	<u>1.60</u>	<u>17.46</u>	<u>1.75</u>
<u>AAAY</u>				
Kusumanchi	<u>33.67</u>	<u>1.23</u>	<u>8.20</u>	<u>0.60</u>
Chinthakani	<u>34.90</u>	<u>2.12</u>	<u>5.38</u>	<u>0.38</u>
Bonakal	<u>33.10</u>	<u>1.87</u>	<u>4.50</u>	<u>1.23</u>
Madhira	<u>34.02</u>	<u>1.29</u>	<u>8.14</u>	<u>0.29</u>
Konijerla	<u>33.97</u>	<u>1.00</u>	<u>6.76</u>	<u>0.23</u>
<u>Average</u>	<u>33.90</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>6.60</u>	<u>0.55</u>

Source; Primary Survey

Table 6. Household Purchase of food grains from PDS and open market in Raichur(average of three months)

<u>PDS</u>			<u>Open Market</u>	
Blocks	<u>Rice</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Rice</u>	<u>Wheat</u>
<u>BPL</u>				
Lingsugur	<u>21.10</u>	<u>4.66</u>	<u>15.59</u>	<u>1.09</u>
Devadurga	<u>19.30</u>	<u>3.43</u>	<u>16.76</u>	<u>1.96</u>
Manvi	<u>20.98</u>	<u>4.26</u>	<u>17.65</u>	<u>2.06</u>
Sindhnur	<u>22.65</u>	<u>4.12</u>	<u>14.54</u>	<u>1.23</u>
Raichur	<u>21.00</u>	<u>4.98</u>	<u>16.98</u>	<u>2.15</u>
Average	21.00	4.29	16.30	1.70
<u>AAY</u>				
Lingsugur	<u>29.00</u>	<u>4.19</u>	<u>3.43</u>	<u>5.65</u>
Devadurga	<u>27.85</u>	<u>5.54</u>	<u>2.12</u>	<u>4.98</u>
Manvi	<u>28.43</u>	<u>4.75</u>	<u>2.98</u>	<u>7.89</u>
Sindhnur	<u>28.86</u>	<u>4.43</u>	<u>1.87</u>	<u>5.98</u>
Raichur	<u>27.98</u>	<u>4.12</u>	<u>2.77</u>	<u>6.02</u>
Average	28.42	4.61	2.63	6.10

Source; Primary Survey

PDS and Income Transfer

The amount of income transfer depends upon PDS issue price, open market price and the quantity of concerned item being purchased from fair price shops. It is measured by multiplying the quantity of purchased from PDS with the difference between open market and PDS prices. Therefore, it is defined as

$$IT = (PM - PR) Q^{PDS}$$

Here, IT = Income transfer

PM = Open market price

PR= PDS issue price

Q^{PDS} = Quantity purchased from PDS

An income subsidy of rupees 480.00 and of Rupees 844.00 reached the priority and Antyodaya tribal households in a month in Khammam district respectively. The corresponding figures in Raichur district were Rupees 548.00 and Rupees 775.00. The priority and Antyodaya tribal households in rural areas benefited substantially from ration subsidy.

Table 7. Income Transfer to PDS beneficiaries

Districts	BPL/PHH(Rupees)			Antyodaya Households(Rupees)		
	Rice	Wheat	Total	Rice	Wheat	Total
Khammam	447.20	32.2	479.40	813.60	30.00	843.60
Raichur	462.00	85.80	547.80	682.08	92.2	774.28

Source; Primary Survey

PDS and Consumption effect

The food grain consumption of tribal priority households rose by around 20 kg and 22 kg in a month in Khammam and Raichur districts respectively. The corresponding figures among the Antyodaya or poorest of the poor tribal households in the districts were 34 kg and 31.50 kg.

Table 8. Consumption effect of PDS among the Tribal Households

Districts	BPL/PHH(Kg)			Antyodaya Households(Kg)		
	Rice	Wheat	Total	Rice	Wheat	Total
Khammam	18.00	1.46	19.46	32.50	1.36	33.86
Raichur	18.48	3.90	22.38	27.28	4.19	31.47

Source; Primary Survey

Assessment of PDS by beneficiaries

Table: 9 Perception on Public Distribution System among rural households

	Quantity of Food grains received through PDS, %	Quantity of Food grains received through PDS, %
Very dissatisfied	00	13.20
Dissatisfied	15.50	2.30
Neutral	1.70	3.40
Satisfied	81.60	81.10
Very satisfied	1.10	00.0
Total	100	100

Source; Primary Survey

Table 10. Overall assessment of PDS

	Satisfied with the overall functioning of FPS	Satisfied with the grievance redressal mechanism
Very dissatisfied	20.10	49.40
Dissatisfied	14.90	20.70
Neutral	17.20	12.06
Satisfied	37.90	13.20
Very satisfied	9.80	4.00
Total	100	100

Table 11: Importance of PDS to cover family needs

	Khammam	Raichur
Not at all important	0.60	0.00
Somewhat important	00.0	0.00
Neutral	6.90	1.45
Important	18.40	14.23
Very important	74.10	83.32
Total	100	100

Source: Primary survey

Around 80 per cent of sample households in both the study districts were satisfied with the quality and quantity of food grains. Around 38 per cent of sample households were satisfied with the overall functioning of the fair price shops. Around 70 per cent of the sample households were dissatisfied with the grievance redressal mechanism. More than

three-fourth of the beneficiaries in both the districts expressed that PDS was important to meet the food grain consumption.

Grain is sold under the PDS at highly subsidised prices so that poor people can buy the required amount from ration shops at prices that are lower than market rates. The prices of rice and wheat are Rs.3 and Rs 2 per kg, respectively, under the NFSA. The issue price of rice and wheat was Re1/kg in the study areas.

The major reasons for dissatisfaction with the quality of food grains supplied at FPSs included the presence of foreign particles, broken grain, insect-infested grain and bad taste across all villages. A significant proportion of respondents in two districts said that the variety of food grains, especially rice, distributed through the PDS was significantly different from the rice sold in the open market. All respondents indicated that the quality of food grains available in the PDS was somewhat inferior to that available in the open market

The proportion of respondents aware of the existence of a grievance redressal mechanism was low in all villages. Although beneficiaries vaguely know that they have a right to complain, they do not know whom to complain. Field observations confirmed that the majority of the cardholders are not aware of how to lodge a complaint.

On the question of working days of fair price shops, 83 per cent of households in Khammam district and 92 per cent of households in Raichur district expressed that it was adequate. More than 80 per cent of fair price shops were working for more than five hours in a day in both the districts. Around 78 per cent of sample households in Khammam district and 87 per cent of households in Raichur district were aware of opening and closing times of fair price shops. At least 74 per cent of fair price shops in Khammam district and 81 per cent of fair price shops in Raichur district had the display boards providing information on the availability of PDS food grains. Around 62 per cent of FPS in Khammam and 72 per cent of FPS in Raichur district displayed the boards respectively on PDS food grains. Three-fourth of sample households was satisfied with the timings of distribution of food grains at fair price shops. Around 43 per cent of tribal households in Khammam district and 35 per cent of tribal households in Raichur district had the access to fair price shops within one KM.

Table 12 Perception on quality of food grains

	Khammam	Raichur
Reasons for dissatisfaction with quality of PDS food grains		
Presence of foreign particles	13.45	14.23
Rotten	11.23	9.76
Broken grains	24.48	21.23
Insect- infested supply	19.36	14.65
Colour is not good	7.87	12.32
Taste is not good	14.65	16.67
Foul smell	5.34	8.90
High moisture content	3.62	2.24
Sample of food grains to be distributed displayed at FPS	48.78	54.23
Quality of food grains distributed is the same as sample displayed	53.67	44.98
Local variety of grains different from PDS variety	87.24	53.89
Prefer local market variety over PDS variety	17.64	24.87

Source: Primary survey

Around 98 per cent of tribal households obtained ration cards in the study areas of both the districts. The Antyodaya and Priority households in Khammam district obtained 35 kg and 22 kg of food grains respectively from PDS whereas it was 33 kg and 25 kg respectively in Raichur district in a month. The Below Poverty Line priority households in Khammam district met 53 per cent of their food grain requirements from public distribution system. The corresponding figure among the Antodaya or poorest of the poor households was 83 per cent. Similarly, 58 per cent of priority households and 80 per cent of Antyodaya households in Raichur district met the food grain needs from public distribution system.

An income subsidy of rupees 480.00 and of Rupees 844.00 reached the priority and Antyodaya tribal households in Khammam district on an average in a month respectively. The corresponding figures in Raichur district were Rupees 548.00 and Rupees 775.00. The priority (BPL) and Antyodaya tribal households benefited substantially from ration subsidy.

The food grain consumption of tribal priority households rose by around 20 kg and 22 kg in Khammam and Raichur districts on an average in a month respectively. The

corresponding figures among the Antyodaya or poorest of the poor tribal households in the districts were 34 kg and 31.50 kg.

Around 80 per cent of sample households in both the study districts were satisfied with the quality and quantity of food grains. Around 38 per cent of sample households were satisfied with the overall functioning of the fair price shops. Around 70 per cent of the sample households were dissatisfied with the grievance redressal mechanism. More than three-fourth of the beneficiaries in both the districts expressed that PDS was important to meet the food grain consumption.

The analysis of the data shows that all the hypotheses were proved. The tribal priority and Antyodaya (poorest of the poor) households obtained around the entire quantity of entitled food grains. Leakages and diversions of PDS food grains declined substantially following the implementation of National Food Security Act. The food grain consumption of beneficiary households increased substantially following the off take of PDS food grains.

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Agricultural Productivity and its Determinants in Arunachal Pradesh: An Application of Cobb-Douglas type Production Function

Maila Lama

Assistant Professor, Department of Economics, Rajiv Gandhi University, Rono Hills,
Itanagar.

Email: lama_rgu@rediffmail.com

Abstract

This paper examined the growth in agricultural productivity and its determinants in Arunachal Pradesh, a hilly State of North-East India. The study was based on both primary and secondary data. Primary data were collected from 200 farming households by conducting field survey. The Cobb-Douglas type production function was applied to estimate the relationship between output and inputs. The function was estimated by using log-linear functional form. The study found very low growth in yield rates of major crops in the State, except paddy which was due to traditional method of cultivation and low level of use of modern inputs. The level of use of modern inputs by the surveyed farmers was very low. The results of the regression analysis showed that outputs of crops were responsive to both manure and fertilizer. Hence, the policy should focus on supplying and distributing modern inputs like high yielding variety of seeds and fertilizer to the farmers at subsidized rates, revitalize extension services and provide sufficient incentives to farmers and encourage them to diversify towards cash crops and provide market linkages to enhance farmers' income.

Keywords: Agriculture, productivity, Hills, determinants, Cobb-Douglas type production function, farm income.

Introduction

Agriculture occupies an important place in Indian economy. It provides employment to about half of the total work force (48.9 per cent) in the country (Economic Survey 2014-15). It acts as an important foreign exchange earner for the country accounting for about 12 per cent of the country's export earnings. However, agricultural productivity in the country is low compared to other countries like China, Japan, Indonesia etc. The low productivity in India is attributed to limited spread of green revolution, uneconomic holdings, inadequate irrigation etc.

