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Nalini Rewadikar**

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M.P. Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain

Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences

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Manuscripts, subscriptions and other correspondence should be addressed to:

The Editor

Madhya Pradesh Journal of Social Sciences
M.P. Institute of Social Science Research
6, Ramsakha Gautam Marg, Bharatpuri Administrative Zone
UJJAIN - 456 010 Madhya Pradesh (India)
Phones: (0734) 2510978, Fax: (0734) 2512450
E-mail: mpjssujjain@gmail.com, Website: www.mpissr.org

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Madhya Pradesh Assembly Elections 2018: Decoding the Electoral Outcome

Yatindra Singh Sisodia*

The bipolar nature of the state politics of Madhya Pradesh has come to be identified time and again. Being a bipolar state, fortunes of one party almost proportionately reflect in the performance of the other major competitor in the state. Madhya Pradesh witnessed a significant change in the electoral outcome of Assembly elections of 2018 after 15 years. The reasons put forward for this change in the political scenario include anti-incumbency against both the incumbent state government and the individual sitting MLAs, and lesser level of satisfaction with the performance of the state government. This paper makes an attempt to analyse state politics in the context of the outcome of Assembly elections 2018 to assess the structure of competition and its relation to the election outcomes.

Madhya Pradesh polity has largely been a two-party system with other parties not having succeeded in making their mark in electoral politics in the state since its formation in 1956. Actual bipolarity happened ever since the arrival of Janata Party and later the BJP challenged the Congress domination of politics in the state. With its sizable population of backward communities, particularly the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs), governments led either by the Congress or the BJP have always

*Professor and Director, Madhya Pradesh Institute of Social Science Research, Ujjain.
E-mail: yatindra15@yahoo.com

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focused on state sponsored social reforms and welfare schemes. This has often addressed the aspirations of the backward and marginalised sections of the population (Gupta, 2005). Further, the state of Madhya Pradesh is a classic example of the thesis of stable two-party political competition (Yadav and Palshikar, 2009). The elections of last two and half decades are testimony to this fact of party political competition.

Unlike the three previous elections in the state, the political metaphor and narrative created in 2018 elections were very different. While the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) centred its campaign around of chief minister Shivraj Singh Chauhan, highlighting the achievements of his government in the last 15 years. Congress however took up issues of farmers, women, youth, inflation, and corruption with vigour all through the campaign. This evenly poised electoral fight made this election the most noticeable and argued in recent time.

This paper makes an attempt to explain state's electoral politics in the context of the outcomes of Madhya Pradesh Assembly elections 2018.

Methodology and Context

Lokniti-CSDS did the Post-Poll Survey in Madhya Pradesh after Assembly elections 2018. The survey was mainly to understand the voting behaviour in the state. The survey was carried out with a multi-stage random sampling. There was a random selection of 57 assembly constituencies and thereafter there was a random selection of four polling stations totaling 228 polling stations and finally the selection of voters totaling 5818 respondents. A structured questionnaire was administered to get important insights into demographic details, political choices and social attitudes of the voters around the time of elections.

Election Campaign in 2018

The BJP's campaign strategy was to showcase the achievements of the state government under the leadership of Shivraj Singh, particularly in providing electricity, road, irrigation and other major welfare achievements, which were crucial issues for the Congress' 2003 debacle. Shivraj Singh's government stressed on a patron-clientele model, where individual beneficiary oriented schemes were a special focus to strengthen the voter base, particularly among the vulnerable and marginalised sections of the society.

BJP deliberately chose to concentrate its campaign around Shivraj Singh with a huge publicity of the achievements of incumbent government in last 15 years and also tried hard to attract the direct beneficiaries of different welfare schemes. BJP was in election mode for almost one year with different *yatras* and huge publicity of the achievements of the state government from BIMARU to a developed state along with opening of announcement and implementation of schemes for farmers and weaker sections of society including distribution of freebies. There's deadening and complete ideological convergence between political parties when it comes to constant and reckless populism. Instead of substantive debate on future public policies for growth, politicians hurl personalised abuse at each other and sops are thrown at voters as sweeteners.¹

Nevertheless, the Congress led the campaign with issues of farmers' unrest, unemployment among youth, insecurity among women, poor state of industries, corruption, inflation, demonetisation and goods and services tax (GST), on which the small trading community, which had been traditional voters of the BJP, had been raising eyebrows. Congress's announcement of agricultural loan waiver upto Rs. 2 lakh lured the farming society and could be termed as a game changer. Congress without doubt fought this election to the best of their ability.

This election was also held against the backdrop of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 and reservation, on which the stand of the BJP government became a tug of war among castes and classes, which gave birth to a new political outfit called the *Savarn Alpsankhyak Pichhda Varg Kalyan Samaj* (SAPAKS).² Though it could not get much momentum, the candidates from this political party fought elections particularly in urban constituencies where they tried to dent the prospects of candidates in close fights. Although this political outfit could not garner much vote but it was able to generate a narrative of class/caste debate during the campaign.

It was very silent election and was indeed difficult to gauge the mood of electorate, however, there was a kind of boredom and monotony among electorate with same government for 15 years and it contributed in terms of vote for change. Both major political parties suffered a setback in terms of defectors as after getting denial of party tickets, sizeable of them remained in election fray and they emerged as spoilers for the party's official candidate.

BJP had won the previous three Assembly elections and was hoping for an unprecedented fourth victory. In 2003, BJP had ridden the crest of a

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wave dominated by the promise of *bijli/sadak/pani* (electricity/road/water) (Manor, 2004). Five years later in 2008, the BJP returned to power on account of the failure of the Congress opposition to mobilise the voters on one hand and the voters' satisfaction with the incumbent government on the other (Sisodia: 2009, 2014a). 2013 election was a smooth sailing for BJP as Shivraj Singh's juggernaut and delivery of political goods was almost invincible (Sisodia, 2014b). As a result, BJP completed decade and half in power with three consecutive terms and Shivraj Singh Chauhan served for 13 of those 15 years as the longest serving Chief Minister of the state. His personal popularity and leadership quality was again giving a hope to the rank and file of the party for the positive and favourable outcome for 2018.

After 15 years in power, the BJP too had its share of challenges. Factionalism within the party did surface from time to time. At times, the party organisation and the government structure seemed to work at cross purposes. Chief Minister micro-managed the campaign in order to ensure that the challenges, the party and candidates were facing, could not adversely impact on its electoral prospects. Several steps were taken; a campaign called the *Jan Aashiroad Yatra* started by the Chief Minister much before the announcement of the schedule of election. This campaign was focused on showcasing the achievements of the government over the 15 years, especially contrasting the same with the Congress record in the earlier 10 years. The BJP projected Shivraj Singh as the face of the BJP keeping in view of the track record and tried hard to push forward the issue that Congress was without face for the chief ministerial candidate.³

Voting Pattern

Voting took place in Madhya Pradesh on 28 November 2018, with a record 75.05 per cent turnout, an increase of 2.53 per cent from the previous election. This polling percentage witnessed a trend and this increase was not uniform across the state. Fifteen districts witnessed more than 80 per cent polling, mostly in the Malwa, Nimar, Madhya Bharat and Mahakoshal regions. While the awareness campaign spearheaded by the Election Commission could have been a factor, the nature and structure of the electoral contest was also responsible for the increased participation in voting.

If the previous three Assembly election results were to be analysed, it was noticed that in all the three elections, the BJP won the elections with a comfortable majority. If in 2003, they won over three fourths of the seats, in 2008 its seats share was closer to two thirds of the seats and in 2013, it won

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over 70 per cent of the seats. The Congress, on the other hand did recover a bit in 2008, but failed to wrest the initiative in 2013. The important observation is that across the three elections, the seats won by parties other than the BJP and Congress has steadily declined. In 2018, the two major parties won 97 per cent of the seats, leaving only 3 per cent (seven seats) to the BSP and independents (Table 1).

In a state with a clear two party contest, the vote share too assumes significance. In 2018, the two major parties captured over 80 per cent of the votes. The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has a presence in select pockets in the state, especially adjacent to Uttar Pradesh particularly in the regions of Chambal and Vindhya Pradesh. However, the base of BSP has still not spread beyond these areas (Pai, 2003). Over the last decade too, its vote share has hovered between 5 to 9 per cent. This time around in the 2018 Assembly elections, both the BJP and Congress have captured almost similar vote share which has never happened in the history of the electoral politics of the state and this is testimony to the fact that it was the hardest and closest fought election in Madhya Pradesh.

Table 1
Madhya Pradesh Assembly Election Outcomes in 2018, 2013, 2008 and 2003

Party	2018		2013		2008		2003	
	Seats Won	Vote (%)	Seats Won	Vote (%)	Seats Won	Vote (%)	Seats Won	Vote (%)
Congress	114	40.85	58	36.38	71	32.40	38	31.61
BJP	109	40.91	165	44.87	143	37.64	173	42.50
BSP	2	5.07	4	6.29	7	8.97	2	7.26
SP	1	1.30	-	1.20	1	1.99	7	3.71
Others	-	5.96	-	5.89	5	11.51	8	7.23
Independents	4	5.82	3	5.37	3	8.23	2	7.70

Source: CSDS Data Unit

BJP lost power after 15 years, but not before giving a tough fight, resulting in a nail-biting finish, to the Congress. After spending a decade-and-a-half on the opposition benches, the Congress has eked out a narrow victory, winning 114 seats, two short of majority.⁴

This closest vote share between two major political parties Congress (40.85%) and BJP (40.91%) has never happened in the history of Madhya Pradesh as there was a huge gap of 8.5 per cent in 2013. The final tally was, Congress-114, BJP-109, BSP-2, SP-1, and Independents-4. Interestingly all the 4 independents were rebels of Congress and therefore this arithmetic went in favour of Congress to form the government.

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In a very neck to neck fight, finally the last laugh went to the Congress as it managed to get 114 seats, just two seats short from the majority number to form the government in Madhya Pradesh after 15 years. It was a fight between a very popular Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh with a cadre and ancillary organisations, paraphernalia, machinery and all kind of resources vis-à-vis an experienced leadership and formidable combination of trio (Kamalnath, Jyotiraditya and Digvijay) with distinct responsibilities.⁵ Congress raised all pertinent issues directly connected to the larger chunk of the population particularly farmers, youth and women as compared to 2008 and 2013. The most popular slogan '*waqt he badlaav ka*' worked for Congress and the most used slogan '*maf karo Maharaj, hamare to Shivoraj*' did not work for BJP, rather it backfired.

Region Dynamics of Madhya Pradesh

The change in the pattern of revival of the Congress across the regions is evidenced in the margin of victories. Madhya Pradesh can be seen from the prism of regions. Congress excelled its tally in all the regions including Malwa-Nimar, Bundelkhand, Mahakoushal, Chambal-Gwalior and Madhya Bharat. However, it did worst in Vindhya which was a surprise element of this election wherein out of 30, 24 went to BJP. Congress did exceptionally well in Malwa-North and Malwa-Tribal/Nimar, out of 66 seats, Congress got 36 and also 3 independents (Congress rebels). Usually, this is a saying in Madhya Pradesh that the key to election is with Malwa and this result is again testimony to this fact. This region was also epicentre of farmers' movement and the infamous firing took place in Mandsaur but to everyone's astonishment, out of seven seats from Mandsaur and Neemuch districts six went to BJP. However, three seats were spoiled by the Congress defectors who fought against the party's official candidate and secured many-fold votes than the victory margin.

Region-wise, the Congress did exceedingly well this time in Chambal-Gwalior region, generally considered Jyotiraditya Scindia's domain. Besides this, the party also posted a creditable performance in Mahakoshal, a Kamal Nath stronghold, and did moderately better than last time in Malwa-Nimar and Bundelkhand. Its biggest setback came from Vindhya.⁶

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Table 2
Madhya Pradesh: Region Wise Results for Assembly Election 2018

Region	Seats	Turnout	Congress		BJP		BSP		Others	
			Seats	Vote (%)	Seats	Vote (%)	Seats	Vote (%)	Seats	Vote (%)
Chambal	34	69.80	26	42.19	7	34.54	1	13.08	0	10.19
Bundelkhand	26	72.51	10	34.64	14	38.29	1	9.31	1	17.76
Vindhya	30	71.62	6	32.76	24	37.96	0	11.06	0	18.22
Mahakoshal	38	78.56	23	41.21	14	40.34	0	2.04	1	16.41
Madhya Bharat	36	76.67	13	43.33	23	45.65	0	1.80	0	9.22
Malwa North	38	78.02	15	43.05	22	46.63	0	1.00	1	9.32
Malwa-Tribal/ Nimar	28	76.23	21	45.45	5	39.64	0	1.18	2	13.73
Total	230	75.05	114	40.85	109	40.91	2	5.07	5	13.17

Source: CSDS Data Unit

The Malwa region has traditionally been a stronghold for the BJP and it has contributed hugely to the party's tally in all three previous elections. The farmers' issues in this election, however, was mostly discussed in the context of the Malwa region, where farmers' unrest and dissenting voices surfaced very vehemently in the last one year. The whopping voter turnout also happened in this region which contributed to vote for change on certain constituencies.

Table 3
Support for Political Parties across Regions in Assembly Elections 2018

Region	Congress	BJP	BSP	Others	n
Chambal	47	33	12	8	825
Bundelkhand	38	40	17	6	596
Vindhya	42	40	6	12	841
Mahakoushal	38	30	5	28	921
Madhya Bharat	29	54	2	16	790
Malwa North	38	52	2	8	809
Malwa- Tribal/Nimar	50	40	2	8	729

Note: Figures in per cent (except n).

Source: CSDS-Madhya Pradesh Post-Poll Survey 2018; Weighted Data Set (n=5511).

The results are corroborated with the survey findings (Table 3) as in Chambal region; the performance of Congress was extraordinary as it was a strong battleground for Atrocity Act related violence and also for dalit upsurge. Malwa-Tribal/Nimar was also a case of voter consolidation in favour of Congress. However, Madhya Bharat and Malwa North remained strong supporter of BJP but lesser than 2013. In comparison to 2013 elections where Congress was trailing in all the regions, Congress made significant inroads in most of the regions and that has made this result possible for Congress.

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Performance of State Government and the Image of Leaders

Notwithstanding the parliamentary form, elections to the Assembly took a presidential form due to special emphasis raised in the campaign by BJP. A voters' survey during the Assembly elections clearly indicated that the BJP Chief Minister Chauhan was way ahead of the Congress Campaign Committee Chief Scindia (the difference was over 14 percentage points) in terms of popularity. Table 4 presents the data relating to the question of preference for Chief Minister in Madhya Pradesh. Shivraj Singh Chauhan came out as the most preferred candidate in Assembly elections 2018 with 40.7 per cent. Jyotiraditya Scindia, the chief of election campaign committee from Congress was named by 26.5 per cent respondents. The fact that the highest respondents mentioned the incumbent Chief Minister's name indicated the crucial factor that drove the vote preference in favour of the BJP which helped the party consolidate its position to make this fight so close. Nevertheless, the choice for total of both the main contenders of Congress was close to that of Shivraj Singh which amply suggested the nature of imminent fight.

Table 4
Preference for the Next Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh

Candidate	Per cent	Frequency
Shivraj Singh Chauhan	40.7	2370
Kamal Nath	13.4	777
Jyotiraditya Scindia	26.5	1540
Others	13.8	805
Do not know	5.6	326

Note: Figures in per cent (except n).

Source: CSDS-Madhya Pradesh Post-Poll Survey 2018; Weighted Data Set (n=5818).

Table 5
Satisfaction towards the Performance of the State Government

Satisfaction Level	Per cent
Fully Satisfied	21.6
Somewhat Satisfied	33.0
Somewhat Dissatisfied	21.5
Fully Satisfied	21.7
No Opinion	2.2

Note: Figures in per cent (except n).

Source: CSDS-Madhya Pradesh Post-Poll Survey 2018; Weighted Data Set (n=5818).

Madhya Pradesh has recorded double-digit growth in agriculture continuously because of the state government's initiatives. However, bonus on minimum support price (MSP), reduced interest rates on farm loans, the

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Bhawantar scheme and other similar efforts, which contributed in extraordinary burden on the exchequer, was not in tune with fiscal prudence. This, however, did not appear to have really made a huge positive impact on the agriculturist community, which is the largest in terms of voters.⁷ Ground reports suggested that the poor delivery mechanism, weak procurement process and benefits mostly confined to big farmers and traders kept the small and marginal farmers out of this.

Apart from the demographic factors, voters' choice seemed to have been shaped by their perception about the functioning of the government. The image of the state government provided its performance in the state. Only one third of the respondents were somewhat satisfied with the performance of the state government, with close to one fifth being fully satisfied. More than 43 per cent respondents stated that they were unhappy with the performance of the BJP government in the state. This was a sizeable response against the performance of the state government and also proved to be gone against the incumbent government. This is ironical to underline that state government portrayed tall claims of making enormous change in the whole schema of governance and achieved several landmarks whereas the grassroots reality and responses were contrary to it.

Anti-Incumbency against Sitting MLAs/Ministers

This election will also be remembered for the immense anti-incumbency against sitting MLAs of both the political parties. From 58 sitting MLAs of BJP (including 13 Ministers) and 17 sitting MLAs from Congress lost the election. This is a reflection of not gauging the electorate's disapproval for a particular candidate.

The ministers could not win the election due to the anti-incumbency prevailing against them in their constituency. Anticipating the mood against some ministers and sitting MLAs, the BJP denied the ticket to 44 of its sitting MLAs. Congress had 71 MLAs in the previous assembly. The party decided in principle to re-nominate all of them. In effect 65 of them contested the elections. Around half of the Congress' sitting MLAs lost the election. This very specifically brings the fact that there was strong anti-incumbency against sitting ministers of BJP and sitting MLAs of both BJP and Congress.

A point that needs to be taken into account in this analysis is the inability of both parties to retain several seats they had won in the previous elections. There was considerable churning in terms of seats won by the two parties. In 2018, the BJP was able to wrest 25 seats which had Congress MLA and the Congress won 84 of the seats which had sitting BJP MLAs. This is

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indicative of the discontent with the performance of sitting MLAs from the two major parties and also the limitation of the consolidation. The denial of tickets to many aspirants from both the political parties resulted in defectors and spoilers. However, the defectors of Congress proved to be more costly to the party, as they diminished the prospects of party candidates by accumulating more votes than the defeat margin at several places. On the contrary, BJP defectors could not harm decisively at most of the places.

Response among Different Socio-Economic Groups

The strategy of the political parties to consolidate its presence in Madhya Pradesh has focused on its gaining support among important socio-economic groups. There is not much of a difference in support for the parties across genders. In terms of support among those with different levels of access to education, there is a distinct difference. This difference is clearly visible in Table 6. The BJP is much ahead of the Congress when it comes to the support from those with access to education. Among those who do not know how to read and write the support is more for Congress. The gap between the Congress and the BJP is the highest when it comes to those with access to higher education (12 percentage points). It is also important to record that past election studies in Madhya Pradesh have also pointed out to this trend (Ram Shankar and Sisodia 2009; Sisodia and Ram Shankar 2009, Sisodia 2014a, 2014b, 2019). The recent elections have only made the trend more distinct.

Table 6
Support for Political Parties across Education Levels in Assembly Elections 2018

Education	Congress	BJP	BSP	Others	n
Non-Literate	45	39	6	11	1716
Upto Primary	41	36	7	15	1232
Upto Matric	39	44	6	12	1288
College and above	34	46	5	16	1210

Note: Figures in per cent (except n).

Source: CSDS-Madhya Pradesh Post-Poll Survey 2018; Weighted Data Set (n=5446).

Table 7
Support for Political Parties across Locality in Assembly Elections 2018

Locality	Congress	BJP	BSP	Others	n
Rural	41	39	7	13	4146
Urban	38	47	3	12	1367

Note: Figures in per cent (except n).

Source: CSDS-Madhya Pradesh Post-Poll Survey 2018; Weighted Data Set (n=5513).

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Madhya Pradesh is predominantly a rural state and urban constituencies are few in number. Traditional wisdom endorses that the support for Congress lies in rural areas and the BJP is largely an urban phenomenon. Surveys around the recent elections, indicate that the trends are clearly changing. This is indicative of the fact that the Congress domination is clearly regained in rural areas. In urban areas also the gap between both the political parties reduced sharply and as a result this jinx is also broken this time that in urban areas only BJP does well, unlike 2013 where BJP got 34, out of 37 reduced to 21 and Congress made its presence in urban areas relatively much better.

Table 8
Support for Political Parties across Gender in Assembly Elections 2018

Gender	Congress	BJP	BSP	Others	n
Male	39	42	6	8	2862
Female	41	40	6	6	2644

Note: Figures in per cent (except n).

Source: CSDS-Madhya Pradesh Post-Poll Survey 2018; Weighted Data Set (n=5506).

In fact, in earlier elections for BJP, gender did not make any difference since both men and women supported the party almost in equal proportion. On the whole, men seemed to support both the major political parties equally, whereas earlier women had a marked preference for the BJP. Shivraj Singh Chauhan, with his popular pro-women programmes seemed to have struck a sympathetic chord among women. Nevertheless, support for political parties across gender revealed in survey showed slightly higher support for Congress among female unlike all recent elections. Despite the fact that the BJP-led state government was known for pro-women programmes but this change could be attributed to the fact that the issues of safety of women and crime against women raised by the Congress seemingly went in their favour.

Table 9
Support for Political Parties among
Different Age Groups in Assembly Elections 2018

Age	Congress	BJP	BSP	Others	n
Up to 25 years	42	41	5	12	1403
26-35 years	25	25	28	27	1397
36-45 years	38	42	7	13	1108
46-55 years	40	41	6	13	720
56 years and above	41	40	6	13	865

Note: Figures in per cent (except n).

Source: CSDS-Madhya Pradesh Post-Poll Survey 2018; Weighted Data Set (n=5493).

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To analyse further whether there is generation gap in support for the BJP. Survey data shows that the support for both the political parties was more or less same. Further the gap between the Congress and the BJP was uniform across different ages. Among first time voters and those below 25, the support for the Congress is marginally higher.

Table 10
Support for Political Parties among
Different Economic Classes in Assembly Elections 2018

Economic Class	Congress	BJP	BSP	Others	n
Upper	33	48	6	14	624
Middle	37	45	4	14	943
Lower	41	41	7	12	1908
Poor	43	37	6	14	2037

Note: Figures in per cent (except n).

Source: CSDS-Madhya Pradesh Post-Poll Survey 2018; Weighted Data Set (n=5512).

There is also a class dimension to the BJP's defeat. While the BJP was able to retain much of its support among the economically well-off sections, among the weaker sections support for it fell drastically. Inflation on account of rising fuel prices and unemployment may have had something to do with this. The two emerged as the top issues among voters during the survey, one in five voters spontaneously said inflation and a similar proportion said unemployment on being asked what the single most important voting issue had been for them.⁸

Similarly, as Table 10 indicates, support for the BJP was more or less uniform across different economic classes in the Assembly elections. Congress had much higher support among the poor as compared to the economically more affluent. The poor had traditionally been supporters of the Congress (Gupta 2005; Manor 2004; Ram Shankar and Sisodia 2009, Sisodia and Ram Shankar 2009, Sisodia 2014a, 2014b, 2019). This has happened despite the fact that there were many pro-poor programmes and schemes promoted by the BJP-led state government. While retaining its support among the economically well-off, the BJP tried hard to make incursion in the support base of the Congress among the poor but this could not become possible.

Table 11
Support for Political Parties across
Caste Groups in Assembly Elections 2018

Caste	Congress	BJP	BSP	Others	n
Brahmin	21	59	2	17	328
Rajput	38	44	2	16	502
Other Upper Caste	27	50	5	16	252
Yadav	36	53	1	11	279
Other OBC	36	56	3	5	1543
SC	48	25	19	8	863
Bhil	42	28	5	25	673
Gond	37	27	6	30	203
Other STs	47	31	5	17	395
Muslims	69	24	2	5	350
Others	28	27	12	33	124

Note: Figures in per cent (except n).

Source: CSDS-Madhya Pradesh Post-Poll Survey 2018; Weighted Data Set (n=5512).

Role of caste and community in elections has two dimensions. One is of the parties and candidates, and the second is of the voters. The former seeks support of the voters, projecting themselves as champions of particular social and economic interests. At the same time, the latter dimension indicates what the support base of parties is (Sisodia, 2014a). Has the caste factor played any role in the electoral politics in the state? The social character of the support base of the two major contenders in the state shows the emergence of a clear social alliance in support of the parties.

The data shows a very interesting scenario where there is an increase in vote percentage for both the main political parties from all the caste groups. The change is noticeable for Congress in case of ST and SC with a sizeable gap. This indicates that consolidation of the bi-party competition during Assembly elections made an impact, giving a slight edge to the Congress. Two things are striking when one looks at the pattern of social base of the two parties in Madhya Pradesh; (i) there is no clear social divide along the caste hierarchy: both the parties managed to get substantial support from most social groups—except that Muslims overwhelmingly voted for the Congress (almost two out of every three Muslim votes for the Congress), and (ii) in each caste group, there seems to be a divide. Among the OBCs, the support for the BJP is more. SCs are more with the Congress. And among the Gonds, Bhils and other STs, all are more inclined towards the Congress. The community-wise polarisation in Madhya Pradesh has changed significantly in this election. BJP's support base among upper castes has also dwindled. However, this election indicates that Congress has

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enormously consolidated its support among ST, SC and Muslim which has hugely paid off to the Congress.

Table 12
Support for Political Parties among
Different Media Exposure Groups in Assembly Elections 2018

Media Exposure Groups	Congress	BJP	BSP	Others	n
Very High Media Exposure	25	56	11	8	143
High Media Exposure	34	43	6	17	592
Moderate Media Exposure	38	40	5	17	1521
Low Media Exposure	42	41	5	13	1549
Very Low Media Exposure	46	41	6	8	831
No Media Exposure	42	38	10	10	876

Note: Figures in per cent (except n).

Source: CSDS-Madhya Pradesh Post-Poll Survey 2018; Weighted Data Set (n=5512).

Table 12 demonstrated how the support was for political parties among different media exposure groups in Assembly Elections 2018. It was interesting to note that there was a visible liking for BJP among respondents with higher media exposure (13 per cent), liking for both the parties was almost similar among respondents with moderate media exposure (28 per cent), and there was more liking for Congress among respondents with low media exposure (59 per cent). When we are discussing mediated elections of present time and on the contrary it was evident that still a sizeable majority falls in the low media exposure category. Therefore, the political parties generating narrative on media and especially on social media and assuming everything is transcending to the electorate, requires a revisit to this idea.

Dalit-Adiwasi Factor

In the Assembly elections of 2018, one notices a clear Upper Caste and OBC consolidation in favour of the BJP. Among the Scheduled Castes, there was a three way split in support across the BJP, Congress and BSP in the Assembly elections. However, this support for Congress was about half and remaining half was between BJP and BSP. Among the Scheduled Tribes the Congress retains its upper hand.

The Atrocity Act and reservation in promotion on which the stand of BJP Government remained unproductive both in terms of non-receipt of support from SC/ST and anger from the upper castes. Out of 82 seats reserved for SC/ST, BJP won 60 in 2013 and this time BJP decimated to 34 and Congress got 47 which has significantly contributed to its tally.

Voter fatigue alone, however, is an inadequate and a somewhat simplistic explanation for the BJP's defeat. Coupled with boredom there was

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dissatisfaction and perhaps even anger among a certain section of voters, particularly the tribals. In the survey, when asked specifically about the amended SC/ST Atrocities Act, half the tribals were of the opinion that it had been a “very important” voting consideration for them.⁹

In the tribal regions, an anti-establishment sentiment started getting momentum much before the arrival of election. *Jay Adivasi Yuva Shakti* (JAYS), a revolution of ideologies, started gaining momentum a few months ago with the leadership of Hiralal Alawa, who actively spoke for tribal rights and welfare. However, the momentum came to a standstill after a persuasion from Congress, Alawa joined the Congress and this helped the party to regain its lost strength in tribal pockets significantly.

Factors lead to Congress to win by a Whisker

The starting point for the Congress campaign was to get its own house in order. Attempts were made to send out the message that the Congress leadership was united. Kamal Nath's appointment as State Party President in May 2018 corresponded with the appointment of Jyotiraditya Scindia as campaign committee chief. Strategically, it was decided to keep Digvijaya Singh out of the campaign, with the intension that the BJP which was making a comparison of his 10 years tenure for the *bijli*, *sadak* and *paani* issues could not come in the forefront. The message was clear: if Congress leaders cannot work together, at least they should not work against each other.¹⁰ For a change, in the Congress, ticket distribution was looked into very carefully. Top leaders met in Delhi where every seat, the candidate proposed and their chances of winning were discussed threadbare. The idea was to select the most winnable candidate. An improved performance of the Congress here signifies its ability to take on the BJP in a direct face-off. Madhya Pradesh also mirrors the current Indian story of agrarian unrest, unemployment, economic upheaval and social squabble.¹¹ And the campaign of the Congress which was hugely revolved around these issues made a tangible gain for the party.

Conclusion

To conclude, it can be inferred that the reasons which can be attributed to the BJP's defeat are not gauging the anti-incumbency against individual sitting MLAs/Ministers; higher price of petro products in the state, youth unemployment issue not being adequately addressed, wrong selection of candidate by BJP, poor implementation of popular schemes due to weak local machinery and insufficient delivery mechanism, compounded

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with on certain places defectors, spoilers, sabotage, infighting also worked against the winning prospect of some candidates. Defectors spoiled the party prospects on certain seats for both the Congress and the BJP. This election was one of the closest fought elections and vote share difference between the two major political parties was almost similar. The farmers, youth, and women were decisive in this election.

The Assembly elections of 2018 in Madhya Pradesh were an important test for BJP to retain power after 15 years. The Congress was in opposition for the last decade and half and had the opportunity to bid for power. The state electoral politics saw the consolidation of the two party competitions that it has witnessed for a few decades. This election results gave a huge breath to Congress as it could perform better across the state and also regained its traditional vote bank. There has been a shift in the social base from Assembly elections 2018 and mostly the votes of ST, SC and Muslim shifted to Congress. Congress has got more support from communities of its traditional stronghold which slipped away in preceding elections. The issues taken up by Congress during the campaign influenced the voters in their voting decisions. Another interesting outcome from the results was that the anti-incumbency factor worked against the sitting MLAs. This election prior to the Assembly elections of Madhya Pradesh was being described as a bellwether state for Lok Sabha elections; these findings are significant and will be a point of reference in the electoral politics of Madhya Pradesh in the years to come.

End Notes

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2. SAPAKS came into being on the pre-text of State Government's decision to give reservation in promotion to SC/ST employees and taking a stand for reservation in the Supreme Court. Subsequently, the stand of the BJP government on Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 further aggravated this movement which finally culminated into a political outfit.
3. Congress has many stalwart leaders in the state and party high-command deliberately chose not to announce anyone as chief ministerial face during the campaign so as to avoid factionalism and to engage all the big leaders to perform maximum to best of their abilities.
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Emerging Agrarian Trends in Post Economic Reform Period: Evidences from Rajasthan

Anish Gupta^{*}

The paper is a longitudinal study of land tenures, production relations in agriculture in a Rajasthan Village in the post reform period. The study analyses trends in agricultural patterns between 2007 and 2013. The findings indicate that there is a growing evidence of agrarian distress among farmers due to income inequality, landlessness and disparity to access institutional credits in the study village in Rajasthan.

