CONTEMPORARY KERALA

STUDY MATERIAL

B.A. HISTORY

VI SEMESTER

CORE COURSE

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UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

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UNIT-I

HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS

Aikya Kerala Movement and Proclamation of state

The Aikya Kerala Movement was the concrete expression of the Malayalam speaking peoples to have a state of their own.It aimed at the integration of Malabar, Kochi and Thiruvithamkur into one territory.The Keralites who spoke the same language, shared the common cultural tradition, unified by the same history, rituals and customs were politically separated for a long period.

The Indian national movement instilled the people of Kerala the necessity unification and integration.It taught the people that political unification was to be done on linguistic basis.It was the peculiar political and historical realities that had existed in the state that paved the way for the integration of Kerala in to a single political unit.The Malayalam language with its rich literary heritage served as an important factor in the cultural integration of the people of the three areas of Malabar, Kochi and Thiruvitamkur.

Congress and Linguistic States

The Kerala Provincial Congress Committee which came into existence in 1921 on linguistic basis included the whole of the Malabar District and the States of Travancore and Cochin.This was taken to mean that the Congress had committed itself to the idea of linguistic states in a free India. The first All Kerala Provincial Conference under the auspices of the Congress met at Ottappalam in 1921.

It was for the first time that representatives from Malabar, Travancore and Cochin attended a conference of such political significance and size. It helped to create a sense of Kerala identity in the minds of the people. In 1927 the Indian National Congress expressed the view that the time was appropriate for the linguistic re-organisation of provinces in India.The question was examined by the Nehru Committee set up in 1928 by the All parties Conference to draft a model constitution for free India.

The committee expressed itself in favour of linguistic states on the ground that such states would promote the cultural well being of the people, ensure greater educational advancement and enable the people to participate actively in public activities.Between 1928 and 1947 the Congress officially endorsed the idea of linguistic states on quite a few occasions.The Election manifesto issued by the Congress in 1945 assured the people that the states of India would be recognized on linguistic basis, as far as possible, in case the party was voted to power.

Demand for 'Aikya Keralam'

The demand for a separate state for the Malayalam speaking people gathered strength since the twenties.Such conferences as the States People's and the All-Kerala Kudiyan Conferences held at Ernakulam in 1928 and the Political Conferences held at Ernakulam in 1928 and Political Conferences held at Payyannur (1928), Badagara (1931) and Calicut (1935) passed resolutions emphasizing the need for the formation of a separate Province of Kerala in the new constitutional set-up. The Political Conference held under the auspices of the Travancore district Congress Committee at Trivandrum in 1938 with Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiah in the Chair passed a resolution favouring a Sub-Federation comprising of Malabar, Travancore and Cochin. It was, however, only in the logic of things that such a united Kerala State could not have been formed so long as British rule lasted in India and the native States of Travancore and Cochin continued to be under princely rule.

During the period after the Second World War (1939-1945) when negotiations for the transfer of power were in progress, the question of formation of linguistic states again assumed importance.The ruler of Cochin extended full support to the proposal. In a message sent to the Cochin Legislative Council on July 29, 1945 the Maharaja of Cochin stressed the need for the formation of a united state of Kerala and expressed his readiness to merge Cochin in such a state in the general interests of the people.

The Cochin state Praja Mandal which was formed in 1941 had also been endorsing the demand for a separate Kerala State at its successive annual sessions.Only the Government of Travncore's reaction was lukewarm to the proposal.Cultural organizations like 'Samastha Kerala Sahitya Parishad' however, welcomed the idea of Malayalam speaking State with great enthusiasm.The Kerala Provincial Congress committee took the lead in this matter and set up a Sub-Committee in 1946 to carry on the movement for Aikya Kerala with the utmost vigour. A meeting of the Sub-committee was held at Cheruthuruthi late in 1946 under the Chairmanship of K.P. Kesava Menon, with leading figures from all parts of Kerala, including Mahakavi Vallathol, participating in it.

It was in pursuance of the decision taken at this meeting that the famous Aikya Conference was held at Trichur in April 1947 under the Chairmanship of K. Kelappan. Hundreds of delegates from all parts of Kerala representing various cultural organizations and political parties were present at the meeting.In fact, the Conference was more representative than any other of its kind held till then.Sree Kerala Varma reigning Maharaja of Cochin, participated in the conference and declared his support to the establishment of a united Kerala State comprising of the three administrative units of Malabar, Travancore and Cochin.

The conference passed a resolution, moved by the Veteran congress leader, E. Moidu Maulavi, demanding the early formation of Aikya Kerala. It also elected an Aikya Kerala Council of hundred members to take appropriate steps for the achievement of the goal. In 1948 yet another representative convention was held at Alwaye under the auspices of the Aikya Kerala Council.Delegates from Malabar, Travncore and Cochin attended the convention and appointed a more compact Action Committee of 15 members with K. Kelappan as President and K.A. Damodara Menon as Secretary in suppression of the earlier Aikya Kerala Council of 100 members.   In a memorandum submitted before the Dhar Commission set up by the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly to consider the question of reorganization of states in India, the Aikya Kerala council demanded the formation of new Kerala State comprising of Malabar, Travancore, Cochin, Coorg, Nilgiris, Guddalore, South Canara, Mahe and Lakshadeep. It may be noted here that the Travancore Government under Pattom Thanu Pillai did not co-operate with the work of the Dhar Commission. The Indian National Congress at its Jaipur Session (1948) set up a high level committee consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramiah to consider the Dhar Commission's recommendations. In its report (J.V.P. Report) the Committee counseled the utmost caution in proceeding with the proposal for the linguistic reorganization of states. At the same time, it also made clear that the formation of the linguistic states of Kerala and Karnataka would have to wait till a final solution was found for the Indian States problem.

The merger and integration of princely states was a major step for the formation of the Kerala State.On 1st July, 1949, the two states of Travancore and Kochi were integrated heralding the birth of the Travancore-Cochin State.It was a positive step taken in the right direction, leading to the formation of the Kerala State.

When steps were taken to reorganize the Indian States on a linguistic basis, the state Reorganisation Commission appointed for the purpose recommended the creation of the state of Kerala.The Commission under Syed Fazi Ali recommended the inclusion of the district of Malabar and the taluk of Kasargode to the Malayalam speaking people's state.It also recommended the exclusion of the four Southern taluks of Travancore viz Tovala, Agastheswaram, Kalkulam and Vilayankode together with some parts of Shenkotta.The new state of Kerala, the long cherished dream of the Malayalis came in to being on November 1st, 1956 with a Governor at its head.The last vestige of princely rule in Kerala disappeared and Kerala regained its identity to became an integral part of the Indian Union.

Structural Adjustments and Regional Imbalances

The formation of the new state of Kerala demanded a structural adjustment in the basic frame work of the economy and administration also to minimize the regional imbalances.The main objectives expected from unification of Kerala as a state were geographical unity, economic progress, growth of language and culture, administrative unity and local development.Different set of laws, rules and procedures had existed in Travancore, Cochi and Malabar and the administrative setup was also different.On the outside itself it was necessary to have unified laws,rules and regulations for the whole State.Several departments were to be formed and others were to be reorganized and this could be done only gradually.Infact upto 1963 the department of treasuries and civil supplies had remained as parts of the revenue department.

Within the broad unity of Kerala society and culture, there were significant social, political and economic differences between Malabar, Kochi and Travancore, notably in the levels of development and in agrarian relations. Malabar was practically a neglected area of Madras during the period of colonialism on which the British spent little beyond the requirement of law and order. In contrast, the Travancore and Kochi governments had stimulated agriculture, commerce and industry. Several roads and canals were built which helped for the growth of commerce and economy.Travancore and Kochi governments jointly modernized the port of Kochi in the 1930's. In fact both Travancore and Kochi were in the fore-front among the princely states during the British period in terms of basic development.