North Eastern Region of India comprises of eight States; Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura. The region accounts

for around 8 per cent of the country's total geographical area. But almost two-third of the region is hilly Plains are mainly under Assam and some parts in other States (Agarwal, 1997). Agriculture is the main source of livelihood of majority of the people in the region. In the hills cultivable land area is limited. So agricultural operations are carried out in narrow valleys and hill slopes. The percentage of operational area varies from 4.5 per cent in Arunachal Pradesh to 35.4 per cent in Assam as compared to 43.3 per cent at the national level. In the hills of North-East India traditional shifting cultivation is dominant activity (Dutta, 1997). The agricultural productivity is low due to poor irrigation and low intensity use of inputs (Barah, 2006).

Arunachal Pradesh, with an area of 83,743 sq. km, is the largest State of North East India in terms of area. It accounts for 2.64 per cent of the total geographical area of the Country. The topography of the State is hilly and mountainous owing to which arable land is very limited. Operational area in the State was only 4.59 per cent of its geographical area (Agricultural Census, 2010-11). In this State 77.06 per cent of the people live in rural area and vast majority live on agriculture. As per 2011 census 58 per cent of its workforce was engaged in agriculture sector. However, the contribution of agriculture to Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) has declined from about 40 per cent in 1990-91 to 17.77 per cent in 2014-15. This indicates low standard of living of rural people. Hence, there is a need to raise agriculture productivity for improving the living standard of vast majority of people who are dependent on agriculture for their livelihood.

Agricultural productivity depends on a number of factors. Therefore, it is important to know that factors to which the output is more elastic. Many studies have been conducted to examine the determinants of agricultural output. For example, Dwivedi and Singh (2000) applied Cobb-Douglas type production function to examine resource structure and resource productivity in wheat production in Agra district of Uttar Pradesh. The study found positive and significant elasticity of output in the case of manure, fertilizer and irrigation and negative in the case of labour and area. An inverse relationship was found between farm size and output. Suresh and Keshava (2006) examine resource productivity and technical efficiency of paddy production in Peechi Command Area of Thirissur district in Kerala. The study was based on primary data collected from 71 farmers. The elasticity coefficients were found to be positive and significant for chemical fertilizers, farmyard manure and human labour. The average technical efficiency was estimated to be 66.8 per cent. The technical efficiency was found to be positively affected by edu-

cation of farmers and irrigation.

In North-East India, only few studies (Roy, 1997; Barah, 2006) have been conducted to assess the agrarian structure of hill agriculture in North East India. Most of studies are based on secondary data and the study on determinants of productivity is limited. Hence, the present study was an attempt to fill the gap in knowledge. The study examined agricultural productivity and its determinants in Arunachal Pradesh. It also attempted to identify the various inputs used by the farmers in the hill agriculture and estimate the elasticity of output to with respect to inputs used in production. The study is expected to have important policy implications for development of agriculture in the State.

Objectives

The study was conducted with the following objectives:

1. To analyse the trend and growth in productivity of different crops.
2. To identify various inputs used in hill agriculture and to estimate the elasticity of output with respect to inputs used.

The Study Area

The study was conducted in two hilly districts of Arunachal Pradesh; West Kameng and Tawang. These districts are located in the western corner of the States and shares international border with China and Bhutan. The entire area is hilly and mountainous with elevation ranging from 1800 metres to 4000 metres and above. West Kameng district is spread over an area of 7422 sq. km. It accounts for 8.86 per cent of the total geographical area of the State. Tawang district has an area of 2172 sq. km accounts for 2.59 per cent of the State's geographical areas. The total population of West Kameng district is 87013 persons (6.30 per cent of the total population of the State). It has low population density of only 12 persons per sq. km. Tawang district has total population of 49950 (3.61 per cent of total population of the State) with population density of 23 persons per sq. km (Census 2011). Together these two districts share 11.45 per cent of the State's geographical area and 9.91 per cent of the State's total population. In these districts, 80 per cent of the people live in rural who are dependent on agriculture for their living. The important crops grown in the area are; paddy, wheat, maize, millet, potato, chilli. The arable land in these districts is very limited owing to hilly topography. Hence, it is important to raise productivity of crops to enhance income of farmers.

Data Source and Methodology

The study was based on both primary data and secondary data. Secondary data

were collected from various published reports and statistics such as Agriculture Census, Economic Survey of India, NEDFI Data Bank, Statistical Abstracts of Arunachal Pradesh, and Basic Statistics of North-East India. The primary data were collected by conducting field survey in the study area during 2016. The survey was based on multi-stage random sampling technique. In the first stage, West Kameng and Tawang districts were selected because in this district terrace cultivation is widely practised by the farmers which is the distinguish feature of hill agriculture. In the second stage, from each district two blocks were selected on the basis of distance from the district headquarter. In the third stage, from each block three villages were selected for the survey. The villages were selected on the basis of their distance from district/block headquarter. In the final stage, from each village farmers were selected randomly for collection of required information.

The required data were collected through personal interview method by using structured questionnaire. Adequate time was given to the respondent during interview. The duration of each interview was around 20-25 minutes. The questionnaire was designed to collect information on socio-economic characteristics of farm household. It was also designed to collect information relating to area put under different crops, inputs used, other miscellaneous expenditure and output of all crops cultivated both in value and quantitative terms. All these variables were measured in per unit area and time period for analysis was one crop year. The sample size was 200 farming households. The unit of observation was farming household.

Analytical Technique

In this study, the Cobb-Douglas type production function was applied to analyse the relationship between output and inputs. This function has a number of merits over other production function; (i) computational manageability with this algebraic form and (ii) the information regarding returns to scale which it provides and theoretical fitness to agriculture. It is found most suitable for analytical purpose and has largely been used in agriculture production studies in India (Singh, 1986).

The following model of Cobb-Douglas type production function was used.

$$Y = AX_1^{\beta_1} X_2^{\beta_2} X_3^{\beta_3} X_4^{\beta_4} \dots X_n^{\beta_n}$$

Where,

Y = Output

A = Technological parameters (constant) showing efficiency of technology

X_i = Inputs ($i= 1, \dots, n$)

β_i = Elasticity of output with respect to i^{th} input

The log-linear functional form was used to estimate the above function which is specified as follows:

$$\text{Log}Y = \text{Log} A + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \dots + \beta_n X_n$$

The coefficients (β_i) of inputs show elasticity of output to i^{th} input. The data were processed with the help of statistical packages like *MS Excel* and *SPSS*.

Trend and Growth in Productivity of Major Crops

The trend and growth in productivity of food crops and commercial crops in the State are given in the tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: Yield Rates of Food Crops in Arunachal Pradesh (Yield in quintal/hectare)

Year	Paddy	Maize	Millet	Wheat	Pulses	Total Food Grains
2002-03	12.24	13.92	9.2	15.19	10.67	12.26
2003-04	12.97	14.12	9.57	15.23	10.83	12.77
2004-05	11.1	14.5	9.5	15.5	10.8	11.7
2005-06	11.96	13.83	9.81	15.44	10.73	12.13
2006-07	17.63	13.73	9.87	10	10.58	16.12
2007-08	19.13	13.44	8.71	14.88	10.12	16.31
2008-09	19.46	13.71	8.5	15.77	10.65	16.63
2009-10	17.8	13.8	8.6	15	11	15.6
2010-11	19.25	14.36	9.25	15.87	10.58	16.63
2011-12	20.6	14.7	10	17.6	11.1	17.7
2012-13	20.9	14.36	10.32	14.98	11.14	17.71
2013-14	20.9	14.7	10.5	15.1	11.5	17.9
2014-15	22.4	15.62	10.38	19.7	12	18.89
CARG	5.86	0.60	0.80	1.50	0.70	3.87

Source: Statistical Abstract of Arunachal Pradesh 2002-2016.

Source: Statistical Abstract of Arunachal Pradesh 2002-2016.

The table 1 shows that during the period 2002-03 to 2014-15 the yield rates of food crops in the State, except paddy increased at a slow rate. During this period the yield rate of food grains increased at compound annual rate of growth (CARG) of 3.87 per cent. This was mainly on account of significant increase in yield rates of paddy and wheat which increased at CARG of 5.86 per cent and 1.5 per cent respectively. Paddy productivity has almost doubled from 12.24 quintals per hectare in 2002-03 to 22.40 quintals per hectare in 2014-15. But paddy yield in the State was lower than the national average

of 35 quintals per hectare. The yield rates of other food crops were much lower than the national average. This is due to very low growth in their yield rates during the period under review (table 1). The yield rate of maize in the State was 15.62 quintal per hectare in 2014-15 which was much lower than the national average of 26.32 quintals per hectare.

Table 2: Yield Rates of Commercial Crops in Arunachal Pradesh (Yield in quintal/hectare)

Year	Oilseed	Potato	Ginger	Turmeric	Chilli	Sugarcane
2002-03	10.47	69.63	72.69	39.3	14.58	191.53
2003-04	10.16	73.52	79.44	34.16	14.67	205.28
2004-05	9.7	65.3	73.9	35.5	13.7	192
2005-06	8.6	75.29	69.23	38.2	12.2	191.47
2006-07	9.1	79.92	73.42	36.94	14.34	163.52
2007-08	9.3	75.91	75.19	35.38	15.32	176.43
2008-09	9.76	82.22	74.85	38.81	17.07	171.09
2009-10	9.8	86.1	77.6	40.8	16.8	183.9
2010-11	9.18	82.67	79.29	44.5	16.43	192.14
2011-12	10.15	86.95	79.41	44.8	17.2	193.55
2012-13	9.55	80.7	81.79	41.39	19.53	197.07
2013-14	9.6	82.4	80.3	46.9	27.1	195.7
2014-15	9.7	82.5	75	48.3	28.2	195
CARG	0.10	1.71	0.60	2.43	5.55	0.20

Source: Statistical Abstract of Arunachal Pradesh 2002-2016

The table 2 shows the trend and growth in yield rates of commercial crops in the State. It shows that during the period 2002-03 there were large disparity in growth of yield rates of commercial crops. Among the various crops, yield rates of chilli and turmeric grew at faster rate. While the chilli yield rate grew at CARG of 5.55 per cent, the yield rate of turmeric grew at 2.43 per cent. During the same period, the yield rate of potato grew at CARG of 1.71 per cent. However, the growth in yield rates of oilseeds, ginger and sugarcane were very low (table2).

The yield rate of chilli has nearly doubled from 14.58 quintals in 2002-03 to 28.20 quintals per hectare in 2014-15. The yield rate of turmeric has increased from 39.3 quintals per hectare to 48.3 quintals per hectare in 2014-15. During the same period yield rate of potato improved from 69.63 quintals per hectare in 2002-03 to 82.5 quintals per hectare in 2014-15.

The yield rates of most of the commercial crops in the State were found lower than

the national average. For example, the yield rate of potato in the State was 82.5 quintals per hectare which was much lower than the national average of 231.26 quintals per hectare. In the same year, yield rate of sugarcane in the State was 195 quintals per hectare which was far below the national average of 715.12 quintals per hectare (Agricultural Statistics 2016).

Results and Discussion

Socio-economic Characteristics of Surveyed Farmers

In agricultural production analysis, the study of socio-economic characteristics is important for two reasons. First, it indicates the level of well-being of farm households. Second, the production decision of farming households relating to allocation of acreage to crops, amount of labour use etc. depend of household characteristics. Chayanov in his model of farm household argued that demographic characteristic (consumer-worker ratio) is an important factor determining the amount of labour to be committed to farm work by a peasant farm household. The amount of labour time devoted to farm work is directly related to this ratio (Thorner *et. al.*, 1966). Mellor (1966) in his theory of agriculture development argued that farmers with small size of holdings will have to push labour use up to the point where its marginal productivity is equal to zero for their subsistence. But the farmers with large size of holdings have option to choose between farm work and leisure because of their higher incomes. The socio-economic characteristics of the surveyed farm households are given in the table 3.