Rajasthan has an agrarian economy with approximately two third of the state population dependent on agriculture. Agriculture and allied activities like animal husbandry are the most important source of livelihood, employment and food security for the people of Rajasthan. Large parts of Rajasthan have an arid climate with low rainfall and limited irrigation potential. Despite these limitations, considerable change in the cropping pattern has taken place in some parts of Rajasthan. Most important of these relate to growth of cultivation of oilseeds, wheat, cotton, and recent one is the *kharif* crop guar (cluster bean).¹

Land is an important determinant of position of a household in the system of agrarian economy. In an economy characterised by widespread

^{*} Assistant Professor, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar College, University of Delhi, Delhi.
E mail: anish.brac11@gmail.com

unemployment, ownership of productive land can provide reliable source of livelihood. Typically, unequal distribution of land forms the structural basis for an unequal distribution of income. Land can not only be used for self-cultivation, but can also be rented out. It is easy in an agrarian economy to find rental market for the land and the livelihood of a lot of people is dependent on income from renting in/out of land. Different round of NSS reports indicate that a sizable portion of land is leased-in Rajasthan. 59th and 70th round of NSS report show that share of land under tenancy in Rajasthan was 3.40 per cent in 2002-03, which increased to around 6.83 per cent in 2012-13. The share of leasing in households also reveals similar tendency. The land leased-in by pure tenants also increased from around 16.96 per cent in 2002-03 to 19.03 per cent in 2012-13 (NSS Report 2002-03, NSS Report 2012-13).

The paper is based on primary data collected from a village in Sriganganagar district of north Rajasthan. The primary data were collected from this village at two different periods of time, in June, 2007 and June, 2013 to enable comparison in the agrarian structure in the village.

The Study Village

196 Head is a village in Suratgarh tehsil of Sriganganagar district in the state of Rajasthan. The village is about 25 kms. away from nearest town, Suratgarh, and about 65 kms. away from its district headquarters. The village is located on the bank of Indira Gandhi Canal. Two sides of the village are surrounded by the Indira Gandhi Canal. The approach road to the village is lie along with the main canal. As the name of the village suggests, it is located in the upper section of the Indira Gandhi Canal. Due to maintenance activities related to the canal, some employees of irrigation department also live in the village.

There were 68 households and 404 persons in 196 head at the time of first survey in May-June 2007. All households in the village belonged to Hindu or Sikh religion. Out of the total 68 households, 33 were Scheduled Caste (SC). Even among SCs, Nayaks (26 households) were highest in number and other SCs i.e., Bavarias and Meghwals constituted five and two households respectively. The numbers of households belonging to Other Backward Classes (OBCs) were 23. The main OBC castes were Jats, Bishnois, Kumhars, Khatis, Yadavs, Nais, Rai-sikhs, Mehras, Jangid and Gusai . Out of the 12 households of general category, 10 households were from Jat-Sikhs and other two households were Brahmins in the village.

The composition of the number of households changed in 2013 during the re-survey. Total number of households increased from 68 in 2007

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to 75 in 2013. There were 10 households who had migrated outside the village in 2013. However, 17 new households were added to the village. The 17 newly added households were new comers who came from other villages to settle in the village. The remaining nine households were added to the old households due to division of the existing families residing in the village.

The architecture of the village settlement is planned as the village is a very new settlement that came into existence after six decades of independence. The whole village consists of immigrant population having a cosmopolitan character. The village came into existence when Indira Gandhi Canal was being constructed and people were allotted land to settle in this area. Most of the population comprises of either actual beneficiaries of the land allotment or those who purchased land from the actual beneficiaries. Some SC households who have sizeable land in the village are actual beneficiaries of land allotment in the catchment area of the canal. Jat-Sikh, Bavaria, Rai-Sikh and Mehra are few communities who migrated from Punjab to this village. The Jat-Sikhs are come under general category, Rai-Sikh and Mehras in OBC and Bavaria in SC category in the village. The original inhabitants of this region are Jats, Bishnois, Brahamins, Jangids, Nais and Kumhars, and they all migrated here from nearby areas of Ganganagar district. One family from Uttar Pradesh is also settled in this remote village as the head of household was an employee in the irrigation department of the Indira Gandhi Canal. Bavarias were also employees in the Indira Gandhi Canal who settled in the village. Though, 196 head too has a caste divide demographically, however settlement pattern is heterogeneous in terms of castes category.

Analysis of occupational structure of the village show that highest percentage of population engaged in agriculture was from general category (85.7 per cent). Highest percentage of population engaged in government employment was from OBC category (16.9 per cent) and highest percentage of population engaged in agricultural labour was from SC category (45.3 per cent). The main occupation in which all the categories were mainly involved was agriculture. The general category people were not engaged in any occupation which could be considered socially backward like agricultural labour, manual labour and cattle grazing.

The work participation rate in the village has declined from 52.1 to 48.1 per cent during the two study period. This indicates that the percentage of population engaged in economic activities has reduced by 4 per cent. However, this rate has increased for the general category and declined for the SC and OBC categories. The percentage of population engaged in

agriculture in the village has also declined from 52 per cent to 49 per cent. The share of non-agricultural labouring has also significantly increased from 4.8 per cent in the first phase to 15.1 per cent in the second phase. This was mainly due to the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Scheme. Similarly, the percentage of population engaged in government employment has also increased from 7.1 per cent to 7.6 per cent between two survey periods. An important feature of agriculture in the village was the availability of good irrigation facilities. The village came under the command area of India Gandhi Canal and 80 per cent of its land was canal irrigated. In addition to canal, ground water is also used extensively for the purpose of irrigation.

Land Ownership Pattern in 2007 in the Village

The village of 196 Head was characterised by a high degree of inequality in ownership of land across social groups, which can be understood by the fact that out of 68 households, 21 households did not have any land except homestead land. The incidence of landlessness was higher among SC, ST households compared to non-SC/ST. In percentage terms, approximately 31 per cent household did not have any farm land in 2007. Approximately 39.4 per cent of the SC/ST households and 22.9 per cent of the households belonging to non-SC/ST were landless in the village.

Analysis of average landholding across different social groups in 2007 state that non-SC/ST had the higher quantity of average landholding than SC/ST, and their difference in landownership was also very high. The average landholding with non-SC/ST and SC/ST was 10.3 acres and 3.6 acres respectively in the village. The access index of land, measure of relative inequality, was 1.5 for non-SC/ST and only 0.5 for SC/ST. A ratio of one indicates that the selected social group owns land proportion to its share in population. Average size of one fragment of land in the village was quite moderate, since the village was a new settlement that is why it did not have much problem of fragmentation compared to eastern Rajasthan. Though, there was high difference in the average landowning of SC/ST and non-SC/ST, but the average size of fragment was not much different between these two social groups. The average size of one fragment of land for SC/ST was 4.6 acre, while the same for non-SC/ST, it was 5.5 acre.

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Table 1
Agriculture Dynamics in the Village

Variables (year-2007)	SC/ST	Non SC/ST	Total
Percent of total households	48.5	51.5	100
Percent of total land owned	24.9	75.1	100
Access index of land	0.5	1.5	1
Average landholding of all households in acres	3.6	10.3	7.1
Average landholding of landowning households	5.94	13.35	10.27
Average fragments per farm holding (number)	1.3	2.4	1.94
Average size of fragments (acre)	4.6	5.5	5.27
Percent of area irrigated	60.8	83.4	77.8
Absolute landless households as per cent of total households	39.4	22.9	30.9

Note: The access index of land is defined as the ratio of the ith class in total land to the share of ith class in population.

Source: Primary survey, 2007

Tenancy Pattern in the Village 2007

Various kinds of tenancy practices were prevalent in 196 Head village in 2007. A social group wise analysis of tenancy indicates the adoption of tenancy practice was highly in 2007. Total land leased-in as per cent of total land owned was 28.7 per cent, which is far higher than state average in all NSS reports. However, land leased-in as percentage of total land owning by SC/ST was very less compared to non-SC/ST, it was just 3.8 per cent while the same for non-SC/ST, it was 37 per cent.

Table 2
Status of Leased-in Land across Social Group in the Village 2007

Social group	Total area under tenancy in acres	Total landowning in acres	Area under Tenancy as per cent of Total landowning
SC/ST	4.6	119.6	3.8
Non SC/ST	133.2	359.8	37.0
Total	137.8	479.4	28.7

Source: Primary survey, 2007

The land was being leased-in only on the basis on annual contracts in the village. The first part of the Table 3 shows the absolute area under different tenancy forms by size of economic holding, while the second part shows their respective per cent shares. It is clear from the Table 3 that area leased-in or leased-out under share rent was higher than that of under fixed rent tenure. No case of mortgage in/out was reported in 2007 in the village.

In consonance with state and country wide trends, a sizable proportion of land is being lease-in by pure tenants in the village 196 Head. Leasing-in was mainly confined to landless, marginal and large landowners.

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The landless and marginal farmers were leasing-in mainly on share rent basis, while large farmers were leasing in on fixed rent basis only. Approximately 41 per cent of total leased-in land and 55.5 per cent of total land leased-in on share rent basis was undertaken by landless followed by marginal landowners and large farmers. It is found that large landowners were leasing in only on the fixed rent basis. Approximately 86.2 per cent of total land leased-in on fixed rent was by large landowners only while their share in total lease in land was only 22.9 per cent. In 2007, there was no case of mortgaging in/out reported in the village.

Table 3
Distribution of Area under Different Form of Tenancy, 2007

Size class	Phase-1 Leased-in (in acres)				Phase-1 Leased-out (in acres)			
	Fixed rent	Share rent	Mortgage in	Total	Fixed rent	Share rent	Mortgage out	Total
Landless	0.3	56.3	0	56.5	0.0	0.0	0	0.0
Marginal	4.5 (0.3)*	45.0	0	49.5	0.0	0.0	0	0.0
Small	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	3.1	0.0	0	3.1
Semi medium	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	23.8	0.0	0	23.8
Medium	0.3	0.0	0	0.3	11.9	15.6	0	27.5
Large	31.5 (1.3)*	0.0	0	31.5	7.5	59.4	0	66.9
Total	36.5	101.3	0	137.8	46.3	75.0	0	121.3
In terms of per cent of total land leased-in/out in a particular tenancy contract								
Landless	0.7	55.5	0.0	41.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Marginal	12.3 (0.8)*	44.4	0.0	35.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Small	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	2.6
Semi medium	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	51.3	0.0	0.0	19.6
Medium	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.2	25.6	20.8	0.0	22.7
Large	86.3 (3.6)*	0.0	0.0	22.9	16.2	79.2	0.0	55.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Values in parenthesis are land lease in from government on fixed rent basis

Source: Primary survey, 2007

A huge difference between land leased-in and leased-out can be noticed in the village.² As far as leasing out was concerned, it was mainly confined to only large, medium and semi-medium landowners who had surplus amount of land to lease out in the village. Approximately 97.4 per cent of the land was leased-out by large, medium and semi-medium landowners. Out of the 97.4 per cent, 55.1 per cent of the land was leased-out by large landowners while 22.7 per cent and 19.6 per cent were being leased-out by medium and semi-medium landowners respectively. Remaining 2.6 per cent of the land was being leased-out by the small landowners and that was only to own relatives. Analysis of details leasing out practices under different tenancy contracts, it is that leasing out on shared rent was mainly a

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large landowners' phenomenon. Approximately 82.8 per cent of the total land leased-out on share rent was by the large landowners while remaining 17.2 per cent of the land leased-out on shared rent was by the medium landowners.

Leasing out on fixed rent was mainly semi-medium landowner's phenomenon in the village. Mostly semi-medium landowners leased-out their land on the fixed rent basis followed by medium and large landowners. Approximately 51.3 per cent of the total land leased-out on fixed rent basis was by the semi-medium landowners followed by medium and large landowners with 25.6 per cent and 16.2 per cent share respectively.

Comparison of lessor and lessee by social groups it is found that SC/ST were leasing-in less land than non-SC/ST despite they consist of half of the population of the whole village. The same trend can be noticed in all forms of tenancies prevalent in the village viz., share rent or fixed rent. SC/ST were leasing in just 3.4 per cent of the total leased-in land in the village. They were leasing in just 0.7 per cent of total land leased-in on fixed rent and only 4.3 per cent of total land leased-in on shared rent. Even SC/ST were leasing out only 2.6 per cent of total leased-out land by all households of this village.

Table 4
Leasing in/out by Different Social Groups, 2007

Social Groups	Lease/ mortgage in				Lease/ mortgage out			
	Fixed rent	Shared rent	Mortgage in	Total	Fixed rent	Shared rent	Mortgage out	Total
SC/ST	0.3(0.3)*	4.4	0	4.6	3.1	0	0	3.1
Non-SC/ST	36.3(4.4)*	96.9	0	133.2	43.1	75	0	118.1
Total	36.6(4.7)*	101.3	0	137.8	46.2	75	0	121.2
In per cent								
SC/ST	0.7	4.3	0	3.4	6.7	0	0	2.6
Non-SC/ST	99.3	95.7	0	96.6	93.3	100	0	97.4
Total	100	100	0	100	100.0	100	0	100.0

* Values in parenthesis are land lease in from government on fixed rent basis

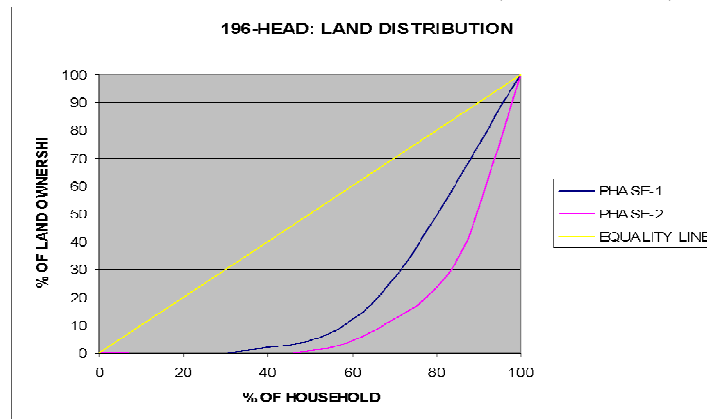
Source: Primary survey, 2007

Changes in Landownership Pattern 2013

A lot of changes were noticed in land related variables between 2007 and 2013 in the study village. Though the average landowning of all households (including landless) declined from 7.1 acres in 2007 to six acres in 2013, but average landowning of landowning households increased from 10.27 acres in 2007 to 11.25 acres in 2013. This shows increasing concentration of land among few. A social group wise analysis indicate that average ownership of land of SC/ST declined to 1.6 acres in 2013 from 3.6 in

2007, while the same for non-SC/ST increased to 11.7 acres from 10.3 acres. The Lorenz Curve in Figure 1 depicts that in the year 2013, the land distribution has become more unequal compared to 2007.

Figure 1
Lorenz Curve of Land Distribution, (2007 and 2013)



The tendency of landlessness increased in 2013 and the number of landless households increased from 21 in 2007 to 35 in 2013. Out of these 35, 28 households belonged to SC/ST while seven were non-SC/ST category. In per cent term approximately 46.7 per cent of the total households in the village were landless in 2013 while the same for SC/ST and non-SC/ST were 66.7 per cent and 21.2 per cent respectively. This shows that the landlessness and the tendency of becoming landless both were higher among SC/ST households in the village. The Access Index of land, a measure of relative inequality of land, shows that the level of inequality across social groups increased. There was 0.48 point increase in the access index of non-SC/ST while for SC/ST it was witnessed 0.25 point fall in the index.

The extent of fragmentation of landholdings shows very interesting picture in the village in 2013. The average number of farm plots per landowners increased along with increase in the average size of landholding. However, if we segregate the same by social group we find that average number of fragments as well as average size of a fragment both reduced for SC/ST while both increased for non-SC/ST. This shows another contrast with rest of the country and state, where average size of landowning as well as average size of a distinct farm fragment is falling due to division of land. This fact refers to increasing intra social group disparity among non-SC/ST category.

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Table 5
Changes in Farm Dynamics and Land Fragmentation in the Village

Variables	SC/ST	Non SC/ST	Total
Access index of land	0.26	1.94	1
Difference between 2007 and 2013	-0.25	0.48	0
Average landholding of all households in acres (including landless)	1.6	11.7	6
Percent change between 2007 and 2013	-56.5	14.1	-14.3
Average landholding of landowning households in acres (excluding landless)	4.8	14.85	11.25
Percent change between 2007 and 2013	-19.19	11.22	9.52
Average fragments per farm holding (number)	1.3	2.4	1.94
Percent change between 2007 and 2013	-17.7	5.4	4.6
Average size of fragments (acre)	3.5	5.9	5.3
Percent change between 2007 and 2013	-24.3	5.8	1.1
Percent of sub marginal fragments (0-1 acre)	98.5	75.8	78.2
Percent point change between 2007 and 2013	1.9	5.5	4.9
Absolute landless households as per cent of total households	66.7	21.2	46.7
Percent change between 2007 and 2013	115.4	-12.5	66.7

Note: The Access Index of land is defined as the ratio of the *i*th class in total land to the share of *i*th class in population.

Source: Primary survey 2007 & 2013

Changes in Prices and Cropping Pattern in 2013

The cropping pattern of the village took a turn in 2013, when the share of mustard and fodder reduced and the share of wheat increased substantially. It is also noticed that area under mustard and fodder declined by 15.7 per cent and 2.2 per cent respectively. Area sown under wheat increased to 59.9 per cent of total area under *rabi* cultivation, which was approximately 15.5 per cent point increase. The area under gram also increased to 4.7 per cent of total area under *rabi* crop.

Kharif season has also witnessed a lot of changes in the cropping pattern. The proportion of areas sown under cotton (*kapas*), American cotton and fodder reduced while the proportion of areas under guar and paddy increased. This period can be marked as increasing importance of commercial crops such as guar. Area under cotton, American cotton and fodder declined to the level of 0.9 per cent, 35.0 per cent and 6.1 per cent respectively. However, the area under guar and paddy increased to the level of 50.6 per cent and 4.2 per cent respectively in the village.

Table 6
Cropping Pattern in the Village, Kharif Season, 2007 and 2013

Name of crop	Area under crops in 2007		Area under crops in 2013	
	Area in acres	Per cent share	Area in acres	Per cent share
Cotton (kapas)	49.6	16.5	3.4	0.9
Fodder	23.5	7.8	23.5	6.1
Guar	111.1	37.0	193.9	50.6
Jowar	1.3	0.4	0.0	0.0
American cotton	114.1	37.9	134.1	35.0
Other	1.2	0.4	12.5	3.3
Paddy	0.0	0.0	16.3	4.2
Total	300.6	100.0	383.5	100.0

Source: Primary survey, 2007 and 2013

In 2013, the prices of *kharif* crops like cotton (*kapas*), guar and American cotton, increased to the level of Rs. 3500, Rs. 8250 and Rs. 3800 respectively. This was a rapid increase from its level in 2007. The per cent increase in the prices of these three crop cotton (*kapas*), guar and American cotton, were 106, 489 and 123.5 respectively. High increase in the prices of these crops were very encouraging for the cultivators especially increase in the price of guar. High price of guar brought a lot of changes, as cultivators started storing a large amount of guar in expectation of further price rise. This may also have impact on the further increase in the price of this crop.

Table 7
Median Prices of Main Crops in the Village 2007 and 2013

Crops	Survey-2007	Survey-2013	Per cent change
Barley	650	1050	61.5
Cotton (kapas)	1700	3500	105.9
Gram	2000	5000	150.0
Guar	1400	8250	489.3
Mustard	1700	2970	74.7
American cotton	1700	3800	123.5
Paddy	-	2300	-
Wheat	850	1500	76.5

Source: Primary survey, 2007 and 2013

Changes in Tenancy Pattern in 2013

The sudden exorbitant increase in the price of guar in international market in 2012, not only resulted in increase in area under this crop from 2013, but it had deep impact on the pattern and preference of forms of tenancy. The demand for leased-in land increased due to increased profitability in the cultivation, which is reflected in almost doubling of area under tenancy compared to 2007.

A study of tenancy practices by social groups indicate that unlike 2007 where the proportion of land leased-in by SC/ST was just 3 per cent of

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total land owned by them, rose to 163.2 per cent in 2013. This was radical change in the tenancy practices in the village. This also indicates that tenancy was providing more livelihoods to them than their own land. However, tenancy was not less important for non-SC/ST households. Though, their leased-in land as per cent of total owned land was less than SC/ST, but absolute area of land under tenancy was higher for them in comparison to SC/ST households.

Table 8
Leased-in Land as Per cent of Total Landholding by Social Group

Social Group	Total area under tenancy in acres	Total landowning in acres	Area under tenancy as per cent of total landowning
SC/ST	105.9	64.9	163.2%
Non SC/ST	151.8	379.5	40.0%
Total	257.7	444.4	58.0%

Source: Primary Survey 2013

Analysis of tenancy pattern by size of landholding depicts a very interesting fact during the study. Though, the area under all types of tenancy increased but the relative importance of share rent contracts³ also increased in 2013. Unlike 2007 when leasing on fixed rent was mainly a landless, marginal and large landowners' phenomena, in 2013, all size classes of landowners were leasing in at-least some part of the land. However, highest proportion of land was still being leased-in by landless. Unlike 2007, when large landowners were mainly leasing-in on fixed rent, in 2013, highest share of land leased-in on fixed rent was by semi medium landowners. However, landless were dominating in share rent contract where, they were leasing in approximately half of the area under share rent.

In 2007, leasing-in land on fixed rent basis was primarily limited to large landowners and to a very small numbers of marginal farmers and landless in 2007. But in 2013, its base has expanded to small and medium farmers also. In a similar way, leasing-in land on shared rent, which was limited to just landless and marginal farmers had expanded to all classes of landowners. In this way all classes of landowners were leasing-in at least some fraction of land on fixed rent basis as well as on shared rent basis.

It is witnessed that even the size class base of leasing has undertaken expansion. In 2007, land was leased-out mainly by large, medium, semi-medium and small landowners. But in 2013, marginal landowners also started leasing out land. However, area leased-out increased for large, medium and small landowners but decreased for semi-medium landowners. However, leasing out land on fixed rent was a medium landowner's

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phenomena and shared out of land was a large landowner's phenomena. Deviating from the trends in 2007, first case of mortgaging out was reported in the village from a small landowner.

Table 9
Distribution of Area under Different Form of Tenancy, 2013

Class	Phase-1 Leased-in				Phase-1 Leased-out			
	Fixed Rent	Share Rent	Mortgage in	Total	Fixed Rent	Share Rent	Mortgage Out	Total
Landless	17.1 (12.8)*	86.3	0	103.4	0.0	0.0	0	0.0
Marginal	0.3 (0.3)*	17.5	0	17.8	1.3	0.0	0	1.3
Small	19.7 (3.4)*	7.5	0	27.2	6.9	5.0	2.5	14.4
Semi medium	26.4 (10.8)*	32.2	0	58.6	4.4	0.0	0	4.4
Medium	11.8 (7.8)*	6.3	0	18.1	30.0	0.0	0	30.0
Large	7.8 (7.8)*	25.0	0	32.8	0.0	64.1	0	64.1
Total	83.0 (42.9)*	174.7	0	257.7	42.5	69.1	2.5	114.1
In per cent of total area under a particular tenancy contract								
Landless	20.6 (15.4)*	49.4	0.0	40.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Marginal	0.3 (0.4)*	10.0	0.0	6.9	2.9	0.0	0.0	1.1
Small	23.7 (4.1)*	4.3	0.0	10.6	16.2	6.0	100.0	12.6
Semi medium	31.8 (13.0)*	18.4	0.0	22.7	10.3	0.0	0.0	3.8
Medium	14.2 (9.4)*	3.6	0.0	7.0	70.6	0.0	0.0	26.3
Large	9.3 (9.4)*	14.3	0.0	12.7	0.0	77.2	0.0	56.1
Total	100 (51.7)*	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	83.2	100.0	100.0

*Values in parenthesis are land lease in from government on fixed rent basis

Source: Primary survey, 2007

An analysis of internal composition of land under tenancy shows very interesting facts. Not only total area under tenancy has increased in 2013 but the internal composition of tenancy pattern also undergone a lot of changes. The trend show that non-SC/ST were leasing in approximately 58.9 per cent of the total leased-in land while SC/ST were leasing 41.1 per cent of the total leased-in land in the village. Though non-SC/ST were leasing in higher share of total leased-in land in both the years viz. 2007 and 2013, but their share in total land leased-in has reduced substantially from 96.6 per cent in 2007 to 58.9 per cent in 2013. The decrease in the leased-in land by non-SC/ST is a gain for SC/ST, as their share raised from 3.4 per cent in 2007 to 41.1 per cent in 2013. This is a phenomenal change in the composition of tenancy. The non-SC/ST were dominating in lease-in land on fixed rent basis while SC/ST were dominating in lease-in land on share rent. The share of total land leased-in by non-SC/ST on fixed rent in 2013 was 79.7 per cent while the share of SC/ST in total land leased-in on share rent was 51 per cent in 2013. The per cent share of non-SC/ST declined in leased-in on fixed rent and shared rent both, but it reduced more sharply for leased-in on shared

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rent. Their per cent shares in leased-in land on fixed rent and shared rent were 99.3 per cent and 95.7 per cent respectively in 2007, which reduced to 79.7 per cent and 49 per cent respectively in 2013.

In the study village, as far as trends related to leasing out of land are concerned, 95 per cent of the total land leased-out was being undertaken by non-SC/ST in 2013, which was less than its level of 97.4 per cent in 2007. Non-SC/ST were dominating in both the major forms of leasing out land viz., fixed rent and shared rent. Mortgaging out land was completely absent in 2007 in the village. However, one case related to it was reported in 2013 and it was of SC/ST household in the village. Approximately 2.5 acres of land was mortgaged out by SC/ST in 2013.

Table 10
Land leased-in/out by Different Social Groups in the Village, 2013

Social group of tenant	Lease/ mortgage in				Lease/ mortgage out			
	Fixed rent	Shared rent	Mortgage	Total	Fixed rent	Share rent	Mortgage	Total
SC/ST	16.9(12.5)*	89.1	0	105.9	4.4	0	2.5	6.9
Non-SC/ST	66.2(30.2)*	85.6	0	151.8	38.1	69.1	0	130.3
Total	83.0(42.7)*	174.7	0	257.7	42.5	69.1	2.5	137.2
In per cent								
SC/ST	20.3(15.1)*	51.0	0.0	41.1	10.3	0.0	100.0	5.0
Non-SC/ST	79.7(36.4)*	49.0	0.0	58.9	89.7	100	0	95
Total	100.0(51.4)*	100	0.0	100.0	100	100	100	100

*Values in parenthesis are land lease in from government on fixed rent basis

Source: Primary survey 2013

Conclusion

It is inferred from the study that with the advent of policies of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation in 1991, it was being expected that these reforms will benefit rural areas in general and agriculture in particular in various ways. At outset, it was being expected that opening up of international market for agriculture would benefit Indian farmers due to comparatively less cost of cultivation in India. The real cost of these expected benefits from international market was high instability in the prices of certain crops and consequently high instability in the land rental market. One can notice growing farmer's suicides only in the post reform period. One of the biggest reasons for increasing farm distress is increasing instability in the prices and output of agriculture, especially in the absence of social security mechanism (Gupta and Giri, 2015). The results of this study shows that most vulnerable among farming community have been the tenant cultivators since a sudden increase in the price of guar in 2012 have put upward pressure on the fixed rent and change in terms of share rent

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contracts (owner-tenant share in input and output was changed from 50:50 to 70:30 or 80:20). This resulted in eviction of tenant cultivators who wanted their existing contracts to be honored. This may further strain the owner-tenant relations in the India villages.

Secondly, the evidences from this village indicate increasing landlessness and increasing concentration of land among few. Increase in the size of average landowning of non-SC/ST along with decrease in the same for SC/ST, is an indication of growing disparity between various social groups as well as within social group. Though results from a small village like 196 Head, cannot be representative of the trends across the state but it certainly is a tip of iceberg.

Third, effect of changing dynamics of land demand had one positive effect in the form of awakening of landless who did not have any access to government land for leasing in 2007, they also started asserting for their right on government land. Landless were able to have access to 29.8 per cent of government land. Similarly, despite being almost half of the village population, SC had access to only 6 per cent of government land in 2007, which also rose to 29.3 per cent by 2013. Undoubtedly the major share in government land was still of medium and large landowners compared to their population, but it was a good beginning in the village.

Notes

1. Statistics used here have been taken from various volumes of Agricultural Statistics (2001-02 to 2013-14), Rajasthan.
2. This was not a discrepancy. It was mainly due to land rental transactions made with people living outside the village, where lease in from outsiders will be reflected but lease out cannot be reflected since that person is not living in the village and survey is limited to all households of the same village. Another reason is that the government land would be reflected in the total land leased-in but would not reflect in total land leased-out, as government is not a household to survey.
3. The demand for leased-in increased due to increase profitability in the cultivation, result of which there was pressure in the market to raise the fixed rent, but most of the tenant cultivator were unwilling to do so as they were not sure that this high price of guar will persist in the long run. Future uncertainty of persistence high price of guar made the shift of tenancy contract from fixed rent contract to share rent contract, as share rent contract was safer for the tenants and landlord both.

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Social Justice: Policy Perspective

Manoj Sinha^{*} and Kamlesh Gupta[†]

The paper analyses why policy initiatives and implementation are important for ensuring social justice in our society. The authors posit that appropriate policy initiatives by the government and their proper implementation are the chief solutions to the problem of social inequality in the contemporary situation. This article focuses on policy initiatives for social justice after independence and relates them with the present situation among marginalised section of Indian society.