Travancore, Kochi and Malabar were dependent on agrarian economy. In Malabar three-fourth of the people dependent on land were tenant cultivators at the time of the state formation, while in Travancore more than half of the population were peasant proprietors. It was because of the politics adopted by the respective governments.As late as 1951, one quarter of the total arable land of Malabar was still uncultivated.In Kochi forty percent of the cultivated land was owned by the government and the government tenants enjoyed fixity of tenure.However the Jenmies who owned the remaining 60% of land were uncontrolled by the state as their counter parts of Malabar. During the period of the state formation majority of the tenants were reduced to the position of agricultural labourers.No serious legislative measures for tenancy reforms were taken up in colonial Malabar.

The main task of the government of the newly formed state was to make structural adjustments to reduce the regional imbalances existed among the three territories. A Malayalee culture had already emerged throughout the state, even when other imbalances remained and the common culture helped for the overall growth of the basic structure of the state. The economic conditions were to be reorganized to enhance the well-being of the people in general. The task of making structural adjustments and reducing imbalances was left to the first ministry elected by the people in 1957. Immediately after the formation of the state of Kerala, it was put under President's rule and the executive chief, Governor became the ruler. But it did not continue for long. General election to the Kerala Legislative Assembly was conducted in February-March, 1957 which paved way for the formation of the Communist Ministry, came to power through general elections in the world for the first time.

Coalition Politics

Coalitions are organized groups of people who have come together for the purpose of accomplishing a goal that is common to all parties involved. Due to the fluid nature of coalitions; it is possible for individuals, businesses, and other types of organizations to participate within a coalition, while still maintaining their own separate identity. Here are some facts about the coalition, how alliances of this type are formed, and what being part of a coalition means to an individual or group.

A coalition or alliance may be formed to address matters of common concern to some sector of the community. A local, state or national coalition may focus on improvements within the community, such assisting homeless persons in finding work, or providing transportation for senior citizens. Politics may also be grounds for the formation of a coalition, as individuals, *human rights* organizations and other entities combine their efforts to help bring about the passing of new legislation that they believe will make the community a better place to live. In most instances, a coalition will disband once the goal that drew everyone together has been attained. In other situations, the coalition may evolve into a permanent structure in its own right, establishing a new association that continues the work begun by the coalition.

While a coalition is essentially an alliance of like-minded persons and organizations, it is important to remember that not everyone will operate with the same motivation when it comes to achieving the common goal. For instance, one participant may be a part of the coalition out of desire to bring about a change that will improve conditions for loved ones. Another participant may be thinking in terms of getting valuable publicity from the connection with

the coalition.A third ally may be thinking in terms of what the realization of the goal will mean in the way of increased social prominence within a given *clique*. The reasons behind the joining of factions from a variety of backgrounds can vary, and may often be somewhat selfish in nature.

The coalition is a great way for allies from many different backgrounds to come together and work toward the realization of a common cause. Once the goal is met, the parties may choose to maintain some communication as a result of the rapport established during their work together.This keeps the door open for the formation of another coalition at some future date, in the event another matter of common interest should arise.

A political coalition or political alliance or political bloc is an agreement for cooperation between different *political parties on common political agenda, often for purposes of contesting anelection to mutually benefit by collectively clearing election thresholds, or otherwise benefiting from characteristics of the voting system or for government formation after elections.*

A *coalition government is formed when a political alliance comes to power, or when only a plurality (not a majority) has not been reached and several parties must work together to govern.One of the peculiarities of such a method of governance results in Minister of State without Portfolio.*

When Kerala was formed, the State was under President's rule. The new State went to the polls for the first time in March 1957. There were 126 Assembly and 16 Parliamentary seats. The Communist Party of India emerged as the single largest party in the Assembly with 60 seats. Shri E.M.S.Namboodiripad formed an 11 member ministry on April 5, 1957 with the support of some independents. Political agitation and unrest extending over several months, culminated in the taking over of the administration of the State and the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, under Article 356 of the Constitution, by the president of India, on July 31, 1959. Mid-term elections followed in February next year.

A three party alliance comprising of the Congress, the Praja Socialist Party and the Muslim League, was returned to power.Shri Pattom A.Thanu Pillai (PSP) took over as the coalition Chief Minister, leading a council of eleven ministers, in February 1960. Shri R.Sankar (Congress) was designated as the Deputy Chief Minister.Shri. Pattom A.Thanu Pillai however, resigned on September 25, 1962, consequent on a gubernatorial appointment; Shri.R.Sankar was appointed Chief Minister the next day. Shri.Sankar continued as Chief Minister for about two years.

A political crisis precipitated in September 1964, when about 15 Congress legislators lent their support to a no-confidence motion against the ministry. The motion was carried. The legislature was dissolved on September 10 and the State thereupon passed under President's rule. Elections were held in March 1965. A fresh delimitation of constituencies had taken place in between. There were 133 Assembly and 19 Parliamentary constituencies. The election proved abortive in the sense that no single party could form a ministry commanding majority support. Once again on 25th March, 1965, Kerala was put under President's administration.

The State went to the polls two year later at the time of the general elections in March 1967. A new polarization of political forces had emerged in the meantime, leading to new electoral alliances. Politically the most potent combination was the new united front of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Communist Party of India, the Muslim League, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Karshaka Thozhilali Party and the Kerala Socialist Party. This seven-party combine was voted to power leading to the formation of a ministry headed by Shri.E.M.S.Namboodiripad (CPI-M). The Cabinet consisted of four members of the Marxist Party, two each of the CPI, the Muslim League and the SSP and one each of the RSP, the KTP and the KSP. Shri.Namboodiripad's second ministry had a chequered tenure until one of the ministers of the original SSP constituent, who had inter alia left the party to join the newly formed Indian Socialist Party group, had to resign from the Cabinet to face a judicial enquiry. The ministers belonging to the C.P.I., the Muslim League, the RSP and the KSP tendered their resignation in October 1969. Shri Namboodiripad himself resigned on 24th October, 1969. As distinct from previous crises, the legislature was intact. A fresh alignment of forces with the Assembly initiated the formation of an eight-member cabinet headed by Shri.C.Achutha Menon (CPI) in November 1969. The ruling alliance consisted of the CPI, the KSP, the Muslim League, the R.S.P. and the Kerala Congress. The Assembly was dissolved on 26th June, 1970 on the advice of the Chief Minister who tendered the resignation of his council of ministers on 1st August 1970.

Elections were held in September; 1970. The partners of the ruling front now included the Indian National Congress, the CPI, the RSP, the Muslim League and the Praja Socialist Party and were returned with a considerable majority. Shri.C.Achutha Menon formed his second ministry on 4th October, 1970. The Indian National Congress supported the front Government without joining it. The cabinet was expanded on two occasions, once when the Indian National Congress joined it in September 1971 and for the second time in

December, 1975 to accommodate Kerala Congress nominees.The fourth Legislative Assembly was unique in many respects. It emerged as the first Assembly in the chequered post-independence history of the State which completed its normal constitutional term. Moreover, the normal term of the Assembly was extended on three occasions - for a period of six months from 22nd October, 1975, for a second period of six months from 22nd April, 1976 and for yet another six months from 22nd October, 1976.

Elections were then held in March 1977, the sixth to be held since the formation of the State. The ruling front, essentially a continuation of the previous alignment of forces, won a decisive majority. Cabinet leadership now passed on to Shri.K.Karunakaran of the Congress who formed a ministry on March 25, 1977.But this ministry was short-lived. Shri.Karunakaran tendered the resignation of his cabinet on April 25, 1977 following certain reference by the Kerala High Court in what had been known as the Rajan case. Shri.A.K.Antony (Congress) became the next Chief Minister. However, in the wake of differences of opinion of the Congress Working Committee on the attitude of the Congress vis-a-vis parliamentary by-election at Chikkamagalur in Karnataka, Shri Antony resigned his Chief Ministership on October 27, 1978. Shri.P.K.Vasudevan Nair (CPI) took over as Chief Minister on October 29, 1978. But his ministry also resigned on October 7, 1979 in order to create a favourable atmosphere for the formation of a Left Democratic Front in Kerala. Shri.C.H.Muhammad Koya was sworn-in as Chief Minister on October 12, 1979, but the four member ministry could continue in office only for a short term. The ministry resigned on December 1, 1979 and the Assembly was dissolved. Again President's rule was invoked in Kerala up to 24th January 1980. Political alignment in Kerala had then undergone a sea change involving a drastic regrouping of major political parties.