Table 3: Socio-economic Characteristics of Surveyed Households
Source: Field Survey, 2016

Particulars	Percentage of respondent
<i>Age (in years)</i>	
18-29	4.0
30-49	56
50 and above	40

Education level

Illiterate	77
Primary Level	17
Secondary	4.0
Higher Secondary	2.0

Household size

Less than 5	35.0
5 to 9	62.5
More than 9	2.50

Size of holding

Marginal (less than 1 hectare)	1.5
Small (1-1.99 hectares)	35.0
Semi-medium (2-3.99 hectares)	49.0
Medium (4-9.99 hectares)	13.5
Large (10 and above hectares)	1.0

House type

Kutcha	68.5
Pucca	31.5

Source: Field Survey, 2016

The table 3 shows that most of the farmers were in the middle age group of 30-49 years. The mean age of the respondents was estimated to be 47.50 years. Educational level of the surveyed respondent farmers indicated that majority of them were illiterate (77 per cent) and 17 per cent of them were having primary level education. Only few of them were educated up to secondary and higher secondary level. Household size of majority of the surveyed farmers was medium size (62.5 per cent). Land holdings of the surveyed households showed that most of them had semi-medium size of land holdings followed by small size. It was found that most of the farm households were having *kutcha* house.

Level of Inputs Use in different Crops

The level of various inputs used in production of different crops are shown in the table 4. The mean level inputs used was found to vary from crops to crops.

Table 4: Mean Level of Various Inputs used Per Bigha in Production of Different Crops

Crops	Seed (in kg)	Labour (in man days)	Fertiliser (in kg)	Manure (in kg)
Paddy	2.67	25	3.38	3.23
Wheat	2.15	22	1.15	20.57
Maize	3	22	4.1	75.2
Millet	1.75	25	1.25	67.97
Potato	110	30	15.59	56.59
Chilli	2	22	3.37	99.26

Source: Field Survey, 2016

The level of use of seed varied from 1.75 kg per bigha for millet to 110 kg per bigha for potato. Labour (in man days) use was found to be highest in potato which shows that potato cultivation is more labour intensive. The use of fertilizer per bigha was found to be more in cash crops. Its use varied from 1.15 kg per bigha in wheat to 15.59 kg per bigha in potato. The level of use of manure ranged from 3.23 kg per bigha in paddy to 99.26 per bigha in chilli.

Determinants of Productivity of Crops

The Cobb-Douglas type production function was applied to examine the factors determining the output of different crops and elasticity of output to inputs. The log-linear functional form was used as it gives the elasticity of output with respect to various inputs. The explanatory variables included in the analysis are; seed, fertiliser, manure and labour. The dependent variable is the output. All these variables were measured in terms of per unit area (per bigha). Though ploughing and irrigation are considered as important explanatory variables, they could not be considered due to their limited availability in the study area. The results of the regression analysis are presented in the table 5.

Table 5: Result of the Regression for determinants of Output of Crops

Crops	Coefficient					R ²	F-Statistic
	Seed	Fertiliser	Manure	Labour	Constant		
Paddy	0.005 (0.05)	0.222** (2.417)	0.057 (0.872)	0.102 (0.557)	3.84 (6.12)	0.33	4.41***
Maize	.152** (1.991)	0.012 (0.162)	0.216*** (4.366)	-0.047 (-0.052)	4.49 (13.45)	0.49	10.86***
Millet	0.138 (1.576)	0.107** (1.799)	0.002 (-0.044)	0.145 (1.730)	4.081 (16.417)	0.39	5.48***

Wheat	0.133 (0.997)	0.125** (1.719)	0.244** (2.126)	-0.346 (-2.144)	4.792 (12.076)	0.38	2.39**
Potato	0.501*** (6.768)	0.299*** (8.332)	0.089*** (2.913)	-0.08 (-1.436)	3.25 (9.607)	0.61	52.92***
Chilli	0.028 (0.299)	0.256*** (3.735)	0.035 (0.793)	0.370*** (4.331)	3.107 (10.745)	0.46	10.70***

Note: Figures in the bracket indicate t-values and *** and ** indicate significant at 1 and 5 per cent level.

The result of the regression analysis for production function estimates for different crops showed that in case of paddy coefficient of fertiliser was positive and significant at 5 per cent level. The variables seed, manure and labour were also positively affecting the paddy output but were not significant. It shows that output of paddy can be raised by increasing the use of fertilizer.

Maize is one of the major food crops grown in the area. The. Hence, it could not be included as a variable in the regression analysis. The results of the regression analysis for determinants of maize production showed that the coefficients of seed and manure were positive and significant at 5 per cent and 1 per cent level of significance. The coefficient of fertilizer as also positive but it was not significant at any level. This could be due to low use of fertiliser in maize production. The variable labour was negatively affecting the maize output but it was not significant.

In case of millet, the coefficient of fertiliser was positive and significant at 5 per cent level. The variables seed, manure and labour were also positively affecting the millet output and were not significant at any level. It indicates that output of millet is responsive to fertiliser. In case of wheat, coefficients of both fertiliser and manure were positive and significant at 5 per cent level of significance. The variable seed was also positively affecting wheat output but it was not significant. The coefficient of labour was negative but it was not significant.

Potato is one of the major cash crops grown in the area. The most important inputs used in potato production were found to be fertiliser, manure and labour. The results of the regression analysis for determinants of potato output showed that the coefficients of both fertiliser and manure were positive and significant at 1 per cent level. This implied that output of potato is responsive to both fertiliser and manure. The coefficient of seed was also positive but it was significant at 5 per cent level of significance. The coefficient

of labour was negative but it was not significant.

Chilli is another important cash crop grown in the area. The main inputs used by the farmers in chilli production were fertiliser, manure and labour. The results of the regression analysis showed that the variables fertiliser and labour were positively affecting chilli output and were significant at 1 per cent level respectively. The coefficients of seed and manure were also positive but were not significant at any level.

Policy Implications

The above findings and discussion lead to following policy implications:

1. The productivities of major crops in the State were found to be low compared to national average. The growth in productivity of major crops except paddy was very low during the period under review. This can be attributed to traditional method of cultivation and low level of use of modern technology. Hence, the policy should focus on transforming traditional agriculture by introducing new methods of cultivation.
2. The level of inputs used in production of different crops indicated very low use of modern inputs. The farmers were relying more on traditional inputs. The level of use of plant nutrients was very low. This was due to high cost as well as non-availability of modern inputs. Since the output was found responsive to plant nutrients, the government should supply and distribute modern inputs like, high yielding variety of seeds, fertiliser, manure etc. to farmers at subsidised rate.
3. The extension services were found to be very poor in the area. Extension services are considered very important to disseminate new technology in rural areas. Hence, the government should revitalise extension services and ensure regular visit of extension agents to villages to educate and aware farmers as most of them were illiterate.
4. Size of landholding is considered important for adoption of new technology. Small holdings are unsuitable for adoption of new technology. It was found that most of the surveyed farmers were having semi-medium holdings. The percentage of farmers having medium and large holdings was very less. Hence, the government should introduce land reforms and redistribute land.
5. The standard of living of farming households was found low. Hence, the policy should provide incentives to farmers and encourage them to diversify towards cash crops, provide market linkage to enhance farmers' income.

Conclusion

Agriculture is an important sector of the economy of Arunachal Pradesh in terms of its contribution to employment. But agriculture in the State is progressing at a slow pace. The productivities of major crops were found low and growing at very low rates. It was mainly due to traditional method of cultivation and low level of use of modern and improved inputs. The study found very low level of use of plant nutrients by the farmers. This was due to high cost and non-availability of modern inputs. The outputs of crops were found responsive to plant nutrients like fertilizer and manure. Hence, the government should supply and distribute new and improved inputs like high yielding variety of seeds, fertilizer, manure etc. to farmers at subsidized rates such that they can apply improved inputs in their field to realize higher yield. There is also need to revitalize extension services to educate and sensitize farmers as most of them were illiterate and having low level of education. The policy should be designed to provide sufficient incentives to farmers to diversify towards cash crops and provide market linkage to enhance farmers' income.

Acknowledgement: This article is based on the UGC sponsored minor research project. The author would like to acknowledge the financial support of the UGC.

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Making of a Frontier Literature

K. B. Veio Pou

Assistant Professor, Department of English, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College,
University of Delhi.

Email: veiopou@gmail.com

Abstract

The emergence of the writings in English from the Northeast of India has attracted a lot of attention. Although home to many diverse cultural and linguistic groups with their own rich oral traditions the region is often misunderstood to be a homogenous entity. Nevertheless, the term 'Northeast' seems to have taken roots in referring to anything for or from the region, though there may be some resistance to such blanket terms from few pockets, and thus also the identification of a body of literature called writings in English from the Northeast. But does a language that is introduced to them by the colonial masters faithfully speak of the land, the people and culture as in the native languages? Or is the newfound interest on its literature only heightened by the political attention thrown on it? Does it truly embody the sentiments of the folk history that the region treasures in or is it just commercial space for a few who are educated in English medium institutions? These are some questions that this paper proposes to explore in order to understand the writings from the Northeast.

Keywords: Northeast India, writings in English, oral tradition, literature, linguistic groups.

Introduction: Writings in English from India's Northeast

Though the term 'Northeast' is largely a construct to identify a distinct geographical area, it has stayed on to refer to anything related to or from the region. But the term is also a misnomer as it makes the people think that the Northeast is a homogeneous entity despite the ground reality saying a different thing: there are different cultural, linguistic and racial groups cohabiting the region. In fact, there is visible resistance on the use of a blanket term like 'Northeast writing in English' to all writers writing in the language since their writing does not always speak of region or its people. Yet, somehow, the body of literature from the region gets identified as one or a sub-genre or a regional literature by virtue of it being from a unique geographical location. Somehow, being linked to the rest of the country by a narrow strip of land, about fourteen miles at its narrowest, called the 'chicken neck' or the Siliguri corridor, the Northeastern states¹ have become India's

‘periphery’, away from the ‘mainland’ where the real politicking is done. This paper will look into the recent yet strong wave of writings in English from the region, with special reference to Naga literature in English.

Too little understood by the rest of the country, this region has largely remained ‘imagined’. However, of late, anything from the Northeast of India seems to be gaining attention, thanks to the initiation of the much hyped Look East Policy in the early 1990s as India’s policy to engage with ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) for which India launched attractive packages for economic development for the region and even called it the ‘gateway to Asia’. This interest paid on the region is also reflected on the kind of scramble to promote the Northeast while exploiting its natural and creative resources. In literature too several publishing houses have rushed to the region to usher its writers into the limelight. Yet, the writers from Northeast are often overlooked even in the world of Indian writing in English too. In an interesting observation, Prasanta Das, writing against Jeet Thayil’s omission of the well-known Shillong poets in his anthology *60 Indian Poets* (2008), asserts that “anthology making is a political act” and “Thayil’s exclusion of these poets is analogous to New Delhi’s neglect of the northeast” (2008:19). Though the poets of the Northeast, in general, and the Shillong poets, in particular, have made their mark since the 1980s their poetry has not been widely acknowledged beyond the region.