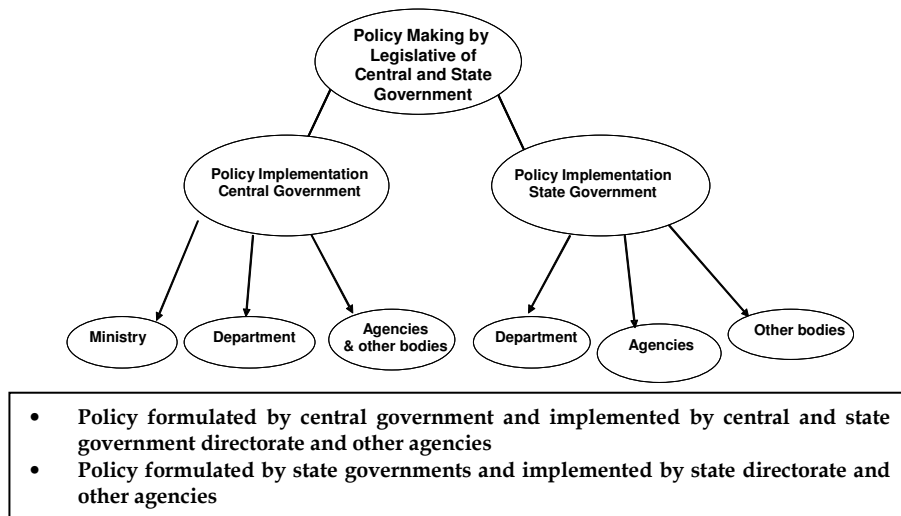
Democracy is considered as the best form of government, and as far as freedom of the people is concerned, social justice is an important concept for any democratic system. The state on its part also provided certain safeguards to disadvantaged section of the society through what is known as affirmative actions. "Through affirmative actions the state grants certain privileges to under privileged section of society, which include various reforms, redistribution of societies, resources, and reservation etc., also known as protective discrimination. This is in consonance with the very aim of social justice (along with economic and political) enshrined in the very preamble of our constitution thereby granting special safeguard in Article 15 and 16 of our constitution. Further, these special privileges represented various groups that were historically disprivileged and who required a level

^{*}Principal, Aryabhatt College, University of Delhi, Delhi. E mail: manojrosy@rediffmail.com

[†]Former Post-Doctoral Research Associate, Rajiv Gandhi Chair in Contemporary Studies, University of Allahabad, Allahabad (U.P.)

playing field to exercise their right to equal opportunity. This included SCs (Scheduled Castes), and STs (Scheduled Tribes), OBCs (Other Backward Classes), women, minorities, physically handicapped” (Chandok and Priyadarsi, 2009). Welfare of the people is one of the most important tasks of the state. Since the government has to deal with the various issues and aspects of social welfare, thereon the concept of social justice has a special importance for the existence of the democracy and social welfare as well. India is the largest democracy in the world and it has adopted the goal of socialistic pattern of society, for which it endeavours to fulfill the objective of social welfare maximisation. However, India has a wide variety and differentiation based on socio-political criteria i.e., gender, caste, language, region, and in these circumstances social justice has a special importance. “Social justice in the present context has therefore, been reduced to reservation which is regarded as the only criteria for social equality. However what has been missed here is that without though measure at the basic level, (for example education, reforms, etc.), this soft option of reservation bill will pass void. Long-term measures are therefore found waiting in the present time” (Chandok and Priyadarsi, 2009). The paper attempts to examine the issue of social justice, the policy initiatives taken by the government, and status of the policy implementation against this backdrop.

Policy implementation is an important aspect for social justice because the success of governmental policy for development of SCs/STs and weaker sections can be measured only in relation to the implementation of the policies related to their welfare. Policy concerns and their implementation processes can be seen by the following diagram.



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Several scholars have worked on areas related to this issue. Some of the scholars who have written on the issue are: O.P. Gauba, Krishna Gupta, A.N. Bhardwaj, S.D. Gupta, D.N. Sandanshiv, Gokhlesh Sharma, Manoj Bhatt, S.M. Michael and K.S. Chalam. Most of these studies are however outdated and moreover do not focus on the policy initiatives taken by the government and their implementation for ensuring social justice. The paper tries to fulfill the gap in the past studies and tries to explore some new dimensions for this problem. In other words, it intends to unearth the untouched aspects of social justice, policy concern and implementation for filling the gap in the previous research.

The present paper is based upon secondary data sources from various publications of the Government of India. These sources are: publications such as Report of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (2009-10), Report of the Ministry of Human Resource Development, data of Census 2001, Report of United Nations (2008), Report of Planning Commission (2009-10), Employment Review (2009-10) and Economic Survey (2009-10).

Concept of Social Justice

“Social justice, therefore, invokes a substantive concept of justice and unlike procedural justice,”¹ “it also deals with background fairness to elaborate this, we can say that all modern states are based on the belief in some sort of equality and claimed to treat their citizens equally. Minimally, it implies political and civil liberties, equal rights before the law, equal protection against arbitrary arrest, and so forth. These things provide a base of a society of equal citizens” (Chandok and Priyadarsi, 2009). The concept of justice has occupied a high place in philosophical discussions in India since the beginning of Indian philosophy. The Gita, which contains the substance of the Vedas and the Upanishads, for instance, proclaims, “Only those who perceive all living creatures of the world irrespective of their caste, creed, etc., as manifestations of the God, are real scholars.” In fact, the Gita clearly mentions that the four Varna were created on the basis of the inherent nature of a person rather than on the ground of birth. Western philosophers have also contributed immensely towards evolving the concept of social justice and in the process have attributed different connotations to the concept. Viewing social justice in contemporary context, Rawls played a major role in reviving an interest in the substantive questions of political philosophy like ‘What makes a society just? How is social justice connected to an individual's pursuit of the good life?’ In ‘A Theory of Justice’, Rawls attempts to reconcile

liberty and equality in a principled way, offering an account of "justice as fairness." Central to this effort is his famous approach to the seemingly intractable problem of distributive justice. The work of Nozick and Hayek too needs a mention here whose contributions added new dimensions to the then existing notions of social justice. On the other hand the recent work of Amartya Sen in his 'Idea of Justice' opens up a whole new spectrum of looking at the concept of justice.

However, in terms of democracy and popular politics, its exact meaning and implications have been hazy, one of the reasons being the fact that justice in reality is a meeting ground of many ideas, situations, concepts, expectations, mechanisms, and practices. "There are many things that intersect to form the context of social justice – ethical ideas of the people, laws, the evolving nature of claims, and the pattern of collective claim making politics, institutional issues relating to the delivery mechanisms of justice, ideas about rights and entitlements, ideas among the citizens about responsibility of the rulers towards them, plus many situations generating many conditions of justice". Thus we can witness various forms of social justice in reality, social claim as justice, attainment and restoration of dignity as justice, end to discrimination as justice, retribution as justice, conciliation of claims as justice, social idea of minimal justice, positive discrimination as justice, protection of the vulnerable sections of society as justice, and finally autonomy as justice. One also finds social justice as having strong gender implications. However, a process of rethinking on the concept of social justice and its emerging contemporary issues in the changing scenario would definitely prove futile in probing its different contours for a deeper and in-depth analysis, more so when the Indian society is passing through a crucial and transformative stage. As is evident from the ever growing presence and global impact of Indian brains and work force, the country has made remarkable progress in all spheres. However, there are still certain areas where we have failed to match the aspirations of the founding fathers of our nation. Though, our country is the largest democracy in the world, but social exclusion has remained a profound problem for us. We have set landmarks in world trade but the gap between rich and poor and gender inequality has widened to magnitudes never seen before. Amidst such trends, it is observed that "despite the steady increases in participation in elections from the lower social order, still there remains a central contradiction at the heart of Indian democracy: an inclusive polity so far not made for a just and equal society" (Weiner, 2002). Though we are a secular nation but incidences of religious intolerance disturb the normal life of our citizens. "The objective of social

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justice has articulated the broad programme for the progressive reduction in inequalities and better life for under privileged section of society through welfare activities (Sharma, 2007).

The school of social justice argues that structures should be adopted and influenced in ways that can give more people a better chance in the first place. That is why opportunities and breaking down barriers are so important (Offe, 2002). "Inequalities that are permissible in social justice through, say, affirmative actions and positive discrimination are acceptable. This aim becomes all the more with regard to the vast inequalities (both horizontal and vertical) that exist in the country" (Hasan, 2000). Nehru believed that "the aim of protective discrimination was to eliminate inequalities based on past prejudices associated with the discriminatory social structure of society" (Singh, 1982). "Social justice, therefore, tries to go behind the structure of rules to determine who is in need, say of healthcare, educational opportunities, housing and so on. However, sum economic and social theorists suggest that these problems might be overcome by a welfare policy, which guarantees the payment of 'negative income' tax to those where earning falls below a certain level" (Fisk, 1989).

Constitutional Status

Unfortunately in India, with the passage of time, the Varna system became very rigid and degenerated into a caste system that includes the practice of untouchability. Hence social reformers and leaders of the Indian freedom struggle launched a powerful struggle against this social evil. Once India got independence, the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution inscribed the ideal of social justice into the Constitution in the forms of the preamble, fundamental rights, directive principle of state policy, etc. Achieving social justice thus is one of the basic objectives of the Constitution of India. The preamble of the Constitution proclaims that its aim is to secure justice – social, economic and political and equality of status and opportunity.

The development of the weaker section of the society, particularly of the SCs/STs has been on the agenda of the government since the starting of planning and development processes in our country. The overall lower socio-economic position of the SCs/STs made the framers of the Constitution realise that special attention is urgently required for their development. They believed that socially, economically and educationally backward castes cannot compete with others without the initial support given by the state and accordingly some special provisions, besides the fundamental rights

were incorporated in the Constitution to provide equal opportunity and justice for these sections. As a result some specific provisions were incorporated in the Constitution to provide social justice to the member of these sections through the policy of 'protective discrimination'. The basic purpose of incorporating these provisions was to change the traditional social structure of our society, which is based on socio-economic and political inequalities. These special provisions have played an important role in improving the socio-economic, other conditions and achieving a better position to the people of Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes. Development with social justice has been the major objective of our planning process and welfare programmes in India. The government not only took into account development goals, but also considered social aspects like providing access to the deprived section to participate in the development process. Article 46 of the Constitution imposes the obligation on the government to promote socio-economic interests of the Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes.

The Constitution of India established the country as a welfare state and chalked out a very detailed agenda for the promotion of social justice. "The concept of social justice for the achievement of welfare state is more realistic. Thus the directive principles are the life giving principles of the Constitution. These provisions constitute a social and economic philosophy and the substance of the constitution" (Sharma, 2007). The Constitution of India guarantees protection from social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Art. 46). It guarantees equality before law (Art. 14), and enjoins upon the State not to discriminate against any citizen on grounds of caste (Art. 15 (1). Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden (Art. 17). The Constitution mandates that no citizen shall, on grounds only of caste or race, be subjected to any disability and restriction (Art. 15 (2)). It empowers the State to make provisions for reservation in educational institutions (Art. 15 (4) and (5)), and in appointments for posts in favour of SCs (Art. 16 (4), 16(4A), 16(4B) and Art. 335). Reservation of seats for SCs in the Lok Sabha is provided under Article 330, in the State Assemblies under Article 332 and in the Local Self-Governments bodies under Articles 243D and 243T. In addition to the above, the Parliament has enacted the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, renamed as Protection of Civil Rights Act, in 1976. To check and deter atrocities against SCs, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 has also been enacted.

The Constitution of India has made several provisions to safeguard the interests of the STs in Articles 15(4), 16(4), 46, 243M, 243 ZC, 244, the first

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and second provisos to 275(1), Articles 334, 335, 338A, 339(1), and the Fifth and the Sixth Schedules. Besides these, several laws have been enacted by the Central Government like the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955; the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989; the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996; the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 as well as by the State Governments (relating to the prevention of alienation and restoration of tribal land, money-lending, reservations, and so on). The Centre has been given the authority of giving directions to the State Governments (cf. Article 339(2), Para 3 of the Fifth Schedule) in the interest of tribal people.

Though the Constitution of India does not make specific provisions for OBCs, it empowers the State to make provisions for reservation in appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the Services under the State [Article 16(4)]. It also empowers the State to appoint a commission to investigate into the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes (Article 340). In pursuance of the Supreme Court judgment, *Indira Sawhney and Others vs Union of India* (1992), the National Commission for Backward Classes was set up on 14 August 1993 under the National Commission for Backward Classes Act, 1993. Thus, after 46 years of independence of the country, the backward classes or OBCs got recognition as a separate group of people for the purpose of 27 per cent reservation in services in the Government of India and public sector undertakings. The States/UTs were free to decide the quantum of reservation based on the OBC population in their State/UT. All State Governments were also directed by the Supreme Court of India in the same case to set up a permanent body and to draw up their own list and decide the quantum of reservation as per their demography.

The Constitution of India has also made several provisions to safeguard the interests of the minorities in Article 15 : prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, Article 16 : equality of opportunity in matters of public employment, Article 25 : freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion, Article 26 : freedom to manage religious affairs, Articles 29 : right to conserve language, script, and culture, Article 30 : right to establish and administer educational institutions, Article 347 : recognition of language, Article 350 : redressal of grievances to any authority in the government in any of the languages used in the States, Article 350(A) : instruction through mother tongue at the primary stage of

education, Article 350(B) : investigate all matters relating to linguistic minorities.

Governmental Initiatives

The Government of India has taken various policy initiatives to provide social justice for deprived section with following objectives: (i) ensuring removal of disparities and providing protection to the marginalised section through various development schemes, (ii) ensuring that developmental benefits reach the unreached through equitable distribution, (iii) ensuring the involvement of the socially deprived section in the process of planning and participation in the formulation of need based programmes, supervision and monitoring, (iv) improving the social-economic status of the deprived section through effective implementation of various policies and programmes, (v) ensuring social empowerment through educational development, (vi) ensuring political empowerment, through reservation of seats in different democratic bodies (vii) ensuring social justice, through implementation of the existing legislations, decisions and other measures for preventing and protecting the disadvantaged groups from atrocities, exploitation, discrimination and social disabilities.

Earlier in the Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-07) our government had adopted a multipronged approach for the socio-economic development of the Scheduled Castes; social empowerment through educational development; economic empowerment through income and employment enhancing avenues; protection through implementation of protective legislations and eradication of occupations such as manual scavenging; and holistic development through earmarking of funds proportionate to the population Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan and Tribal Sub-Plan (Eleventh Five Year Plan, 2007-12).

In view of the persistent and wide-spread socio-economic backwardness of SCs and STs, a distinct need was felt for innovative policy intervention to enable these groups to share the benefits of growth in a more equitable manner. The government prepared a separate development plan called Tribal Sub-Plan for STs in 1976. It was followed by the Special Component Plan for the SCs in 1978 (recently renamed the Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan [SCSP]). The SCSP and TSP aimed at facilitating convergence and pooling of resources from all the other development sectors in proportion to the population of SCs and STs, respectively for their overall development. With respect to the educational development of SCs, the Central Government has introduced several scholarship programmes. The other

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important schemes for the educational development of SCs are: (i) providing coaching facilities to students to prepare them for various competitive examinations being conducted by Union Public Service Commission (UPSC), State Public Service Commissions, banks, and so on; and (ii) hostel facilities to both boys and girls for pursuing education from middle level onwards. With respect to the educational development of SCs, the Central Government has introduced major scholarship programmes, (iii) providing coaching facilities to students to prepare them for various competitive examinations being conducted by Union Public Service Commissions (UPSC), State Public Service Commissions, banks, and so on (iv) hostel facilities to both boys and girls for pursuing education from middle level onwards and (v) implementation of the Scheduled Caste Sub-Plan (SCSP) and Tribal Sub-Plan (TSP).

For the welfare of the minorities, the Prime Minister's new 15-Point Programme was launched in 2006 which aimed at ensuring their well being, protection and development. While the 15-Point Programme of 1983 centred on communal riots, representation of minorities in services and ensuring flow of benefits to individual beneficiaries, the focus of the new programme is to make certain that benefits of various schemes/programmes flow equitably to the minorities. For this, it quantifies a certain portion of development projects to be established in areas with a concentration of minorities. It stipulates that wherever possible, 15 per cent of targets and outlays under various schemes will be earmarked for the minorities.

The National Policy for Persons with Disabilities was adopted in 2006. It recognises that disabled people are valuable human resources for the country. The policy focuses primarily on prevention of disability, early detection and appropriate interventions, physical and economic rehabilitation measures, inclusive education, employment in the public as well as private sector and self employment, creation of a barrier-free environment and development of rehabilitation professionals.

The Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment is responsible for the implementation of the following Acts for the welfare of deprived sections (Annual Report, 2008): (i) The Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, (ii) The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, (iii) The Rehabilitation Council of India Act, 1992 (34 of 1992), (iv) National Commission for Backward Classes Act, 1993 (v) The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) Act, 1995 (01 of 1996) (vi) The National Trust for Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disabilities Act,

1999 (44 of 1999) (vii) The Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act, 2007. Table 1 shows the expenditure of the Government of India on social justice.

Table 1
Government of India Expenditure on Social Justice (Rs. in Crores)

Contents/year	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
1. Social Justice	2321	2302	2224	2497	3009	3485	4065	4736	6187
2. Welfare of SC	729	742	767	803	952	1071	1707	1815	1921
3. Welfare of ST	967	1018	872	1082	1409	1648	1524	1805	3205
4. Welfare of OBC	-	-	-	-	-	-	200.5	248	289
5. Social Security	333	296	298	298	321	350	417	434	386
i. Welfare of Handicaped	248	203	208	203	221	232	266	254	232
ii. Child Welfare	24	23	21	23	20	23	82	99	70
iii. Social Welfare	61	70	69	72	75	94	69	81	84

It is revealed from the table that the Government of India has paid considerable attention towards social justice in India as indicated by the simple growth rate. It also welcomes that the government has paid increased attention towards social justice of STs. But if population is taken into account SCs have got comparatively small share of the expenditure. The government has also tried to provide social security services, but their growth is very slow.

Challenges of Policy Concern and Implementation

Many policy analysts believed that production for policy process is really a cyclical process starting from 'realisation of problems' and moving to 'finding a solution' and 'implementing the solution' (Khator,1996). However, in reality it is not so. "Social scientists and policy analysts have identified various factors that can influence the policy process and make it unpredictable" (Cabb and Elder, 1972). "In other words it is now realised that all problems related to social justice issues do not produce policies, all policies do not invite implementation, and similarly all implementation do not affect the society in the manner intended. And there can be a wide gap in policy formulation and policy implementation. It may also be noted that the assumption once say policy has been formulated, it will be implemented- is not true in developing countries" (Jain, 1996). "Governments in these nations tend to formulate broad sweeping policies and the bureaucratic organisation often lake the capacity for implementation. Lack of qualified personnel, in sufficient opposition to policy, rampant, corruption, etc. while in the western nations, policies tend to be incremental in nature in the developing

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countries; they are ambitious, sweeping, design to bring about development and social reform creating new pattern of actions and institutions and in the process generating tension both within and between the component categories of idolised policies" (Khan, 1987).

"Public policy implementation in modern times has often been characterised by skepticism about the capacity of Governments to meet their goals and objectives" (Sapru, 1998). Promoting social justice is the main the responsibility of the government and its significance increases since India is a democratic system and a welfare state. In the previous sections we saw that the government has focused on the welfare of SCs/STs and other weaker section in recent years through welfare schemes and other developing programmes and policies. However, the uplift of these sections needs proper implementation of policies. After in-depth analysis of the issues involved we found following major challenges in policy concerns and implementation: (i) the balance which is expected between the state and the centre in the context of policy implementation is not present in India. In addition corruption has also struck deep roots in the proper policy and programme implementation and benefits. There is a clear problem of coordination between central and state governments, (ii) the implementation of the policies has been stalled at present because most governmental development programmes are not running in the proper way even though they were set up a long time back. In the same manner the implementation of other decisions has also not been done and the situation is that the policies are formed but are not implemented properly. The efforts of the central government should be to revamp the condition of policy implementation concern in India for better result about social justice policy concern, (iii) development programmes for the welfare of socially disadvantaged groups and marginalised sections of society have been in operation from the First Five Year Plan onwards. Whether the benefits of these programmes reach the targeted persons needs to be monitored on a periodical basis at the district, state and national levels. Continuous monitoring and evaluation would justify the continuation of programmes. The Ministries of Social Justice and Empowerment, and Tribal Affairs and Minorities have developed mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating their programmes. These ministries also sponsor research studies by independent agencies such as university departments/reputed research bodies. Based on the findings of such studies, efforts are made to improve upon the strategy for implementation of schemes. However the results are not coming up to the mark because the policy of monitoring and evaluation is not perfect. The

government is trying to make proper efforts and during the Eleventh Five Year Plan particular stress will be laid on ensuring that such evaluation does not become routine but results in actual improvement in the schemes, (iv) evaluation and control of the existing programmes is a difficult exercise since it involves specifying the goals of the programmes. The evaluation and control of the programme is confounded by many factors. "The final stage of the policy process is the assessment of what has happen regarding the implementation of the policy" (Sapru, 1998). Evaluating a public policy involves the listing of the goals of the policy and measuring a degree to which these goal have been achieved, (v) the Census of India and NSSO are the two agencies which make available data on various aspects of social groups. Data on SCs, STs, minorities and persons with disabilities have been made available by these agencies. Census data are not available for OBCs and persons who are victims of drug addiction and alcoholism. The Eleventh Plan will address the need for survey of such category of persons for proper formulation of policies and programmes towards their welfare and rehabilitation, (vi) the prevailing gaps in socio-economic status between SCs, STs and other disadvantaged groups *vis-a-vis* the rest of the population need to be speedily bridged by taking innovative measures. At the out set, there is a need to assess the gaps between SCs and other social groups with respect to various parameters of growth and development and construct an index of development/vulnerability/deprivation on the basis of which policy and programme interventions can be formulated and administered. State governments, Central ministries/departments and public authorities should be made accountable for purposeful and affirmative action within their jurisdiction to bring about overall development of the people belonging to SCs/STs and to bridge the gaps between their and other social groups.

Policy Recommendations and Suggestions

In a welfare state, services like education, health and justice should be provided either free or at subsidised rates to the citizens of the country and the government should take appropriate steps in this direction. If India is seriously interested in establishing itself strongly among the other developed countries then it has to empower itself in the field of policy concern and implementation of social justice. For this purpose the reforms should be implemented within a stipulated period of time. The government should also try to develop and maintain a creative balance between the private and government sector under government control for the implementation of these programmes. Proper implementation of the

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governmental policies made for reforming the state of social justice of the country are not being done, which should be done as soon as possible. For this purpose it is necessary that the policies formed by the government should be properly implemented and alongside there should be an effective system for controlling these institutions at both the national and the state level. After the discussing challenges, we offer a few suggestions for policy concern and their implementation:

- The government of India promotes social justice and empowerment as well as social development through policy initiatives, social welfare schemes and programme, but the lack of literacy and awareness of SCs, STs and marginalised sections is a big barrier in the government's efforts. "Perhaps the most important intervening variable between development plans and their implementations is the bureaucratic machinery, whose function is to translate planned goal into action. It has been argued that despite the relative effectiveness of bureaucracy in India in the area of policy exclusion and implementation. The traditional bureaucratic structure and processes are incompatible with the implementation of the development task" (Chaudhary, 1979).
- As per government data, the government has taken several policy initiatives after independence but there has been little progress in the sector of social justice. There is urgent need to develop an effective implementation of the various schemes and programmes for the social justice. For this purpose we need a unitary programme implementation administrative system. "Important to this has been emergence of the New Public Management (NPM). NPM allows private bodies to take greater responsibility for the delivery of services through privatisation, contracting out and market testing. These ideas have been taken out most enthusiastically in New Zealand, UK, USA, and Scandinavia" (Heywood, 2010).
- Role of the state is very important in promoting social justice since the state is also responsible for implementation of social justice policies and programmes. State is basically policy initiative and implementation agency, but there is lack of concerted coordination in the implementation of social justice policy/programmes.
- Coordination between central and state government is also an important factor because social welfare policy is the subject of state directive policy and in India state governments are the implementation bodies. In present perspective, for better

implementation of social justice programmes, we need a Unified Programmes Implementation Agency (UPIA) in block level. UPIA work with coordination of programme /policy concern department and implement various programmes of social justice.

- In any decision-making process and policy-formulation, there is always a need for a detailed working out of strategic programmes and suitable administrative organisations and operational steps. "Administrative planning begins where economic planning ends. It is conveyor system without a dichotomy between planning and implementation, but there is always feedback from implementation to make planning much more purposeful. From time to time bureaucracy had indeed risen to deliver the goals in time of crises. It is, thus responsibility of the bureaucracy to ensure that the policies are conceived so as to relevant to prevailing conditions and implemented with patience and conviction" (Haldipur, 1979). In the present perspective there is an urgent need to develop proper controlling and evaluation system for proper better implementation of social justice policies and programmes. Along with policy implementation for reforming social justice, it is necessary to develop an evaluation system which can be done at the central and state level by a national control and evaluation board and a state control and evaluation board. Through these controlling and evaluation boards it will also be possible to determine the state of policy implementation. These kinds of boards are very important for raising the overall policy implementation in India, which will also supervise the overall policy implementation.

The effort of the central government to revamp the condition of social justice in India is commendable but the policy implementation system in India also needs to be revamped. The implementation of the policies taken at the central level should be made compulsory at the state level and adequate funds should also be provided to the states for their implementation. The implementation of the above suggestions should not be confined to the central level but they should be implemented in all the states with effective control and evaluation system. It is also emphasised to think of social justice for women, social deviant person with disability and other disadvantage group. For this purpose there is urgent need of a data collection system for minorities and disabilities.

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Notes

1. Procedural justice associated with various rights of individuals and in narrowed sense used to morally evaluate the action of individuals in the term of fairness.

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Internal Migration in Informal Sector: A Study of Amritsar City

Neena Malhotra^{*} and Pushpa Devi[†]

The internal migrants are very important in the informal sector of urban economy. Nearly 28-30 per cent of Indian population comprises of internal migrants. Due to slow growth of organised industrial sector and mechanization of agriculture, majority of the migrants are flooding the informal sector of the economy. Despite its magnitude and importance, internal migration is a neglected subject in urban governance. A number of push and pull factors influence the process of internal migration. The study is based on a survey of 250 migrants working in urban informal sector in Amritsar city. This study has investigated the role of various factors i.e., poverty, landlessness, unemployment and literacy etc., on internal migration decision to Amritsar city.

Migration is not a simple phenomenon. It involves with lives of migrant workers, their families and their socio economic background and deprivation level. Migration in India is mostly influenced by economic factors, social structure and pattern of development (Muhkherji, 2011).

In recent decades researchers highlight the need to focus attention on the growing importance of internal migration within the national boundaries. According to Director of UNESCO, Mr. Shigeru Aoyagi, "Internal migrants

^{*}Associate Professor, Punjab School of Economics, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar (Punjab). Email: malhotraneenadr@gmail.com

[†]Senior Research Fellow, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar (Punjab).
Email: pushpadevi30@gmail.com

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positively contribute to society. There is an urgent need to build awareness on internal migration and adopt a human rights-based approach for migrant inclusion in society". Internal migrants are not homogeneous groups. Internal migrants belong to various social and economic strata and also have multiple and diverse identities that shape their conditions and experiences. However, a sizable number of migrants are vulnerable, face discrimination and exclusion and are in need of protection and safeguards (UNESCO, 2011).

Due to slow growth of organised industrial sector and mechanisation of agriculture, majority of the migrants are flooding the informal economy. However, a great majority of them are in this sector by choice due to better income prospects and ease of joining this sector. Internal migration is an important instrument of filling demand and supply gaps, providing dynamism in the labour market. Migrants do all types of jobs which are generally rejected by locals and in the process have become an important segment of urban labour market in relatively developed states of India.

Despite its magnitude and importance, internal migration is a neglected subject in governance. There is a need for developing a dedicated system of governance and institutions for protecting and supporting migrants. As per the 2001 Census, the total number of internal migrants was 309 million or nearly 30 per cent of the total population.

In migration literature, there exists no single theory or model which can explain all the factors responsible for migration. Therefore, an attempt has been made to review some of important studies on migration so that an overall view about the causes of movement of population can be comprehended.

Theoretical Models and Empirical Studies on Migration

Stouffer's study states that the amount of migration over a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at the place of destination, and inversely proportional to the number of opportunities between the place of departure and the place of destination. Everett Lee, divided factors causing migrations into push and pull factors. One of the most important considerations in the decision to migrate is the difficulty of the intervening obstacles. These intervening obstacles in migration include family pressures, misinformation, national policy, travel cost, lack of capital, illiteracy and language. Lee pointed out that the migration process is selective because differentials such as age, gender, and social class affect how persons respond to push-pull factors, and these conditions also shape their ability to overcome intervening obstacles (Lee, 1966). Todaro states that the main

reason for labour migration is wage difference between two geographic locations. These wage differences are usually linked to geographic labour demand and supply. It can be said that areas with a shortage of labour but an excess of capital have a “high” relative wage while areas with a high labour supply and a dearth of capital have a “low” relative wage. Labour tends to flow from low wage areas to high wage areas. Often, with this flow of labour comes a change in the source as well as the destination region (Todaro, 1969).

Dual labour market theory states that migration is mainly caused by ‘pull’ factors in more developed regions. Piore argues that the ‘labour markets in the developed regions consist of two segments: primary, which requires high skilled labour and secondary which is very labour-intensive but requires low-skilled workers. This theory assumes that migration from less developed regions into more developed countries is a result of a ‘pull’ created by a need for labour in the developed regions in their secondary market” (Piore, 1979). Sjaastad has given ‘costs and returns’ approach to migration as a private decision making. The costs and returns are divided into monetary and non-monetary components. Costs include direct cost of moving, searching for employment and training for new position, earning forgone while moving and leaving the familiar surroundings. Thus the decision to migrate can be analysed as an investment in human capital (Sjaastad, 1962). Value expectancy model states that the decision to move is based on a specification of the personally valued goals that might be met by moving (or staying) and an assessment of the perceived linkage, in terms of expectancy, between migration behaviour and the attainment of goals in alternative locations (De Jong and Fawcett, 1981).

Gravity Models have originated in the study of human geography. These models emphasise space as a determinant of migration. As per these models, migration flows within a regional framework are a function of origin or destination specific push and pull factors with some form of distance deterrence function reflecting the degree of spatial separations between origin and destination. Gravity models importance lies in the fact they are able to encompass different theoretical prospective within a readily estimable empirical framework (Stewart, 1941; Zipf, 1946). The new economic theory of migration (Stark and Bloom, 1985; Stark, 1991) suggests that migration-related decisions are made by households rather than by individuals. In this approach, wage differentials between origin and destination countries are not a requirement for migration. Migrant decisions are a household response to income risk and to failure of variety of markets like labour market, credit market and insurance market maximisation of the expected income. The

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migration systems theory (Kritz et al., 1992) distinguishes migration systems comprised of various sending and receiving countries characterised by similar migratory patterns. In such a dynamic system, migration is in a continuous interplay with historical, economic, cultural and political linkages between the countries, both on the micro and macro levels.

There are numbers of empirical studies, which tried to comprehend the factors behind internal migration. The major reason of male migration is lack of Job opportunities in their origin place. Male migrants who move out for working at young age tend to return to their origin place at their old age (Rele, 1969). Majority of the workers who are migrating into urban informal sector are illiterate and unskilled as a result they are unable to get jobs in the formal sector (Bhattacharya, 1998; Bhattacharya, 2002; Mukherjee, 2011). Wage gaps between rural and urban areas are considered to be the main determinant of migration. Income differential and better job opportunity are the major pull factors while unemployment, poverty, social and family disputes and landlessness are seen as push factors (Gupta, Arora and Aggarwal 1988, Kumar and Sidhu 2005; Sethi , Ghuman and Ukpere 2009, Kohli, 2010 ; Chakraborty and Kuri 2013. Srivastava finds that remittance and savings is primary channel through which migrant workers are able to stabilize or improve their condition of living. Migration also affects the pattern of growth and development in the source areas. There is also a change in workers tastes, perceptions and attitudes due to migration (Srivastava, 2009).

Kundu (1986) and Kundu and Gupta (1996) study found that the migration pattern during 1961-1981 shows significant changes. They found that the volume of inter-state migration has not been very large in India. The percentage share of inter-state migrants has been diminishing gradually over the 1961-1981 period in all the developed states except Gujarat, Punjab and Haryana. The study found that there is declining rate of migration over time in both rural and urban areas, so this factor is responsible for increasing disparities in term of per capita output or labour productivity in the state (Kundu, 1986; Kundu and Gupta, 1996).