The stage was set for the eventual emergence of two political combines - the Left Democratic Front and the United Democratic Front. In the 1980 Assembly polls, out of the 140 elective seats in the Assembly, 13 were reserved for scheduled castes and one for scheduled tribes. The LDF bagged 93 seats. Shri.E.K.Nayanar, leader of the L.D.F. headed a 17 member ministry which assumed office on 25th January, 1980. Despite the thumping majority for the LDF, there arose ideological differences among the ruling partners and it culminated in the withdrawal of support to the ministry by the Congress (S). The curtain fell down on 20th October 1981 when the eight-member Kerala Congress (M) also withdrew support to the Government.Shri.E.K.Nayanar tendered resignation of the ministry and President's rule was introduced on 21st October

1981.Again political realignment took place.The Kerala Congress (M) and the Congress(S) joined the U.D.F. An eight-member U.D.F.ministry was sworn in on 28th December 1981 with Shri K.Karunakaran (Congress-I) as the leader. It was the twelfth ministry in Kerala since the formation of the State. The Congress (S) broke into two factions. The major group supported the Government. Another split took place in the Janatha Party also and a section lent support to the ministry.A member of the Kerala Congress (M) later withdrew his backing to the Government and it resulted in the resignation of the ministry and dissolution of the Assembly on March 17, 1982.The State fell under President's rule for the seventh time. Mid-term elections to the seventh Kerala Assembly were held on May 19, 1982.The nominees of the UDF and the LDF were the main political contestants. The U.D.F. won 77 seats. The 19 member U.D.F. Ministry with Shri.K.Karunakaran as its leader assumed office on 24th May 1982. During the regime of the U.D.F. Government the major events that took place, were the merger of the INC (I) and INC(A) in November 1982, the merger of the two rival factions of the Muslim League (IUML and AIML) in August 1985 and the splits in the N.D.P., the Janata (J) and the SRP. That ministry could complete the full term of office.The U.D.F. Ministry resigned office soon after the announcement of the election results on March 24, 1987. The ninth election to the eighth Kerala Assembly was held on March 23, 1987, about two months in advance of the due date. The electorate numbered 1, 59, 94,280 as in the case of the two previous elections, the U.D.F.and the L.D.F.were the contestants. The U.D.F. consisted of INC, IUML, KC (J), KC (M), SRP(S), NDP (P) and RSP(S). It fielded two independent candidates. The KC (J) and the IUML had given one each of their seats-Thaliparamba and Azhikode - to the Communist Marxist Party with which they had electoral adjustments and understanding.The LDF comprised of CPI (M), CPI, RSP, IC(S), Janatha and Lokdal.A third political front had also emerged with the B.J.P. And the Hindu Munnani, as constituents which put up 127 candidates.The presences of 84 candidates fielded by the newly born Communist Marxist Party led by Shri.M.V.Raghavan who was expelled from the CPM, added a new dimension to the poll. In the elections, the LDF came out victorious by securing 78 seats, pushing the UDF to the opposition with 60 seats. An independent and one CMP candidate also won the elections. A five-member ministry under the Chief Ministership of Shri.E.K.Nayanar assumed charge of office on March 26, 1987. The ministry was expanded on April 3, 1987 by including 14 more members in the Cabinet. Later the Janatha Dal recommended to the Cabinet, the name of Prof. N.M.Joseph in the place of Shri.M.P.Veerendra Kumar. Shri.Varkala Radhakrishnan was elected Speaker and Smt.Bhargavi Thankappan as Deputy Speaker, in the first sitting of the Assembly.

In a move to decentralize power, the L.D.F. Ministry brought in the District council. In the elections to this council held in December 1990, the front came out victorious. Subsequently, early general elections to the assembly were declared and were scheduled for 23rd May 1991, though the tenure of the ministry extended up to March 1992. Consequent to the assassination of Shri.Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister, on 21st May, barely two days before the dates fixed for the polls, the elections were postponed to 12th June, 1991. Elections were held as per the revised schedule in 139 constituencies as polls in the Eattumanoor constituency were countermanded, because of the death of one of the candidates there. The total electorate numbered 1,95,12,248 and the votes polled were 1,43,33,377 (73%).In the elections, the U.D.F. emerged victors with 89 seats, their constituents being INC, ML, KC(M), KC (B), CMP, NDP and independents. The 9th Kerala Assembly was sworn in to power on 24th June 1991, with Shri.K.Karunakaran as the Chief Minister. The ministry comprised of 19 ministers, drawn from INC, ML, NDP, KC (M), KC (B), KC (J) and CMP. Shri.P.P.Thankachan was elected speaker. This ministry completed its full term of five years with a change of Chief Minister and Speaker in between. On 22nd March, 1995, Shri.K.Karunakaran took up a berth in the union cabinet, making way for Shri.A.K.Antony to take up the Chief Ministership.When Shri.P.P.Thankachan became the Agriculture Minister, and Shri.Therambil Ramakrishnan was elected as Speaker in his place. As in previous years the L.D.F.Were the main contestants in the elections to the 10th Kerala Assembly.The L.D.F. Consisted of CPI (M), CPI, Janatha Dal, Congress (S), Kerala Congress (J), R.S.P. And the U.D.F. Consisted of INC, ML, KC (Jacob), KC (M), KC (B) and CMP.Tilting the balance, the L.D.F. Emerged winners and the 10th Kerala Assembly was sworn in to power on the 20th of May 1996 with Shri.E.K.Nayanar as Chief Minister. The cabinet comprised of 14 ministers drawn from CPI (M), CPI, JD, INC(S), K.C.(J) and RSP. Shri.M.Vijaya Kumar was elected as Speaker. Election to the 11th assembly was held on May 10, 2001 in which UDF got 99 seats and the 11th Kerala Assembly was sworn in to power on the 17th of May 2001 with Shri.A.K.Antony as Chief Minister.The cabinet comprised of 20 ministers. Mr.Vakkom Purushothaman was elected as speaker.Shri.Sundaran Nadar sworn in as Deputy Speaker. Shri.A.K.Antony rendered the resignation of his cabinet on august 29, 2004. A five member ministry under the chief ministership of Oommen chandy assumed charge of office on August 31, 2004. Shri.Therambil Ramakrishnan was elected as the Speaker.The ministry was further expanded to a 20 member's cabinet. INC faced a split in 2005,a new party ,DIC[K] was formed under the leadership of veteran congress leader k.karunakaran on may Ist 2005.

Election to the 12 assembly was conducted in three phases on April 22nd, 29th and May 3rd.The LDF won with 98 seats.The 19 members LDF ministry was sworn into power on 18nth may 2006 with Shri.V.S.Achuthanandan as the chief minister.Shri.k.Radhakrishnan was elected as the speaker and deputy speaker is Shri.Jose baby.   In the 140 member house, the LDF secured 98 seats, the UDF secured 41 seats and the DIC (K) secured 1 seat. The LDF has got 48.63% of the votes poled and the UDF got 42.98%.The difference between the two fronts is 5.65 percentage points.

Reforms in Education

The conditions of teachers in Kerala continued to be deplorable in the midst of ideological quarrels and differences in policy matters. It was from among this section of teachers that Joseph Mundassery came up, who as an eminent teacher, literary critic, educationalist and as Education Minister made his imprint in Kerala.As minister he introduced the famous education bill in the Kerala Assembly on 13th July, 1957, which spurred an agitation in the State.The bill was passed by the Assembly on 28th November, 1957 after completing the formalities of going through the Select Committee and completing the three readings. But the bill was referred to the Supreme Court before it got the consent of the President of India. The court approved the main provisions of the bill in June, 1958. Another bill presented in Assembly on the basis of the remarks of court was passed in November 1958 as Kerala Education Act.