Now, the question may be asked, is it really the political indifference that has overshadowed the minds of other Indian writers too that they have overlooked the Shillong poets? For Prasanta Das argues that reason for the poetry of the Northeast to be sidelined is their overt political tone because while Indian English poetry continues to be dominated by “the poetics of the Anglo-American world” that is obsessed with “symmetry, intellect, irony, and wit” the Shillong based poets, spearheaded by Robin S. Ngangom, Desmond Kharmawphlang and Kynpham Sing Nongkynrih, feel closely linked to “the political ones like Pablo Neruda, Czeslaw Milosz, Mahmoud Darwish and Yehuda Amichai who by choice or circumstances (or both) voice of the anguish and aspirations of their land and its people.” I think this opinion was not a standalone as Ngangom and Nongkynrih in their edited book of poetry called *Anthology of Contemporary Poetry from the Northeast* (2003) also says, “The writers from the Northeast differs from his counterpart in the mainland in a significant way. While it may not make him a better writer, living with the menace of the gun he cannot merely indulge in verbal wizardry and woolly aesthetics but

performer master the art of witness” (p. ix).

In 2012, however, what was somehow overlooked in Jeet Thayil’s anthology was mended by the publication of Sudeep Sen’s edited *The HarperCollins book of English Poetry* of eighty five poets including several poets from the Northeast. But the problematic political relationship that many ethnic communities of the region have with the centre continues to affect the imagination of an inclusive India. Thus, in a way, literature from the region is categorized as different from the rest of the country in as much as any products of the society.

While there is the view that the writings from the Northeast are overtly political, the other significant distinctive mark is the reliance on the oral tradition. With a rich history of oral culture, the writers from the Northeast find their oral tradition a good source of inspiration, or as Mamang Dai puts it, “... for many of us the legends and stories are still a wellspring of thought and emotions that are restored in a peculiar blend of myth and memory unique to the region” (2005: 5). Temsula Ao would also rightly point out that there is “a subtle conceptual shift” in the writings from this part of the region because they borrow a lot of the “elements from the oral traditions” (2007: 107-8). To elaborate on these two themes, I shall take examples from some Naga writings.

Articulating politics through literature:

Though the people group called the Nagas is spread across several states of Northeast, recognizable writings have emerged only from the state of Nagaland, a state with English as its official language like some other states of the region. With a number of sub-tribes with their own distinct languages it is not surprising to find the Nagas adopt a language which is not their own yet common, which again is a result of the years of English medium schools that has effectively taken roots in their society. And the contemporary writers, being schooled in reputed colleges and universities, it was expected of them to find their creativity expressed in English. It may be noteworthy here that English as a language was introduced to the Northeast only in the early part of nineteenth century following the colonial encounter with British India Empire’s eastward expansion. But it was the Christian missionaries who effectively implanted the language through their English medium schools/institutions established in many pockets of the Northeast, especially among the hill peoples. Soon print culture, using the Roman script, was introduced to usher in printed text books for schools and Christian literatures in local languages.

The prolonged struggle for an identity separate from India has been a dominant theme among Naga writers. Though their writings may not always make bold political statements, their stories give voice to a people caught in the political conflict. Many of the stories from Temsula Ao's collection of short stories, *These Hills Called Home: Stories from a War Zone* (2006) narrate experiences of individuals during the "turbulent years of bloodshed and tears" whose lives were interlaced by the discomfiting forces of violence. Set in the early years of fervent Naga nationalism there are stories of the unexpected raids on Naga villagers by the Indian armed forces, the precocious young girl brutally raped by the soldiers in front of the church goers, the shadowy force of personal enmity that has invaded the idealistic nationhood struggle, and the old man reminiscing his underground days as a Naga army to his grandson. Her other short story collection *Laburnum for my Head* (2009) also include stories that tell of the hovering sense of uncertainty in the minds of the Naga people about their future.

Easterine Kire's novel *Bitter Wormwood* (2011), while tracing the life and experiences of a retired old Naga soldier, gives us a glimpse of the romantic rise of Naga nationalism in the 1950s to its present day disappointment of factional war that has deeply wounded the society. Like history unfolding before us, the novel lay the past bare for us to behold and learn from whatever has happened. And using 'bitter wormwood', the traditional herb believed to keep spirits away and also heal wounds, as a metaphor the author suggests that we heal the wounds of the past by learning to 'forgive'. Violence and war only leaves an endless flow of bloodshed. Her other novel *Life on Hold* (2011) tells of the other side of suffering in the later day story of Naga nationalism. While the nationalist movement continues to attract young people into it, the anxieties persist for those who wait at home as so often the news that comes home is heart wrenching.

In poetry too, as in fiction, the protracted political dilemma gets articulated clearly, though there is also anguish over the latter day disappointment with it. With the deep attachment to the oral tradition and its lyric form, the poets successfully used their creativity of composing poems to rant against injustices done to their people, the ill-happenings in their homeland and the assault of their beloved land. Stories have been told so that it will not be forgotten; songs have been sung so that the message is carried onward. This poem by Monalisa Changkija (2007) reminisces the 'nightmare' that continues to haunt the psyche of the people;

Stop this nightmare, I pray

wherein my people, victims of
geography, history and politics
have become prized booty
to be overpowered and possessed
by those who will not listen. (“Stop This Nightmare”)

While the Naga poets use their poetry as a tool to critique the oppressor to the Naga people, they also understand that there is an equally menacing threat growing at home ground. Through their writings, they address those dangers that lurk from behind. Differences that have cropped up midway the struggle have become a major threat to achieve their dreams. Once, the enemy was only an outside force, now another enemy has been born from within too. The political uncertainty too given birth to a generation of disillusioned youth and they are becoming a thorn to the prospect of the society. In this situation of friends against friends and brothers against each other, there can be no end to bloodshed as articulated by Nini Lungalang (2003) in this poem;

I saw a young man gunned down
As I shopped in the market place.
Two thuds and then he fell,
And thrashed a bit, on his face.
That’s all. He sprawled in the staring sun.
(They whirled away in a cloud of dust
In a smart white van).
His blood laid the dust
In a scarlet little shower,
Scarlet little flowers.
In the staring sun, the little flowers
Will burn and turn to rust. (“Dust”)

One can picturize the sudden action that took place in a public arena – “the market place”. The boldness of the perpetrators left the spectators static, giving them no chance to react but merely watch the collapse of the victim before them.

The world of the Nagas at present is a blend of the violent and the idyllic. Through their poems, the Naga poets reveal a close association with nature while at the same time talking of violence. This is exemplified by their use of natural images like hills/mountains, rainbow, forest, dust, flowers, etc. alongside the disturbing images of fire, bullets, blood,

death, etc. Yet, the poems do exhibit in them the powerful contrast of reality.

From the oral to the written:

The oral tradition of the Nagas has withstood the test of time. And even though the written culture that came with the American Baptist missionaries created a kind of detachment from, and negligence of, the oral tradition, all is not lost. Perhaps, what has been with them since the earliest of time could not be wiped away by the modernizing forces however swift and unrelenting it might have been. The oral tradition of the Nagas, like other oral cultures of many parts of the world, constitutes the whole of history, culture, beliefs and relation with nature. In other words, it encompasses the whole life-system of the people. Being of the oral tradition, therefore, the Nagas writers too heavily rely on the stories and songs that are passed on to them from generations before them. The storytelling tradition, therefore, has a deep influence on the narrative style and the use of metaphor on the modern Naga literature.

Being from a vibrant tradition of storytelling, the Naga writers like Temsula Ao and Easterine Kire relies a lot on oral tradition and culture for metaphors and people centric themes. Easterine Kire's first novel, *A Naga Village Remembered* (2003), is an example of trans-creating culture. Based on the Khonoma village's resistance to the British expedition in the Naga Hills, the novel is a beautiful example of retaining cultural idioms to make it deeply rooted to the tradition of the people. Another novel by her, *A Terrible Matriarchy* (2006), brilliantly showcases the simple yet pristine life of the Nagas at a time when modernity was fast enveloping and transforming their reality. Despite the unsettling problem of insurgency in the background, the people do not cease to take pleasure in their usual customary life. And as the Naga society moved on negotiating with the changes initiated by western/modern education, the novel also draws our attention to the discomforting position when traditional norms are also questioned. This is also seen even in Temsula Ao's *These Hills Called Home* and *Laburnum for my Head* when she ropes in stories that celebrate the ordinary life of the people and their everyday activities.

Likewise, in poetry too, the poets have borrowed from the different myths, legends and stories that make up the composite culture of the Nagas. Temsula Ao has used her creativity and brilliantly infused a new re-telling of the myths and the legends that has been part and partial of the people's history in *Songs from the Other Life* (2007). By giving a fine poetic touch to these stories and songs of the Nagas she has brought oral tradition to the fore and incited new interest in the literary world. Being derived from

the oral, the poems serve as channels to understand the richness of the Naga culture. In the poem “The Old Story-Teller”, from *Songs from the Other Life*, we are introduced to the art of “story-telling” which for the poet is a “proud legacy” from her grandfather. The inheritance of telling stories is her “primary treasure” which she garnered from her grandfather and “other chroniclers”. Story-telling was like something that

...ran in the blood
Because each telling vitalized
My life force
And each story reinforced
My racial reminiscence.

These stories include those that tell of her people’s origin,

When we broke into beings
From the six stones and
How the first fathers founded
Our ancient villages and
Worshipped the forces of nature.

Here the poet being of the Ao Naga tribe is narrating the belief in the Ao-Naga myth of the emergence of their progenitors from the six stones at Lungterok (Ao 2000). She learned to tell stories of various subjects, like the tale of the brotherhood of tiger and man. The stories should not be forgotten, grandfather would say, because it

Would be catastrophic
We would lose our history
Territory, and most certainly
Our intrinsic identity.

Being of the oral society, the poet is once again re-asserting the importance of remembering these stories as they contain information about the ‘roots’ of the people. But, to the disappointment of the aging poet, the “responsibility” of story-telling is refused to be shouldered by her own “grandsons”, who see them as “ancient gibberish/ From the dark ages, outmoded.” Sadly, what was passed down as “treasures” was not intelligible to the modernizing young generation, so consumed with the written tradition. This thought that runs through the minds of the poet also shows the vulnerability of the oral culture as opposed to the rapidly growing and influential modern culture. What was a rich inheritance to the poet was mere “ancient gibberish” to her grandsons. At such a

time, the poet is filled with

...a bestial craving
To wrench the thieving guts
Out of that Original Dog
And consign all my stories
To the script in his ancient entrails.

The story of the “Original Dog” is in reference to the old Naga myth which says that once the Naga fore-fathers had a written script. In order to preserve it, they wrote in some animal skin. But one day a dog ate them away. Since then, the Nagas had to memorize all things that concern their way of life. Perhaps, mulling over the prospect that the age-old tradition might lose its life-force in the fast changing world, the poet is compelled to wish that the “Original Dog” has not stolen the animal skin in order to avoid a possible ‘catastrophe’!

Easterine Kire’s poem *Genesis* from her first poetry book *Kelhoukevira* (1982) speaks of the pristine world of the Nagas before bloodshed and violence invaded their land:

Keviselie speaks of a time
When her hills were untamed
Her soil young and virgin
And her warriors, worthy
The earth had felt good
And full and rich and kind to his touch.