Objective and Methodology

The salient objective of the study is to comprehend the impact of various socio-economic and demographic factors i.e., poverty, family problem, unemployment, literacy, age, caste, religion and family size on internal migration decision to the Amritsar City.

The study is based on primary data. The data has been collected through a structured interview schedule. The sample size was 250 migrant

workers in urban informal sector in Amritsar city. Data has been collected by personal interview method. As there is no compiled list of migrants in the city, the study followed a convenient sampling method for collection of primary data.

In this survey migrants have opined that a large number of factors affecting migration decision. Some of these factors can be categorised as push factors while others are pull factors. Therefore, the respondents who chose both “push” and corresponding “pull” factor can be classified as a set of people for whom both the push and pull factors were important for migration.

Hence to separate the purely push from the purely pull factors, we define a variable Y_i , for each individual migrant, where

$$Y_i = \frac{(\text{Number of Pull reasons for migration chosen})}{(\text{Total Number of reasons for migration chosen})}$$

Hence the variable Y_i varies from 0 to 1, with the value 0 indicating that the individual's reasons for migration are “Only push” in nature, and with the value 1 referring to “Only pull” factors. For sake of classification we can divide the range of possible values that Y_i can take, into five parts:

- $Y_i = 0$; “Only Push”
- $0 < Y_i < 0.5$; “Mainly Push”
- $Y_i = 0.5$; “Both Push and Pull”
- $0.5 < Y_i < 1$; “Mainly Pull”
- $Y_i = 1$; “Only Pull”

For statistical analysis values ranging for 0 to .5 are taken as push factor i.e., 0 and greater than .05 to 1 are taken as pull factor i.e., 1. In order to identify the socio-economic factors affecting migration, we have used logistic regression and probit regression analysis.

Logistic Regression Analysis

Logit regression model is used when dependent variable is binary, which takes the values 0 or 1. Logit regression estimates the probability of dependent variables $y=1$. The logit model can be specified as:

$$P_r(Y = 1|X_1, X_2, \dots, X_k) = f(\beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_k X_k)$$

Where X_i are the explanatory variables

Let P = probability

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$$P = \frac{1}{1 + \frac{1}{e^{\beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_k X_k}}}$$

$$= \frac{e^{\beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1}}{1 + e^{\beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1}} = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-\beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1}}$$

Where $i=1, \dots, k$

$$\frac{P}{1 - P} = e^{\beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1}$$

$$\log\left(\frac{P}{1 - P}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1$$

Probit Regression Analysis

In order to understand the factors which determine the reasons for migration, we estimated a probit model where the dependent variable is continuous and has the range [0, 1]. In keeping with Maddala (1986), the model was setup as follows:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \sum_{j=1}^k \beta_j X_{ij} + u_i \quad (1)$$

Where Y_i is a latent variable, a vector of explanatory variable x is assumed to influence the response variable Y_i . Specifically, the model takes the form:

$$P_i = \text{Pr}(Y_i = 1) = \text{Pr}\left[u_i > (\beta_0 + \sum_{j=1}^k \beta_j X_{ij})\right]$$

$$= 1 - F\left[(\beta_0 + \sum_{j=1}^k \beta_j X_{ij})\right] \quad (2)$$

Where F is the cumulative distribution of u , if the distribution of u is symmetric, we can write

$$P_i = F[(\beta_0 + \sum_{j=1}^k \beta_j X_{ij})] \quad (3)$$

In the probit model, the inverse of the normal cumulative distribution function is a standardised variable, or a 'Z' score. Thus,

$$P_i = \Phi \left[(\beta_0 + \sum_{i=1}^k \beta_i X_{ii}) \right] \quad (4)$$

Where the general form of the cumulative distribution function, F, is replaced by the standard normal cumulative distribution function.

Socio-Economic Background of the Migrant Workers

Age is the major factor determining the probability of migration. There is inverse relationship between age and migration. Migration rates are higher among youth as they have longer time horizons to plan for, are more courageous and risk takers, and have lesser social and family obligations (Sethi, Ghuman and Ukpere, 2009). So far as the age distribution of workers in the sample is concerned, it was found that around 40.4 per cent of workers belonged to the age group of 21-30 and another 28.8 per cent of workers were in the age group of 31-40. The remaining 7.6 per cent, 18.8 per cent and 4.4 per cent were in the age group of less than or equal to 20 years, 41-50 and greater than 51 years respectively. Migrant workers in the study were mostly young people below the age of 40 years.

Out of the total sample migrant workers in the urban informal sector in Amritsar, women constitute only 6.8 per cent, while the male migrant worker's share is 93.2 per cent. Thus, majority of the economically active migrant workers are men while women migrants constitute a smaller proportion in the urban informal sector. In the Amritsar city, 91.6 per cent migrant workers belonged to Hindu religion and only 8.4 per cent migrants were Muslim.

In Indian society, caste plays an important role. During this study, it is found that majority of the Hindu migrants are either belong to SCs (Scheduled Castes) or OBCs (Other Backward Classes). Out of the 229 Hindu migrants in the sample, 42.4 per cent people belonged to Scheduled Castes (SC), 34.9 per cent belonged to Other Backward Classes (OBC) and 22.7 per cent belonged to general category.

Educational status of the migrants shows that most of the migrant workers in the informal sector were illiterate. Further, it shows a decreasing percentage of migrant labour in successive higher educational levels. In Amritsar, 36.8 per cent migrant workers were illiterate. 16.4 per cent, 16.8 per cent and 20.4 per cent workers had completed their education up to primary, middle and matriculation respectively. Only 0.8 per cent workers completed

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their graduation. Most of the workers in the urban informal sector were illiterate, which clearly highlights the poor human capital base of the urban informal sector workers in Amritsar. Among the interviewed 250 migrant workers, 81.2 per cent of the migrant workers in the sample were married and 18.2 per cent were unmarried.

Table 1 presents the origin place of migrant workers, i.e., from which state the Workers migrated to urban informal sector in Amritsar. Information shows that out of the 250 respondents, 50.8 per cent workers were from Uttar Pradesh, followed by 36.4 per cent from Bihar. About 5.2 per cent workers belonged to Himachal Pradesh and 2.4 per cent from Madhya Pradesh, two per cent from West Bengal and 1.2 per cent from Jharkhand.

Table 1
Origin Place of Migrant Workers

Origin Place	Amritsar	
	Frequency	Percentage
Uttar Pradesh	127	50.8
Bihar	91	36.4
Himachal Pradesh	13	5.2
Madhya Pradesh	6	2.4
West Bengal	5	2
Jharkhand	4	1.6
Haryana	1	0.4
Orissa	1	0.4
Rajasthan	1	0.4
Tamil Nadu	1	0.4
Total	250	100

Source: Field Survey 2015

Occupation of Migrant Workers in their Place of Origin

Based on the human capital model, high unemployment rates in origin location should increase the net benefits from migrating and push workers away. An unemployed person must assess the probability of gaining employment at the potential destination. Unemployment rates in destination areas reduce the probability that an unemployed person will migrate (McConnell and Brue, 1986).

Table 2
Occupation of Migrant Workers in their Origin Place

Occupation in the Origin Place	Frequency	Percentage
Unemployed	194	77.6
Labourer	18	7.2
Farmer	15	6
Electrician	5	2
Agriculture worker	4	1.6
Mason	3	1.2
Tailor	1	0.4
Painter	3	1.2
Driver	3	1.2
Vegetable Vendor	1	0.4
Worker in Shop	1	0.4
Bangle Seller	1	0.4
Conductor	1	0.4
Barber	0	0
Pan Shop	0	0
Total	250	100

Source: Field Survey 2015

Table 2 presents the occupational profile of migrant workers in their place of origin. It is found that out of the 250 respondents 77.6 per cent workers were unemployed and 22.4 per cent were employed somewhere before migrating to Amritsar. Among those who were employed, only a small proportion were farmers, while the remaining were labourers or working in the informal sector. Availability of job opportunity and better quality of job condition play an important role in the decision of migrating to Amritsar.

An analysis of the decade wise migration details, it was found that out of 250 respondents, 66.4 per cent of migrant workers opined that they came to Punjab from their place of origin after 2000. During the period 1981 to 90 only 19.2 per cent migrant workers migrated to Amritsar and during 1991-2000, 14.4 per cent people migrated to urban informal sector of Amritsar. Thus, it is inferred that majority of the migrants came to Punjab during last 15 years.

Immediately after arrival at the place of migration, migrants tend to do the jobs which are easily available. Usually they follow the profession of their already settled friends and relatives at the place of migration. It is inferred during the study that out of 250 respondents, 23.6 per cent worked as labourers, 15.2 per cent were fruit seller, 12.4 per cent were factory workers, 10.8 per cent were worked as painters and 6.8 per cent were engaged as vegetable vendor at their immediate arrival in the Amritsar City. Rest of the

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migrants followed various professions in the informal sector as per their qualification and job availability.

Networking with the already migrated family members is a one of the important factors that pulls people to shift from the place of origin to place of migration. Family contacts with the already settled migrants in the place of destination are not only helpful in reducing the cost of searching a job but also help in providing information on the existing employment prospects in a new place. It is informed during the study that out of the 250 respondent, 49.6 per cent migrant workers got their first job with the help of their friends, 34.4 per cent with the help of their relatives and 6.8 per cent with the help of job contractors. Only 2 per cent migrant workers found their first job by searching for themselves. The study shows that 72.4 per cent of the migrants got their job on arrival in the city and only 27.6 per cent migrants had to wait for some days to get a job in the city.

Reason for Migration

Migration is primarily encouraged by scores of economic factors. In many developing countries, low agricultural income, agricultural unemployment and underemployment are considered as basic factors pushing the migrants towards prosperous or dynamic areas with greater job opportunities. Economic factors which encourage migration may be termed as push factors and pull factors. The push factors are those reasons that compel a person to leave their native place and migrate to some other place. Poor economic conditions, unemployment and underemployment, lack of opportunities for advancement, exhaustion of natural resources and natural calamities are the push factors which encourage the people to leave their native place in search of better economic conditions. In most developing countries, due to population explosion land-labour ratio has declined resulting in serious problem of unemployment and underemployment. The pull factors are those reasons that motivate a person to migrate to another region, other than their native place. For instance, better employment opportunities, higher wages, better working conditions and amenities are the pull factors which encourage the people to migrate to prosperous regions. In this study it is found that the most important factor is prospects of better income which motivated migrants to shift. This pull factor is closely associated with push factors like lack of job opportunities and unemployment in their native place.

Table 3
Reasons for Migration

Reason for Migration	Amritsar	
	Frequency	Percentage
Better income at destination	227	90.8
Lack of job in native place	205	82
Unemployment	194	77.6
Better work facility	167	66.8
No land	160	64.0
Poverty	82	32.8
Family problem	59	23.6
Friends and family at destination	18	7.2
Agriculture not profitable	17	6.8
Migration with husband	17	6.8

Source: Field Survey 2015

In is inferred during the study that most of the migrants took decision to migrate out from their native places. Out of the 250 migrant, 62 per cent migrant workers decided to migrate themselves. Only in 23.6 per cent cases migration decision was taken by their parents. While migrating to Amritsar, it is discerned that 60.4 per cent migrant workers migrated alone; the rest were either accompanied by the family (16.8 per cent) or friends (11.2 per cent) or relatives (11.6 per cent).

The most important problem faced by migrants is that they do not have any government document of their identity at the place of migration. It is very difficult for them to have important government documents at new place. Out of the total respondents interviewed, only 27.2 per cent migrant workers have ration card. 33.2 per cent migrant workers have voter card and only 8 per cent workers have driving license. A large number of migrants have Aadhar card (42 per cent). These basic documents are very important for availing various social welfare benefits provided by government for PDS, health insurance, etc.

Working and Living Conditions of Migrant Workers in Amritsar

This section of the paper examines the living and working conditions of migrant workers in urban informal sector in Amritsar. To evaluate living conditions the study uses variables such as nature of work, current occupation, working hours, working days and income levels of migrants. Table 4 shows that out of total respondents 56.4 per cent migrant workers are unskilled workers and 43.6 per cent stated that they are working as skilled workers in the Amritsar city.

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Table 4 enumerates the information on the present occupation of migrant workers in the Amritsar city. The gathered information shows that out of 250 respondents, 17.2 per cent work as fruit seller and 14.4 per cent workers are vegetable vendor. The remaining respondents earn their livelihood as rickshaw puller (5.6 per cent), street food vendor (4.4 per cent), domestic worker (3.6 per cent) and worker in the shop (2.4 per cent) in the Amritsar city. In the skilled worker category, the migrant workers are pursuing various professions as painter, mason, plaster of paris (POP) workers, plumber and electricians.

Table 4
Current Occupation of the Migrants in the Amritsar City

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Unskilled Worker</i>		
Fruit seller	43	17.2
Vegetable Vendor	36	14.4
Labourer	22	8.8
Rickshaw Puller	14	5.6
Street Food Vendor	11	4.4
Domestic Worker	9	3.6
Worker in the Shop	6	2.4
<i>Skilled Worker</i>		
Painter	33	13.2
Mason	18	7.2
PoP Worker	11	4.4
Plumber	10	4
Electrician	8	3.2
Pan shop	6	2.4
Tailor	6	2.4
Welder	5	2
Cook	3	1.2
Driver	3	1.2
Mali	3	1.2
Tile Fitter	2	0.8
Barber	1	0.4
Total	250	100

In the informal sector of Amritsar city, analysis of working hours of migrants posits that 42.4 per cent workers were working eight hours a day and about 49.2 per cent migrant workers are working more than eight hours a day. However, the average number of hours of work per day was 9.6 hours per day in this sector.

Analysis of working pattern of migrant workers posits that 38 per cent workers were working 21-25 days in a month and 50 per cent workers were working 26-30 days in a month. The average number of working days of work per month was 28 days per month.

Income Pattern of the Migrants

Informal sector has a significant ability to provide jobs. Informal sector has out-stripped the formal sector in terms of numbers employed and shows a good prospect for further growth. Earning is an important factor for analysis of migration decision.

The earnings of the respondents from their employment are given in Table 5. Out of 250 respondents, 47.6 per cent respondents earned monthly income in the range of 7501-10000 per month after migration and 31.2 per cent respondents had earned an income between Rs. 5001-7500. Only 9.6 per cent respondents have earned monthly income greater than 10000. However, it may be added that most of the migrant workers tend to understate their income. For them income is usually income net of expenditure.

Table 5
Income Earned by Migrants in Amritsar

Income in Rupees	Frequency	Percentage
Less than and equal to 2500	6	2.4
2501-5000	23	9.2
5001-7500	78	31.2
7501-10000	119	47.6
More than 10000	24	9.6
Total	250	100

Source: Field Survey 2015

The study also analysed views on the migrant workers willingness to go to the formal sector if job opportunities are available. Majority of the migrant workers show unwillingness go to the formal sector. Out of the 250 workers about 68.8 per cent workers show unwillingness to go to the formal sector and about 31.2 per cent workers show willingness to go to formal sector employment. The reason behind is that they are illiterate, less educated and unskilled to be absorbed in the formal sector of employment. The study found that there is a difference in the income of skilled and unskilled workers. In Amritsar skilled workers, on an average earn Rs. 8678.90 per month and the unskilled workers earn Rs. 8137.59 per month.

The findings of the study very clearly indicate that formal schooling does have a positive impact on the levels of earnings. It is found that the average income of illiterate workers is considerably lower than that of those having some formal schooling. Table 6 presents the information on an average earning by level of education. An illiterate migrant worker on an average earns Rs. 7791 per month, while a graduate worker's monthly income is almost double (Rs.14000) of an illiterate worker's income. Average income consistently increases with level of education.

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Table 6
Average Earnings by Level of Education

Education level	No. of Workers	Average Income in Rs.
Illiterate	92	7791.30
Primary	41	7868.29
Middle	42	8797.62
Matric	51	8852.94
Senior Secondary	22	9318.18
Graduation	2	14000.00
Total	250	8373.60

Source: Field Survey 2015

During the study it is found that out of the total 250 respondents, 74.4 per cent migrant workers are not satisfied with their job, and only 25.6 per cent workers are satisfied with their work. All the workers stated different reasons for not being satisfied with their work. The main reasons for lack of job satisfaction are low income and job insecurity.

In order to identify important factors causing migration, logit and probit regression models are used. The results of the logistic regression and probit regression analysis are given in Tables 7 and 8. The codes of various variables are given in Table 7.

Table 7
Coding of Variables

Variable	Code
Dependent variable Y_i	Decision to migrate (Push = 0, Pull = 1)
Independent variables	Reasons for Migration
Age at the time of migration	0-24 = 0, 25 and above = 1
Religion	Hindu = 1, Otherwise = 0
Caste _SC	SC = 0, Otherwise = 1
Caste _OBC	OBC = 0, Otherwise = 1
Illiterate	Illiterate = 0, Otherwise = 1
Primary	Primary = 0, Otherwise = 1
Middle	Middle = 1, otherwise = 0
Matric	Matric = 1, otherwise = 0
Senior Secondary	Senior Secondary = 1, otherwise = 0
Number of family members	2-10
Better work	Better work = 1, otherwise = 0
Friends & Family	With the help of family or friends = 1, otherwise = 0
Lack of job in native	Lack of job in native place = 0, otherwise = 1
Agriculture not profitable	Agriculture not profitable = 0, otherwise = 1
Landownership	Land in the native place = 1, otherwise = 0

Source: Author's Calculation

The results of the logistic regression and probit regression analysis have been presented in table 8. In this model dependent variable is reason for

migration (i.e. push = 0, pull = 1). The independent variables average at the time of migration, religion, social status, level of education and family size, better work, lack of job in native place and landownership.

Age component plays an important role in migration. Age at time of migration has shown positive and significant impact on reason for migration in both the models. Young people are more mobile than the older ones. Caste as a factor in migration has not been found to be significant in case of SC as well as OBC categories.

Table 8
Logit and Probit Regression Estimation

Independent variables	Logit Regression Estimation			Exp(B)	Probit Regression Estimation		
	B	S.E.	Sig.		B	S.E.	Sig.
Age at the time of Migration	3.967	1.521	0.009	52.845	2.213	.869	0.011
Religion	-1.927	3.959	0.626	.146	-1.089	2.067	0.598
Caste_SC	0.7416	2.359	0.753	.476	.266	1.336	0.842
Caste_OBC	2.727	2.412	0.258	.0654	1.429	1.373	0.298
Illiterate	8.142	96.484	0.933	0.0002	4.194	396.93	0.992
Primary	-9.168	96.502	0.924	.0001	-4.744	396.93	0.990
Middle	-6.211	96.486	0.949	.002	-3.063	396.93	0.994
Metric	-6.729	96.486	0.944	.001	-3.229	396.93	0.994
Senior Secondary	-6.773	96.485	0.944	.001	-3.404	396.93	0.993
Family Size	0.584	.335	0.082	1.793	.308	.187	0.099
Better work	0.5693	2.236	0.011	296.68	3.256	1.287	0.011
Friends & Family	4.267	1.356	0.002	71.331	2.465	.779	0.002
Lack of Job in Native	6.282	1.621	0.000	.0018	3.546	.884	0.000
Agriculture not Profitable	4.558	2.041	0.026	.0104	2.567	.883	0.000
Landownership	-5.193	1.613	0.001	.005	-2.965	1.173	0.029
Constant	4.704	96.652	0.961		2.141	396.945	0.996
Pseudo R ²	0.7041				0.7083		

Source: Author's Calculation

Education has negative and insignificant impact as reason for migration in both the models. Thus, lower the level of education of the migrant, greater the importance of the push factors whereas with increasing level of education of the migrant workers, pull factors become more important in migration decision.

Family size has shown positive and statistically significant impact as reason for migration in the logit model as well as in probit models. The table shows that there is direct relationship between the large family size and migration decision. Family size induces 'push' out of the origin place, which is natural to expect, holding other things constant. 'Push' can be induced due to the lack of adequate income caused by the non-availability of non-agricultural jobs. Better income and help of family and friends as pull factors

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have shown positive and statistically significant relation as reasons for migration in both the models. Factors defined as 'lack of job opportunities' and 'agriculture not profitable' have shown positive and significant relation as push factors on migration in both the models.

Conclusions

Internal migration plays an important role in economic development of a country or region. Apart from local labour, migrant workers are an important element of the labour force of Punjab. The study found that a major share of the migrant workers working in the informal sectors of the Amritsar belong to Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. They are attracted to Punjab because of better employment opportunities and higher wages than in the states of their origin. The study finds that urban informal sector is dominated by young male migrant workers. Most of the migrant workers in the urban informal sector are found to be illiterate. The study found that both push and pull factors are responsible for migration. Majority of the workers got the information for obtaining the first job through relatives and friends. The study elucidated that there is significant difference in income in case of skilled and unskilled migrant workers in urban informal sector.

The study clearly indicates that formal schooling does have a positive impact on level of earning. It finds that average income of illiterate workers is significantly lower than those having some formal schooling. It is observed that migrant workers are not satisfied with their work because they are getting less remuneration, job insecurity and bad working conditions.

The results of the logistic regression and probit regression analysis show that age at time of migration, family size, lack of job opportunities in native place, lack of profit in agriculture and landlessness are important push factors for the migration process where as better job and network of family and friends are significant pull factors in migration to Amritsar city.

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Maternal and Child Health Status and its Determinants in Uttar Pradesh

Nomita P. Kumar^{*}

Health is a major welfare indicator that deeply affects the quality of life and economic and social development. The attainment of health-related Millennium Development Goals hinges on satisfactory health service performance in a state like Uttar Pradesh. This paper aims to analyses health and nutritional status of women and factors affecting women's health in Uttar Pradesh.

Media discussion about Uttar Pradesh has been largely negative for various reasons in the past couple of years. Whatever be the merits or demerits of those arguments, one problem with the conditions in the state that remains and has been identified by a number of observers has been the relatively poor performance in terms of human development, especially health and education. Indeed, the fact that health indicators in Uttar Pradesh generally lagged behind the national average was noted in the Uttar Pradesh.

One of the achievements of the past few years or so has been the increasing focus and attention being paid to the social sector. Issues of education and health, malnutrition and gender equity, poverty alleviation and infant mortality have increasingly become mainstream concern. The ministries and departments dealing with them have been bolstered by both

^{*}Assistant Professor, Giri Institute of Development Studies, Lucknow (U.P.)

E-mail: nomita.kumar36@gmail.com

larger outlays and intellectual capital. In terms of press coverage, the social sector has moved from page nine or twelve to page one, from feature stories to meet political reportage (Natarajan, 2009). While this has been a gratifying phenomenon, it has also been immensely humbling. It has forced India to look inwards and scrutinise the contradictions of a society that is, justifiably, proud of its economic achievements, but has failed to solve some very basic problems of Maternal and Newborn Health (MNH) is one such problem.

Health is a major welfare indicator that deeply affects the quality of life, economic and social development. The government of India acknowledges that a healthy society is vital for a thriving society, and hence has placed the provision of "health for all" high on its agenda. The biggest resource for Uttar Pradesh is its large human resource and there is urgent need to invest in human capital if the State is to improve its ranking on Human Development Index and the country is to attain the Millennium Development Goals by 2020. The attainment of health related Millennium Development Goals hinges on satisfactory performance of the States, particularly a State strive like Uttar Pradesh whose position on all the indicators of health is well above the all-India average and, hence, the effort required has to be considerably more.

The objectives of the paper are to : (i) identification of critical challenges for women's and child's health in Uttar Pradesh *vis-a-vis* other states of India (ii) evaluating the impact of selected variables on health and nutrition of women and children (iii) suggesting key areas for interventions for improving the health and nutrition of children and women in Uttar Pradesh.

There is an observation which is reinforced by some studies that there is a growing inequities in mortality and nutritional level at all India level, across states and among social groups (Deaton and Dreze, 2009). These studies show the persistence of inequities and worsening of health outcomes for vulnerable groups such as Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes, and women, especially those belonging to the lower caste-class combine. These groups have faced social and economic discrimination that disadvantages them in terms of access to resources and basic needs which is reflected in poor health outcomes.

Maternal and Child Health Status and its Determinants in Uttar Pradesh

Table 1
Health Related Millennium Development Goals

Millennium Development Goals	1990	2000	2015	Reduction remaining
Eradication of extreme poverty Population below poverty line (millions)	347	296	174	122
Reduction of infant mortality Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births)	80	69	27	61%
Improvement maternal health Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births)	Greater than 440	440	110	75%
Combat with diseases Incidence of tuberculosis (per 100,000 people)	Greater than 185	185	Less than 185	Disease halted and reduced

Source: A Note on Health Sector in Uttar Pradesh, Department of Planning, Govt. of UP, December 2005.

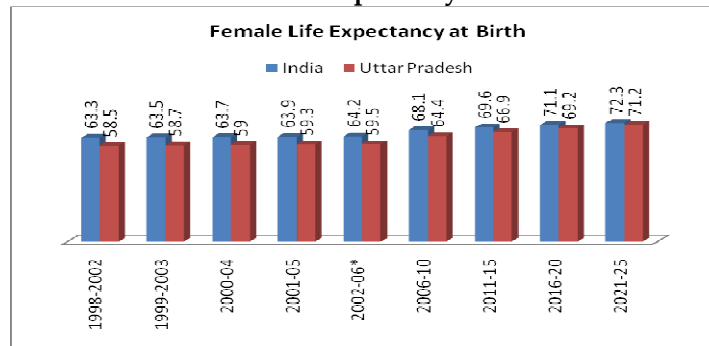
Indicators of Health Parameters

This section monitors the state's progress and its current status in the improvement of health attainment. There has been steady improvement in the health status of the population, but the resultant achievement over the years still falls short of even the average achievement in the country. Improvement in health status depends not only to the performance of the health care system, but also to health awareness, environmental awareness, sanitation, availability of potable drinking water, nutritional intake, and wide range of other social and cultural factors. This section reviews the state's progress and its current status in the improvement of health attainment.

Life Expectancy

In our society, women have to play multiple roles from child bearing, rearing and income earning to participation in development and governance. In India, mortality rate among females is greater than males at all stages and to be appropriate especially in the age group 15-35 years when she is expected to own the work of bearing children. Life expectancy at birth is an overall indicator of economic and social well being of a woman. Life expectancy at birth is considered to be the most useful indicator of health status in any society and this shows a steady improvement since 1998 to 2002. In 1998 to 2002, life expectancy in Uttar Pradesh was only 58.5 years. But by 2002-06, this had improved to 59.5 years. This is however, well below the average for the country (64.2 years) and, of course, that of Kerala, which has achieved a life expectancy of 76.3 years, equivalent to some of developed countries in this respect.

Figure 1
Female Life Expectancy at Birth



The Mortality Challenge

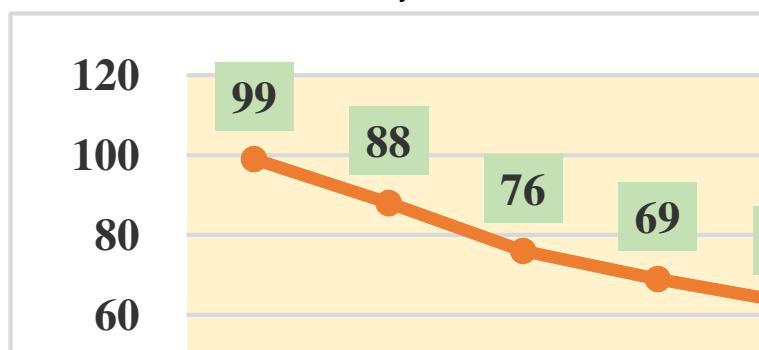
Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and child mortality are critical indicators of health delivery; especially as excessive child mortality is associated with easily preventable causes- poor nutritional status of mother, pre-natal and post-natal care, sanitation and hygiene and is often regarded as the summary of the health circumstances in a region. Mortality of infants cannot be isolated from women's health status. Infant mortality is a sensitive indicator of maternal and girl child health. The lower is the Infant mortality rate better is the health-care system in the State. It needs to be noted that one of the biggest reasons for high IMR happens to be poor health care performance. It is observed that nearly 25 per cent of IMR incidence in the country is accounted for Uttar Pradesh alone (Uttar Pradesh Human Development Report, 2006).

The Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) is the number of death in children under one year of age per 1000 live births. The factors influencing infant mortality are likely to influence the health status of the whole population such as health of mothers and extent of pre/post-natal care, general living conditions, rates of illness, their economic development and the quality of the environment. Thus, IMR is a very sensitive indicator of health not only for children but also for the population as a whole. High neo-natal (less than 29 days of birth) mortality still continues to be a significant contributor to the infant mortality rate in India. During 2013, in Uttar Pradesh 70 per cent of the total infant deaths were neo-natal deaths. For Uttar Pradesh, the neo-natal mortality rate is 35 and ranges from 20 in urban areas to 38 in rural areas. Among the bigger States, neo-natal mortality ranges from 37 in Odisha to six in Kerala. In Uttar Pradesh, IMR was estimated at 99 per 1,000 live births in 1990. As per Sample Registration System (SRS) 2013, the IMR is at 50 against the target of 33 infant deaths per 1000 live births by 2015. However, with the

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sharp decline in the recent years, the gap between the likely achievement and the target is expected to be narrowed further (SRS, 2015).

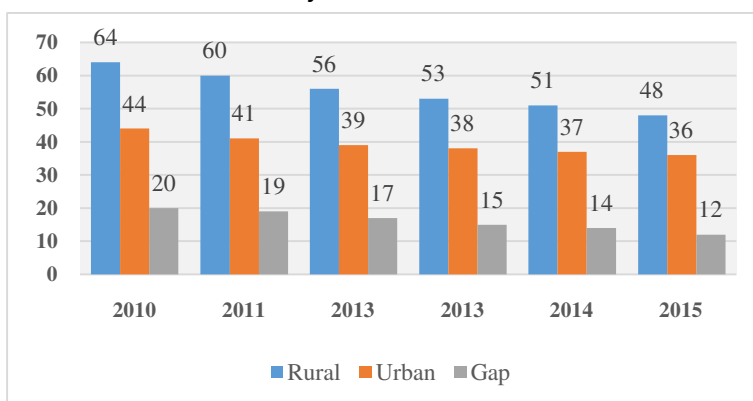
Figure 2
Trends in Infant Mortality Rate in Uttar Pradesh



Source: SRS Bulletins

In Uttar Pradesh, the SRS, 2013 reveals that, 17.9 per cent of the total deaths were infant deaths. Significant decline in IMR has been observed both in rural and urban areas over the years. However, IMR in the rural areas continues to be at a much higher level than the urban IMR. Although the rural-urban gap is slowly decreasing, the latest data show that even in 2013 the rural-urban gap in IMR is significant (rural IMR: 53, urban IMR: 38).