While the bill was being considered by the Assembly a great debate took place in the state. The bill presented by Joseph Mundassery was not much different from the bills previously presented by the PSP and Panampilly Govinda Menon Governments and that of C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer. Majority of the provisions of the bill having a total of 36 clauses dealt with the appointment and service conditions of school teachers. Naturally there were provisions which empowered the Government to interfere in the affairs of the non-governmental schools.The justification was that both the Government and aided schools were to be uniformly administered with regard to the service conditions of teachers and the transaction of the curriculum.The bill proposed the preparation of a select list of qualified and trained teachers at the state level at the beginning of academic year applicable to both the Government and private schools. Salary of the teachers should be paid directly by the State.The management of aided schools are invested with the responsibility of administration of the schools by protecting the interests of the students.The schools of those Managers who failed in this responsibility would be denied maintenance and contingency grants and the state should take over such schools for a period of five years.

Further, the bill provided for compulsory free primary education and noon-meal, text book and study materials to children upto fourteen years of age. It also provided for the constitution of State Level Educational Advisory Board and regional educational authorities.All the important provisions were severely criticized and when those criticisms are read today one thing becomes clear, many critics opposed the bill on the apprehension that the provisions of the bill were to be implemented by the Communist government and therefore they would be misused. When committees were constituted by the government to prepare text books for various classes it was also criticized. The criticism was that students would be brain washed if those books were taught in the schools. But it should be remembered that it was believed by other church members and others that in many schools run by the Catholic Church there was a lot of 'brain washing'.

The criticism of the Catholic Church was personal also.The independent personality of Joseph Mundassery gave him the image of a critic of the Church. Besides, he maintained strong reservations with the management of the Catholic educational institution in which he had worked was expelled by his management due to the differences of salary and service conditions. They went to the extent of accusing on the basis of the difference of opinion of the education minister who was a communist fellow traveler and anti church, with one management, that the education bill was designed to control all private educational institutions.They also alleged that the bill which the communists intended to implement would do away with special rights extended to the minorities by the constitution. These kinds of personal and exaggerated stories were propagated among the people instead of specific criticisms against the bill. Adding fuel to fire, organizations like the anti-communist league of Joseph Vadakkan and christapher union were formed.

The anti-communist attitude of the Catholic Church was not based on Kerala conditions alone. In order to understand its history and the circumstances which paved its way, an enquiry is to be held outside Kerala. But the fear that more people would be attracted towards Communist ideology once the Communist government came to power and more people were attracted to their ideology through that government's work imparted a new intensity to the anti communism of Catholic Church in Kerala. When an attempt was made to control the education sector which was considered by the church as an important field to carry out anti-communist ideological struggle.The apprehension that the church might lose its influence and social prestige which it gained through the running of schools may be another factor which whipped up the agitation.

One more factor is to be taken into consideration with those mentioned above. The teachers were not till bold enough to oppose the evil practices of the managements and communal organizations. When they were helped by the government and the strong party which maintained it and when they were assured of their salary and service conditions through the education bill, they would become free ideologically and organizationally.Thus one more class of people, who were intellectually advanced and respected by the society, would also ready for agitation along with other classes of people who were already on the war path.This was viewed by the caste and religious organizations with fear, especially those who were aware of the role played by the teachers in the national and Communist movement. The merit of the education bill introduced by Joseph Mundassery and the Communist government was that it liberated the teachers from their servitude and made them capable of social and political organizational work like other sections of people.

Land Reforms and End of Feudalism

Due to the ancient land relations and taxation and regulation under the *British Raj,* at the time of independence, India inherited a semi-feudal agrarian system, with ownership of land concentrated in the hands of a few individual landlords. Since independence, there have been voluntary and state initiated/mediated land reforms in several states. The most notable and successful example of land reforms are in the states of *West Bengal and Kerala.The Land Reforms Ordinance was a law in the state of Kerala, India by K. R. Gowri Amma* minister in the first EMS government.

The EMS *government was the first communist* state government popularly elected to power in India, in the southern state of Kerala. Soon after taking its oath of office, the government introduced the controversial Land Reforms Ordinance, which was later made into an act. This, along with an *Education Bill,* raised a massive uproar from the landlord classes. The popular slogan for the radical socialists was "the land for tillers", which sent shockwaves through the landlord classes in the country. The ordinance set an absolute ceiling on the amount of land a family could own. The tenants and hut dwellers received a claim in the excess land, on which they had worked for centuries under the feudal system. In addition, the law ensured fixity of tenure and protection from eviction.These ground-breaking measures caused the premature death of the state government, as the central government, under *Jawaharlal Nehru, used article 356* to dismiss it, alleging the breakdown of law and order.The land reforms in Kerala imparted drastic changes to the political, economic and social outlook.

Different types of feudal relations existed in Travancore-Cochin and Malabar at the time of the formation of the state. The landless farmers and those who were evicted from their land wanted to get their grievances redressed.The clamour for changes gathered strength. The government which came to power in 1957 introduced the Land Reforms Bill in the Legislative Assembly. The Agrarian Relations Bill introduced in 1958 was passed with minor amendments.The legislature passed subsequent land reform bills in 1960, 1963, 1964, and 1969. But the historical land reform act, which put an end to the feudal system and ensured the rights of the tenants on land, came into force on 1 January 1970. However, cash crop plantations had been exempted from its purview.

Main objectives

- To bestow on tenants ownership of a minimum of ten cents of land
- To end the old feudal relations by legitimizing the right of real   peasants to own the land they cultivate
- To introduce land ceiling and distribute excess land among the landless agricultural laborers
- To abolish exploitation and inequalities in the agrarian sector
- To ensure the consistent progress and transformation of society
- To achieve economic development and modernization
- To end the era of *feudalism*

Impact

- Leasing of land became unlawful.
- The *Jenmis* who lived by collecting lease became extinct.
- The lease holders were given ownership of the land.
- A few big farmers who had cultivated on the leased lands also became owners of that land.
- Land owners sold their excess land.
- Hundreds of thousands of people got dwelling places of their own.

The Liberation Struggle

The Liberation Struggle (1958–59)or*Vimochana Samaram is an anti-Communist socio-political agitation, started in 1958, against the first elected state-government in Kerala, India, which was led by E. M. S. Namboodiripad of the Communist Party of India as the chief minister. The opposition of the Catholic church in Kerala, the Nair Service Society and the Indian Union Muslim League, along with the manoeuvres of the political front led by the Indian National Congress Party, against the land reform and the education policies of the government finally broke out to an open struggle and state wide violence against the government machinery and institutions.These events finally culminated in the dismissal of the state government on 31 July 1959, by the Central Government of India, which was led by the Indian National Congress during that period.*

Background

On 1 November 1956, the state of Kerala was formed by the *States Reorganisation Act merging the Malabar district, Travancore-Cochin and the taluk of Kasargod, South Kanara. In 1957, elections for the new Kerala Legislative Assembly were held, and a reformist, Communist-led government came to power, under E. M. S. Namboodiripad. It was the first time a Communist government was democratically elected to power anywhere in the world. It initiated the pioneering land reforms* and educational reforms by introducing new bills in the state assembly. However, some clauses in the new bills became controversial and the government had to face severe opposition from influential interest groups, such as the Catholic Church of Kerala, Muslim League and NSS.

The controversial legislation

Education bill

The immediate cause of the outbreak of the Liberation Struggle was the introduction of the *Education Bill by the minister of education Joseph Mundassery. The bill had revolutionary content that could have had an impact on the administration of educational institutions, which were financially aided by the government. Many of these institutions, at that time, were under the control of various Christian congregations and a few under the Nair Service Society (NSS). The Education Bill* claimed to regulate appointments and working conditions of the teachers in the government-aided schools. The remuneration of the teachers was to be paid directly from the government treasury. It also mandated to takeover any government-aided educational institution, if they fail to meet the conditions set by the newly promulgated bill.