The naturally fertile land of the Nagas is celebrated and the people had nothing to worry as they are bountifully blessed. Happiness is also signaled in the poem as they end their day with “songs” that “filled all the earth”. With the present embroiled in violence and a future uncertain, the poet cannot help but pine for the unspoiled past.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this short discourse shows that there are two distinguishing features in the making of the Northeast literature, as exemplified by the Naga writings. First, their writing is political in nature. Many factors contributed to this point; from the political and the administrative neglect of the region to the growing sense of instability because of various anti-social elements. Besides many things, the writers from this part of the country understand that writing comes with a sense of social responsibility and is, therefore, not

just an individual quest to explore creativity. Writing is a defiance at times and has to take political overtone. Secondly, there is the reliance on the oral tradition for various literary metaphors. And with a narrative style strongly hinged on the art of storytelling that is very rooted to their culture, a new literary theme is engendered by synthesizing the oral and the written. Temsula Ao would say that this is “a subtle conceptual shift” in the writings from this part of the region because they borrow a lot of the “elements from the oral traditions” (2007: 107-8). The emerging trend of going back to their cultural roots helps the creative writers find metaphors with which they speak of themselves. While it may be questionable whether the writings in English from the Northeast has evolved into a distinctive literary tradition or should it at all arrive at it, it may be said that there is a need to explore this frontier of the larger Indian English worlds.

End Notes

¹ The Northeastern states comprises of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura shares only two percent of its boundary with India. The other ninety eight percent are international boundaries bordering China, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Bhutan and Nepal. Sikkim was added as the eighth state in 2003, but since it is not contiguous with the other seven states called the ‘seven sisters’ nor share a history of turmoil like the other states, it stands aloof.

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Livelihood and Gender: Marginalisation of Khasi Rural Women in Land and Forest Rights

Rekha M. Shangpliang

Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong.

Email: rekhakeepintouch@yahoo.com

Abstract

The role of women in natural resource management has acquired a new dimension with the increasing focus on decentralization of community resources specially in developing nations. In recent times due to changes in human-nature relationship and increasing pressure on land and other resources, there is invisibility of women's livelihood strategies, marginalization of women's rights over NTFP's (Non-Timber Forest Products) and other resource base leading to 'feminization of poverty'. Amongst the matrilineal Khasi of Meghalaya, women are known to have heavy familial and nurturing roles besides being the basic providers of subsistence needs. Their indigenous ecological wisdom of edible and medicinal plants and herbs, water conservation, maintenance of sacred groves, village forests etc. has for centuries enhanced their roles as 'resource managers'. However, in recent years, issues such as pressure of population, development, land acquisition and alienation, legislative policies of the Government, have undermined the role of Khasi rural women in resource management thereby denying access to, control over and decision-making power in livelihoods. This paper discusses the indigenous natural resource knowledge of Khasi rural women and at length attempts to examine their livelihood interventions.

Keywords: Livelihood, Forest, Women, Marginalised, Khasi, Rural

Introduction

The livelihood needs of men and women are not always the same, due to their differential roles, responsibilities and resources. Therefore, the impact of different livelihood interventions will also vary according to gender. That women are biologically different from men is often emphasised with reference to their child bearing and nurturing capacities. What is generally being ignored is that gendering of tasks is based on many other socio-cultural factors and process of socialization, rather than on natural, biological differences between men and women (Krishna, 2004). Gendered division of work in all societies of the world is based on the naïve argument that women's tasks are less physi-

cally arduous than that of men, which is why when it comes to livelihood patterns, women tend to undertake roles that suit their physical strength, unlike men who undertake the more labour-intensive and managerial tasks. Thus, comparing the quantum of work, it reinforces the notion that women only supplement the family income and are not engaged in productive labour. However, this notion should not undermine the significant role of women in economic pursuits such as the collection, processing, consumption and trade of forest products which traditionally have played a vital role in supplementing the income of rural families. There is no denying the fact that their 'green fingers' are not simply gifted to them but a result of their traditional, social and familial roles.

Women's centrality to resource management can hardly be underestimated. The traditionally demarcated roles that women perform in their domestic domain such as washing clothes, collecting firewood and farming, tending animals, growing vegetables and collecting NTFP (Non-Timber Forest Products) are considered 'natural' and as such contribute greatly to resource conservation. The conserving and sustaining roles that women perform has been glorified in the pages of history to the extent that women are valorised as 'resource managers'. No one can forget the historic Chipko Movement that took place in 1973 in Mandal, a small hamlet at Chamoli district of Garhwal where women activists staged protests against tree felling by literally 'hugging' the trees. That was the starting point of a conservation endeavour that was 'pro-poor' and above all 'women-centred'. What message did the Chipko movement have for its forerunners? Firstly, the word 'Chipko' itself which means 'to hug' in Hindi evoked pathetic images of poor village women desperately trying to protect their forests from the axes of greedy contractors, by hugging the trees which was their only means of economic survival. Secondly, Chipko has become an environmental icon to the world today that inspired 'eco-feminism'¹ with a strong message 'Our lives before our trees'.

To many of us, the landmarks of the Chipko movement may have left behind a legacy of a well fought battle, a women-centred movement for natural resource conservation, but today 46 years after its inception, questions remain: What role do women have in natural resource management today? What are the challenges that constraints them from their accessibility to forest resource? Let us start first by understanding the inextricable link between natural resources and rural livelihoods, in particular the increasing role of tribal women as household providers in declining rural economies. Tribal economy is inextricably linked with forest livelihood wherein a major source of their income is derived

from dependency on forest related activities. However, what is distinctive about tribes in India is their poor socio-economic condition. Poverty has been one of the most serious problems plaguing the country. Studies have also revealed that dependency on forests and common property resources increases as a tribal household becomes economically marginalised. And there is no denying the fact that as poverty increases, the tasks of women become more prominent in ensuring the survival of households by assuming greater responsibility to provide resources from forests and common lands. The importance of women in collection of forest produce is borne by data from almost every country in Asia, Africa and Latin America. For instance, a study in North West Frontier Province of Pakistan showed that 78 per cent of morel mushrooms are collected by women and children, which have supplemented their daily requirements for food and other basic necessities. Similarly, in west Bengal, tribal women gather Sal (*shorearobusta*) leaves for six months in a year and earn about Rs. 72 per month under the best circumstances. Like most of the tribal Indian women many Naga women depend on the forest and its resources for their livelihood, spending most of their labour and time tending their agricultural field and foraging the forest to meet the subsistence needs of their families and also for income. They have a very close relationship with the environment they live in and can be called the “guardians of their biodiversity” and caretakers of most agricultural and livestock resources (Nagaland Environment Protection and Economic Development and International Institute of Rural Reconstruction, 1999, p. 168).

The Khasis are a matrilineal tribe inhabiting the Khasi Hills in the North Eastern state of Meghalaya. While there are many interpretations of the origin of the Khasi race, the term ‘Khasi’ is believed to have derived its meaning from the terms ‘*kha*’ meaning ‘*born of*’ and ‘*si*’ meaning ‘*ancient mother*’, which when interpreted means ‘*born of the mother*’; thus bringing out the matrilineal character of the Khasis who trace their descent from the mother. The Khasis follow the principles of matrilineal descent where ancestral property is passed from the mother to the daughter, preferably the youngest daughter or the ‘*khadduh*’. The matrilineal Khasis of Meghalaya believe in the ideology-‘*Long jait na ka kynthai*’ which means ‘From the woman sprang the clan’. This ideology is so deeply rooted in the Khasi ethos that it has brought to light the role of women in perpetuating the clan from one generation to another. Descent line in a Khasi family is reckoned only from the mother’s clan or ‘*kur*’² as a result of which the children belong to the descent group of the mother. Therefore, it is customary for them to speak of a family of brothers and sisters

who are great grandchildren of one great grandmother, and identify themselves as '*shikpoh*' which literally means 'one womb' 'that is the issue of one womb'. Significantly, the Khasi ideology of human reproduction describes the father as the provider of stature and form (*U kpa uba ai ka long rynnieng*), while the mother contributes flesh and blood (*ka kmie kaba ai ia ka doh ka snam*) to the child. This filial bond between the mother and the child is strongly reflected even in familial relations and kinship ties where the term *para kur* (mother's kins) is used more significantly than the word *Bakha* (father's kins).

A woman is central to the family in Khasi ideology. She has the responsibility of nurturing and continuing the matrilineal descent line through reproduction. The Khasi woman has numerous familial and kinship roles to perform. Besides being the custodian of family property the '*Khadduh*' or youngest daughter's role is all the more heavy and burdensome. She has to look after the aged members of the family, and other members of the matrikin, she inherits the family property and continues tradition of carrying out the religious rites and ceremonies from time to time although with the help of her mother's male relatives. The Khasis believe in the saying '*Ka kynthai ka bat iaka niam*' meaning, 'It is the woman who holds the religion' which signifies her responsibilities in the religious domain. However, the exclusion of Khasi women from having any say in village durbars and meetings is noteworthy. They are not allowed to speak aloud in public meetings and village council meetings. Perhaps because of her domesticated role and nurturing skills she is expected to confine her duties to the home and family matters, leaving the others to the male.

Right from the time of recorded history Khasi women are known as free to participate in economic activities outside home. They move freely in market place, participate in trade and business, festivals, dances and the like. The society is free from social norms and evils of bride price, stridhan, child marriage etc. It could also be categorically said that Khasi women are very industrious. On this P.R.T Gurdon writes that the Khasis carry very heavy burden, the men in particular who travel long distances carrying heavy loads on their back while women carry almost as heavy loads as men. They are devoted to their offspring, and the women make excellent nurses for European children."

The Khasis have a deep-rooted affinity with nature. The earth which is symbolized as 'mother' or 'meiramew' is looked upon as the caretaker of all the natural resources. Thus, forest holds an important place in the social, economic and religious life of the Khasis. It is looked upon, as a well-loved home, a game sanctuary and an abode of

worship all rolled into one, around which their social, cultural and religious activities revolve. It is a familiar sight to see women and children setting off into the woods to collect edible fruits and roots. A typical day out for an average Khasi village woman would be best described as follows:

‘She carries her baby on her back, climbing the hills she sets off for the woods with a *ja-song* (cooked rice packed in a leaf) salt and some dry fish (*ktung*). Going to the forest virtually takes her the whole day. So besides collecting twigs and fuel wood and other forest products, she also spends the day washing clothes on the riverside in the foothills’ (Shangpliang, 2012:26).

As nurturers of family line, Khasi women have had a significant role to play in the domestic sphere (Uberoi, 1993:180). Her familial roles are well defined and her ‘glorifying status’ as a mother has furthered her roles and responsibilities towards meeting the immediate needs of the family. These roles include some burdensome duties and responsibilities which are part of their household chores such as carrying water, fetching firewood, washing clothes, collecting twigs and edible plants and roots which are carried out in the jungle skirting the village. This has partly been borne out of the fact that women have had a closer interaction with nature and this has enhanced the emotional bond with nature since it has helped them cope up with a number of economic hardships.

Khasi rural women and Indigenous Ecological Wisdom

From a gendered perspective it is a well-known fact that women’s indigenous knowledge of eco-systems has contributed to ecological sustainability, and is illustrative of the strength of their eco-system-based learning and commitment to non-violative uses of nature. A cursory glance over the Khasi rural eco-system reveals the extent of relationship between women and ecological sustainability. Their wisdom and knowledge about certain species of edible and non-edible plants, food culture and regenerative process of soil fertility has been extremely instrumental towards judicious use of the resources. A study conducted by the author in Lawbyrwa village of Ri-Bhoi District of Khasi Hills revealed that 80 per cent of the time spent by the women of this village in a day was mainly to fulfill the subsistence needs of their family and these activities included collecting fuel wood, water, edible roots and tubers, broom shrubs and other NTFP (Non-Timber Forest Products). ³Since most villages are located in the forested regions and fringe forest areas, they have properly defined gendered work patterns and responsibilities. While men are actively involved in agriculture, daily wage labour and farming activities, women are

seen to spend more time in the woods and are the main providers of basic needs such as fuelwood, food, medicinal and Non-Timber Forest Products to the family.