Figure 3
Trend in IMR by Residence in Uttar Pradesh

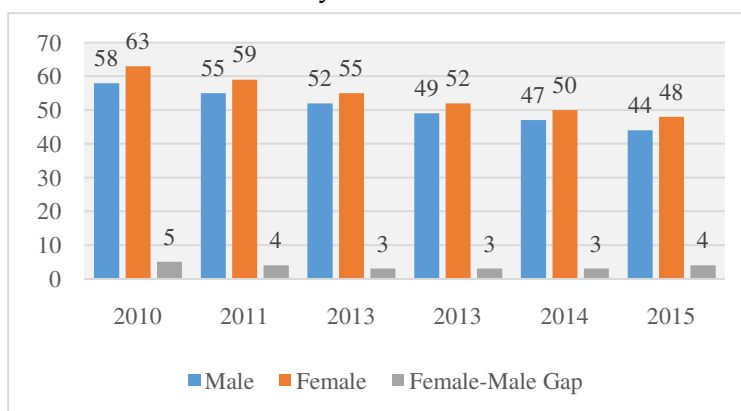


The SRS data shows that IMR is more for female babies than the male babies and in 2013, female IMR is at 63, where as male IMR is 58 per 1000 live births. During 2010 to 2013, female IMR has declined from 63 to 52 infant

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deaths per 1000 live births and the decline in male IMR is from 58 to 49 infant deaths per 1000 live births.

Figure 4
Trend in IMR by Gender in Uttar Pradesh



This trend of declining infant mortality is confirmed by the National Family Health Surveys. Thus, IMR in UP declined from 99.9 deaths per 1000 live births in 1992-93 (NFHS I) to 95.4 deaths per 1000 live births in 1998-99 (NFHS-II) and further to 83.0 per 1000 live birth in 2005-06 (NFHS-III). Table 3 shows how socio-economic factors can explain the mortality figures.

Table 2
Infant Mortality Rate in Uttar Pradesh

	NFHS-II 1998-99	NFHS-III 2005-06	NFHS IV 2015-16
All India	67.6	57	48.57
Uttar Pradesh			
<i>Residence</i>			
Total	95.4	83.0	75.1
Rural	101.3	85.8	76.2
Urban	65.3	72.2	77.5
<i>Sex</i>			
Male	94.8	80.9	72.2
Female	96.0	85.2	78.2
<i>Social Groups</i>			
SC	110	90.7	68.84*
OBC	105.7	84.1	60.69*
Others	82.3	71.4	58.28*
<i>Standard of Living Index</i>			
Low	112.2	94.2	73.36*
Medium	92.9	89.7	85.31*
High	65.5	51.3	36.19*

Source: NFHS-2(1998-99) NFHS-3(2005-06) and NFHS-4(2015-16).

Note Data for NFHS-4 social groups and Standard of living Index has been projected.

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It may be noted that infant and other mortality indicators are significantly influenced by social characteristics like residence, education, religion and caste. Demographic characteristics like sex of child, mother's age at birth, order of birth and birth interval also have a significant bearing on infant and child mortality. Thus, IMR across social groups shows the highest figure for Scheduled Castes followed by Other Backward Classes and others. Thus, upper castes have lower IMR than other social groups. By economic status the figure shows predictable sharp decline with improvement in the living standard.

Total Fertility Rate

Fertility rate in Uttar Pradesh has sharply declined from 4.82 in 1992-93 to 4.06 in 1988-99 and further to 3.82 in 2005-06 according to NFHS data. However, the total fertility rate (TFR) in Uttar Pradesh is substantially above the national level reflecting a large unmet family planning need in Uttar Pradesh. Even in the coming years the momentum of population growth remain unabated in Uttar Pradesh.

Table 3
Total Fertility Rates in Uttar Pradesh and India

Indicator	NFHS-I	NFHS-II	NFHS-III	NFHS-IV
	1992-93	1998-99	2005-06	2015-16
Total Fertility Rate (15-49)	<i>Uttar Pradesh</i>			
	4.82	4.06	3.82	2.7
	<i>India</i>			
	3.39	2.85	2.68	2.2

Source: NFHS Survey

Maternal Mortality Rate

It is a matter of introspection that why the maternal mortality ratio has not declined in India vis-à-vis Uttar Pradesh. Why has the Maternal and Child Health Programme not been effective even though it was incorporated in five year plans? Astonishingly, even today, about 47 per cent of births take place at home and only 39 per cent are assisted by trained health professionals.

The ground reality is that maternal mortality remains a neglected area, affecting women who are doubly disadvantaged by both poverty and gender element. The causes of maternal mortality are deeply rooted in the adverse social, cultural, political and economic environment that perpetuating in our society. Poor health of women is an outcome of the cumulative discrimination that they suffer from birth through childhood,

adolescence and adult life. Unless these underlying determinants are taken care of, it will not be possible to make a dent on the maternal mortality rate (MMR). Maternal mortality is a mere tip of the iceberg, as many women suffer permanent injury or chronic disability following complications from pregnancy and delivery.

Table 4
Maternal Mortality Ratio, Maternal Mortality Rate and
Life Time Risk (2004-06 and 2011-13)

	Sample Female Population	Live Births	Maternal Deaths	Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR)	Maternal Mortality Rate	Lifetime Risk
<i>Uttar Pradesh</i>						
2004-06	446,016	54,566	240	440	40.9 (highest)	1.40%
2011-13	552,032	53,383	152	285	27.6	1.00%
<i>Kerala</i>						
2004-06	283,975	14,669	14	95	4.9 (lowest)	0.20%
2011-13	295,114	25,410	9	61	3.2	0.10%
<i>India</i>						
2004-06	5,348,441	436,648	1,110	254	20.7	0.70%
2011-13	6,155,526	430,000	718	167	19.6	0.40%

Source: Registrar General of India, Special Bulletin on Maternal Mortality in India 2004-06 and 2011-13.

Maternal mortality ratio reflects a woman's risk of dying each time she becomes pregnant. The risk is high in Uttar Pradesh because of women's poor health during pregnancy and the low quality of obstetric care available to them. Women's life-time risk of maternal death, which is also affected by the total number of children women bear, is much higher – almost 240, which is much higher than the Kerala.

There is clear evidence that health problems that begin in childhood and adolescence affect the health status of women during their reproductive years thereby affecting the health of their newborns. It is a known fact that discrimination against the girl child can significantly retard her physical growth and development. The long-term negative impacts of malnutrition during childhood result in the stunted women who are at a higher risk of obstructed labour, an important cause of maternal mortality. Millions of girls in India are undernourished and enter into their reproductive years with anemia. Anemia lowers their capacity for physical work and their ability to cope with infection hence resulting in significantly higher maternal mortality. Interventions to reduce malnutrition, especially anemia, must begin long before girls approaching their reproductive age.

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A nationwide programme, the Janani Suraksha Yojana, was launched in April 2005 to reduce maternal and infant mortality. This programme encourages institutional delivery so that women can receive care during delivery and the postpartum period. Under this programme, all pregnant women, irrespective of economic status, who undergo institutional delivery in a government health facility or an accredited private facility, are given Rs 1,400 in rural areas and Rs 1,000 in urban areas. Additionally, accredited social health activists (ASHAs) who assist pregnant women in accessing maternal health services are provided an incentive amount of Rs 600 and Rs 200 in rural and urban areas, respectively.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) had set the target of achieving 200 maternal deaths per lakh of live births by 2007 and 109 per lakh of live births by 2015. MMR in Uttar Pradesh is presently at level of 440 according to SRS Bulletin 2004-06. Almost half of the deaths occur at home and another 10-15 per cent on the way to the hospital. A major reason for high MMR is the poor level of ante-natal care given to pregnant women in Uttar Pradesh (Table 5).

Table 5
Key Indicators of Antenatal Care in Uttar Pradesh

Indicators	NFHS IV (2015-16)			NFHS-III (2005-06)
	Urban	Rural	Total	Total
Mothers who received any antenatal check-up (%)	64.4	62.8	73.6	57.0
Mothers who had antenatal check-up in first trimester (%)	61.1	41.7	45.9	25.7
Mothers who had four ANC (%)	43.3	21.7	26.4	11.1
Mothers who had at least one tetanus toxoid injection (%)	88.5	86.0	86.6	64.5
Mothers whose pregnancies were registered and received mother and child protection card (%)	72.3	81.9	79.8	na
Mothers who consumed 100 IFA Tablets (%)	20.2	10.9	12.9	6.0
Mothers who had full antenatal check-up (%)	13.5	3.8	5.9	2.7

Source: NFHS-IV, 2015-16.

Mothers who received any ANCs (Ante-Natal Care) increased from 57 per cent to 64.4 per cent at the time of NFHS-IV. It is found that 86.6 per cent mothers received the recommended number of tetanus toxoid vaccinations as against 64.5 per cent in 2005-06. Mothers receiving iron and folic acid supplementation during pregnancy were about 12.9 per cent as against above 6.0 per cent in 2005-06. The situation in urban Uttar Pradesh seems better as against rural areas however Table 5 shows that remarkable positive change also observed in rural areas of Uttar Pradesh. It needs to be added that considerable progress in ante-natal care is necessary. Only one

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third of mothers receive ANC in the first three months of pregnancy. Only 5.9 per cent mothers had full ante-natal check-up in 2015-16, which was even higher than the figure for 2005-06.

Another reason for high MMR and IMR is that majority of births in Uttar Pradesh take place at home in unhygienic conditions and without any assistance from a trained medical practitioner. Percentage of institutional deliveries in Uttar Pradesh is extremely low though it has increased slightly to 20.6 per cent in 2005-06 to 67.8 per cent in 2015-16 (Table 6). The percentage of women who received financial assistance under JSY stood at 48.7 per cent. At the same time, percentage of deliveries taking place at home show a downward trend with decline of 4.1 percentage points over the period.

Table 6
Indicators of Delivery Care in Uttar Pradesh

Indicators	NFHS IV (2015-16)			NFHS-III (2005-06)
	Urban	Rural	Total	Total
Institutional delivery (%)	71.7	66.8	67.8	20.6
Institutional births in public facilities (%)	30.3	48.2	44.5	6.6
Delivery at home conducted by skilled health personnel (%)	5.0	3.8	4.1	6.8
Mothers who had full antenatal care (%)	13.5	3.8	5.9	2.7
Mothers who received post-natal care within two days of delivery (%)	62.9	51.6	54.0	12.3
Mothers who received financial assistance for delivery under JSY (%)	226.3	55.4	48.7	na

Source: NFHS IV, 2015-16.

Malnutrition Challenges

Malnutrition plays a major role in generating anemic mothers, high prevalence of low birth weight and high levels of stunting. Anemia is an important underlying cause of maternal mortality. Malnutrition is associated with more than 50 per cent of childhood deaths and directly affects the severity of diseases such as measles and diarrhea. Uttar Pradesh accounts for 10-12 million of India's 72 million malnourished children. It is alarming to note that Uttar Pradesh has 52 per cent prevalence of under-nutrition, with every second child below three years of age suffering from chronic under-nutrition. Surveys conducted in the state reveal that almost half the population in the 0-3 years age group suffers from various grades of malnutrition i.e. protein energy malnutrition, micronutrient malnutrition like Vitamin A deficiency, Iodine deficiency disorder and iron deficiency anemia.

The malnourishment has a cascading effect because it leaves its grim mark across generations. The problem starts with malnourished adolescent

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girls, by one measure 80 per cent of girls are affected in India. It is compounded by early marriage and frequent childbirths. Many Indian's preference for having male offspring also adds into discriminatory attitudes towards the daughters at home and step-motherly treatment at towards girls during mealtimes. Millions of young brides, whose anemic bodies are barely able to provide them a minimum level of sustenance and health are further stressed by societal compulsions to prove their fecundity by quickly having babies (Panda, 2009).

NFHS data state that stunting declined from 60.7 to 52.4 during 1997-2005; wasting rose from 16.9 per cent to 19.5 and percentage of underweight children declined from 48.1 per cent to 41.6 per cent during the same period in Uttar Pradesh.

Table 7
Malnutrition in Children in Uttar Pradesh

Child Malnutrition Indicators	Uttar Pradesh				India			
	NFHS-I	NFHS-II	NFHS-III	NFHS-IV	NFHS-I	NFHS-II	NFHS-III	NFHS-IV
	1992-93	1998-99	2005-06	2015-16	1992-93	1998-99	2005-06	2015-16
<i>Children under 5 years who are stunted (Height-for-age)</i>								
percentage below -2SD	59.5	60.7	52.4	46.3	52.0	51.0	48.0	38.4
<i>Children under 5 years who are wasted (Weight-for-height)</i>								
percentage below -2SD	16.1	16.9	19.5	17.9	17.5	19.7	19.8	21.0
<i>Children under 5 years who are severely wasted (Weight-for-height)</i>								
percentage below -3SD	24.6	22.3	17.0	6.0	20.6	17.6	15.8	7.5
<i>Children under 5 years who are underweight (weight-for-age)</i>								
percentage below -2SD	59.0	48.1	41.6	39.5	53.4	42.7	42.5	35.7

Besides the normal undernutrition challenge, Uttar Pradesh also suffers from micro-nutrient deficiency. According to Status of Children in UP Report 2007 published by UNICEF more than 75 per cent of pre-school children and mothers suffer from Iron Deficiency Anemia (IDA) and 57 per cent of pre-school children have sub-clinical Vitamin A Deficiency (VAD) in Uttar Pradesh. Iodine deficiency is endemic in 85 per cent of districts of Uttar Pradesh.

The improvement in the nutrition status of children has also been disappointing. Over the seven years between 1998-9 and 2005-6 malnutrition has declined by 8.3 per cent points while stunting has declined by 6.5 per cent points in the state. The implication is assumed that existing policies and

programmes are not making a significant dent on malnutrition status and needs to be improved in the state.

Child malnutrition in the form of chronic energy deficiency is very high in women in the reproductive age group, aggravated by early marriage combined with early conception. Moreover, maternal malnutrition is often a major contributing cause of low birth weight of babies. Improving child nutrition requires breaking the infection-nutrition cycle and specially focusing on the health and nutritional status of women prior to conception and nutritional intake of infants.

Anemia among Women and Children

Anemia amongst women and also children is one of the most widespread deficiency diseases in Uttar Pradesh. Anemia has detrimental effects on women's health and may lead to enhanced risk of maternal and prenatal mortality. According to NFHS II Survey 49 per cent of women in Uttar Pradesh had anemia which further increased to 50.9 per cent during NFHS-III survey (Table 8). Following the past trend, it is projected to increase still further to 52.59 per cent at the end of Eleventh Plan period (2012). The children living in Uttar Pradesh lead more anemic life as compared to the children at all India level. Girls are more prone to anemia when compared to boys in Uttar Pradesh. The gender differences are more acute in Uttar Pradesh as compared to all India level.

Table 8
Level of Anemia in Uttar Pradesh and India

Indicators	Uttar Pradesh				India			
	NFHS-III	NFHS-IV			NFHS-III	NFHS-IV		
	2005-06	2015-16			2005-06	2015-16		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Anemia among Women (age 15-49 years).	49.9	52.7	52.4	52.4	55.3	50.8	54.2	53.0
Anemia among Children (age 6-59 months).	73.9	65.0	62.7	63.2	69.4	55.9	55.4	58.4

Source: NFHS-4 2015-16, State Fact Sheet.

Sex Ratio

Sex ratio data illustrates the survival scene for females have been distinctly unfavourable to women in Uttar Pradesh. According to Census of India sex ratio in Uttar Pradesh was 876 in 1991 and 898 in 2001. The corresponding figures for India were 927 and 933. NHFS data also show a similar trend. Sex ratio was 880 per 1000 males during NFHS-I, which improved during NFHS-II to 927 and further to 987 during NFHS-III.

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Determinants of Women Health

This section analyses the determinants of inter-district variations in the shares of female infant mortality in Uttar Pradesh. The task of identifying these variables is however not simple as it involves a number of difficulties: firstly women health status depends not only on economic factors but also on socio-cultural and demographic factors which influences women, secondly, socio-cultural factors vary from place to place, and finally demographic behaviour also influences the health outcome for females. Hence women health and nutritional status is a multidimensional attribute and vary accordingly from one region to the other. For capturing these variations an analysis was undertaken with some correlates of women's health and nutritional status.

Table 9
Some Correlates of Women's Health
and Nutritional Status in Uttar Pradesh

	Life Expectancy at Birth (Female)	Infant Mortality (Female)	Anaemia among Females
Percent of Institutional Deliveries	.566**	-.556**	.062
No. of MCH per lakh of Population	-.057	.113	.147
Percent of ANM Staying in Villages	.089	-.049	-.102
Percent HHs with Drinking Water	.077	-.164	.096
12-23 Month old Children with Complete Immunization	.344**	-.446**	.055
Female Work Participation Rates	-.098	.087	-.010
Female Literacy	.617**	-.552**	.184
Percent Population Below Poverty Level	-.220	.134	.074
Per capita Plan expenditure	-.267*	.218	-.011
Mean Age at Marriage	.088	-.122	-.117
Percent SC Population	-.073	.140	-.044
Urbanisation	.525**	-.418**	.068
Life Expectancy at Birth (Females)	1	-.902**	.137
Infant Mortality (Females)	-.902**	1	-.117
Anaemia among Females	-.137	-.117	1

Source: Calculated from District wise Development Indicators of Uttar Pradesh, 2015.

Socio-economic status is a major determinant of health for both sexes. Poverty and low socio-economic status are associated with bad health outcomes. Gender inequalities in the allocation of resources, such as income, education, health care, nutrition and political voice, are strongly associated with poor health and reduced well-being. To assess the strength of relationship of each variable with women's health and nutritional indicators, correlation analyses was carried out between different variables. It would be

interesting to examine the extent of correlation between select variables. Correlation analysis was processed separately for the indicators viz., female infant mortality rate (FIMR), female life expectancy at birth (FLEB) and Anemia among women with other selected variables.

Table 9 shows that among the socio-economic variables female literacy is found to be negatively associated with FIMR among women and positively associated with female life expectancy at birth and anemia. Murthy et. al., in their analysis stated that it is well established fact that higher literacy has a strong negative impact on infant mortality and strong positive impact on life expectancy (Murthy et. al., 1996). The correlation matrix at the district level of Uttar Pradesh confirms this fact. Institutional delivery is not a magic wand and cannot address all the risks and angularities of maternal newborn health. Yet, it is an important touchstone to women health. As such, access to institutional delivery among various socio-economic groups does allow us to map the wider inequities prevalent in India (Natarajan, 2009). Similar is the trend witnessed in Uttar Pradesh. The life expectancy at birth indicator seems to correlate negatively with estimates of poverty, infant mortality, anemia but positively associated with better institutional (infrastructural) facilities like per cent institutional deliveries, per cent of children immunisation, drinking water facility and urbanisation. It means that these variables have favourable impact on women's health and nutritional status. It reduces FIMR as well as female malnutrition. Population below poverty line found to be positively associated with FIMR and anemia. It means that with the reduction in female work participation rate and poverty anemia and female infant mortality rate (FIMR) will also reduce. As pointed by Sidramshettar that poor nutritional intake of women is often correlated with poor economic status (Sidramshettar, 2004).

There is also significant association between urbanisation and health and nutritional variables, which exhibits the truth that with the increase in urbanisation, life expectancy of female and anemia status (nutrition) of women will be improved but infant mortality is strongly and negatively associated with urbanisation perhaps indicating to availability of latest technology to ascertain sex of the neo-natal and termination thereafter.

It is rightly stated that in Uttar Pradesh, there is a three-sided challenge of physical infrastructure, human resources and political will to address the health issues of women. According to one estimate, the state has 583 fewer community health centres than as per the requirement. The report 'No Tally of the Anguish' had one extremely chilling finding: 'staff at community health centres and district hospitals visited by Human Rights

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Watch in Uttar Pradesh reported referring women with pregnancy complications to facilities at time more than 100 km (60 miles) away for a blood transfusion or caesarean section' (Natarajan, 2009). There was a backdrop to this for last two decades, Uttar Pradesh had been trapped in a vortex of identity politics and social sector innovations and investments remained in the background for successive state governments since the 1990s as a result maternal and infant mortality had become a neglected issue in the state.

While socio-economic factors are important determinants of health outcomes, health services play an important role in averting deaths by providing both preventive and curative services. Therefore, it can be argued that differences in availability, accessibility, and quality of health services are an important determinant of variations in health outcomes. Among the infrastructural correlates households having drinking water facility, presence of auxiliary nurse midwife (ANM) and number of maternal child health wing (MCH) per lakh of population are significantly associated with health and nutritional variables. Available evidence from India shows that there are variations in the financing and provisioning of public and private health services (Baru, 1999). The better developed regions have a functional public sector as well as a large private sector, while less developed ones have both weak public and private sector. To change this would require not just building new district hospitals and rural health centres, training more medical service providers and first responders, but also nurturing a new political culture that takes such a grim maternal and neo-natal health (MNH) scenario as an inspiration for determined action. The NRHM and its modules necessitate perfect coordination between the central and state governments.

The Way Forward

The following steps may be needed in improving women's health in Uttar Pradesh.

- Empowerment of women while ensuring their choices is needed. Gender inequalities and discrimination limit women's choices and contribute directly to their ill health and death. Legal reform and community mobilisation can help women safeguard their reproductive health by enabling them to understand their needs, and to seek appropriate services with confidence and without delay.
- Every pregnancy Carries a risk. Every pregnant woman, even if she is well-nourished and well-educated, can develop sudden, life-threatening complications that require high-quality midwifery care.

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Hence educating women and their families about easy and simple recommended home care, including early identification of danger signs, may be effective in saving lives.

- It is critical to ensure that a health provider with the skills to conduct a safe delivery who can identify and refer complications present during childbirth.
- Safe motherhood has to be seen as an important socio-economic investment. When a mother dies or is disabled, her children's health, well-being and survival are threatened. Her family loses her contribution to household management and the care she provides for children and other family members.
- Efforts must be made to educate girls because woman's education and their health and nutritional status are closely linked.
- Investments in safe motherhood reduce household poverty, save families and governments cost of treatment and other services and strengthen the health system. An investment in safe motherhood is an investment in the emotional, physical, social and economic well-being of women, their children, families and communities.
- Efforts should be made to emphasise the need in reduction of morbidity and mortality differentials between males and females. Health services need to be upgraded particularly in rural areas because among other factors health care utilisation is important in determining the health status and survival chances of women.
- Efforts must be intensified to postpone marriage among adolescent girls. It is important to raise awareness among girls, their parents and communities about the health consequences of early pregnancy. Legislation prohibiting marriage for girls below 18 years must be strictly implemented.
- Women's income generating activities should be increased to augment her autonomy. Women labour force participation rate have remained low for the last several decades. For this, specific attention may be paid for employment generation programmes. Establishment of crèches, day-care centres may be promoted on a large-scale to help working mothers.
- Finally, women's own attitudes to health and nutrition also need to be changed. Without a simultaneous movement to change the social structure and cultural values of the society, there is very little can be achieved through government efforts and legal provision.

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Re-visiting Virtual Communities: A Study of Facebook Groups

Shefali Bedi*

This paper explores the concept of community and traces its journey from its concrete to virtual form. Virtual communities were hailed, for scholars thought them to revive the community that people have lost in real life whereas the sceptics could not imagine a community without any physical proximity. The term community still holds popular imagination and evokes a sense of déjà vu although we do not experience and live in communities the way our elders have done. Social networks have replaced social relations and concepts like 'networked individualism' claim to challenge the notion of community, Yet community is the most favoured metaphor to explain relations on virtual groups. The present study is based on some Facebook groups and explores the dynamics of these groups and their relevance in the present social circumstances. The paper argues to reconsider the word 'community' to denote group activities on Facebook. The word 'group/page' on Facebook seems to better explain these collective activities.

The notion of community was traditionally defined as groups of people who share physical space, are relatively self-sufficient within that space, and who are linked by ties that include kinship (Bell and Newby, 1971). This goes back to Tonnies' concept of Gemeinschaft, or community, as opposed to more atomistic and anonymous experience of Gesellschaft, or

*ICSSR Post-Doctoral Fellow, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Punjabi University, Patiala (Punjab). E-Mail: shefaliamritsar@gmail.com

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society. Subsequently scholars moved away from this strict definition of community.

It is believed by scholars today that due to proliferation of long distance relationships the notion of community had to move beyond neighbourhoods and local constraints. Of course this was enabled by spread of means of communication and transportation and internet has taken it to different level for here people could interact with one another without ever meeting. The notion of community as an imagined entity strongly supports the idea that computer mediated interaction can forge communities among individuals. Also the idea that the majority of the so-called 'real-life' communities are in fact virtual in the sense that they are mediated and imagined establishes the notion of "imagination" in real life communities. Community theorists argue that most of the contemporary communities in the developed world do not look like the rural or urban villages where all know all and have frequent face-to-face contact. For Anderson (1983) all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact are imagined. Negroponte in his article *Beyond Digital* (1998) suggests that 'in future, communities formed by ideas will be as strong as those formed by the forces of physical proximity... nations as we know today will erode'. For Poster (1998) the opposition of 'virtual' and 'real' community contains serious difficulties.

The notion of real community presupposes the fixed, stable identities of its members the assumption that internet community puts into question. Although the role of imaginary has been fundamental to the understanding the most real community of this era, the nation. Although some others believe that the people consider or map these virtual communities by the categories of normal reality. They consider or imagine these virtual communities to be as if they are in a physical space. Poster contends that the virtual communities draw some of their vitality from the real communities, as much as the real community is dependent on imaginary. So the virtual and real communities mirror each other in chiasmic juxtaposition. Poster (2001) argues that 'virtuality' represents an occasion for the articulation of new figures of ethnicity, nationhood, community and global interaction" (Poster, 2001). Within this framework sociologists tried to understand these virtual groups often finding similarities between real and virtual communities. Basic methodology of their study was to find characteristics of real life communities in these virtual groups. Although it was time when the access to internet was limited to urban tech-savvy white male and real identities were difficult to construe, the scenario changed drastically with the coming of

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Social Network Sites (SNSs) which made these environments 'nonymous' (as opposed to anonymous).

Here we also need to consider the fact that how social lives of people in real life changed over a period of time. Wellman's concept of 'networked individualism' becomes quite relevant in this context which was happening even before the coming of internet or social network sites to be precise. Wellman (1979) identifies three diverse concerns in the history of community studies these being of 'community lost', 'community saved' and 'community liberated'. Tonnies distinction between Gessellschaft and Gemeinschaft imply that community is lost in the wake of modernity. To this many urban sociologists retreated the 'community saved' argument by documenting vibrant urban communities. Wellman in his community liberated argument proposed to study community from social network perspective in order to study people's densely knit sets of strong ties as well as their more dispersed network of weak-ties. He coined the concept of networked individualism. According to the above concept people now function more as individuals and less as group members. They belong to several amorphous groups maintaining several weak and strong ties across many groups, wherein in each group they present different personas but these groups are seamlessly sewn together and individuals swarm through them comfortably. The hallmark of the above concept is that people operate 'more as connected individuals and less as embedded group members' (Rainie and Wellman 2012).

Every individual maintains his own network of friends or he is the centre of one's own universe whether through physical means or digital means. This marked a shift from 'door-to-door towards place-to-place networking' (Hogan and Wellman, 2010) which has now turned towards person-to-person networking which involves direct connection between people regardless of place. Rainie and Wellman (2012) point out that, in networked societies, we are likely to connect with multiple shifting networks that meet our informational or other needs at that moment, as opposed to a smaller number of static groups that serve all our needs. Today social media especially the Facebook or other such sites has become an important driving force in constructing new ways of maintaining contact with large group of people. Sociologists believe that networked individualism is both a practise and praxis. Practise to the extent that individuals who engage in social networking system are constantly updating their profile(s) and statuses engaging both strong and weak ties. It is praxis "in the sense of being an ideologically embedded practise that assumes a strong, if not necessary, bond

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to the state of technology and media" (Hogan & Wellman, 2010). Kendall also considers that this concept of 'networked individualism' do hold some value to explain online relationships on these virtual communities (Kendall, 2011).

Many view online communities in terms of personal relationship. But still the community metaphor was so successful that it somehow sidelined alternative metaphors (e.g., 'information superhighway'). More importantly, the community metaphor continues to influence the way we think about and study the social Internet. This even holds true for contemporary SNSs such as MySpace and Facebook (Park, 2011). Although the earlier online communities were interest based whereas SNSs are based on individuals rather than interests and even the ones that are interest focussed are organised around individual profiles (Baym, 2001). So overemphasis on the community metaphor needs to be reconsidered.

The paradigmatic shifts away from community towards personalised networks and transgressing of real with the virtual have shifted the focus of research away from community metaphor to find newer and varied ways to understand these forms of online associations and activities. As more and more people adopt these virtual social platforms most often with their real identities and gelling these networks along with their offline relations, the researchers now consider that the accounts of virtual community should not consider this as an isolated phenomenon rather it must take into account without how interactions online are influenced by other offline aspects of people's lives. Even in virtual communities that normally exist online people often seek to meet each other personally and many offline groups seek to enhance their communities through online participation. The most important point emerges that these online communities can never be the substitute for the real communities. What scholars are studying is the relationship between the community online and offline.

So today, in recent research, in community and Internet the emphasis is shifting from ethnographic studies of virtual communities to studies of people's blending of offline and online contacts (Kendall, 2011). Maria Bardjivea (2003) refer to this emerging range of new social forms as 'virtual togetherness' because this avoids the normative overtones present in the concept of community. For her 'community' is one possible form of virtual togetherness among many. For example SNSs users may interact with different groups that they see as communities on SNSs (for instance, a college student may have friends that include fraternity brothers, chemistry major friends, high school friends and family members).

The Study

We have accepted community to being an imagined entity where sense of identity is more in psychological terms than in geographical sense but still the idea of common sense of identity remains central to the concept of community. Group as defined by Oxford dictionary of sociology (1998) is 'a number of individuals defined by formal or informal criteria of membership, who share a feeling of unity or are bound together in relatively stable patterns of interaction'. The criteria of 'stable patterns of interaction' holds necessary in order to distinguish group from other aggregates dealt by sociologists which are grouped in statistical sense. So in a 'group' sense of identity may or may not be present. Hence the word 'group' seems to better explain such interactions where strong sense of identity is not present but some stable patterns of interaction can be discerned. The present study is based on the study of virtual groups on one of the most popular social network sites in the world as well as in India i.e. Facebook. For the purpose of data collection interview schedule was employed and through semi structured interview technique three respondents were interviewed who were running Facebook groups. Participant observation was employed to study some of the caste groups on Facebook.

In the present scenario, community is the most favoured metaphor used to denote interactive activities. On Facebook there is no direct word "community" as such, for its founders believe or imagine or build a discourse that the entire fraternity of Facebook users is indeed a community. In all their press notes they refer to the growth of Facebook as "Our community now has more than two billion people." Or "Thank you for being a part of our community, and for helping to connect the world." But even this notion of community *per se* is too weak. It simply carries a rhetoric form to build an imagination which only carries a taste but nothing concrete. It is also argued that MySpace and other SNSs such as Facebook are not communities in any singular sense, but rather function as social venues in which many different communities may form (Park, 2011). The most important way to build close-knit activities around common interests is to create a 'Group'. According to the official Facebook statistics around one billion people use groups each month. At present, Facebook focuses on leading users to create more and more groups for they believe that the Facebook's mission is to not just focus on connecting the world, but also bringing the world closer together. In its quarterly review the founder Zuckerberg (Zuckerberg Facebook timeline) writes that 'for them a big part of this (Facebook mission) is building community. We have set a goal to help one billion people join groups that

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become a meaningful part of their lives both online and in the physical world, and last month we rolled out new tools to help people start and grow communities on Facebook'. So here they are using the word community and group somewhat interchangeably. The other way to harness a collective attention is to create a Facebook page which is typically meant for the purpose of broadcasting one's activities be it brand, entity (place or organisation), or public figure or celebrity. Content posted to a Page is public and viewable by everyone who can see the Page. Again this brings together people with common interests. Facebook statistics proclaim around 50 million small businesses use Pages. But even here also the members follow their own individual interests and occasionally come into some collective activity. So the creation of a 'group' on Facebook comes closer to the concept of a 'virtual community'.