Agrarian relations bill

With the introduction of agrarian relations bill, the government sought to confer ownership rights on tenant cultivators, to grant permanent ownership of land for the agricultural labourers, who reside in their premises at the mercy of landlords, and to attain an equal distribution of land by putting a ceiling on the individual land holdings so as to distribute the surplus land among the landless. With the introduction of the bill, government tried to address the social imbalance that prevailed in the state. In those days, the agricultural labourers, called as *kudikidappukar*, were considered as slaves. Though they were allowed to stay in a piece of land allotted by the landlord, they were denied any payments for their labour and permanent rights in the land. However, many radical proposals of this bill raised panic among the landowning communities of Kerala, *especially Nairs and Syrian Christians.*

Cell rule

Altogether, people resented the day-to-day interference of the local Communist Party functionaries in the societal and personal matters.This interference was termed as *Cell Rule*and it became a major cause for the large participation of common people in the agitation.

Interest groups

1.**Political parties**: Besides the socio-religious organizations, all the major opposition parties including *Indian National Congress, Praja Socialist Party (PSP), Muslim League, Revolutionary Socialist Party, and Kerala Socialist Party rallied together demanding the dismissal of the EMS ministry. They formed a joint steering committee with R. Sankar as the president and P. T. Chacko, Pullolil, Kumbalathu Sanku Pillai, Mathai Manjooran, Fr. Joseph Vadakkan, B. Wellington, N.Sreekantan Nair, C. H. Muhammed Koya, and BafaqiThangal* among its members.

2. **Syrian Christians**: A significant proportion of the schools in Kerala were owned by Syrian Christian Churches. They found many reformist policies of government as infringements over their rights and hence used newspapers and other publications, such as *Deepika and Malayala Manorama* to propagate panicking messages against the controversial policies. Christians used their political influence in the central government in order to derail the educational reforms; the Education Bill was referred to the Supreme Court by the President of India and on 17 May 1958 the Supreme Court reported that some clauses of the bill infringed the constitutional rights of minorities. However, government got the presidential assent on 19 February 1959 after revising the bill. The disagreement got widened and the Church representatives sought the help of NSS to fight against the government. Following the *Angamaly police firing* (13 June 1959), in which seven of its members were killed, the Catholic Church and other Syrian Christian Churches actively participated in the struggle, mobilizing massive support.

3. **Nair Service Society**: NSS, a community welfare organization of Nairs, was a major opponent of land reform policies of the government, which they considered as radical and ill-disposed towards the Nair community of Kerala. In December 1958, NSS joined up with the Catholic Church to form an anti-communist front. The government retracted partially on sensing trouble that could be created by the alliance of NSS and the Syrian Christians, and indicated it's readiness to make concessions. However, the founder leader of NSS, Mannathu Padmanabhan, declared that "the aim is not limited to the redressal of specific issues but extended to the removal of the Communist Party".He called on all the field units of NSS to organize the people, and also the educational institutes to close them.

4.***Central Intelligence Agency*** *(CIA): The role of CIA in the struggle is depicted in the work of Daniel Patrick Moynihan,* United States' ambassador to India (1973–75) in his 1978 book: "A Dangerous Place". His statements are corroborated by Howard Schaffer, the biographer *of Ellsworth Bunker,* who was the US ambassador during 1956–61. Bunker is quoted confirming American and his involvement in funding the agitation against the EMS's communist government to prevent "additional Keralas".

Agitations and reprisals

Massive rallies and demonstrations against the government took place throughout the state. Women and school children were in the forefront in spite of police actions. The Law and Order situation in the state was hit worst by the struggle. In places like *Angamaly,* Pulluvila, Vettukadu, and Cheriyathura, police resorted to firing resulting in the death of 15 people. The death of a pregnant fisher woman, named Flory, by the police firing aggravated the situation. 177,850 people (including 42,745 women) were arrested and all the jails became full. 700 out of the total 894 Panchayaths, and 26 out of total 29 municipalities of Kerala passed resolutions asking the Governor to dismiss the Government. One notable feature of the movement was massive participation of school and college students supporting the movement; the *Kerala Students Union* also played a role.

Result

The immediate effect of the *Vimochana Samaram* was the dismissal of the Communist government under E.M.S. on 31 July 1959 and imposition of the *President's rule in the state under Article 356 of the constitution.* Soon after the dismissal, a state election was declared and the United Front, led by Indian National Congress, won with a clear majority, a ministry under *Pattom A. Thanu Pillai* took office.

Legacy

Supporters of the Liberation Struggle depict it as a victory for the people and they claim that it largely enhanced the vibrant democratic system of Kerala. Eventually, the communist parties had to change its tactics in dealing with the community based organizations in Kerala. The party also had to keep a distance from its atheist principles with a due care for the religious sentiments of the people of Kerala.

The Communist Party of India projects the Liberation Struggle as a conspiracy. Some of the key points of criticism were that it was an anti-democratic, *CIA* funded, communal movement aimed to shatter the first democratically elected communist ministry. It has further accused that the Indian National Congress had joined hands in public with anti-democratic splinters and communal forces for the downfall of a democratically elected government.

UNIT-II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Reorienting District Boundaries

The *Indian state of Kerala borders with the states of Tamil Nadu on the south and east, Karnataka on the north and the Arabian Sea coastline on the west.The Western Ghats, bordering the eastern boundary of the State, form an almost continuous mountain wall, except near Palakkad where there is a natural mountain pass known as the Palakkad Gap.* When the independent India amalgamated small states together Travancore and Cochin states were integrated to form Travancore-Cochin state on 1 July 1949.However, Malabar remained under the Madras province. The *States Reorganisation Act* of 1 November 1956 elevated Kerala to statehood.

The state of *Kerala is divided into 14 revenue districts. On the basis of geographical, historical and cultural similarities, the districts are generally grouped into three parts. The North Kerala districts of Kasaragod, Kannur, Wayanad, Kozhikode, Palakkad and Malappuram; the Kochi region, Central Kerala districts of Thrissur, and Eranakulam; and Travancore, South Kerala districts of Thiruvananthapuram,Kollam, Alappuzha, Pathanamthitta, Kottayam, and Idukki. Such a regional division occurred being part of historical Kingdoms of Kochi, Travancore and British Province of Malabar. The Travancore region is again divided into 3 zones as Northern Travancore (Hill Range)(Idukki and parts of Ernakulam), Central Travancore (Central Range) (Pathanamthitta, Alappuzha and Kottayam) and Southern Travancore (South Range) (Thiruvananthapuram and Kollam).* Almost all of the districts in Kerala have the same name as the important town or city in the district, the exception being *Idukki district, Wayanad district& Ernakulam district. The 14 districts are further divided into 62 taluks,* 999 revenue villages and 1007 *Gram panchayats.* Some of the districts and their towns were renamed in 1990 like *Thiruvananthapuram (formerly* known as *Trivandrum), Kollam (Quilon), Alappuzha (Alleppey), Thrissur (Trichur or Thirushivaperur), Palakkad (Palghat), Kozhikode (Calicut) and Kannur* (*Cannanore*).

Administrative structure

Kerala State has been divided into 14 districts, 21 revenue divisions, 14 District Panchayats, 75 taluks, 152 CD blocks, 1453 revenue villages, 978 *Gram panchayats*, 5 corporations, 60 municipalities and 1 Township.

A district is governed by a *District Collector, who is an officer from Indian Administrative Service (IAS) of Kerala cadre and is appointed by the State Government of Kerala.* Functionally the district administration is carried on through the various Departments of the State Government each of which has an office of its own the district level. The District Collector is the executive leader of the district administration and the District Officers of the various Departments in the district render technical advice to him in the discharge of his duties. The District Collector is a key functionary of Government having large powers and responsibilities. He has a dual role to both as the agent of the Government of the state and also as the representative of the people in the district. He is also responsible for the maintenance of the law and order of the district.