There are many Khasi folktales, and legends that have played a very important role as narratives in focusing the close relationship between women and nature. The Khasi folklore and legends, '*Khanatang bad Puriskam*' are mostly woven around the various forces of nature such as the hills and vales, rocks and caves, the flora and fauna. These elements of nature are personified in the legends as the mother and son, husband and wife and friend and foe according to their natural behaviours, their love, hate, jealousy, pride and vanity which are projected out before the listeners with the sole purpose of teaching moral and spiritual values. The ecological wisdom of the Khasis is a wisdom that is solidly based on 'experience' and they depend on this knowledge to fulfil most of their day to day needs (their economy). Through agriculture, hunting, fishing and gathering a huge range of forest foods and materials with which they make most of their articles of daily use, from houses to ploughs, baskets to leaf-plates. Majority of the Khasi households are built with thatch roof, plank floor, bamboo or stone walls which are all obtained from the forest. Fire always keeps burning on a stone hearth in the centre while the smoke finds its exit as best as it can. The amount of firewood burnt by each family is not known. They possess an ancient lore of herbal medicine as well as knowledge about many aspects of nature and human life. Much of this ancient wisdom is today the result of oral tradition. Forest wisdom has enabled the Khasis to live in harmony with nature besides elevating them to such a high pedestal that no animal or living creature could compete with. Medicinal plants are a category in itself whose knowledge is confined at the indigenous level to both men and women.

It is also interesting to note the use of simple objects of nature in their day to day activities that reflect the importance of nature in their cultural and religious life. The naming ceremony of a new born infant '*Kajer kathoh*' is an important occasion for the mother and the whole family where the pounded rice flour is placed on a bamboo winnower called '*Ka prah*.' When an expectant mother delivers her baby, a sharp splinter of bamboo is used to cut the umbilical cord. No metal objects or even a knife can be used on this occasion. When the umbilical cord, after being tied falls off, a ritual is performed by offering worship to certain water deities or '*Ka Blei Sam Um*'. Singing and dancing form an important component of Khasi culture. There are many Khasi traditional dances that are of ecological significance-harvest dances that are performed during harvesting,

another well-known dance is ‘*Ka Shad Kynthei*’ where only women take part in the religious dance invoking God and thanking him for a good harvest. There are also dances exclusively meant for women connected to fertility. It is called ‘*Ka shad Nohsakyriat*’ which is performed by the women folk who spin themselves on a traditional pole round and round in order to symbolize their strength and femininity of motherhood.

Forest Livelihood and Khasi rural women

Like most tribal communities, land and forest are the two most important natural resources to the Khasi. However, they have to be dealt as separate entities. Land locally known as ‘*Ri*’ by the Khasis has a deep attachment to their pattern of social organization and permeates every aspect of their socio-economic life. Land to the Khasis is a ‘gift of nature’ that belongs to the community, therefore access to land not only ensures economic security for the individual, but control over it symbolizes territorial integrity for the community as a whole (Nongbri, 2003).

One of the most important sources of livelihood of the Khasis is the forest which is their well-loved home, an abode of worship and a store-house of their daily necessities of life, like food, water, fodder and fire-wood. The Khasis assign a deep sense of awe and reverence to the different elements of forest in their natural abode, which conjure up to them as matters of life and death. This symbiotic relation between the Khasis and the nature has been appropriately defined by a Khasi author H. O Mawrie in the following words – ‘*U Khasi u im bad kamariang, bad kamariangkaim bad u*’, (Mawrie, 1978:78) which means – A Khasi lives with nature and nature lives with him. The Khasi rural women venture out into the forests and engage themselves everyday cutting fuel-wood, and collecting fruits, vegetables, broom grass etc, drying and processing them and, at the fall of the day, return back home with heavy bundles on their heads. The hill slopes and deep gorges remain, throughout the year round, covered with wild banana trees, cane and bamboos, innumerable varieties of edible and non-edible mushrooms, varieties of tubers and succors etc. The tender bamboo shoots are one of the tribal delicacies consumed as a curry or pickle after processing with mustard oil and spices. Every Khasi stall located along the Shillong- Guwahati National Highway, sell these bamboo shoots and other wild fruits and vegetables gathered from the forests. The Khasi Hills forests are home to many unknown plants and herbs of great medicinal value with which Khasis have developed an indigenous system of medicine that is widely used among them as an alternative to the costly allopathic medicine. The wild grown broom grass collected by the Khasi women

and children are bound into bundles of broom-sticks and sold locally or exported out of the state which fetch Rs 20 to 50 per each broomstick depending on the market and the quality of workmanship. Some of the NTFPs gathered from the forest of Khasi Hills such as cinnamon, sandal wood, pepper, fruits and plants and herbs are of very high economic and medicinal values in the nearby urban markets.

Of late, the Government of India has introduced a number of schemes through which regeneration and development of degraded forest are sought to be rejuvenated for the augmentation of the forest resources and development of environment. It is imperative that the institutions responsible for forest management for creating livelihood opportunities must work closely with women, since the womenfolk in Meghalaya are major players in this aspect. While it is understood that the strength of the village community among the Khasi is their 'social capital', where all members of the family are actively involved in building up subsistence economy, the women play a singular role as gatherers of NTFPs. Thus, the policy framework must give an emphatic thrust on the involvement of women in planning, implementation, monitoring and review of any activity (Darlong, 2008). However, the fact of the matter remains that during the past five decades of Indian planning, women have been thoroughly marginalized in the process of development, implementation and reorientation. Needless to say, the constraints faced by the women in controlling and managing land and forest resources have to a certain extent deprived them of their claims on sustainable livelihood. The scenario in respect of the Khasi women who claim to belong to matrilineal society is no better either. Though in principle the matrilineal rule of female inheritance and descent is followed, their customary practices and usages are certainly not gender egalitarian. The overall administration and superintendence of the domestic matters are vested in the mother's brother. The Khasi women inherit property but lack the power to manage it. The woman is the central figure in the household organization but when it comes to the allocation of the rights over land, a sharp distinction is maintained between 'ownership' and 'control'. While ownership of land is transmitted through women, control invariably lies with men (Nongbri, 2003).

In the case of community forests (*Khlaw Raid and Khlaw Adong*) greater autonomy in management and control of forests lies with the traditional institutions, clans and authorized individuals. In matters relating to forest up-keepment and decision making the Khasi women have no right whatsoever. The village council (*Durbar shnong*) which is traditionally empowered to deal with the overall development works of the village does

not recognize a woman as its member nor does it entertain any views or opinion from her. Problems faced by women are mostly voiced through the adult male members of their households.

The following Table 1 throws some light on the indigenous strategies evolved by Khasi women in various areas of social, economic and cultural life that have indirectly contributed towards natural resource management.

Table 1: Distribution of work between male and female in forest related activities

Sl. No.	Activities	Sex	N u m b e r of Persons Engaged	Percentage to Total	Remarks
1	Cultivation and labour etc.	Male	41	22.78%	45%
2	Making Charcoal	Male	40	22.22%	
3	Collecting Firewood	Female	37	20.50%	55%
4	Collecting NTFP	Female	31	17.25%	
5	Selling Vegetables/Fruits etc	Female	31	17.25%	
Total			180	100.00	100%

SOURCE: Shangpliang Rekha M “Forest in the life of the Khasis” Ph.D. Thesis, 2007.

The above table shows that approximately 55 per cent of the rural Khasi Womenfolk are engaged in forest activities while 45 per cent males are engaged in non-forest activities. This reveals the preponderance of Khasi women engaged in forest as their primary source of livelihood.

KHASI RURAL WOMEN AND FORESTS: INTERVENTIONS BETWEEN FOREST RIGHTS AND MANAGEMENT

In the matrilineal Khasi society, the issue of equitable distribution of benefits in indigenous management system has often been challenged. Though in principle the matrilineal rule of female inheritance and descent is followed, but customary practices are not gender egalitarian, as authority is vested in the mother’s brother (maternal uncle). Women can inherit property such as land but they lack the power to manage it. The woman is the focal point of the household organization but when it comes to the allocation of rights over land, a sharp distinction is maintained between ‘ownership’ and ‘control’. While ownership of land is transmitted through women, control invariably lies with men (Nongbri, 2003:199)

Making the plight of women worse is the system of forest management operating

in the Khasi Hills. Here, the management of forest lands falls under three (3) agencies: -

- (1) Autonomous District Council (Green blocks, Protected forests, unclassified forests, private forests owned by clans, domestic groups, individuals and organizations)
- (2) State Government (Reserved Forests or National Parks)
- (3) Community (*Khlaw Raid* or community forests and *khlawadong* or community protected forest).

The diarchical form of control and management of forest in Meghalaya by the State Forest Department and the Autonomous District Councils has contributed to dual forest policies, lack of co-ordination and division of accountability. Both the authorities formulate their own forest policies and follow a separate set of forest rules and regulations in their respective areas of operation. The main reason for such a diarchy is that, while the State Forest Department maintains a well-qualified team of skilled technical staff, it has a comparatively meagre area of 1127.23 sq.km of forest under its jurisdiction. The district Council on the other hand, has a large forest cover of 6250.68 sq. km under its management and control and yet it suffers from inadequate technical manpower which has resulted in the lack of enforcement of rules. Forest being the principal source of revenue the District Councils could not afford to stop forest operation under prevailing fund constraints. The private forest owners who own substantial areas of forests indulged freely in sale of timber from their forest. A cursory glance at the available statistics of Meghalaya shows a steep rise in the process of forest exploitation resulting in sharp fall in the area under forest cover. Out of Meghalaya's total geographical area of 22,429 sq.km (23,06,069 hectares) she now has only 9,41,823 hectares of forest area which comes to barely 42.03 per cent (2001 Census). These issues have had a serious impact on people's livelihood thereby leading to infringement on their traditional rights over forest resources.

In the case of Community Forests (*Khlaw Raid* and *KhlawAdong*) greater autonomy in management lies with the traditional institutions, clans and individuals. As per customary practices, only the permanent residents of the villages have the right to access and use of community forests and other common property resources. They can collect fuelwood, cut trees for construction of houses, collect wild vegetables, orchids and medicinal herbs and quarry sand and stones from permitted sites (Nongkynrih, 2006:55).

It is here that one finds an invisibility of women's role in forest management and decision making. Although women shoulder heavy economic responsibilities and spend

long and tedious hours toiling in the field, trudge large distances through rugged forests in their struggle to meet the survival needs of the family, they have little to say in village administration or in the management of their natural productive resources. Many times, women become silent observers of the changes around them with little or no voice in decisions taken at the council meetings. Their problems are mostly voiced through the adult male members of their household. Added to this is the problem of infringement of land ownership. There has also been an unhealthy trend of gradual shift over of *Ri-raid* (community land) to *Ri-Kynti* (private ownership) as large tracts of land and forest has been taken over by a significant decline in the quality of communal land and forest but also marginalized women's role in the use of common property resources.

While delving on the issue of the decline in the quality of communal land and forest, Supreme Court Order on Timber Ban has also had an effect on women and forest livelihood. On December 12th 1996, the Supreme Court passed its historic judgments on the ban of felling of trees, removal of timber and wood-based activities in the region. However, the judgments had a conservationist aim in mind, it caused unexpected miseries to the tribal population who were totally dependent on forest livelihood. The effect of the ban fell heavily on women by imposing an additional burden on them to meet the economic needs of the family and increased their domestic chores manifold (Nongbri, 2003: 1898).