Findings

The following section provides insights about some of the Facebook groups studied by the researcher. The individuals running these groups were interviewed using a semi-structured interview guide regarding their motives and experience about running these groups and how well they consider that the group is successful in meeting about the objective for which the group was started.

Facebook Group of Alumni of Students of Religious Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala

This group was started by one of the University's professors. He began this group to provide students with a platform so that they may remain in touch with the department and its activities even when they leave it after finishing their respective courses. The other aim was to provide a platform where the students could share their religious and spiritual views. Although this group could never meaningfully satisfy any of its prerequisite aim. Eventually the professor opened this group to any person who wants to share religious viewpoints. Also in one of his conversations, he said that being a professor of religious studies he also wanted to know and inquire how a layman understands various religious issues. For him, it was a platform to remove some of the doubts pertaining to religious issues by giving forward an academic/scholarly understanding of the issue. He also strictly tries to filter out commercial, political, immoral, derogatory or negative content. It is a closed group and he checks the credentials of the individuals before he is given permission to join the group. Although the content pertains to religion

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and spirituality but it is predominated by the tenets of Sikh faith. He is happy with the working of the group for he believes he has saved it from getting trivialised as it normally happens with other groups. When asked how does this group has helped him and added to his popularity in his real life and work. He positively believes that it has helped him to win new friends and acquaintances and it has added to his popularity but he also insists on the fact that he already held good credentials even before he entered the virtual world. He finds that his virtual self is extension of his real self. Although for the members of the group this group is part of many such groups they have joined and any strong sense of identity is missing.

Facebook Group in the Name of a Famous Dog Dabbu, Punjabi University Patiala

This may not be the first time that human beings have expressed their love for their pets or have made them as an inseparable unit of their family, in fact founder of Facebook, M. Zuckerberg has made a Facebook page in the name of his own pet Beast. Zuckerberg always acknowledged him as an important member of his family and many of his posts make mention of his dog. So the social media has taken this all to a different level. Coming to the example of Dabbu, this hovers attention for the fact that he is a stray dog always found around the university library and canteen. Slowly he gathered attention of students and teachers who used to sit around the canteen. Narratives built around his outlook (he hails from St. Bernards breed), and how he has brought good luck and fortunes to the people around him gave him a status where he was explicitly considered different from other stray dogs. He is in fact looked and cared by many students. Beyond this he already found his mention in many of the anecdotes told about university life. He was also acknowledged by poets sitting around library when their books were published. Some of the young budding poets of university wrote poems about him who was later published or they started posting his photographs on their Facebook account. Finally a student created a Facebook group in his name. Today it has 1573 followers. This page in the beginning was focussed on the dog specifically calling for individuals who have clicked themselves with Dabbu. Then it graduated to a form of university bulletin board where news about the university was shared and discussed. A place where the campus life was celebrated and the picturesque beauty of the campus is portrayed. The individuals send photographs of the activities on the campus. So this is an important platform to reach out to a good number of university students. In conversation with the admin of this group he told that there have

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been attempts for the malicious use of this platform by some students when they tried to use it for their own personal benefits e.g., one student asked for the whereabouts of the girl he came across in the campus driving a particular car and explicitly expressed a romantic interest. This post never got much response which indirectly hinted on to the other users to avoid using this platform for such purposes. Although the page is in the name of dog but content is more to do with the institution here, Dabbu has become a symbol or a signifier to the university in general and people who visit library particularly. Here the dog is personified to a supra-animal identity or a public figure.

Caste Groups on Facebook

Caste is central to the organisation of Indian society, caste groups have also found their way to the virtual world. Although this is not something new there were caste groups in Yahoogroups in the 1990s and they also flourished on Orkut. There is also mushrooming of caste groups on Facebook. For instance, there is Trivandrum Nairs and Kongu Nattu Gounder and Goundachi, apart from groups with suffixes such as 'international forums' and 'protection groups'. Some of these groups are closed and they normally celebrate nostalgia and glories of the past. Discussions involve around history of the caste, the place of origin, rituals, gods, place of origin, rituals, gods, festivals and how to reclaim their identity. For example the Facebook group named 'We are Tambrahm' describes itself as 'Do you fear your Amma more than your Appa? (which is so unlike your North Indian friends) Do you eat morum chaadam after returning home from a seven course Italian meal? Do you know all about Nakshatrams and Gothrams? You can not get yourself to do anything without a cup of filter coffe in the morning, can you? You are probably TamBrahm. Join us and you will learn how we all do these exact same things' (<http://facebook.com/TamBrahm>). It posts quirks unique to TamBrahm households.

In the context of Punjab we have number of Facebook groups in the name of caste communities of Punjab like 'Pendujatt', 'Jattwadd', 'JattAttitude', 'Chamar Attitude', 'Ravidassia Society', 'JattMirza', 'Ramgharhia Community'. One such group that the author joined to get a glimpse of these groups was the 'Pendujatt'. This is a closed group and is administered by a Punjabi emigrant in Canada. Though it is a caste (Jatt) group, it did allow people from other caste (although a person belonging to other caste would hardly show interest in joining such a group except for some other reasons). It was found that most of the members belonged to the

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Jatt caste. The group did celebrate and eulogise their caste identity by resorting to cultural symbols which over a period of time have come to be identified with the Jatts in Punjab. However, the content that were posted on the group's wall had hardly anything to do with the caste. It mostly consisted of commonly viral material on the net. Judge (2015) identifies the virtual world/spaces as new arena where the power and identity of dominant caste (Jatt) is countered by the Dalit castes of Punjab such as Chamar. These virtual warfares are mainly substantiated by creation of a counter culture by Chamars challenging the hegemony of the dominant caste in the cultural sphere. Though in the real world these castes live without any overt conflict. The Chamars (dalit community of Punjab) are challenging the hegemony of Jatts (dominant caste) not in the real world but in the virtual sphere by creating a counter-culture to Jatts. Jatts are primarily glorifying their valour and power through innumerable songs, in fact the entire notion of a Punjabi song has become synonymous with Jatt songs whereby the composite multifarious folk culture of Punjab is reduced/hijacked by the dominant caste culture. The Chamars are countering this cultural hegemony but in doing so '[they] have borrowed heavily from the available cultural symbols created by Jats...most of the (Chamar) songs run thematically parallel to Jat song' (Judge, 2015) both in terms of content and visual presentation. These songs and videos, uploaded on the Youtube are also followed by heated arguments and hate comments by both the Jatt and Chamar bloggers and the exchanges at times turn vulgar.

Similar stances can be traced on Facebook as well if there is a group titled JattAttitude there is a counter group named ChamarAttitude. The cover photo of ChamarAttitude group shows a back of truck with a slogan *je jatt mauja karda hai, ta pher chamar vi khera bhuka marda hai* (if Jatt is having a gala time, so what, even the *chamar* is not dying of hunger). Singh (2017) looks into the emergence of new category of 'mission songs' and Chamar (dalit caste of Punjab) songs in counter action or retaliation of Jatt pop music in Punjab. This shows how the cultural realms become important mediums of social expression for entrenched caste suppressions. This virtual dimension is taking these caste animosities to another level. People from lower caste find it easy to challenge the dominance of upper caste, which they might find difficult to do so in real life. Although challenging their notions in the cultural sphere by creating counter culture definitely results in boosting the morale of lower caste people. We find this real implication among the Chamar caste of Punjab.

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Facebook Page for Small Business

This is an important and inexpensive way to reach out to the customers, a boon for the small businesses. There are around 50 million small businesses that use Facebook Page (<http://www.Facebook.com/press/info.php?statistics>). For my discussion I have taken the example of a small business, in fact a ladies boutique making Indian/Punjabi suits, run by an NRI female Navreet, who is living in Surrey, Vancouver, Canada. Punjabi diaspora is a significant part of Canada. They have an important place in the civic and political life of the country. Although being part of the larger Canadian society, Punjabis socialise in their own communities and Gurudwaras are their central meeting points. Punjabi ladies especially buy suits to wear for their visit to the Gurudwaras or some community occasions like weddings or parties. This is here they portray best of their clothes and sensibilities. The clothes, specially the Indian women wear, mainly the salwar suit is something which has to be custom made, for it is a stitched garment. Tailoring and other such services are very costly in Canada so most of these NRI's buy their clothes whenever they visit their native lands. So within this landscape the boutiques in Punjab are garnering loads of money by catering to NRI customers. They are using local labour to whom they pay grossly less in terms of the profit they earn out of it and many of them have made their Facebook pages to showcase their designs and work to their NRI customers. Navreet visits India twice every year to gather fabric and other dressing material. The stitching work of her orders is carried out in her workshop in her village farmhouse near Ludhiana which is overlooked by her mother-in-law. In one of her conversations she told that she is making some good money out of this endeavour. She is a good networker and has substantial number of friends in Canada who hail from good financial backgrounds, from whom she gets most of her orders. She herself wears her designs to the Surrey Gurudwara and to the parties and immediately posts photographs of clothes she made on her Facebook page. She encourages her customers to send their photographs when they wear the dresses she made for them and share the compliments they receive. She finds this to be a lucrative endeavour as compared to her tough old days when as a new immigrant she had to work in a farm where she was involved in picking vegetables and later she worked for many years in an Indian store in Surrey as a cashier. The members who 'like/follow' this page apart from sharing a common interest hardly foray into any group activity/conversation.

Analysis of Facebook groups which are created by individuals for connecting group of people around a common shared interest, it may be the

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alumni of an institution or a pass-outs of a particular batch, or a caste group or a group about a common interest (author, book, film, place) what we find is that the group attracts initial members for their catchy titles (I hate my boss, I want to lose weight) or the title has some nostalgic element to it (Nagmani (magazine), Doordarshan national serials, Pakistani serials, Sector-17 Geri route) but what happens to the content into these groups over a period of time is that it gets trivialised, the user participation is lowered. Unless and until the admin of the group is not active enough to get the group out of this trivialising effect, the whole idea of the group is lost over a certain period of time. Members start sharing news clip items or some commonly viral material from other sites, so that the originality or the purpose for which it was started, mainly to connect people with common interests or to initiate discussion around shared subject, is lost. Due to this number of groups on Facebook have become redundant. But in the go these groups might help people to find individuals with shared interests. What might be an interesting aspect to investigate is how these groups might become active when something pertaining to their cause happens in real life. For e.g., the caste groups which otherwise do not find regular visitors or comments or activity might suddenly become active when something pertaining to caste happens in the real life. Whereas on the other hand the Facebook pages (political party, celebrity, public figure) which are managed by some professional teams or even individuals who are active enough to create momentum among the members have been fairly successful in harnessing attention, discussion and support.

Conclusion

Individuals on Facebook join number of groups for variety of reasons ranging from sheer simple sense of nostalgia to get associated/gather association from others. Facebook groups can be of real help to associate people with some common sense of interest. Facebook pages can of immense usefulness for the purpose of disseminating information and for winning networks for business purposes. but these activities could be best described by the word 'group' rather than 'community' and also at times (not always) the activities and level of involvement in these groups recede over a period of time and the posts/content become totally irrelevant to the extent of becoming trivial or even vulgar defeating the very purpose for which the group was created. Facebook founders usually refer to the entire gamut of Facebook users across the globe as being belonging to one larger community of Facebook users. Even this notion of community is very weak and

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amorphous. What would happen if for some reasons Facebook shuts down? (which has happened many times in the past with such social network sites, the most recent example being Orkut). So over emphasis on the community metaphor needs re-evaluation.

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Need for Strengthening Pre-Primary Education under RTE Act: Evidences from Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh

Jagannath Behera^{*} and Bijaya Kumar Malik[†]

This article demonstrates that children those attained pre-primary education, their performance in school is better than who not attended the pre-primary school. Similarly absenteeism and repetition in the primary grade is lower among children who attained pre-primary education as compared to those who did not attain a pre-primary education. Hence, the inclusion of pre-primary education in our educational system would bring a positive change in the learning achievement of children from deprived sections in rural areas. Recently educationist and policy makers are debating over the issues of whether the pre-primary education should be included in the Right to Education Act. NCERT is working on finalisation of a common curriculum framework for pre-schools in India. This paper gives supportive evidence for strengthening pre-primary education through the Right to Education Act. For this purpose field survey data from the Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transition and Equity (CREATE); and other data sources have been used for unfolding the ground reality.

Early childhood education among children acts as a preparatory ground for schooling in the later years. Though issues relating to early childhood education have received considerable attention at the national

^{*}ICSSR Post-Doctoral Fellow, Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, New Delhi.

E-mail: jagannathjnu08@gmail.com

[†]Assistant Professor, National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi.

E-mail: bijayancert@gmail.com

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level in the last two decades, particularly since the adoption of National Policy on Education in 1986 (GoI, 1986) and Programme of Action in 1992 (GoI, 1992), the achievement is far from the satisfactory. Universalisation of quality pre-primary education service is still a distant dream for India along with many low income countries. Gradually increasing coverage of early childhood education is encouraged in India but fails to highlight the seriousness of children who missed out and who attend poor quality early childhood education services. Since 1997, the coverage of children especially under the Integrated Child Development Scheme (ICDS) has increased substantially but the poor quality of services has been a major concern. Thus there is a need for integration of ICDS with the education programme. Through the programmes such as the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) and the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), efforts should be made to fill the gaps left by ICDS. There are five pre-schools centres of NCERT and they are already working on preparing not only the curriculum, but the material that should be used by the teachers. To prepare the student for Class I, many pre-schools end up promoting rote-learning, which is detrimental to the overall growth of the student and unnecessary overburden of curriculum load on students. Keeping the urgency and holistic development of children education in mind, NCERT is working on finalisation of common curriculum framework for pre-schools for whole country (Hindusthan Times, 2017). Recently NCERT given importance to Learning Outcomes, National Achievement Survey for the quality education of the children in India.

There are no accurate figures or updated information for private-sector commercial ventures operating under various names providing pre-primary care and education. Private sector initiatives including day-care centres, nurseries, and kindergartens for pre-primary classes are accessed by urban affluent and some middle class children but it is difficult to be accessed by the children belonging to poor households mainly in the rural, tribal areas and urban slums.

In 2009, Right to Education was coming to force by making free and compulsory education for all children in the age group 6-14 a fundamental right (Ministry of Law and Justice, 2009). The critique around this constitutional amendment galvanised a board civil society front, the National Alliance on the Fundamental Right to Education (NAFRE). NAFRE decried the amendment as a retrograde step in its exclusion of the 0-6 age group in the provision of free and compulsory education earlier provided in a Supreme Court Judgement of 1993. NAFRE and FORCES have argued that

although it is well established that the development of a child in the age group of 0-6 is critical, the provision for pre-primary education including crèche facilities in the country has been very limited. Moreover, the conception and implementation of the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) located in the Department of Women and Child Development neglects the crucial area of education. The education, care and development of children below six years of age should therefore have been brought within the purview of the amendment. The bill likewise does not define the quality of education to be offered “free and compulsory” adding to the fears that this will give leeway for government to institutionalise alternative and low cost options for poor quality. The bill likewise puts the onus of ‘compulsion’ on the parents. Penalising parents, mostly poor and marginalised, for a system that does not deliver is unjust. The limitations in the Bill notwithstanding, the campaign around this constitutional amendment served to bring civil society groups involved in education together and brought education issues to the fore in public consciousness and policy debates. This argues well for enhanced accountability in the future. Further, the inclusion of ‘early childhood care and education’ (ECCE) in Article 45 *albeit* as a Directive Principle of State Policy (implementation is discretionary), recognised the critical links between pre-primary education, childcare and development thus opening some space for a prospective convergent approach.

A large number of research evidence has been accumulating on the merits and demerits of starting school early. Infact the topic of school entry age has fascinated researchers in several fields of study such as education, development psychology, early childhood education/child development and special education. Several investigators have assessed the effect of school entrance age on acquisition of quantitative skills, social behaviour, intelligence, reading achievement and academic achievement in elementary school. Owing to the overlap in eligible entry age for school (5-6 years) and ICDS (3-6 years), probability of duplication in enrolment, cannot be ruled out. Clearly if children under six years are participating in primary school, they are not completely receiving any form of early childhood education.

The objective of this paper is to highlight the link between access to pre-primary education and the performance of children in schools. This paper shows evidence for which government needs to strengthen it under the Right to Education Act and give more attention on quality pre-primary education accessible to all children.

Need for Strengthening Pre-Primary Education under RTE Act

Method and Data Source

Primary and secondary data have been used for this study. More importance has been given on the primary sources of data collected under Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE) project. Field survey data collected from the rural villages of Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh by the CREATE team {under supervision of National University of Education Planning and Administration (NUEPA) in the period from 2009 to 2010 have been used. Competency test has been done by the CREATE survey team to assess the learning ability of children in the first language and mathematics. The questions were also asked to the parents about their child/children attend pre-primary/pre-school education or not during their childhood. The unit level data collected in National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) is also analysed for this study purpose. Different statistical techniques are used for the purpose of data analysis.

Benefits of Pre-Primary Education

Pre-primary education is very important for the all-round development of young children before they enter formal school (Kaul, 2002). It helps in cognitive development of children in the early grades and it has a strong bearing on attendance and participation of children once they enter primary school. Pre-primary education is considered to be very important for the child as it is the first step towards entering the world of knowledge as well as a healthy and purposeful life. Pre-primary education helps children to become more independent and confident as well as promoting the all-round development of the children (Ramachandran et. al. 2003). Children who have been to pre-primary schools tend to learn more rapidly through an organised curriculum, learning aids and by interacting with other children. Moreover, this is the proper time to learn many things from school ambience i.e., learning of courtesy towards stranger and other society members, toilet and other life necessary training with a joyful teaching-learning atmosphere for overall development of the children.

Study conducted by NUEPA to examine the impact of ECCE centres in convergence with ICDS programme on girl's retention and enrolment in primary education in rural areas, study reveals that there is a strong relationship between pre-primary education and retention in primary education. The strategy of District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) convergence with ICDS and ECCE has proved that it has a potential impact on girls and cost effective also. It has helped the young girl child to receive

the care his/her caretakers generally can afford. It has freed girls to attend the school and removed the main basic cause of their dropout.

The main purpose of pre-primary education is to prepare children physically, emotionally, socially and mentally for formal schooling and to prevent poor performance and early drop out. It also helps older children, particularly girls, to attend their schools making them free from the responsibility of sibling care. Social development of children is an immediate outcome of pre-schooling. With increasing numbers of nuclear families and a lack of family support, pre-school education is gaining importance. Availability of better facilities for pre-primary education will promote inclusive education and meaningful access to school education by reducing the vulnerability of children to failure and drop out at later stages of education.

The sudden transition of children from family to school makes some sorts of disturbances in their normal way of thinking and living. Transition from a family where they were getting a lot of care and love to the formal school where a structured education system prevails with some rules and regulations creates problems for the children. Children cannot sit for long hours for which early dropout in primary school prevail in our country. Thus they need a pre-primary school where through play and re-creation activities they can gain the proper learning ability and habit of sitting with friends and follow some rules and regulations with entertainment. The pre-primary school is also known as play schools/pre-school in many areas. Many parents in the urban areas first put their children in the private play school but in rural areas such kind of school is very limited not under proper infrastructure safety and facilities. Besides, rural parents cannot afford to send their kids to the private play schools even if these schools are present. Government sponsored Integrated Child Development Service (ICDS) centres can act as a best option for solving this problem. However, the overall condition and curriculum in ICDS centres are very poor which needs to be strengthened.

Impact of Pre-Primary Education on Learning Achievement of Children in Schools

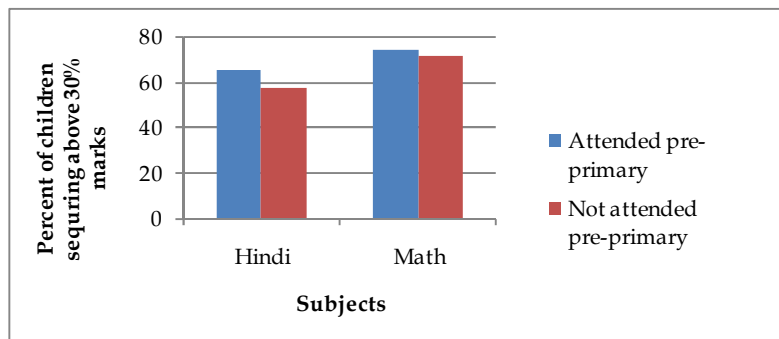
For this study field survey data collected from the Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh by the consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE) in the period from 2009 to 2010 which have been used. Competency test has been done by the CREATE survey team to assess the learning ability of children in the first language and mathematics. Questions were also asked to the parents whether their

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child/children attended pre-primary education or not. The result reveals that the performance in schools is better among the children who attended pre-primary education in comparison to who did not attend it. The overall performance of children in Hindi subject is poorer than in Mathematics subject. The poor performance of the children in the first language is a cause of concern as it would affect reading and learning capabilities of the children as they progress through education (Govinda and Bandyopadhyay, 2010). Among those attended pre-primary education, a higher proportion of children in schools were scored pass marks in both the subject compared to those did not attain the pre-school education. Competency test in Hindi subject shows around 66 per cent of children scored pass marks (30 per cent) among those who got pre-primary education, whereas 58 per cent children secured pass mark (30 per cent) among those who did not get pre-primary education. Similarly, the proportions of children scoring pass marks in mathematics subject were marginally higher among children who attended pre-primary education than those who did not attend the pre-primary school.

One of the same type of studies was conducted in Argentina. Berlinski and others (2006) investigating the effect of a large expansion of universal pre-primary education on subsequent primary school performance in Argentina and found that attending pre-primary school had a positive effect on subsequent third grade standardised Spanish and Mathematics test scores. They estimate that one year of pre-primary school increased average third grade test scores by 8 per cent of a mean or by 23 per cent of the standard deviation of the distribution of test scores.

Figure 1
Children scoring above 30 per cent marks in Hindi and Math
(4th and 5th grade) by their pre-primary education attended status



Source: Field survey in Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh (by CREATE), 2008-2010

Pre-Primary Education Vs. Absenteeism and Repetition in Schools

The data collected by CREATE from Chhattisgarh has been used for the analysis. The data also reflects that overall 42 per cent of children were absent in the day of visit by the CREATE research team to the schools shown in Table 1. Among those children who attended pre-primary education, low proportion of children were absent in the school in the day of visit compared to the children who didn't attend the pre-primary education. The objective of the pre-primary education is to retain the children in school is somehow fulfilled. Similarly, among children who attended pre-primary education, less proportion of students were repeated in the same class compared to the children who did not attain the pre-primary education.

Table 1
Absenteeism and Repetition of Children in the Schools
and Access to Pre-Primary Education

Pre-primary education	Absent	N	Repeater	N
Attended	38.0	1232	1.9	1183
Not attended	49.7	759	5.2	695
Total	42.4	1991	3.1	1878

Source: Field survey in Chhattisgarh (by CREATE), 2008-2010

In rural and tribal areas, there is very little conducive home atmosphere that a child gets when all the adult persons are out for their work from morning till evening for their daily life as daily wage. Besides, these people can provide academically nothing to the child due to economic hardness and mass illiteracy among majority of parents. In these conditions pre-primary education/ECCE has a direct influence on the total development of the child, and it is contributing significantly to the programme of universalisation of elementary education for these economic and socially deprived children. Government of India felt all these emerging concerns of children and the importance of ECCE and thus planning to develop a common curriculum and teaching learning materials for pre-school children in India.

The demand for early childhood care and education is gaining its importance in our country. However, the quality of early childhood care and education in the large public sector ICDS is not maintaining its quality. If the proper intervention will come in right time, then many deprived children would get quality preprimary education. It definitely brings a large change in participation in pre-primary education and later educational performance in school.

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Social Inclusion and Pre-Primary Education

There are limited provisions for quality pre-primary schools in India. Some southern States like Tamil Nadu and Kerala have good coverage and States like Delhi have some provision for pre-primary education in the primary schools or attached to primary schools provided by the government. However, pre-primary education is not available in primary schools in most parts of India. ICDS centres/ Anganwadi which covers all the rural, tribal and urban slums gives a scope for pre-primary education for the deprived children.

The evidence from the third round of National Family Health Survey (NFHS) is discussed in this study. The Table-2 (Model-1) indicates that the children belonging to deprived sections get access to ICDS services to a greater extent as compared to well-off sections. Even if after controlling other socioeconomic factors the children belonging to deprived sections access more to it as shown in Model-3. Put it differently, the probability of accessing ICDS services is more among deprived sections as compared to other sections of the society. Similarly more female children are accessing the free pre-primary education provided by the ICDS compared to male children.

Most of the parents spend more money on pre-primary education for male children for which they send them to private pre-schools or private tutors, whereas female children are deprived of it in rural areas. Government sponsored pre-primary education is the only option for many female children. The published MIS (Monitoring Information System) data for the year 2011-12 by the Ministry of Women and Child Development also shows more female children attended pre-primary education as compared to male children in many states provided by Anganwadi, which is a part of Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS). Most of the children from the deprived groups attend the pre-primary education provided through ICDS centres.

It is also observed that a considerable proportion of children attend private pre-primary schools in rural and urban areas. Less proportion of children attending private pre-primary schools are from marginalised groups as compared to other social groups (Bandyopadhyay and Behera, 2010). Major attention is required for children falling in zone zero (0) of exclusion (Zero Zone of Exclusion in Education) who are deprived of access to early childhood care and education. Many of these children are also deprived of basic nutritional requirements and cognitive skills. The National Policy on Children (1974) has given priority to nutrition for children in the pre-primary age (GoI, 1974). Following which the ICDS programme came into existence in 1975. The states need to put attention on improving the

services provided by ICDS that run Anganwadi centres which are attended by the majority of poor and disadvantaged children.

Pre-primary education can bring inclusiveness in the first stage of children's life as deprived sections of society access more to it (National Family Health Survey III). Pre-primary education definitely improves the learning ability of children, which helps them to successfully complete the schooling. As the Anganwadi/ICDS centres is the focal point of pre-primary education for children belonging to rural, tribal and urban slums, there should be appointment of additional Anganwadi teacher who specifically looking after the pre-primary education.

Table 2
Logistic Regression Result Showing the Effect of Different Background Factors on Access to Early Childhood Care and Education from ICDS Centres

Background Factors	Model-1 Odds Ratio	Model-2 Odds Ratio	Model-3 Odds Ratio
<i>Social Groups</i>			
Others®			
SC	1.329***	1.273***	1.224***
ST	1.608***	1.502***	1.494***
<i>Standard of Living</i>			
Low standard of living®			
Medium standard of living	1.107***	0.980	
High standard of living	0.865***	0.703***	
<i>Occupation of Father</i>			
Agricultural worker®			
Labour	0.781***	0.823***	
Service or professional	0.701***	0.727***	
Don't work	1.030	1.051	
<i>Mother's Education</i>			
Illiterate®			
Primary	1.852***		
Secondary	1.716***		
Higher	0.710**		
<i>Religion</i>			
Hindu®			
Muslim	0.711***		
Others	0.940		
<i>Sex of the Child</i>			
Male®			
Female	1.140***		
<i>Place of residence</i>			
Urban®			
Rural	1.262***		
N (number of children)	21106	19631	19611

Source: NFHS unit level data. Note: ® indicates reference category. ***indicates at 1% level of significance (**P<0.01); **indicates at 5% level of significance (**P<0.05). Model-1: Effect of Caste without controlling other socio- economic factors. Model-2: Controlling economic and occupational factors. Model-3: Controlling socio-economic and occupational factors

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Discussion

The above evidences show a number of benefits of pre-primary education. However, the coverage shows there is an unmet need for it, poor quality of pre-primary education and there is high diversity among the states. Owner of private schools in India are exploiting the parents by charging a high tuition fee for admission in the pre-primary schools and their study materials are not following the proper guidelines. Without proper infrastructure, safety and security and other logistics, private schools are running pre-schools in India. The access to quality pre-primary education is very limited among the deprived sections in the poorer states and especially rural pockets and geographically remotely located villages. Nowadays, the poor children getting poor quality pre-primary education as they cannot pay for it and thus their learning achievement status is poor and it further leads to repetition in same class and drop out. As most of the deprived children are attending government sponsored pre-primary education (through ICDS centres), it needs to be strengthened for the inclusive growth of children among rural and urban societies and children belonging to poor and rich households.

The gender disparity in education at primary and upper primary level demands intervention from early education level i.e., pre-primary education (UNESCO, 2012). The children in remote rural and tribal areas are getting the poorest quality pre-primary education. Teachers with inadequate qualifications, unsafe classrooms, and no learning materials which are not able inspire the children. In the ICDS programme, the Government tries to achieve only the targets of coverage, but not able to maintain minimum quality education.

The study depicts that percentage of children enrolled in pre-primary facilities is low. It was only 10 per cent in 2007-08 (Mehta, 2010). There is diversity in participation of pre-primary education in India and evidences shows 20 per cent of pre-primary enrollment in schools is observed in Madhya Pradesh while the figure is 5 per cent for Bihar. National Family Health Survey data shows that 23 per cent of children between 3-6 years were accessing early childhood care and education/pre-primary education provided by Anganwadis/ICDS centres (IIPS and Macro International, 2007). Out of that, only 14 per cent of children were attending the centres regularly. A large variation is also found in access to early childhood care and education across the States/UTs. The origin and implementation of the ICDS located in the department of Women and Child Development neglect the crucial area of pre-primary education (Roy et al.,

2003). Integrated Child Development Service centres, balwadis and day care centres run by voluntary agencies with government assistance and pre-primary schools run by state governments, municipal corporations and other agencies working for the early childhood care and education in India needs to be expanded, strengthened and maintained its minimum standard quality in terms of teachers appointment, pedagogy and infrastructure.

Despite of the constitutional directives and a plethora of laws, policies and programmes announced from time to time, the gap between the need and actual provision of ECCE services remains unaddressed. There is no adequate information (total children and registered children in the particular age group in the local areas) and the services existing on the ground. There are critical gaps in services, which do not reach small and marginalised groups such as migrant workers, nomads, people living in remote hamlets and tribal and mountainous areas. There are also no uniform criteria in the entry age of children in primary schools; some states keep it five years while other states keep it as six years. Here, the central government can play a major role to bring a policy which maintains uniform criteria across the states of India.