Other than urban units such as town *municipalities and rural units called Gram panchayats, other government administrative subdivisions includes taluks and community development blocks' (also known as CD blocks or blocks). A taluk consists of urban units such as census towns and rural units called gram panchayats. The Tahsildar in charge of each taluk is primarily the Revenue Official responsible for the collection of revenue of the taluk, but he is also expected to be in direct contact with the people at all levels and to have first hand knowledge of the conditions of every village under his jurisdiction. The Tahsildar is assisted in each village by village officers and village assistants. A block also consists of such as census towns and Gram panchayats.* A block is administered by a Block Development Officer (BDO), who is appointed by the Government of Kerala. A gram panchayat, which consists of a group of villages, is administered by a village council headed by a Gram Panchayat President.

A *District Superintendent of Police, better known as a Superintendent of Police, heads the District Police organization of Kerala Police. This is as per the Police Act of 1861, which is applicable to the whole of India. The Superintendents of Police are officers of the Indian Police Service.* For every subdivision, there is a Subdivision Police, headed by a Police officer of the rank of Assistant Superintendent of Police or Deputy Superintendent of Police. Under subdivisions, there are Police Circles, each headed by an Inspector of Police. A Police Circle consists of Police Stations, each headed by an Inspector of Police, or in case of rural areas, by a Sub-Inspector of Police.The *Kerala High Court* has the jurisdiction of the state of Kerala. Each of the districts has a District Court.

History

Alleppey district was carved out of erstwhile Kottayam and Kollam (Quilon) districts on 17 August 1957. The name of the district Alleppey was changed as 'Alappuzha' in 1990. In 1982, Pathanamthitta district was newly constituted taking portions from the then Alappuzha, Kollam and Idukki districts. The areas transferred from the erstwhile Alappuzha district to Pathanamthitta district are Thiruvalla taluk as a whole and part of Chengannur and Mavelikkara Taluks.

Alphabetical listing

Code	District	Headquarters	Established	Subdivisions	Population	Area (2001)[13]	Population Density (2011)

AL	Alappuzha	Alappuzha	7 Aug 1957	• 6 Taluks
				  • Ambalapuzha (Alappuzha)
				  • Chengannur
				  • Cherthala
				  • Karthikappally (Haripad)
				  • Kuttanad (Mankombu)
				  • Mavelikkara
					2,121,943	1,414 km² (546 sq mi)	1,489 /km² (3,860 /sq mi)

ER	Ernakulam	Kakkanad	1 Apr 1958	• 7 Taluks
				  • Aluva
				  • Kanayannur (Ernakulam)
				  • Kochi (Fort Kochi)
				  • Kothamangalam
				  • Kunnathunad (Perumbavoor)
				  • Muvattupuzha
				  • North Paravur
					3,279,860	2,951 km² (1,139 sq mi)	1,050 /km² (2,700 /sq mi)

ID	Idukki	Painavu	26 Jan 1972	• 5 Taluks
				  • Devikulam
				  • Peermade
				  • Udumbanchola (Nedumkandam)
				  • Idukki (Painavu)
				  • Thodupuzha
					1,107,453	4,479 km² (1,729 sq mi)	252 /km² (650 /sq mi)

KN	Kannur	Kannur	1 Jan 1957	• 4 Taluks
				  • Thalassery
				  • Iritty
				  • Kannur
				  • Thalipparamba
					2,525,637	2,966 km² (1,145 sq mi)	813 /km² (2,110 /sq mi)

KS	Kasaragod	Kasaragod	24 May 1984	• 4 Taluks
				  • Manjeshwaram
				  • Kasaragod
				  • Vellarikundu
				  • Hosdurg
					1,302,600	1,992 km² (769 sq mi)	604 /km² (1,560 /sq mi)

KL	Kollam	Kollam	1 Nov 1956	• 6 Taluks • Kollam (Paravur, Chathannoor)	2,629,703	2,498 km² (964 sq mi)	1,034 /km² (2,680 /sq mi)

				- Karunagappally - Kunnathur (Sasthamkotta) - Kottarakkara - Punalur - Pathanapuram			
KT	Kottayam	Kottayam	1 Nov 1956	5 Taluks - Changanasserry - Kanjirappally - Kottayam - Vaikom - Meenachil (Palai)	1,979,384	2,203 km² (851 sq mi)	886 /km² (2,290 /sq mi)
KZ	Kozhikode	Kozhikode	1 Jan 1957	4 Taluks - Kozhikode - Thamarassery - Koyilandy - Vadakara	3,089,543	2,345 km² (905 sq mi)	1,228 /km² (3,180 /sq mi)
MA	Malappuram	Malappuram	16 Jun 1969	7 Taluks - Nilambur - Eranad (Manjeri) - Kondotty - Perinthalmanna - Ponnani - Tirur - Tirurangadi	4,110,956	3,550 km² (1,370 sq mi)	1,022 /km² (2,650 /sq mi)
PL	Palakkad	Palakkad	1 Jan 1957	6 Taluks - Alathur - Chittur - Palakkad - Pattambi - Ottappalam - Mannarkkad	2,810,892	4,480 km² (1,730 sq mi)	584 /km² (1,510 /sq mi)

PT	*Pathanamthitta*	*Pathanamthitta*	*1 Nov 1982*	• *6 Taluks*
				  • *Adoor*
				  • *Konni*
				  • *Kozhencherry (Pathanamthitta)*
				  • *Ranni*
				  • *Mallappally*
				  • *Thiruvalla*
					1,195,537	2,462 km² (951 sq mi)	500 /km² (1,300 /sq mi)

TV	*Thiruvananthapuram*	*Thiruvanantha-puram*	*1 Nov 1956*	• *6 Taluks*
				  • *Neyyattinkara*
				  • *Kattakada*
				  • *Nedumangad*
				  • *Thiruvananthapuram*
				  • *Chirayinkeezhu (Attingal)*
				  • *Varkala*
					3,307,284	2,192 km² (846 sq mi)	1,476 /km² (3,820 /sq mi)

TS	*Thrissur*	*Thrissur*	*1 Nov 1956*	• *6 Taluks*
				  • *Kodungallur*
				  • *Mukundapuram (Irinjalakuda)*
				  • *Chalakudy*
				  • *Chavakkad*
				  • *Thalapilly (Wadakkancheri)*
				  • *Thrissur*
					3,110,327	3,032 km² (1,171 sq mi)	981 /km² (2,540 /sq mi)

WA	*Wayanad*	*Kalpetta*	*1 Nov 1980*	• *3 Taluks*
				  • *Mananthavady*
				  • *Sultan Battery*
				  • *Vythiri (Kalpetta)*
					816,558	2,131 km² (823 sq mi)	369 /km² (960 /sq mi)

					33,387,677	**38,863 km² (15,005 sq mi)**	**819.32 /km² (2,122.0 /sq mi)**

Development of Service Sectors: Health and Education

Kerala's development experience has been distinguished by the primacy of social sectors especially Health and Education.Modern systems of health and education were introduced in the state during the early decades of the 19th century during colonialism.

Health

Health care sector in Kerala has made tremendous progress during the past half century, with the creation of a large number of trained Doctors, Nurses and other technicians together with an extensive net work of Hospitals.

The basis for the state's impressive health standards is the state wide *infrastructure o*f primary health centres.There are over 2,700 government medical institutions in the state, with 330 beds per 100,000 population, the highest in the country. With virtually all mothers taught to breast-feed, and a state-supported nutrition programme for pregnant and new mothers, infant mortality in 2011 was 12 per thousand, compared with 91 for low-income countries generally.

In Kerala the birth rate is 40% below that of the national average and almost 60 per cent below the rate for poor countries in general. In fact, a 1992 survey found that the birth rate had fallen to replacement level. Kerala's birth rate is 14 per 1,000 females and falling fast. India's rate is 25 per 1,000 females and that of *the U.S. is 16. Its adult literacy rate is 94.59 per cent compared to India's 65 and the US's 99. Life expectancy* at birth in Kerala is 75 years compared to 64 years in India and 77 years in the US. Female life expectancy in Kerala exceeds that of the male, just as it does in the developed world. Kerala's maternal mortality rate is: Total: 1.3 deaths/1,000 live births (1990), lowest in India.