Agriculture and sale of forest produce used to be the mainstay of the rural Khasi economy. Over the years, with the decline of forest cover, the Khasi rural women have been forced into local and migrant wage employment. Livelihoods today have to be balanced between availability of forest produce, landownership and wage employment. As forests have dwindled, women still depend upon the remaining forests as supplementary source of livelihood for survival, especially in the lean summer months. They have to walk longer distances to the forest for collection and carrying back the produce as head loads. For marketing these products, they are bound to depend on bus services which are quite irregular and poor due to inaccessible roads to the interior villages. This leaves the marketing and sale of produce to the men folk. This has reduced the women's transport burden and time pressure but the negative consequence is that they have lost control over the income from selling the firewood and NTFP that they collected. This is further compounded by the fact that the women are primarily involved only in the lower stages of the value chain such as collection, cleaning, processing and sorting of forest produce but they

lack access to or control over marketing of the produce which is mostly monopolized by men. Despite their important role in the value chain, men's marginalization has led to an increase in the burden of economic hardships thereby bearing upon the brunt of poverty.

Conclusion

The conflict of interest between the Government and the tribals over the forest wealth that was begun by the Colonial rule continued unabated long after India's independence. The Government of India tightened up its grip over the control and management of forest through introduction of a new set of laws and rules while the traditional tribal rights over land and forest of the Khasi was slowly eroded. This impacted on the Khasi rural women who were the main actors in the field.

While it is a fact that customary laws with regard to land and forest and the working plan of the government have all come in the way of women, it would not be wrong to conclude that women in particular and indigenous people in general have seriously been affected by a number of issues which revolve around the use of resources and the struggle for rights over these competing issues. The conclusive evidence thus highlights the following harsh realities faced by the Khasi rural women who are dependent on forest livelihood.

Firstly, there has been a visible transition in Khasi society with regard to the state of dependence on forest resources like food, fodder and shelter to other means of living. The depletion of land and natural forest cover which was an important base for their primary economy has resulted in paucity of forestlands for livelihood. It is interesting to note here that the worst victims are women who not only have to bear the brunt of depleting natural resources but also the subordination of their gender. This issue can also be approached in terms of a new concept that has arisen in recent times 'feminization of poverty' which supports the claim that poverty is becoming increasingly feminized, that is, an increasing proportion of the world's poor are female.⁴

Secondly, we find an invisibility of women's role in forest management. This is largely due to prevailing Khasi customary laws where women have little to say in village administration or even management of their natural productive resources. Added to this is the unhealthy trend of a gradual shift over of *Ri-raid* (community) forest lands to *Ri-kynti* (private) land owners thereby marginalizing women's role in the use of the CPR's or Common Property Resources.

Thirdly we are often lead by the 'self perception 'that women are merely 'helpers'

and not ‘workers’ when it actually comes to demarcating the flow of work within and outside the household. Activities like collection of NTFP, cleaning, sorting processing of forest products are often considered to be part of their household chores’ and therefore they are not ‘work’ at all. In many remote villages women still lack access to marketing and sale of the produce which is mostly monopolized by men thereby leading to an increase in the burden of economic hardships and losing control over the income.

Fourthly, with the current rate of 64 per cent literacy in Meghalaya and the meagre economic development that has so far been achieved, the world view of the women folk in rural areas of the state has remained as traditional as in the past.

All this leads one to agree that the environment today is facing a crisis amidst stringent legislations of the Government coupled with problems of development and conflict over resource base, there has been a gradual shift in women’s role as basic providers of subsistence needs and resource utilization thereby leading to invisibility of their livelihood strategies and marginalization of their rights over NTFP.

End Notes

¹The word ‘eco-feminism’ was first used by a French feminist Francoise d’Eaubonne in 1974. It is a feminist perspective that sees the connection between women and nature in culture, religion, literature and tries to draw similarities between the oppression of nature and that of women as being alike.

²The Khasi ‘kur’ is equivalent to a clan. Therefore a kur represents all the matrikins from the ancestral mother’s lineage.

³This data was procured as a result of the Ph.D field work conducted by the author on the topic “Forest in the life of the Khasi: A study in the role of forest in Khasi socio-economic structure”. (2007)

⁴The term ‘feminization of poverty’ was first coined by Diana Pearce in 1976 following her observation of women amongst women in America. A 1992 UN report found that “the number of rural women living in poverty in the developing countries has increased by almost 50% over the past 20 years.

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**Authenticating the Self in the Slave Narrative of Frederick Douglass's
Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave,
Written by Himself and Harriet Jacob's Incidents in the Life of A Slave Girl**

Amanda Khyriem

Department of English, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong.

Email: amanda_khyriem4@yahoo.in

Abstract

All art involves self-projection to a certain extent and in the novel or drama, the writer projects his own personality into the characters that he creates. In their respective narratives or autobiographies, Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs have sought to tell their stories despite the restrictions of the period. As runaway slaves in the America of the 19th century, both Douglass and Jacobs risk capture by their former slave masters when they wrote their stories. Yet the need to inform the world about their experiences under the institution of slavery; the horror, the inhumanity, the abuse both physical and sexual, far outweigh the dangers that surround them. Viewed as objects to be bought and sold in America, Slave Narratives are a weapon for the sable race to authenticate their very existence as human beings.

Keywords: Autobiography, Slave Narratives, American slavery, Authentication, Self-hood

All art involves self-projection to a certain extent and in the novel or drama, the writer projects his own personality into the characters that he creates. As a result, self-projection is inevitable in literature. Through the ages, man has always been fascinated with his 'self' and in almost every age autobiographical writing is evident (Sarojini 199). Autobiography illumines the author's inner self using external descriptions and what makes it unique is that it is retrospective account of the autobiographer's life, written with affirmed fidelity (201).

Sarojini explains that the term autobiography was coined in 1809 when Robert Southey commented on the life of a Portuguese painter Francisco Vierra in the Quarterly Review (202). The word autobiography can be described in terms of the three constituent elements – autos (self), bios (life), and graphe (writing) (Andrews 2). In his essay *The First Century of Afro-American Autobiography*, William L. Andrews writes that autobiography has its birth in the desire to explain and justify the self (223), while Georges Gusdorf has explained it as a need to do away with misunderstandings and to restore an

incomplete or deformed truth (223).

An examination of Black American literary tradition reveals that it began with the oral tradition with its roots in Africa. Some of these stories were very popular with both Blacks and Whites at the time (Dickson 322). These stories about the experience of capture and enslavement were passed on from mouth to mouth throughout the antebellum period. Black American autobiography is a continuation of this creative literary tradition and these writings are a reflection of the epic experience of this group. As Henry Louis Gates Jr. commented in *The Classic Slave Narratives*, “The black slave narrators sought to indict both those who enslaved them and the metaphysical system drawn upon to justify their enslavement. They did so using the most enduring weapon at their disposal, the printing press” (xiii). Since these writings were autobiographies they emerged as some of the most powerful indictments against slavery and ultimately, they came to be called Slave Narratives. Gates Jr. not only describes the Slave Narratives as “a remarkable and enduring visible legacy of African’s enslavement in the New World” (xi) but he also describes these writings as an opportunity for former slaves to “testify against their captors and to bear witness to the urge of every black slave to be free and literate and accorded all the ‘rights of man’” (xi). For Black autobiographers, autobiography fulfils their need for a rhetorical mode to do battle against racism. Writing their own stories allows them to give a first-hand account of the horrors they have had to endure. Though other types of writing like treatises, pamphlets, addresses and appeals thrived during the late eighteen and early nineteen centuries yet it is only Black autobiography which is capable of having a mass impact on the conscience of ante-bellum Americans (*The First Century* 226). “In the process of imitation, revision, and repetition, the black slave’s narrative came to be a communal utterance, a collective tale, rather than merely an individual’s autobiography. Each slave author, in writing about his or her personal life experiences, simultaneously wrote on behalf of the millions of silent slaves still held captives throughout the Caribbean, Latin American and the American South” (Gates Jr., xiii).

If in White autobiography the convention is to write the success story, in Black autobiography however, the convention is to focus more on the escape from bondage to freedom as seen in many slave narratives like *Narrative of William W. Brown* and *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom; or, the Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery*. Experienced abolitionists recognise that autobiography or first-person narrative is the most effective tool in their fight against slavery in the South. A reason is because

these writings offer an in-depth and intimate look into a world which before stood as an enigma. These narratives gave northern readers an intimate look into the institution of slavery as practised in the slave states. As Gould describes, "...the depravity of Southern planters and the irresponsible fact of sexual miscegenation, the hypocrisy of Southern Christianity, scenes of brutal whipping and torture, rebellious slaves who are murdered..." (19). The story of a runaway slave and his experiences under slavery is bound to be more compelling than any oratory or pamphlet by a White abolitionist. However, black autobiographies or slave narratives have a problem with historicity and early historians have always believed in the weakness of factual substance since these writings have traditionally been an arm of abolitionist propaganda against slavery. John W. Blassingame, however dismisses these earlier beliefs and contends that:

Many blacks who had purchased their freedom, been manumitted, or escape from bondage wrote autobiographies without the aid of white editors. A comparison of the narratives of such well-known blacks as William Wells Brown, Frederick Douglass, Henry Bibb, Pennington, Jermain Loguen, Austin Steward, and Richard Allen with antebellum letters, speeches, sermons, and books reveals so many similarities in style that there can be no doubt about either the authorship or authenticity of their accounts (479).

Taking into consideration all these aspects of the Slave Narratives, we should also be careful not to limit and narrow down the scope and meaning of the narratives. As Dickson D. Bruce JR warns:

The slave narratives as a body of writing are rich in their literary and historical characteristics and implications. One should be careful never to reduce them to any single dimension. Neither should one ignore their political purposes or their political underpinnings in the context of antebellum history. Intended to present an irrefutable case against slavery, they entered into a debate that divided the nation, while resonating strongly with American political concerns. And they also did so in ways that contributed significantly to bringing slavery to an end (42)

Autobiography without a doubt is one of the most difficult forms of literary art. Not only must it be a retrospective account of the autobiographer's life but it must also be written with the utmost honesty (Sarojini 203). In autobiography the nature of truth is very complex because it is subjective rather than objective, since the autobiographer presents the truth of life as seen from inside. In American autobiography, slave narratives

have been accepted with great scepticism and resistance precisely because of this. Another reason is because Black slaves have always been perceived to be liars, thieves and drunkards in the North, therefore whatever they have to say or write is always viewed with suspicion. Frederick Douglass's act of writing his own autobiography is the result of accusations that he had never been a slave because he did not speak in the slave dialect. Douglass reveals the identity of his master in his narrative, despite the danger that his master will learn of his whereabouts, because he is convinced that without these revelations his book will be worthless as no one will take his word as the truth. Harriet Jacobs's story is so volatile that she is forced to begin her narrative by reassuring her white readers that her story is not a figment of her imagination:

Readers, be assured this narrative is no fiction. I am aware that some of my adventures may seem incredible; but they are nevertheless, strictly true. I have not exaggerated the wrongs inflicted by Slavery; on the contrary, my descriptions fall far short of the facts (407).