All-round development of a child makes her/him able to participate in the society in the later age and they contribute to the national economy with their full potential. Pre-primary school attendance positively affect student's behavioural skills such as attention, effort, class participation and discipline (UNESCO, 2013). Though government achieves rapid economic development in the recent years but it fails to tackle child development issues particularly in pre-primary age groupsto a satisfactory level. Hence, government needs to give focus on children in the pre-primary age groups from where the first stage of discrimination starts (UNESCO, 2015). In the Dakar Framework for Action by World Education Forum (2000), it is mentioned that under the right to education, children who are at least three years of age are offered access to pre-primary education on request from their parents.

The Planning Commission of India in their Sixth Plan Frame Work stated that attention should be paid to all children during crucial development years. The pre-schools years of a child is the period of its maximum learning and intellectual development and hence hold gross potential educational significance. The private and government pre-primary education institution needs to follow similar pedagogy/courses for equity in education standards. However, current scenario is different as the syllabus is widely different in different types of government and private nursery schools.

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The provision of early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children is important among the six 'Education For All (EFA)' goals. Although there is no numerical target for reaching the clientele group within a fixed time-frame, government has urged to expand access, improve quality and ensure equity in Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) services. The importance of pre-primary schooling has long been recognised by educational policy and programmes in India and it has also been a Constitutional commitment as a part of the directive principle of the Constitution. Therefore, it is obligatory for the government to move for universal coverage of quality pre-primary education under the Right to Education Act.

Conclusion

The children attaining pre-primary education do better in school in terms of their educational performance. However, all children not able to access pre-primary education in India. Those who are getting pre-primary education, most of them are not getting good quality pre-primary education due to untrained teacher, poor quality pedagogy and infrastructure. The concept of inclusive growth or development is fulfilled when children are getting equal capability development opportunity from their early childhood. It is inferred from the study that girls are more likely to get free education as evidenced from ICDS programme, where parents send their boys to private pre-primary education institutions for good quality education and girls to the government sponsored ICDS pre-primary education.

Government sponsored pre-primary education with standard quality brings inclusive growth and development among children from the early years of life. However, neither it has been considered as fundamental right nor it is being fully managed by the educational department at the central or state level, although it is partially supported by the ongoing flagship educational programme Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) which includes a major component of Early Childhood Care and Education. It is high time that India should be switched to universal pre-primary education in order to give children a better start to their life. Thus, it is highly obligatory to strengthening pre-primary education through the Right to Education Act across the India to facilitate quality education among children from the early stage of their life.

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Demographic and Health Aspects of Women Slum Dwellers: A Study on Turbhe Slum of Navi Mumbai

Dolly Sunny* and Kanchan Zarekar†

In recent years a great emphasis is being placed on human capital formation in rural areas and urban slums. The study highlights the demographic, educational, health aspects of women residents of the Turbhe slum in Mumbai city. The study reiterated that in Turbhe slum women population has a poor accessibility to education, nutritional food, drinking water, health care facility in their vicinity. The study proposes better facilities for human capital formation among women in the Turbhe slum in Navi Mumbai.

Slums have become vast informal settlements that are quickly becoming the most visible manifestation of urban poverty in developing countries. Such settlements are known by different names and are characterised by a variety of tenure arrangements. In all cases, however, the buildings found there vary from the simplest shack to permanent and sometimes surprisingly well-maintained structures. However, most slums share in common is a lack of clean water, electricity, sanitation and other basic services.

*Professor, Department of Economics, University of Mumbai.

E-mail: dollys@economics.mu.ac.in

†Research Scholar, Department of Economics, University of Mumbai.

E-mail: kanchanzarekar1234@gmail.com

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The predominant demographic factors such as high dependency ratio, low caste, low educational levels and declining sex ratio are the dominant features of the women slum dwellers in Turbhe. While lower levels of education and skill base restrict their entry to more remunerative jobs and confine most of them to lower order occupations in the informal economy. The high dependency ratio increases the consumption pressures and simultaneously reduces the per capita income of the members of the household. The size of the household affects the income and welfare of the family. The larger the size of the households, less is per capita income and consumer expenditure. In Turbhe slum settlement size of the household and dependency ratio were seemed to be positively related. Households having low educated and illiterate members may be more prone to poverty as compared to households having more literate persons.

The poverty is acute in households which has highest dependency ratio in the slum. The poorest households tend to be those with the largest numbers of dependents in comparison to earners. It is posited in the study that differences in the monthly earning levels is positively related to the levels of education and training in the slum. Education level of the head of households in Turbhe is considered to be an important variable accounting for income inequality among the sample households.

A preliminary study was conducted to have a quick look at the problems faced by informal work force and to ascertain the nature, size and characteristics of the informal economy at Turbhe slum. After that detailed information was collected by administering a comprehensive interview schedule. The main focus of this in-depth study dealt with demographic, social, economic, migration and health aspects in Turbhe slum.

There are several studies undertaken by scholars to understand what is slum and issues faced by slums dwellers. The United Nations Human Settlements Programme (2007) defines slum is an area that combines to various extents the following characteristics: inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; poor structural quality of housing; overcrowding; and insecure residential status. The United Nations Human Settlements Programme (2003, 2013) and World Bank Institute (2009), acknowledge that poor governance as a key factor in the creation and preservation of slums. These institutions state that poor governance results in the lack of a political will to address the conditions of slum dwellers via planning and resource allocation. Pitcher considered that the challenge of slums is a global concern and a growing one. World population is expected to increase to 2 billion by 2030, with almost all of the

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expected increase to occur in urban areas in currently developing countries (Pitcher, 2009). Claudio Acioly explained that informal, settlement, squatters, slums or whatever name we give to human settlements deprived of basic conditions, are just one of the visible signs of poverty and social exclusion that affect the life of nearly one billion of people in today's world population (Acioly, 2007).

Level of Literacy and Education in Turbhe

Education and literacy are important factors in securing a job and determining the level of income in the labour market. It is also related to the required skills needed for obtaining a position in informal occupations as commonly seen in slums.

It is heartening to know that, in Turbhe colony, the overall literacy level among the respondents was found to be 90 per cent. As large as 111 respondents (24.67 per cent) have primary level schooling. About 44 respondents of the household (9.78 per cent) have middle level of schooling, 124 respondents (27.56 per cent) have metric level education, and 63 respondents (14.00 per cent) have high school level education, (Only 34 respondents (7.56 per cent) have graduate level education and 16 respondents (3.55 per cent) possess professional or technical qualifications. The poor quality of education has provided an opportunity for the employers to engage these workers at sub-optimal level of wages. Lack of education has also reduced the bargaining capacity of the workers.

The difference in the educational levels of the women respondents in Turbhe slum is quite visible. It can be noted that a major share of the total respondents are having education with less than or equal to matriculation (72.45 per cent). The professional qualification was limited to diplomas which includes a doctor who is only certified to prescribe medicine.

Table 1
Education Attained by Women Slum Dwellers

S.No.	Education	Frequency	Per cent
1	Illiterate	47	10.44
2	Ist to IVth Std.	111	24.67
3	Vth to IXth Std.	44	9.78
4	Metric/X/SSC	124	27.56
5	PDC/HSC/XIIth	63	14.00
6	B.A./B. Com./B.Sc./Any Other Degree	34	7.56
7	M.A./M. Com/M.Sc./Any Other Degree	11	2.44
8	Technical/ Professional Degree	16	3.55
	Total	450	100.00

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The women of Turbhe consist of a mixed religious group with majority being Hindus with 45.33 per cent; the second largest majority is constituted by Muslims with 43.33 per cent. Jains constituted 5.56 per cent and 4.89 per cent belonged to Sikh religion. It was found that Christians were only a minority and they formed 0.89 per cent of the sample. It was reported that despite the presence of different religions and beliefs communal harmony existed in the colony as people seem to be primarily concentrating on livelihood strategies in order to cope up with the insecurities.

The languages spoken by the slum dwellers points that Turbhe is multi-linguistic conglomeration. Out of the 450 respondents, 195 respondents (43.33 per cent) has urdu as their mother tongue, other major languages are Hindi (10.00 per cent), and Marathi (23.11 per cent), South Indian language (10.66 per cent), Gujarati (6.00 per cent), Marwari (3.33 per cent) and Punjabi (2.44 per cent) of the studied women. It is also found during study that youngsters of the slum have a working knowledge of English according to need of the modern world.

Marital Status, Age and Household Size in Turbhe

While analysing the marital status of 450 respondents of Turbhe, it is found that 396 women (88.00 per cent) were married, 51 (11.33 per cent) were unmarried. It is important to examine the marital status of the household population to understand the pattern demography in the slum. Out of 1859 members of the 450 households the unmarried forms 45.29 per cent of the sample household population. The widows constitute 2.26 per cent and about 1.78 per cent women were divorced in the slum.

Age is an important variables influencing household income as age also represents experience of the household members. Out of the 1859 members of the sampled households 950 respondents (51.10 per cent) come under the age group of 18 to 59 and 734 respondents (39.48 per cent) belong to the age group of 6 to 17. The category who does not know their age constitute about 3.87 per cent of the sample and 5.54 per cent members belonged to the 0-5 age group. An analysis of the age composition of the respondents in Turbhe shows the dominance of sub-groups like children and aged. It clearly shows high rate of dependency burden on working population as the 40 per cent of the members of the households have to be looked after by 60 per cent of the working labour force. Many of Turbhe's population are holding jobs in informal sector with insecurities of employment and income, which is a major concern in the livelihood

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structure of Turbhe. Very young and the aged persons do not form large percentages of the economically active population and they are thus over represented in Turbhe. The age composition of the population in Turbhe indicates that one person, on an average has to earn for him and for more than three dependents which reflect a high dependency ratio.

In Turbhe slum poverty is acute in households which has highest dependency ratio. The poorest households tend to be those with the largest numbers of dependents in comparison to income earners. The data support the assumption that household size and poverty are positively related to each other. Larger the size of the households in the informal sector, the higher is the chances of a household being underprivileged in terms of consumption expenditure. It is observed from the study that a little more than one third of the households in Turbhe are characterised by large household with a high dependency ratio.

Many health problems in Turbhe are related to bad housing conditions, poverty, unemployment, environmental conditions and a stressful way of life of the women slum-dwellers. The studies on Turbhe reveal that there exists a high degree of inequality in accessibility to health and nutrition among the households. Health is a productive asset that influences economic development significantly. Health is seen as part of basic human capability and an integral part of human life. While the probability of ill health is higher for the poor so is the impact from poor health also engendering poverty among household. In India, the evidence is impressive on both health status as well as access to health care within the country and indicates a close link between poverty and ill-health.

The access to food depends on factors like household income, individual wages and creditworthiness of the households. The study analysed not only food security but also the question of nutritional security in the studied households in Turbhe. The ongoing reforms lay much emphasis on achieving economic growth by promoting efficiency in resource allocation. One of the important issues which has received little attention in any discussion on reform agenda is the question of nutritional security. Under nutrition seems to be a major area of concern in Turbhe households which has adverse implications for labour efficiency and health of its members.

Ensuring balanced food intakes containing all essential micro and macro nutrients such as vitamin and minerals in sufficient quantities through a balanced and diversified diet is essential for a healthy life. Food available to the households must be safe and free from contamination.

Nutritional security thus involves the consumption of adequate quantities of safe and nutritive food by members of the households in the households to support an active and healthy life. The study revealed that households in Turbhe lack adequate access to food to satisfy the nutritional needs of each member of the households.

Pattern of Food Consumption in Turbhe Slum

During the study food consumption pattern among the women of Turbhe slum is analysed to understand food habits among women. Analysis of consumption of rice and wheat show that 108 households in the sample (24.00 per cent) consume upto 1 to 3 kg rice per month, another 158 households (35.11 per cent) consume 4 to 7 kg rice per month, while 35 households (7.78 per cent) consume 8 to 10 kg and 149 households (33.11 per cent) consume a little over 10 kg rice per month. It is also significant to note that the quality of rice also varies depending on the income of the household. The quality of rice and wheat provided through public distribution system is lower compared to qualities of rice available in the grocery shops in Turbhe. In the case of wheat consumption, it is noticed that about 21.11 per cent of the households consume per month up to 1 to 3 kg, 27.33 per cent consume 4 to 7 kg wheat per month, and 14.44 per cent of the households consume 8 to 10 kg and 30.00 per cent consume over 10 kg wheat per month in the Turbhe slum.

Important aspect of the food consumption pattern in Turbhe is that food is nutrient deficient. The major part of the calorie supply of undernourished households in the colony comes from cereals, starchy food items, sugar and pulses. The low nutrient content of food is responsible for the low efficiency of a worker in the informal economy. Other significant factor emerging from the study is the high prices of food grains like wheat and rice. Any marginal rise in prices of rice and wheat affects the real income of households in Turbhe causing misery at household level. The study analysed that the consumption pattern of people in Turbhe is largely concentrated with cereals especially with wheat and rice. The food supply is overloaded with cereals and lack food diversity with micronutrients i.e., vegetables, fruits, pulses and nuts. There are other substitute foods including fast food leading to decline in cereal consumption among the women slum-dwellers.

The food intake of slum-dwellers in Turbhe is deficient in nutrients; the study examined milk intake among the households. The study found that 10 per cent of the households consume less than 4 liters of milk per

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month and 89 households (19.78 per cent) consume less than 9 liters of milk per month. Sizeable households (48.44 per cent) consume less than 14 liters of milk per month and the study found 98 households (21.78 per cent) with a monthly consumption of more than 15 liters milk per month. Milk consumption per households needs further improvement as children and women in reproductive ages require more milk intake to maximise nutritional security in the Turbhe slum. The major part of the calorie supply of undernourished households come from cereals like wheat and rice in Turbhe and the low nutrient content of food is responsible for poor health among the household. Access to milk by households does not mean that all members of the family are consuming milk in the necessary quantities to support an active life. The milk also needs to be equally distributed within the households as per the need of children, women and the aged which is missing in the Turbhe slum.

It is found during the study that Turbhe area is also inhabited by non-vegetarian people. In this slum 73 households (16.22 per cent) consume up to 2 kg meat per month, 51 households (11.33 per cent) consume up to 4 kg meat per month and 36 households (8.00 per cent) consume up to 6 kg meat per month and the study noted that 70 households consuming more than 6 kg meat per month. Meat being an important source of animal protein provides sufficient calories for the women slum-dwellers who are engaged in energy intensive work to cope up in the informal economy of the Mumbai city. While analysis of monthly fish consumption is undertaken, the survey found that 220 households (48.89 per cent) are not consuming fish, while 101 households (22.44 per cent) consume up to 2 kg, 62 households (13.78 per cent) consume up to 4 kg, 41 households (9.11 per cent) consume up to 6 kg and 48 families (10.67 per cent) in the sample consume more than 6 kg of fish per month. The survey found that nearly 50 per cent of the sample households are either strict vegetarians and some households are avoiding meat and fish consumption as they cannot afford the price of non-vegetarian item due to low level income of their households. The study reiterated that the high prices of fish and meat lead to low consumption of these food items among the women slum-dwellers.

The data on food consumption from Turbhe shows that the per capita intake of pulses is very low. The pattern shows gradual decline of pulse intake with the income level of the household. The study found that 24.44 per cent of the households consume multiple pulses. Among the consumers of pulses 12.22 per cent households consume up to 20 grams daily, 17.33 per cent consume 25 to 50 grams and 185 households consume

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between 50 to 100 grams and 22 families consume more than 1 kg pulses daily. In Turbhe households consume *tuvar dal*, *masoor dal*, *moong dal*, *urad dal* and some families consume a combination of these pulses.

It is a well known fact that around one third of the fruits and vegetables produced in the country continue to perish before they reach the consumer. This shortage resulting in high fruit prices in the city makes it difficult for women slum-dwellers to access sufficient quantities of fruits. The level of fruit consumption is very low in Turbhe households. Lack of affordability is the main problem in inadequate fruit intake among the women slum-dwellers. In Turbhe, 84 per cent respondent's households do not consume any fruits. Only 60 respondent's (13.33 per cent) households consume up to 4 kg fruits per month and it is found that 12 household (2.67 per cent) consuming more than 5 kg fruits per month. The information gives a grim picture of fruit consumption among the women slum dwellers in Turbhe.

The Public Distribution System (PDS) is a well known social security programme. In pursuance of this objective, the PDS has been recently restructured with dual pricing of food grains for people falling below and above poverty line. In Turbhe, data shows that PDS has been far away from achieving its target. The study examined PDS network in Turbhe slum and found that ration shops, fair price shops, *sahakari bhandar* are the main types of shops providing subsidised food items to the women slum-dwellers in Turbhe. The PDS facility was rated as bad by 23.34 per cent of the respondents and very bad by 25.56 per cent of the respondents. In Turbhe, 5.56 per cent respondents do not have ration card and access to PDS network. The study suggests that coverage as well as the quality of rice, wheat and other PDS supplies need to be improved to maximise food and nutritional security among the working poor in Turbhe.

Usage of clean water for domestic purposes is essential for human health. It improves hygiene and reduces morbidity and mortality especially among women and children. Water born diseases like diarrhea, malaria, hepatitis are preventable by access to clean water. The study examined the accessibility of water supply in Turbhe slum. Almost all households in Turbhe slum rely on the Municipal water supply for all purposes from drinking and bathing to kitchen and laundry. Unlike in other civic resident of Mumbai water tap connections in Turbhe slum is available to a group of households to be shared in common. The water supply in Turbhe is irregular and available for few hours in the morning. The time span of water supply is very short according to the population of the area. In Turbhe, only 221

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surveyed households (49.11 per cent) were satisfied with the water supply from Navi Mumbai Municipal Corporation (NMMC). Majority of the respondents (50.89 per cent) were dissatisfied with the water supply. The study found that women face multiple problems during pregnancy, child delivery and child care. Inadequate supply of safe water causes a lot of hygiene problems for the mother and the newborn leading to severe diseases. Water and sanitation facilities are used by all but maintenance of family is a primarily a female responsibility in Turbhe. Women in the Turbhe households lead very miserable lives due to water scarcity in the area.

Morbidity and Mortality in Turbhe Slum

The trend in investment in health related affairs in various Five Year Plans underlined that sufficient attention was not paid to health and family welfare. Considerable disparities continue to exist between the rich and the poor in terms of accessibility to health facilities. While the governments focus on reducing the incidence of communicable diseases and ensuring minimum levels of health care to poor. In India available evidences indicate a close link between poverty and morbidity. In India health issues like infectious diseases continue to claim a large number of lives. Malnutrition is a serious problem in developing countries caused by lack of food, improper diet, unsafe drinking water and deficiencies in macro-nutrients. Vitamin A deficiency is the most important among children. Children are vulnerable to Vitamin A deficiency from the time they are born right up to five years of age. Vitamin A deficiency reduces overall immunity and makes children susceptible to diseases like measles and diarrhea. Every disease affected by the colony is directly correlated with poverty and lack accessibility to balanced diet. One third of the respondents in the study reported the prevalence of communicable diseases like diarrhea, respiratory illness, tuberculosis and malaria. Malnutrition and complications during pregnancy and child birth is also mostly reported. During the study, it is found that some people do not seek professional medical advice when they are sick. In resource poor settings illness imposes burdens of high cost on patients and their families. The unavailability of health care services in the colony and their poor quality contribute to direct and indirect costs for residents of Turbhe. The women and children are the worst sufferer among the poor households in the Turbhe slum.

Indian families on an average spend 11 per cent of their income on health care expenses. The proportion of people unable to afford basic health care is increasing among the women slum-dwellers. People are being pushed

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below the poverty line because of extra out of pocket spending on health care in Turbhe. Economic status of the households plays an important role in determining their health status and vice-versa. Occurrence of acute illness in poor households enhances the probability of a household falling below the poverty line in Turbhe slum.

The study examined the water related and other diseases faced by the residents in Turbhe. The information indicates that water related disease is on the increase in slums. It is found that 150 households (33.33 per cent) in Turbhe suffered from malaria. During the monsoons the number of malaria cases rises in Turbhe. Malaria is attributable to lack of hygiene among residents. It is important to intensify the drive to spraying insecticides in the colony to destroy mosquito larvae. Diarrhea is yet another disease which needs attention by the health care provider as 120 households (26.67 per cent) have been affected by it. Hepatitis and jaundice too are affecting the residents of this colony and they are prevalent in another 7.78 per cent of the studied households.

Infant mortality is an important indicator of health. The infant mortality rate is calculated in India as a ratio of the number of deaths among 1000 born children before they reach their first birth day. During this study only 35 households reported infant mortality in their family. As many as 415 respondents (92.22 per cent) in the sample did not report infant mortality in their households.

It was found during the study that lack of adequate intake of nutritional food by children is a problem and it is reflected in their weight. The study attempted to examine the problem of stunting in the colony. The mere availability of food at the household level at Turbhe does not necessarily imply that food is distributed to members of the household according to their physiological needs. The worst sufferers in this regard are women and children and the pregnant women are the worst sufferer. Women and children generally get a small fraction of the total food available for the households. This leads to considerable under-nutrition of women and malnutrition among children in Turbhe slum.

Within the age group of below one year occurrence of diarrhea is a matter of great concern leading to infant mortality in Turbhe slum. Besides diarrhea slum community in Turbhe is characterised by the prevalence of malnutrition. The prevalence of vitamin deficiency is also noticed in slums. Much of the under-nutrition currently prevalent in children in developing countries can be attributable to conditional malnutrition arising from infections. Diarrhea and respiratory diseases are largely attributable to poor

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environment and lack of personal hygiene is contributing heavily to child morbidity in poor households in Turbhe.

During the study a significant portion of 150 respondents (33.33 per cent) reported the spread of contagious diseases in the colony. It has a lot to do with sanitation and hygiene in the locality. Sanitation and drinking water facilities are much poorer in slums as compared with others. This kind of health shocks reduce the income of the households and the probability of a household falling below the poverty line has remained high when these types of contagious diseases spread in the colony. One third of the sample households reported the outbreak of contagious diseases and this is the direct result of poor hygiene and lack of awareness of health among the inhabitants.

Availability of doctors in Turbhe slum is another pertinent aspect for assured health care services. The study found that availability of doctor is not a problem at all in Turbhe. An important finding of our study is the presence of large number of private medical doctors in the colony. The most casual observer is bound to be struck by the presence of large number of doctors who do a brisk business in the Turbhe. Outside the organised sector the provision of health services by the government is largely run through the public health system financed by the state. Hospitals are concentrated in the organised sector of the city and scarcely available in the slums. In reality the quality of health services provided by these health service providers is extremely poor.

The study examined the frequency of visit by the women slum-dwellers to health service providers. Out of the 450 studied women 208 (46.22 per cent) made visit to a doctor and 242 respondents (53.78 per cent) did not visit the doctor at all in the last one year. Not visiting to a doctor does not mean that they were not ill during the whole year. Many of them treated themselves by taking medicines provided by medical shops to avoid a payment to the doctors. The data posit that visits to private clinics by women exceed visits to municipal hospitals for treatment. In Turbhe, it is found that majority of people who either took no medication or were treated exclusively by themselves. Although there have been considerable improvements in the level of health services in Navi Mumbai there are significant deficiencies in terms of health care accessibility and utilisation in Turbhe slum.

During the study, it is found that majority of women not depending on institutionalised modes of delivery. There are also significant deficiencies in terms of birth attendant coverage and maternity care. Out of 450, 293

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women (65.11 per cent) stated that delivery took place in their households with proper doctor consultancy and treatment. However, 77 respondents (17.11 per cent) said that it took place without any type of external consultancy and 80 respondents (17.78 per cent) stated that delivery took place in the house with the help of local mid-wives. This indicates that almost one third of the households still depend on non-institutionalised modes of delivery exposing themselves severe health hazard.

Analysis of vaccination pattern of children show that a majority of the slum-dwellers in the sample availed of the vaccination facility for their children. However, 18 (4.00 per cent) respondents opined that they never got their children vaccinated. Although there have been considerable improvements in the level of health services in India we continue to have deficiencies in terms of immunisation coverage in slums. Health care utilisation improves with income in urban as well as in rural areas. It is also found that health care utilisation increases with increasing educational status of the parents.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that the women slum dwellers have not only low physical capital endowments but also suffers from low human capital formation. In recent years a great emphasis is being placed on human capital formation because knowledge embedded in human capital is the basis for achieving an increase in total factor productivity. Formal and informal education and training are highly necessary for development of human resource. Education plays an important role in the employment potential of the women slum dwellers. The literacy and education levels of the women slum-dwellers in the colony under study are very low and they lack of necessary skills. The prime reason for lack of education and skill is that most of them have migrated from the poorest sections of rural society and they continue to have low rates of participation in the urban educational system even after migration. In a nutshell, it can be said that education, accessibility to food and health care facility among women is very poor, which needed to be improved for better human capital formation the Turbhe slum.

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Occupational Health in the Beedi Sector: Reflections from a Field Study in Bundelkhand

Pallavi Joshi*

The paper is an outcome of primary survey of women involved in beedi rolling industry in Bundelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh. The study reveals how the beedi rolling work is a physiological and psychological health hazard among women. beedi rolling in Bundelkhand puts women at a greater risk of musculoskeletal, ophthalmological and gastric illnesses. These ailments are chronically found among women. The self perception of women labour in the Beedi sector is significantly poor indicating poor psychological health among them. This study offers insights into the health risks of women through a case-control analysis comparing beedi rolling women with women not involved in beedi rolling in Bundelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh.

Working adults represent half the world's population. The work environment constitutes about a third of the time spent in a lifespan and significantly contributes to their overall health (Zodpey et.al., 2009). Employment and working conditions are important determinants of health among human beings. When favourable, they can provide social protection, social status, personal development, self esteem, social relations, protection from physical and psycho-social risks and thus positive health outcomes. On the other hand, sub-standard forms of employment with precarious work

*Research Scholar, Centre for Study of Regional Development, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. E-mail : pallavi.j2207@gmail.com

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conditions can result in considerable ill health burden (Alfers and Rogan, 2014). There is a high burden of disease attributed to occupational diseases. It is estimated to be about 11 million annually, with about 700,000 deaths globally (WHO, 2011). About two thirds of this occupationally determined loss of disability adjusted life years (DALYs) is preventable, given occupational health and safety programmes (Zodpey et.al., 2009).

The poor health of the workforce represents substantial cost for the health systems and productivity of the economy. The health of workers is prerequisite for maintaining household income and overcoming poverty trap (WHO, 2011). A reduced working capacity along with poor occupational health holds the potential to cause economic losses up to 10 to 20 per cent of the gross national product and significant societal costs (Zodpey et.al., 2009). Though, India is now considered an emerging economy, a large section of its population still belongs to the poorest of the poor. The Indian economy is dualistic in nature. There exists an informal sector with predominance of self-employment along with a well organised formal sector (Labour Bureau, 2015). The informal sector dominates the Indian economy in terms of employment, revenue generation and socio-economic development. The sector comprises of all unincorporated household enterprises with labour intensive processes, low technology and minimum accounting, tax compliance and state regulation. Nearly 81 per cent of the Indian workforce works in the informal sector, its share in domestic product increasing up to 57 percent in the year 2010-11 (ILO, 2018).

The World Bank envisages the informal sector as one of the major challenges to achieving universal health coverage in low income countries like India (Sarkar et al., 2017). Job insecurity and temporary employment arrangements are linked with higher injuries, psychosocial stress, poor mental health and lower self reported health status in workers. This is attributed to less control over work environment, poor training and working hours (Alfers and Rogan, 2014). At the same time, the occupational health and safety coverage in these developing nations remains accessible to people as low as 10 per cent. The coverage of occupational health services fails to provide access to preventive and protective measures against the occupational health burden (WHO, 2011). In India, the rural areas constitute a major share of informal sector than the urban areas, aggravating the deprivation in terms of safety and health demands. Poor health conditions, negligible savings and lack of health safety net becomes the major cause of catastrophic health expenditure, major public health concern (Ahmed and Aggarwal, 2017).

There is now increasing evidence linking health outcomes with work especially in the developed countries. In the developing countries, this evidence is in the form of sector specific epidemiological studies. One such sector is the Beedi industry in India. Beedi is a hand rolled form of tobacco smoking commodity with huge consumption demand in India. The manufacturing process of this smoke form is completely manual, performed with bare hands by labour, rolling uncured tobacco into dried Tendu leaves. Out of the other activities in the beedi manufacturing process, Beedi rolling is the most labour intensive and the least paid job. The nature of work is largely home-based and contractual with piece rate wage payments (Ansari and Raj, 2015).

In India, about 3.5 million people are estimated to be employed full-time in beedi rolling and another 0.7 million employed as part-time worker (Nandi et.al., 2014). The large number of labour force from lower economic group is engaged in this occupation. Women are large part of labour force, doing the most menial work in this industry. The Beedi rolling occupation is known to cause ill health effects to labour (Nakkeeran and Pugalendhi, 2010). The health hazard emanates from exposure to raw tobacco dust and long hours of sedentary repetitive work. Beedi rollers, especially women, handle and inhale raw tobacco dust and other volatile components like nicotine present in the work environment. The occupational exposure to tobacco leads to cutaneous and sub-cutaneous, absorption of tobacco. This puts them at risk of developing various ill health symptoms. These include respiratory ailments, like bronchitis, allergic airway inflammation, burning eyes, conjunctivitis, occupational dermatitis, headaches, postural and bone-joints related complaints. In addition irregular to heavy menstruation, miscarriage and low birth weight in off-spring, susceptibility to cancer and tuberculosis are common among them (Nakkeeran and Pugalendhi, 2010; Sawant et al., 2016). Apart from the direct health impacts, Beedi rollers face economic and social hardship due to unjust working conditions, long working hours, low wages and exploitation by middlemen (Rout et.al., 2017).

There are numerous studies dedicated to occupational health effects of beedi work (Yasmin et.al, 2010) However, all the previous studies restrict to enumerating type of ailments reported among beedi rollers. There are no significant studies that examine the nature of these illness episodes occurring in beedi rollers. It is also analysed that no previous studies venture into find out association between work and health risk by comparing beedi rollers with a control/non-exposed cohort. This paper taking quantitative and

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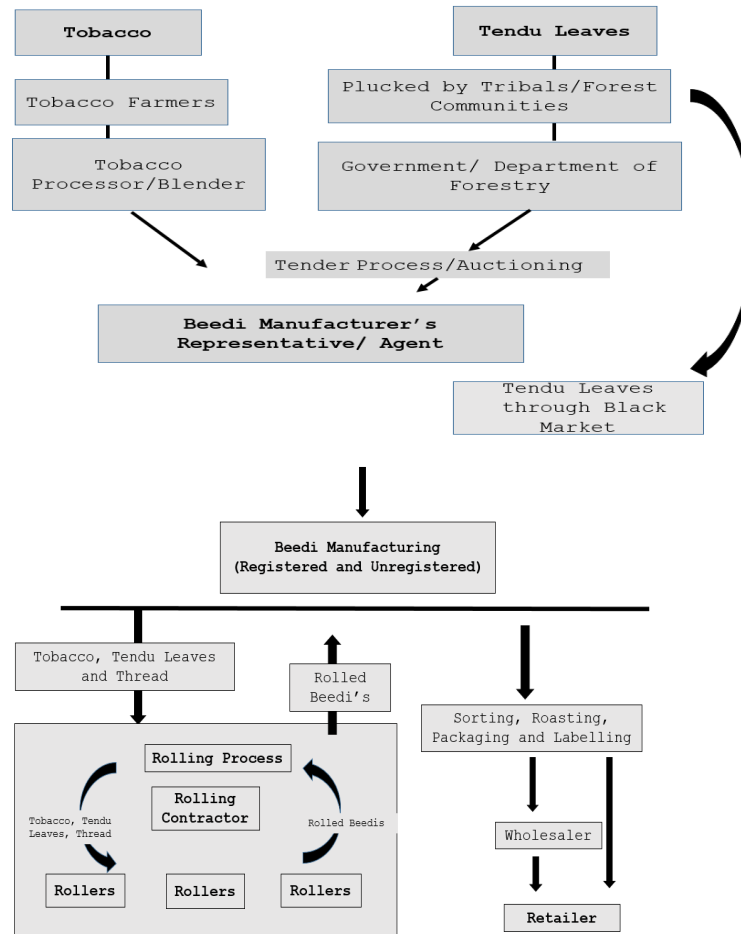
qualitative reflections from a field survey and attempts to establish work related health risk in beedi rolling women. Along with the prevalence rate of ailments, their duration, frequency and intensity is studied in this paper. The important indicator of self rated health is also accounted for in this study. The paper also compared work related health risks of beedi rollers with a control group of women who are not exposed to beedi rolling.