Kerala model of healthcare

According to a white paper on the Quality of Death, released by the Economist Intelligence Unit in 2010, has projected the community model healthcare system from Kerala as a beacon of hope for providing palliative care services. The report from '*The Economist*' has ranked 40 countries across the world on end-of-life care facilities on the basis of 24 indicators on healthcare environment and availability, cost and quality of care. In the overall score, India with a score of 1.9 out of 10 ranked the 40th, behind countries such as Slovakia, Malaysia, Turkey, Brazil and even Uganda. UK topped the list followed by Australia and New Zealand.

While India ranks at the bottom of the Index in overall score, and performs badly on many indicators, Kerala, if measured on the same points, would buck the trend. With only 3% of India's population, the tiny state provides two-thirds

of India's palliative care services. The Economist has lauded the 'Kerala Community Model' in healthcare. Moreover, The Economist has patted the Kerala Government for providing palliative care policy (It is the only Indian state with such a policy) and funding for community-based care programmes.

The magazine said that Kerala is one of the first of India's states to relax narcotics regulations to permit use of morphine by palliative care providers. Kerala has also extended the definition of palliative care to include the long-term chronically ill and even the mentally incapacitated. Kerala's formal palliative care policy, the only state with such a policy, the community-based Neighborhood Network in Palliative Care (NNPC) Project that employs an army of volunteers and the Government funding for these local community-based care units, almost 260 in number, has earned it many an accolade.

The report said twenty nine out of the 40 countries studied have no formal palliative care strategy, revealed the report. Only seven - Australia, Mexico, New Zealand, Poland, Switzerland, Turkey and UK have national policies, while four others - Austria, Canada, Ireland and Italy are in the process of drafting one. Kerala had long ago recognised the importance of palliative care as can be seen from the growth of community-based care units. "The State's community-operated care system is funded largely through local micro-donations of as little as Rs 10 (21 US cents) per month.The volunteers in these units, after training can provide psychological, social and spiritual support. It is this that marks the NNPC out from more medical-oriented and expensive systems in use elsewhere," said the report.

Studying Kerala's combination of Government support and civic involvement in end-of-life care, a number of similar models are being tried out in Ethiopia, Bangladesh, and even in Switzerland. "Kerala provides a useful lesson for other countries, particularly as ageing population puts increasing pressures on existing healthcare services," said the report. While countries such as Taiwan and Hungary have managed to get on the top 15 of the index, one possible reason cited for the poor show by India *and China* is their large population, with the care coverage reaching only a fraction of those in need.

Education in Kerala

The importance and antiquity of education in Kerala is underscored by the state's ranking as among the most literate in the country. The local dynastic precursors of modern-day *Kerala* primarily the Travancore Royal Family, the Catholic and Christian missionaries, The Nair Service Society, Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana (SN Trust) and MES (Muslim Educational society) made

significant contributions to the progress on education in Kerala.There were many *sabha mathams* that *imparted Vedic* knowledge. Apart from *kalaris*, which taught martial arts, there were village schools run by Ezhuthachans or Asans. Catholic missionaries brought modern school education system in Kerala.

Education in Kerala had been promoted during British rule in India by *Catholic* and other *Christian* missionaries who were keen on providing education to all sections of society and strengthening of women, without any kind of discrimination.The contributions of Catholic priests and nuns are very crucial and have played a major role in educating women and people belonging to lower strata of society surpassing many social hurdles.A significant figure in the 19th century was *Rev.fr. Kuriakose Elias Chavara* who started a system called "A school along with every church" to make education available for both poor and rich which still continues in the present. His work has resulted in promoting education for girls and is notable for becoming a good model for educational system in Kerala after independence. Kerala's high literacy rate is attributed to high girl literacy rate as it is said, "When a woman is educated, she will make sure that her children are well-educated."

The *Kerala school of astronomy and mathematics was founded by Madhava of Sangamagrama in Kerala, which included among its members: Parameshvara, Neelakanta Somayaji, Jyeshtadeva,Achyuta Pisharati, Melpathur Narayana Bhattathiri and Achyuta Panikkar. The school flourished between the 14th and 16th centuries and the original discoveries of the school seems to have ended with Narayana Bhattathiri* (1559–1632). In attempting to solve astronomical problems, the Kerala School independently created a number of important mathematics concepts. Their most important results—series expansion for trigonometric functions—were described in Sanskrit verse in a book by *Neelakanta called Tantrasangraha, and again in a commentary on this work, calledTantrasangraha-vakhya, of unknown authorship. The theorems were stated without proof, but proofs for the series for sine, cosine, and inverse tangent were provided a century later in the workYuktibhā ā (c.1500-1610), written in Malayalam, by Jyesthadeva, and also in a commentary on Tantrasangraha.*

Their work, completed two centuries before the *invention of calculus in Europe*, provided what is now considered the first example of a power series (apart from geometric series). However, they did not formulate a systematic theory of differentiation and integration, nor is there any direct evidence of their results being transmitted outside Kerala.

Present

Schools and colleges are mostly run by the government, private trusts, or individuals. Each school is affiliated with either the *Indian Certificate of Secondary Education (ICSE), the Central Board for Secondary Education (CBSE), Kerala State Education Board or the National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS). English is the language of instruction in most private schools, while government run schools offer English or Malayalam as the medium of instruction. Government run schools in the districts bordering Karnataka and Tamil Nadu also offer instruction in Kannada or Tamil languages. A handful of Government Sanskrit Schools provide instruction in Sanskrit supplemented by Malayalam, English, Tamil or Kannada. After 10 years of secondary schooling, students typically enroll at Higher Secondary School in one of the three streams— liberal arts, commerce or science.* Upon completing the required coursework, students can enroll in general or professional degree programmes. Kerala topped the Education Development Index (EDI) among 21 major states in India in year 2006-2007.

Quality of education

In spite of the large number of educational institutions in the state, the quality of education at all levels in Kerala has been showing a decline due to financial constraints resulting from quantitative expansion of the sector.

A study published in 1999 by the Centre for Socio-economic & Environmental Studies states that while the dropout rates are very low in primary schools, the same increases in the ninth and the tenth standards in Kerala. This is particularly true about SC/ST students. Schools showed that only 73% of the students joining at 1st Standard reach the 10th Standard. In the case of scheduled caste students, only 59% reach the 10th standard. Sixty per cent of Scheduled Tribe students drop out by the 10th standard.

Another major indicator of the inefficiency of Kerala's school education system is the large-scale failures of the students in the matriculation examination.Only about 50% of the students who appear for the examination get through. But at present the percentage of results has been considerably increased because of major interventions by the government in the areas of curriculum and teacher training. In March 2011, 91.37% students qualified for higher studies in the matriculation Examination.

Organisation

The schools and colleges in Kerala are run by the government or private trusts and individuals. Each school is affiliated with either the *Indian Certificate of Secondary Education (ICSE), the Central Board for Secondary Education (CBSE), Kerala State Education Board or the National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS). English is the language of instruction in most private schools, but government run schools offer both English and Malayalam as medium. After 10 years of secondary schooling, students typically enroll at Higher Secondary School in one of the three streams—liberal arts, commerce or science.* Upon completing the required coursework, students can enroll in general or professional degree programmes.

By region:

Thiruvananthapuram

Thiruvananthapuram, one of the state's major academic hubs, hosts the University of Kerala and several professional education colleges, including 15 engineering colleges, three medical colleges, three Ayurveda colleges, two colleges of homeopathy, six other medical colleges, and several law colleges. Trivandrum Medical College, Kerala's premier health institute, one of the finest in the country, is being upgraded to the status of an All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS). The College of Engineering, Trivandrum is one of the prominent engineering institutions in the state. The Asian School of Business and IIITM-K are two of the other premier management study institutions in the city, both situated inside Technopark. The Indian Institute of Space Science and Technology, first of its kind in India, is also situated here and an Indian Institute of Science Education and Research, Thiruvananthapuram is also being set up.Trivandrum district holds the most number of colleges and schools in Kerala including 4 international schools, 30 professional colleges, and 38 vocational training instititutes.