For both Jacobs and Douglass, it is imperative that their narratives must be believed. Perhaps the greatest challenge to Black autobiographers is to find devices and strategies that will bestow the stamp of authenticity to their writings. When we examine *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Jacobs and *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself* by Frederick Douglass, it is clear that these two narratives have overcome this challenge.

In his first autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, Douglass is forced to conform to the traditions of the time by having two white men who are also well-known abolitionists, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendel Phillips, write the Preface to the book and in the process authenticate that the book had really been written by Douglass:

Mr. Douglass has very properly chosen to write his own Narrative, in his own style, and according to the best of his ability, rather than to employ someone else. It is, therefore, entirely his own production; and, considering how long and dark was the career he had to run as a slave... it is in my judgement, highly creditable to his head and heart (305).

In his second autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, Douglass breaks from tradition by having a black physician and abolitionist, Dr. James McCune Smith write the Preface. This is done deliberately because after fifteen years of living in freedom, Doug-

lass is convinced that he doesn't need a white man to authenticate his literary act and his self-hood. Harriet Jacobs's experience is different from that of Douglass. Being a woman and a runaway black slave has ensured that Jacobs's autobiography will have to pass an even more stringent test of authentication because women's experiences in slavery are not the same as that of men. In *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Lydia Maria Childs, a well-known abolitionist, herself wrote the Introduction:

I am well aware that many will accuse me of indecorum for presenting these pages to the public; for the experiences of this intelligent and much-injured woman belong to a class which some call delicate subjects, and others indelicate. This peculiar phase of Slavery has generally been kept veiled; but the public ought to be made acquainted with it's monstrous features and I willingly take the responsibility of presenting them with the veil withdrawn (409-410).

Despite this introduction, Jacobs's narrative is not taken seriously for many decades by both readers and scholars because it is an exception since it represents a woman's perspective and also because for a long time scholars have suspected that white writers were involved in the production of this narrative (Ernest 219). Before *Incidents*, references to sexual abuse were few and when they were mentioned they were never described in detail. Douglass himself describes the whipping of his Aunt Hester by the overseer, Mr. Plummer. When Hester was caught in the company of a young man, a slave by the name of Llyod's Ned, she was stripped from neck to waist, her hands tied in front of her and then hung from a hook. The warm red blood that flowed from the beaten and broken body of Hester so terrified the young Douglass that he never forgot it. However his telling comment about the entire incident reveals the true reason for the overseer's anger, 'Had he been a man of pure morals himself, he might have been thought interested in protecting the innocence of my aunt; but those who knew him will not suspect him of any such virtue' (319). For the first time in *Incidents*, the issue of sexual abuse is written about not only in detail but also described candidly by the victim herself. According to William L. Andrews, it is only after extensive archival work by Jean Fagan Yellin in 1987, who proved beyond a doubt as to the authenticity of *Incidents*, that the book became a major slave narrative:

Jacobs's correspondence with Child helps lay to rest the long-standing charge against *Incidents* that it is at worst a fiction and at best the product of Child's pen, not Jacobs's. Child's letters to Jacobs and others make clear that her role as editor was no

more than she acknowledged in her introduction to *Incidents*: to ensure the orderly arrangement and directness of the narrative, without adding anything to the text or altering in any significant way Jacobs's manner of recounting her story (<https://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/jacobs/bio.html>)._

In autobiography the writer depends wholly on his memory which at times can be treacherous and misleading. This is so because he has no control over his memory and memory sometimes can be selective and also creative. In his autobiographies, Douglass often makes no mention about certain people and incidents in his life. His childhood friendship with Daniel Llyod is given only a brief mention and even more surprising is that he makes no mention of his courtship of Anna Murray in Baltimore before announcing his marriage to her in New York a few days after his escape. All that we know about Anna before her marriage to Douglass is that she helped him financially when he made his escape to the North. His wife Anna, an illiterate, dark-complexioned and coarse woman did not fit into Douglass's world filled with outspoken and militant personalities like Amy Post and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. On the other hand his association with Daniel Llyod is deliberately played down because within the boundaries of that relationship, Douglass is only a lowly slave boy, an impression which does not sit well with the image he now wants to portray to the world. Harriet Jacob's narrative on the other hand is full of concealments because of the sensitivity of the subject and the need to protect herself, her children and her family. In her narrative, Jacobs uses a pseudonym, 'Linda Brent', to tell her story and it is Yellin who finally uncovers the true identity of all the men and women who people Jacob's narrative: Dr. Flint was James Norcom, Emily Flint was Mary Matilda Norcom, Mr. Sands was Samuel Tredwell Sawyer, and so on (Smith 193).

For both Jacobs and Douglass, it is vital that they must be seen as truth tellers because Blacks have always been seen as depraved and vicious by White America. American standards insist that autobiography must be factual which means that in Black autobiography the self must be situated on the periphery while the 'facts' must be the centre of attention. Douglass on the other hand believes in giving both the 'facts' and the 'self' equal importance because one cannot do without the other if a balanced view is to be achieved. Since autobiography is an assessment of the significance of one's life, Douglass is determined that the 'self' he reveals to the world must be worthy and complete and deserving of the name truth teller because it is only then that he will achieve full manhood. Jacobs understands fully well the complications that may arise from her

use of pseudonyms while naming the people in her narrative. She pleads with her readers to try and understand the plight of slave women who have no control over their bodies. For Jacobs, the act of exercising her right to choose the man to whom she will give up her cherished virginity and who will ultimately father her children is an expression of her indomitable spirit. While writing her life story, she understands that white societal rules will be applied as a yardstick for her actions and in the eyes of her Northern white readers, her actions may be seen as promiscuous and depraved. Yet slavery is an institution where slaves do not have any kind of autonomy over their bodies. They are seen as commodity to be bought and sold and in the case of women, they are also seen as breeders who have the potential to increase the master's stock of slaves and thereby increase his wealth. Therefore, in *Incidents*, Jacobs asks her readers to be lenient in their judgement of female slaves since, 'the slave woman ought not to be judged by the same standards as others' (466). Like Douglass, Jacobs is also determined to tell the truth no matter the consequences and in the process she proves herself to be a truth teller.

The inhumanity of man on man and the continuation of slavery and human bondage have given rise to numerous forms of protest and Black autobiography is one such example (Sarojini 209). Douglass's *Narrative* can also be called protest literature because he protests against attempts by the white dominant race to suppress his voice and reduce him to a mere puppet whom they can manipulate. Jacobs's *Incidents* is also a protest literature because in it she calls out the sexual abuse rampant in a number of Southern plantations and she also details the extreme steps she was forced to take, hiding in her grandmother's attic for seven years in order to escape the debauchery of the dissipated Dr. Flint. Black protest comes in various forms, it started on the slave ships with the slave rebellions and it matured into the act of seizing education in the face of white opposition which is one of the most powerful forms of protest. Other forms of protest range from a deliberate work slowdown to oratory and even religion when Black slaves inscribe Christianity with certain African forms of worship such as the calling out which is very popular in Black churches (Morris 26).

A recurring theme in most Black autobiography is the Black man's protest against the cruelty and injustice imposed on him by White America. This theme is seen not only in the autobiographies of the slave narrators of the 18th and 19th centuries, but also in 20th century autobiographies such as *Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965). A comparison between Frederick Douglass and Malcolm X reveals that the two men have a lot in common

though they belong to different centuries. Both of them are charismatic leaders and also orators of their time. Like Douglass, Malcolm is a man of complete integrity and he is not afraid to tell it as it is (Griffen 24); qualities which also shine bright in Harriet Jacobs's telling of her own story. That issues of oppression and racism have remained the same in America from the 19th century to the 20th century is indicative of the collective failure of the American nation in providing basic civil and human rights to a race of people whose forefathers were forcibly brought across the ocean against their will. As W. E. B. Du Bois puts it , 'After emancipation, for twenty years and more, so many people looked for the fulfilment of the prophecy that many actually saw it and we heard and kept hearing and now and then still hear that the Negro today is worse off than is slavery days (111).

For Douglass a potent weapon against the debilitating effects of slavery is a deliberate misreading of everything that the slaveholder stands for. A study of his life reveals that Douglass has always done the opposite of what others want him to do. In many slave narratives, the ability to read, the acquisition of literacy is treated as equivalent to the achievement of physical freedom. In the case of Harriet Jacobs, the stand she takes against her master Dr. Flint when he tries to corrupt her innocence by suggesting that she becomes his mistress with her own cottage to live in, becomes her weapon in fighting off the evil effects of slavery. Her absolute refusal to bow down to her master's desires, her act of taking a white man, Mr. Sands, as her lover and having children with him, her concealment in her grandmother's attic and subsequent flight to New York to freedom, her efforts in getting her children's father to buy them from Dr. Flint, all are Jacobs's weapons in her fight against the evils of slavery. In the *Narrative*, Frederick Douglass speaks of reading as the way he begins to define himself via defiance of his master because when Hugh Auld learns of Douglass's lessons with his wife Sophia he becomes apprehensive lest the slave becomes uncontrollable. In the case of Jacobs, her refusal to submit to her master's base desires and thereby maintain her integrity becomes the window through which she gazes at herself.

Both Jacobs and Douglass feel that writing their own autobiography is the only way for them to truly authenticate their own self. William L. Andrews writes that autobiography is "spurred by many motives, perhaps the most important of which is the need of an 'other' to declare himself through various acts..." (*The First Century* 228). For Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs, autobiography is the only genre which can provide both of them with the platform to reveal to the world that people that really are, and that is both

are heroes in their own very different ways.

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DECLARATION

Form IV Rule 8

Place of Publication	: NEHU Permanent Campus Shillong-793022
Periodicity	: Biannual
Printer's Name	: Editor, NEHU,
Address	: Permanent Campus Shillong-793022
Publisher's Name	: Editor, NEHU
Nationality	: Indian
Address	: Permanent Campus Shillong-793022
Editor's Name	: S.R. Joshi
Nationality	: Indian
Address	: Department of Biotechnology and Bioinformatics Permanent Campus, NEHU Shillong-793022
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Chapter in a book

Heckman, J., Lalonde, R. and Smith, J. 1999. 'The Economics and Econometrics of Active Labour Market Programs', in A. Ashenfelter and D. Card (ed.), *Handbook of Labour Economics*, Blackwell, Amsterdam: 23-50.

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McCaffrey, D.F., Ridgeway, G. and Morral, A.R. 2004. 'Propensity Score Estimation with Booted Regression for Evaluating Causal Effects in Observational Studies', *Psychological Methods*, 9(4): 403-425.

Working Papers / Discussion Papers

Krishna, A. 2003. 'Social Capital, Community Driven Development and Empowerment:

A Short Note on Concepts and Operations', Working Paper No. 33077, World Bank: 34.

Government and Institutional Documents

B L Center for Development Research and Action (BLCDRA). 2005. *Micro finance and Empowerment of Scheduled Caste Women: An Impact Study of Self-help Groups in Uttar Pradesh and Uttaranchal*.

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Scandizzo, P., Gaiha, R. and Imai, K. 2005. 'Option Values, Switches and Wages - An Analysis of the Employment Guarantee Scheme in 138India', presented at the Conference on *Social Protection for Chronic Poverty Risk, Needs, and Rights: Protecting What? How?*, organized by IDPM, University of Manchester, 23-24 February 2005.

Online sources

Islam, A. 2009. 'Medium and Long-term Participation in Microfinance: An Evaluation Using a Large Panel Dataset from Bangladesh'. Department of Economics, Monash University, Australia: 12. <https://editorialexpress.com/cgi-in/conference/download.cgi?db>, accessed on 12/12/2012.

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