The Study Setting

The study is undertaken in the Sagar district of Madhya Pradesh. The state of Madhya Pradesh is one of the prominent tendu leaf producing states of India. The leaf of tendu tree is the primary raw material for the beedi industry. Across the Indian states, Madhya Pradesh tops the chart in production of beedi and employment in beedi sector. In Madhya Pradesh, about 0.41 million workers are engaged in beedi manufacturing industries, constituting 14 per cent of unorganised sector employment and 1.1 per cent of total employment in the state. (Nandi et al., 2014). Beedi rolling is one of the only few non-agricultural employments and form of modern industry in the Bundelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh.

The Sagar district in Bundelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh has the highest concentration of beedi industries and labour working in this sector in the country (Labour Bureau, 2015). According to the Labour Bureau of Government of India, Sagar district, with 0.16 million workers engaged in beedi rolling, has the highest number of beedi rollers and manufacturing units in Madhya Pradesh. In this region, the process operates by way of sub contracting work to the women labour through contractors (locally known as Sattedar) working for beedi manufacturers (Sen and Patel, 2014). The beedi manufacturing process is depicted in Figure 1. Bundelkhand society is highly feudal and the rural social structure is caste driven. There is dominance of middlemen and employers of the beedi industry. Bundelkhand is an area with low level of literacy, landlessness and high incidence indebtedness. The women folk in the region possess very low level of awareness and alternate marketable skills for their livelihood.

Figure 1
Beedi Making Process in Bundelkhand



Adapted: Genesis Public Relations, 360 Degree Analysis of Beedi industry

Material and Methods

A descriptive, cross-sectional study was conducted in three community development blocks of Sagar district of Madhya Pradesh. The primary survey was conducted between October-December 2016. The study encompasses a survey of beedi rolling women and non- beedi rolling women in same locations and corresponding socio-economic conditions to compare their health outcomes. beedi rolling and non-beedi rolling women were randomly selected from villages/slum spread over these three community development blocks. The study adopted a mixed methods approach,

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combining qualitative and quantitative method. The women were interviewed using semi structured interview schedule having details on socio-economic characteristics, working conditions and health outcomes. In this study, 261 women beedi rollers and 143 non-beedi roller women were interviewed. Only those women who were currently involved in beedi rolling and for whom the primary source of income was beedi rolling were included in the study. The non-beedi rollers were women who had never engaged in beedi rolling work in their lifetime. These included household workers, agriculture labour, petty traders, basket weavers etc. The interview schedule was supported by in-depth interviews, focus group discussion, field narratives for a qualitative validation of statistical results. The study used statistical tools such as chi-square and risk ratio to analyse association between work and health. The formula used for calculation of prevalence rate of self reported ailments was:

$$\text{Prevalence Rate} = \frac{\text{Number of Persons Reporting Ailments}}{\text{Total Number of Persons Surveyed}} \times 100$$

The illness symptoms and the nature of these ailment episodes are self reported by respondents for a uniform recall period of past 365 days.

Socio-Economic Background

The socio-economic characteristics of the surveyed women are presented in Table 1. The sample got a fair representation of women from all age groups who rolled beedi. The maximum beedi rollers are in the age group 35-45 years. Majority of these women were married and belonged to the Scheduled Castes or Other Backward Class category. The educational status of women beedi rollers was found to be poor, majority women were illiterate or primary grade pass. The economic situation was equally grim with more than 60 per cent of women belonged to below poverty line or Antodaya families. For a reliable comparison, the non-exposed group was selected from the same geographical space and same socio-economic and demographic background. Majority of the women in both the groups were illiterate or just primary educated. Within the beedi rollers, illiteracy is as high as 57 per cent and among the non-beedi workers literacy is 50 per cent. Similarly, there is uniformity in income status, as about 80 per cent of the women from both cohorts are from households earned less than Rs. 5000/- a month. In fact about 40 per cent were even more economically vulnerable with monthly household income less than Rs. 2000/- in both groups.

Table 1
Socio-Economic Characteristics of Respondents

Background Characteristics	Beedi Rollers (Exposed in percent)	Non- Beedi Rollers (Non- Exposed in percent)	Chi Square (χ^2)	P Value
<i>CD Block</i>				
Banda	103 (39.5)	60 (41.7)	38.545	<.05
Sagar	158 (60.5)	65 (45.1)		
Shahgarh	0 (0)	19 (13.2)		
<i>Place of Residence</i>				
Rural	212 (81.2)	131 (91)	6.799	<.05
Urban	49 (18.8)	13 (9)		
<i>Age Group</i>			25.998	<.05
25-35	67 (25.7)	72 (50.3)		
35-45	89 (34.1)	38 (26.6)		
45-55	46 (17.6)	15 (10.5)		
55 and above	59 (22.6)	18 (12.6)		
<i>Marital Status</i>			6.276	<.05
Unmarried	1 (0.4)	2 (1.4)		
Married	232 (88.9)	135 (94.4)		
Widow	28 (10.7)	6 (4.2)		
<i>Social Group</i>			89.477	<.05
Scheduled caste	144 (55.6)	22 (15.4)		
Scheduled Tribe	7 (2.7)	36 (25.2)		
Other Backward Castes	104 (40.2)	76 (53.1)		
General	4 (1.5)	9 (6.3)		
<i>Religious Group</i>			12.812	<.05
Hindu	244 (93.5)	123 (86)		
Muslim	17 (6.5)	14 (9.8)		
Others	0 (0)	6 (4.2)		
<i>Educational Status</i>			9.596	>.05
Illiterate	149 (57.1)	73 (50.7)		
Literate w/o Formal Education	15 (5.7)	5 (3.5)		
Primary	54 (20.7)	28 (19.4)		
Upper Primary	30 (11.5)	20 (13.9)		
Secondary	12 (4.6%)	15 (10.4%)		
Higher Secondary	1 (0.4)	3 (2.1)		
<i>Monthly Household Income</i>			0.498	>.05
Less than 2000	119 (45.8)	62 (43.7)		
2000-5000	111 (42.7)	63 (44.4)		
5000-10000	25 (9.6)	13 (9.2)		
More than 10000	5 (1.9)	4 (2.8)		
Total	261	143		

Source: Primary survey, December 2016.

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Nature of Work among Women Beedi Rollers

In an occupational health study, both length as well as severity of exposure is very important. Among the surveyed women 70 per cent had rolled beedi for more than 20 years. Going by the age structure of beedi rollers, these women had started rolling beedi at very young ages and had a prolonged exposure to beedi work. Average time spent in rolling beedi was more than 6 to 6.5 hours. Although majority of women reported working alone, significant numbers of women also involved family members or neighbours to do their job. For beedi rolling work, women have no separate space or room and they work in the same home premises.

During the study, it was found that more than 70 per cent women were unaware about the occupational hazard of the beedi rolling work. Majority of women did not take any precautions or protective gear while doing the rolling work. In terms of collective strength, the women beedi rollers of this region were ignorant about trade union. The beedi rolling work was mostly subcontracted with 92 per cent women get work and raw material from a sattedar/sub-contractor. More than 65 per cent women did not have a beedi welfare card which is a document provided to access free health services and a statutory welfare right for beedi workers.

Table 2
Nature of Work among Women Beedi Rollers

Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
Span of Engagement in Beedi Rolling		
<5 years	8	3.1
5-9 years	27	10.5
10-19 years	39	15.2
>20 years	182	71.1
Total	256	
Number of Hours Spent in Beedi Rolling		
2-3 hours	58	22.3
4-5 hours	96	36.9
6-7 hours	42	16.2
7 and above	64	24.6
Total	260	
Nature of Beedi Rolling activity		
Rolls alone	114	43.7
With Family	94	36.0
In a group	53	20.3
Total	261	
Source of Work		
Contractor/ Sattedar	240	92.0
Beedi Branch	21	8.0
Total	261	

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Particulars	Frequency	Percentage
Separate Room for Beedi Rolling		
Yes	8	3.1
No	253	96.9
Total	261	
Possession of Beedi Welfare Card		
Yes	88	34.2
No	169	65.8
Total	257	
Awareness about Beedi Occupational Hazard		
Yes	62	24.4
No	192	75.6
Total	254	
Whether use Protective Gear while Rolling Beedi		
Yes	106	40.8
No	154	59.2
Total	260	
Whether Member of a Trade Union		
Yes	5	2.0
No	246	98.0
Total	251	

Source: Primary survey, December 2016

Health Condition of Beedi workers

The self reported symptoms from the women beedi rollers were aggregated into 14 broad illness types as described in Table 3. The prevalence rates for these illnesses were calculated using a formula. The survey revealed that the beedi rolling women suffered from musculoskeletal, lungs/respiratory, nervous system and eye-related illness symptoms. The musculoskeletal and eye related ailments had the highest prevalence rates. This trend matches with findings from past epidemiological studies on beedi rollers. Under specific symptoms, breathlessness (7.3 per cent), joints pain (32.6 per cent), cramps in the arms (21.1 per cent), swelling in the limbs (8.8 per cent), refractive errors (11.9 per cent), headache (16.1 per cent) and giddiness (9.6 per cent) were found to be the most prominent among them.

Table 4 which depict important health characteristics of the women, i.e., the average duration of illness episodes, how long back they occurred in the past, frequency and their intensity and number of symptoms suffered at a point in time. Besides that, subjective assessment of health as an indicator is represented. The illness symptoms reported were chronic and perpetual for 58 per cent of the women. Their frequency of occurrence was high as 66 per cent women had reportedly suffered from these symptoms in the last one month of the survey. The share of women having a good perception about their general health was as low as 6.5 per cent and poor health perception was high as 40 per cent.

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Table 3
Prevalence of Illness Reported from Beedi Rollers

Symptoms/Illness Type	Frequency of Reporting	Prevalence Rate
Lungs and Respiratory	52	19.9
Musculoskeletal	136	52.1
Stomach/Gastric	39	14.9
Gynaecological	19	7.3
Nervous System	52	19.9
Skin-Epidermal	2	0.8
Endocrine	4	1.5
Urinary Tract	4	1.5
Circulatory System	18	6.9
Cancers	2	0.8
Mental Disorders	2	0.8
Deficiency	4	0.8
Eye related	48	18.4
Other	15	5.7

Source: Primary survey December, 2016

Work Exposure and Health Risk

In this study the exposure condition that differentiates between the experimental group and control is engagement in beedi rolling. The two groups were compared to reflect on the health risk emanating from exposure to beedi work. It was seen that there was a significant difference in occurrence of chronic, frequent and intense illness symptoms between the two groups (Table 4). The beedi rollers suffered significantly higher chronic ($\chi^2=4.712$, p value= <.05), frequent ($\chi^2=7.344$, p value= <.05) and intense ($\chi^2=25.172$, p value= <.05) illness symptoms than the non-beedi rollers. The beedi rollers also had a poorer self rated health ($\chi^2=4.412$, p value= <.05) than their counterparts. All the results were statistically significant pointing that the exposure condition of beedi rolling did play a role in the health differences between the two groups.

Table 4
Nature of Illness in Exposed and Non Exposed Samples

Nature of Illness	Exposed	Non Exposed	Chi-Square	P Value	Relative Risk	C-I
High Frequency	115	25	7.344	< .05	2.235	1.267-3.944
Chronic in Duration	158	55	4.712	< 0.5	1.539	1.051-2.255
Poor Self-Perception of Health	141	93	4.412	< .05	1.843	1.033-3.289
High Intensity	86	15	25.172	< .05	1.336	1.207-1.479

Source: Primary survey, December, 2016.

In the analysis, it is assumed that the ailment is the outcome and risk is engagement in beedi rolling. The risk ratio is then used to estimate the

strength of association between hazard exposure and outcome. The risk ratio values for nature of symptoms/illness showed that beedi roller women had 1.5 times more chronic, 2.2 times more frequent and 1.2 times more intense symptoms (Table 4) than the non-exposed. These women are 1.8 times the risk of lower and worse self rated health than non beedi roller women.

As compared to the non-beedi rollers, the beedi rollers also were at greater risk of reporting ailment of the eyes (RR = 1.123, CI = 1.241-1.728), gastric ailments (RR = 1.078, CI = 1.004-1.157), gynaecological issues (RR = 1.049, CI = 1.004 -1.095), musculoskeletal ailments (RR = 1.465, CI = 1.241-1.728) and eye related ailments (RR = 1.123, CI = 1.041-1.212). These results are statistically significant (Table 5) and emphasise the negative health effects of beedi work.

Table 5
Health Risk among Women Beedi Rollers

Symptoms/ Illness Type	Exposed	Non- Exposed	Chi Square	p Value	Relative Risk	C-I
Lungs/Respiratory	52	19	2.906	> .05	1.084	.993-1.184
Musculoskeletal	136	43	18.621	< .05	1.465	1.241-1.728
Gastric	39	12	3.683	< .05	1.078	1.004-1.157
Nervous system	52	23	0.96	> .05	1.049	.956-1.152
Gynaecological	19	4	3.511	> .05	1.001	1.004-1.095
Skin Related	2	1	0.007	> .05984-1.018
Circulatory System	18	5	2.032	> .05	1.037	.991-1.085
Eye Related	48	12	7.438	< .05	1.123	1.041-1.212

Source: Primary survey conducted by the author in Sagar (December, 2016)

Findings from Qualitative Analysis

There were three major themes that emerged from the in-depth interviews and narratives of the beedi roller women and other stakeholders in the study area. At the outset, there were significant health issues reported by the women who involved in beedi rolling; secondly, these ailments were strongly reiterated by their family members and neighbours; thirdly, health related issues cropped up significantly in their beedi rolling related descriptions.

Among women beedi rollers, there were common complains of aches and pains in different part of their body. These were mostly headaches (15 per cent), joints and knee pain (23 per cent). They also frequently complained of swelling around joints (6.4 per cent) and muscle cramps (16 per cent). Women also complaint of regular gastric troubles (10 per cent), loss of appetite and constipation due to the sedentary nature of their work. Although, Tuberculosis was not reported frequently, it was not completely

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absent among beedi rollers. These women also suffered from skin allergies and cuts in the hands and that made daily chores difficult for them. Often at older ages, the women reported numbness in finger ends and muscle atrophy. After long hours at work, they also complain of dizziness and spondylitis, posture related issues (5.9 per cent). The medical officer at the Central Beedi Hospital in Sagar, reported receiving patients with Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease (COPD) conditions, fibrosis of the lungs, cancer risk, orthopaedic conditions with increased risk of slip disk and compromised lung function. The doctor's account matched with the illness profile reported in the primary survey.

The family members also described account of the health issues associated with beedi work. A young beedi roller's husband gave an account of intense headaches of his wife. He reiterated his wife's poor vision and need for corrective spectacles caused by beedi rolling. Another beedi roller's, young daughter explained about the health issues of her mother who forced to quit beedi rolling, she narrated 'the work used to give her headaches and a body ache. Her body had become stiff and she frequently suffer from back pain, But she has started beedi rolling work again to financially support our family'. A non-beedi roller on the other hand, gave an observation on the issue. She narrated 'I may not have enough work and wage but at least my family is saved from the health issues these beedi rollers households suffering frequently'.

Health suffered significantly in the beedi rolling work, which is apparent in the accounts of the beedi workers. Ill health itself is a reflection towards association with beedi rolling work. Who report the health issues (51 per cent, n = 261) were primary cause to take breaks from the work. There were women who do not like their work (88 per cent, n = 261) and were doing it out of economic compulsion. More than 70 per cent (n = 261) women roller did not think their work ensure them respect of a productive worker. These women often attributed the health issues emanating from the nature of sedentary and repetitive nature of work. Majority women opined that wages were not commensurate with amount of hard work and the health risks they bear with while beedi rolling in Bundelkhand.

The nature of work and working conditions are the primary factors affecting health of the beedi rollers. Overall, The risk of negative health outcomes is higher when worker experience low job control, high effort-reward imbalance or low organisational injustice (Rivière et al, 2018). Jobs like beedi rolling are often insecure and risky, involving hazardous substances and processes. This study makes a comprehensive analysis of the

health status, impoverishment and work related issues of the beedi rolling community. The beedi rolling occupation exposes women to a host of health issues with negative health implications.

Though, beedi rolling is a livelihood opportunity for women, the level of income and social protection accruing from this work is highly inadequate. The workload and remuneration imbalance is quite wide in the beedi rolling sector. Even after putting long hours of manual labour, the women workers receive menial income from this work. The average monthly income generated from beedi rolling work is between Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000. The women working in this sector are mostly belonged to lower castes and acutely poor households. Further, these women have no other livelihood options as they are less educated or illiterate. There is a high level of dissatisfaction with the job and a sense of pessimism related to beedi rolling. Both these factors have direct and indirect bearing on the self perception of health and well being among them (Faragher et al, 2005). The toiling labour even after years of experience sees no prospects of better life and wages. The years of exposure only gives them debilitated efficiency and sickness. Most of these women continue this occupation out of economic compulsion and continue despite the exploitative work relations in this sector.

The beedi rolling work is procured through sattedars who act as middlemen between beedi manufacturers and the labour. Given, this contractual nature majority of the women do not possess the beedi welfare card to avail benefits of the Beedi and Cigar Welfare Act 1968 and other legislations for the beedi workers (Nakkeeran and Pugalendhi, 2010). The beedi welfare card is an entitlement for free health services at designated beedi hospitals and dispensaries. The wages and welfare rights are completely at the mercy of the middlemen or sattedar. The average rate women rollers receive per 1000 beedi is Rs. 40/- which is much below the minimum floor wages of Madhya Pradesh (Sen and Patel, 2014). The rejections at the time of deposition of beedi, their effective income educe further. The beedi rollers are unaware about their basic labour rights, social welfare rights and collective bargaining mechanisms such as trade unions in the Bundelkhand region.

The nature of work puts beedi rollers at a significant health risk. The women who roll beedi report chronic and frequently occurring symptoms of headache, giddiness, joints pain, muscle cramps, breathlessness and poor vision. The beedi rolling work is associated with higher prevalence of musculoskeletal, eyes, respiratory and nerve-system related illnesses. In the longer run, these have the potential to cause severe impact on their health

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and even disability. The frequently occurring ailments are seen to have a strong debilitating effect on the body and work ability of individuals. Such chronic conditions also tend to increase co-morbidities, making illness state more intense and difficult to cope both physically and monetarily (Rijken et. al, 2013). Due to the high illness burden their self perception about their own health takes a dive. Self-rated health status is a major predictor of morbidity and correlated with psychological well-being (Taloyan et.al, 2008).

These women workers of Bundelkhnad are ignorant about negative health effects of this work and do nothing to mitigate its ill-effect. Majority women undertake beedi rolling in the same premises with no separate designated space. To complete their rolling targets, women also involve family members and children. Unknowingly, the family and children of these women are also exposed to the health hazard through rolling beedi.

Conclusion

Beedi rolling work is an occupational hazard and has negative effect on both physiological and psychological health of women labour. The negative health effects of the work are evident in both analysis of quantitative data and narratives of the women rollers and other stakeholders. The beedi rolling women are a greater chance of being infected with specific illnesses than the women workers not exposed to the Beedi occupation. The long hours of sitting and intensive manual labour work puts beedi rollers at greater risk of musculoskeletal issues and poor vision. The hazardous Beedi work also makes their condition compromised with chronic and intense ailments which directly or indirectly lower their general well being which is reflected in their poor perception of self health. The host of health issues they suffer often come in way of their daily chores and productivity in work. Health issues often become a reason to discontinue work or take breaks from it but the weak economic situation pulls them back into beedi rolling.

The women beedi rollers receive below minimum wages and remain out of the purview of social security net due to the unorganised nature of beedi industry. Chronic poverty and lack of alternate livelihood compels women into this exploitative job. Given the high level of illness burden in these women and their specific health care requirements, access to affordable health care services is a crucial requirement in this sector. The beedi welfare card is an important entitlement for these women workers and its coverage needs improvement. There is a need to create more awareness about the negative health effects of exposure to beedi rolling work. Further,

strengthening of welfare coverage in the sector and developing alternative livelihood options for women in Bundelkhand region in need of the hour. The study covered nature of ailment among beedi workers and association of these illnesses with beedi work. Such comprehensive occupational health studies are missing for the informal sector in India. This study also highlights the need to bring in component of psychological health and well being in occupational health research for the unskilled, manual and contractual labour.

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Book Review

Patterns of Development

Ajit Kumar Singh

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Nomita P. Kumar*

The author, an eminent scholar has brought to fruition his wonderful labour in exploring the evolution of the spatial economy of India from 1951 to 2011 taking states as the unit of analysis. The book under review has gone a long way towards questioning the manner in which some policy initiatives taken by the central and state governments and regional disparities have continued to persist throughout the post-independence period.

The first chapter of the study traces the historical roots of regional imbalances in India and elaborated the fact that the distorted and uneven development is the result of prolonged period of subjugation under the British rule, which affected different regions of our country differently. It shows that the distorted and uneven pattern of regional development which India inherited from the British has continued to shape the pattern of development in the post-independence. The writer retorts that various factors led to a highly spatially uneven pattern of development during British regime. In the agricultural sector main differentiation arose between

*Assistant Professor, Giri Institute of Development Studies, Lucknow (U.P.).

E-mail: nomita.kumar36@gmail.com

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irrigated and non-irrigated area. The British regime followed a policy of investing in canal development in areas like Punjab, Bombay and Madras. This is no doubt created pockets of agriculturally developed and prosperous regions which led to growth of agricultural output and productivity led to commercialisation of agriculture. But such biases led to a large pocket of untouched areas in the field of agriculture. Another factor that influenced commercialisation of agriculture was the development of railways which benefited from the export of agricultural products like wheat, rice, cotton and sugar. The major benefitted areas were deltas, flood plains and coastal areas which received the attention of the functionaries.

Academicians are seen to have argued about regionalisation in agriculture accrued due to differences in the tenure system which was developed by Britishers for their own gains. Though the author could not able to give a strong statistical support in favour of the hypothesis that the differences in land tenure system were the underlying cause of differences in the pattern of growth between zamindari and non-zamindari areas. The author also states that the data on rural consumption and poverty in mid-twentieth century also do not support the hypothesis that greater impoverishment of rural population in the zamindari areas as compared to the non-zamindari areas. Deliberating upon the modern manufacturing, he stresses upon regional differentiation in the three presidency States (Bombay, Madras and Calcutta) accrued for over three-fourth the industrial workers and output. The locations on coastal areas these regions were connected to hinterland through railways. Another factor which benefitted Bombay and Madras region in industrial development was the presence of an organised indigenous class of capitalists and financiers (Parsi and Gujarati entrepreneurs in Bombay and Chettiars in Madras) who had better hold over the domestic markets in their regions.

In the second chapter the author has very pertinently diagnosed the regional structure of Indian economy at the time of independence. According to the author, India inherited a highly unbalanced spatial structure of the economy from the British with few metropolitan centres of concentration of economic activity and vast under developed hinterland. The economy was diagnosed with very sharp differentials in the per capita income at the State level at the time of commencement of planning. This differential in per capita income was sharper in the non-agricultural sector as compared to the agricultural sector as linkages between these sectors were found to be very weak.

The third chapter of the book deals with evolution of the spatial structure of our economy during the planning era using multivariate analysis. Analysis is made through various studies which were carried out on the basis of per capita income and problems pointed out by Amitabh Kundu that 'univariate statistics for describing complex social process provide a partial picture and are consequently found to be inadequate both as a tool of analysis and as an input in policy making'. Author has used the path of multivariate data and tried to understand how the regional structure of Indian economy was evolved during the planning period and identified specific dimensions of socio-economic development in which particular states are lagging behind. The study has covered 17 major states and covers the period 1951 to 1991, which may be termed as the planning era. The analysis has been carried out at four points of time i.e., 1960-61, 1970-71, 1980-81 and 1990-91. According to author these years reflects upon decennial variation which is a reasonable time frame for the policy to get translated into actual plans and bring out consequent impacts on different indicators of development. Very pertinently meaningful analysis of disaggregated data on a large number of variables has been analysed through composite index at sectoral and overall level. Analysis has been done on the basis of index method, ranking method and finally factor analysis method.

Drawing on the rich array of relevant secondary data on sectoral basis the chapter provides an excellent food for thought while analysing regional structure of the economy in terms of the development of the States which remained remarkably stable for most of the planning period. Some changes were observed in the rankings during 1960s and 1970s, but after that the rankings of states showed a high degree of concordance. The author has highlighted that a notable change which took place over this period was marked downward slide in the states of West Bengal and Assam on the development ladder. Notwithstanding this another scenario that gripped our thought was that the states of Himachal Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh show a clear improvement in their rankings. The states of Bihar, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan remained stuck to the category of least developed states of our country. The author has highlighted the fact that there exists a close correspondence in levels of agriculture development, industrial development as well as development of economic infrastructure.

In the chapter four, the author has very prudently dealt with spatial structure of economy in post liberalisation era. According to him, the changes observed in the policy paradigm has reflected upon changed interest in the issue of regional disparities and many studies are mentioned

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the issue of growth has led to convergence and divergence hypothesis. These studies dealt with regional disparity with per capita SDP as the variable to come to conclusion whereas the author has been very clear in his approach of following multi-indicator approach to examine the changes in the levels of development at the State level during the post liberalisation period. He has used composite indices of development for the four sub-sectors of the economy i.e., agriculture, industry, economic infrastructure and social infrastructure. Composite index of development has been derived using Principal Component analysis using SPSS. The chapter shows the fact that the policy of state led and state directed development process gave place to market led growth which finally dismantled the policy of funds flowing (public and private investment) in favour of the backward states and regions. It was expected that reform process would promote regionally more concentrated pattern of investment and growth would ensue adversely affecting regional disparities in the country.

The chapter five provides an excellent bridge between the level of economic development and spatial variation in quality of life and levels of living during the planning period. Indicators of quality of life and process of change used for analysis, and exposes some critical blind spots in the macro frame. The analyses cover various aspects i.e., income and consumption level, quality of housing, health status and educational attainment of the population. These indicators are not only useful for exposing how different indicators are bearers of development status, but why some indicators are paid more attention and what policy reforms are required to tackle the issue? One can only wish for such kind of conceptual multi-indicator analysis between quality of life indicators and living status. It is found that disparities in income and consumption indicators are much lower as compared to indicators of economic development. The mean values of all indicators except cereal consumption have risen steadily throughout the planning era which reflects upon improvement in consumption and income levels. Disparity, as measured by coefficient of variation has increased sharply in case of per capita SDP at current prices and per capita monthly consumption expenditure. Indicators of housing status show sharp improvement through mean values of its indicators. Inter-state disparities in housing amenities show persistently high whereas accessibility to drinking water facilities indicators there has been significantly narrowing down. Educational improvement has been highlighted in the study which is reflected by the mean values of the indicators or sharp decline in coefficient of variation. Besides education, indicators of health status also register clear improvement

over time in terms of mean values. Trends in inter-state disparities present a mixed picture i.e., death rates have increased till 1980, but declined thereafter. Disparities in infant mortality have remained fairly high and inter-state disparities in life expectancy at birth are low and stable in this era. The composite index of quality of life shows a high degree of correlation with the composite index of economic development. The impact of social infrastructure is statistically weak relation with educational attainment and health status – thus implying that social development is inadequately provided especially in rural areas. Author argues that the states which were at a higher level of development continue to remain relatively more developed, while the backward states continue to remain where they were before. The major exception to the pattern of development has been the sharp decline in the economy of West Bengal throughout the period of the study. Thus the pattern of regional disparities in India is deeply rooted in the inherited spatial structure of the Indian economy at the time of independence. Though, there had been all round development in all the states of our country but the states which were in better position earlier have continued to show faster growth taking advantage of their initial advantage. Moreover such differentiation led to significant inter-sectoral imbalances across all the states.

To sum up the discussion on the evolving spatial pattern of the Indian economy the author observes that there has been a remarkable stability in the ranking of states in economic development and quality of life. According to author, the long term trend in reduction in regional inequalities observed in the developed countries does not seem feasible in Indian economy. Equalisation of per capita income or growth rates across states is not a feasible policy objective. The aim of the policy should be to reduce the differentials in the quality of public services delivered in different parts of the country. One such effort in this direction could be equalisation in fiscal capacity of states through central transfers. The chapter seven is fully devoted to examine the issue to what extent the objective has been achieved in the past. The chapter throws light on the issue of sharp variations that have continued to persist in the states in the level of per capita aggregate expenditure, per capita development expenditure as well as per capita plan expenditure. These differences in per capita expenditure are found to be closely related to the variation in per capita GSDP of different states- thus reflecting upon differences in their fiscal capacity. The study of fiscal transfers in the chapter reveals that transfers through Finance Commissions has shown that even the generous transfers to poor states have failed to

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eradicate disparities in the revenue capacities of the states. The author has tried his best to chalk out the path of development through fiscal transfers and came to the conclusion that in general the per capita revenue capacity of richer states like Punjab, Haryana and Maharashtra is almost double that of the poorer states like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha and Bihar. The analysis also reflects upon the fact that transfers through other channels like Planning Commission and Central Ministries also have tended to undermine the equity dimension of these transfers.

The interesting conclusions of the volume is that it has been much easier for policy to deal with regional disparities and imbalances through the act of delivering fiscal transfers but failed to achieve the objective of harmonious development. Interestingly, it is not just state policy that has issues in dealing with regional disparities but also the central government policies find it difficult to tackle this particular aspect of regional imbalances. The problem with this approach is that balanced regional development in the country could not be achieved under the problems arising out of the fiscal imbalances at the state level which are not being addressed effectively, leaving aside the more complex and contentious issue of sectoral inequality.

One of the contentions of this book is that without significant amounts spent on development of social and economic infrastructure, it is unlikely that economic development will be able to achieve equity within state's reform policies. In a nutshell, the reviewed book is an important contribution to the scholarly literature on regional disparities. It would be of interest not only to students and scholars working on regional disparities and development, but also to those interested in sectoral issues and quality of life.

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Use British spellings in all cases instead of American (Concise Oxford Dictionary).

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