Thiruvananthapuram is also home to most number of Research Centres in Kerala including VSSC, ISRO, Brahmos Aerospace*, IISER, Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre (VSSC), Liquid Propulsion Systems Centre (LPSC), Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station (TERLS) etc. The College of Engineering, Trivandrum is one of the prominent engineering institutions in the country. The Asian School of Business and IIITM-K are two of the other premier management study institutions in the city, both situated inside Technopark.* The Indian Institute of Space Technology, the unique and first of its kind in India, is situated in the state capital.

Science and technology centres in Trivandrum

Thiruvananthapuram is a Research and Development hub in the fields of *space science, information technology, bio-technology, and medicine. It is home to the Indian Institute of Science Education and Research, Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre (VSSC), Liquid Propulsion Systems Centre (LPSC), Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station (TERLS), Indian Institute of Space Science and Technology (IIST), Rajiv Gandhi Centre for Biotechnology (RGCB), Tropical Botanical Garden and Research Institute, ER&DC – CDAC, CSIR – National Institute of Interdisciplinary Science and Technology, Free Software Foundation of India (FSFI), Regional Cancer Centre (RCC), Sree Chitra Thirunal Institute of Medical Sciences and Technology (SCTIMST), Centre for Earth Science Studies (CESS), Central Tuber Crops Research Institute (CTCRI), Priyadarsini Planetarium, The Oriental Research Institute & Manuscripts Library,* Kerala Highway Research Institute, Kerala Fisheries Research Institute, etc. A scientific institution named National centre for molecular materials, for the research and development of biomedical devices and space electronics is to be established in Thiruvananthapuram.College of Architecture Trivandrum (CAT), which specialise only on the architecture course, is another institution proposed to set up in the suburbs of the city.

Kochi / Ernakulam

Kochi is another major educational hub. The *Cochin University of Science and Technology (also known as "Cochin University") is situated in the suburb of the city. Most of the city's colleges offering tertiary education are affiliated to the Mahatma Gandhi University. Other national educational institutes in Kochi include the Central Institute of Fisheries Nautical and Engineering Training, the National University of Advanced Legal Studies, the National Institute of Oceanography, Central Institute of Fisheries Technology and the Central Marine Fisheries Research Institute. College of Fisheries affiliated to Kerala Agricultural University is situated at Panangad, a suburban area of the city. Pothanicad, a village in Ernakulam district is the first panchayath in India that achieved 100% literacy. Sree Sankaracharya University of Sanskrit (SSUS), also famous as Sanskrit University, is situated in Kalady*, in the Northern side of Ernakulam District.

Kozhikode

Kozhikode is the major education city in Kerala which is home to two of the premier educational institutions in the country; the IIMK, one of the thirteen Indian Institutes of Management, and the only National Institute of Technology in Kerala,

the NITC. Other important educational institutions in the district include Calicut Medical College, Government Homoeopathic Medical College, Calicut, Government Law College, Calicut, Government Engineering College Kozhikode, College of Nursing Calicut, Spring Valley School, Kerala School of Mathematics, Govt. Dental College,Co-Operative Institute of Technology and Govt. Polytechnic College and GMLPS Velimanna.

Malappuram

The progress that *Malappuram district has achieved in the field of education during the last decade is tremendous. Great strides have been made in the field of female education. Malappuram is the only district in kerala that holds three universities (University of Calicut, Aligarh Muslim University campus and Thunchaththu Ezhuthachan Malayalam University. And the state Government has proposed to establish two new universities, Ayurveda University and English and Foreign Languages University campus* here.

Thrissur

The district of *Thrissur* holds some of the premier institutions in Kerala such as Kerala Agricultural University, Thrissur Medical College, Government Engineering College, Govt. Law College, Ayurveda College, Govt. Fine Arts College, College of Co-operation & Banking and Management, College of Veterinary and Animal Sciences, College of Horticulture, College of Forestry etc. Thrissur is also a main center of coaching for the entrance examinations for engineering and medicine.

Kottayam

Kottayam also acts as a main educational hub. According to the 1991 census, Kottayam District of Kerala is the first district to achieve full literacy rate in the whole of India. Mahatma Gandhi University, CMS College, Medical College, Kottayam, St. Thomas College, Palai and the Labour India Educational Research Center are some of the important educational institutions in the district.

Kannur

Kannur district in northern part of Kerala has the Kannur University; (This is a multi-campus University having campuses at Kasaragod, Kannur, Thalassery and Mananthavady - The Headquarters of the University is situated at Mangattuparambu), one Government Engineering College, one Government Ayurveda College and several arts and sciences colleges. It also hosts the 13th Centre ofNIFT (National Institute of Fashion Technology). The people of

Kannur, with the effective leadership of Mr M.V. Raghavan established a full-fledged Medical College in Co-operative sector atPariyaram. Kannur Medical College at Anjarakandy is a private Medical College located in this district. A private sector Ayurveda Medical College is situated at Parassinikkadavu.

Growth of Service Organisations

In Kerala State Civil Service, there are two types of service organizations, which are regulated by government servants Conduct Rules.One is intended for the non-gazetted officers and the other is for gazetted officers.Memberships to these organizations are restricted to the respective category of officers.

In Kerala State Service, gazetted officers form a separate category that propels the engines of the government and makes vital decisions for governance. At the inception almost all these officers were brought under one organization named Kerala Gazetted Officers Association. Gradually those elements having allegiance to communist crept in and grabbed the Leadership and Secular Democratic forces in the organization were sidelined.In the meantime, Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Iron Lady and worlds renowned stateswoman fell prey to the bullets of her gunman turned terrorist. Her tragic demise creates shock waves and people from all walks of life joined hands to mourn and pay homage to the departed soul. Accordingly a group from the assosiation requested leadership to adopt a condolence message on the death of our beloved national leader and Prime Minister who shed her last drop of blood to the unity and integrity of the nation.But those who are at the helm of the assosiation did not heed the request.This wild act of disrespect to a departed national leader could not be tolerable to the secular and democratic groups in the organization.They felt ashamed to continue any more in an organization which even denied their basic right. Hence they decide to form an organization which upholds democratic and human principles.

Gazetted Officer

Gazetted Officer is a higher level *ranked public servant. Authority for a gazetted officer to issue an official stamp comes from the President of India or governors of states or union territories.InIndia, "Gazette" is published on regular bases by the eGazette of India.* It is an official central government or state government publication (also called "*Gazette*") which publishes the appointment or promotions of certain government officials. An officer or public servant, who is appointed under the seal of the Governor of the concerned state or by the President of India at national level, requires being listed in the Indian Gazette or State Government Gazette to be considered a *Gazetted Officer. If a person's name*

is published in the Gazette, he/she is called Gazetted. Many are honorary Justices of the Peace and have the same standing as some of the Magistrates. Such officers, among other functions, have the power to verify the documents for academic, immigration and other purposes. The Government of India or the Government of States in India classifies public officials into Group A, B(Gazetted), B(Non-Gazetted), C and D. Earlier classification was Class I, II(Gazetted), II(Non-Gazetted), III and IV. Class A or Grade I is the highest rank class and the Class D or Grade IV is the least. The Government of India has plans to merge Group IV or D into Group III or C. Grade I and II (Gazetted) belong to the class of officers whose transfer, appointment, promotion *and superannuation* is published on a yearly basis in the official gazette of state or central government. These officials belong to the managerial or highly educated class of government servants.

Ranks:

Class I or Group. A (Gazetted)

Example - Central and State Governments Employees with Group A service rules (IAS, IPS, IFS, IRS etc.), Scientists (in government funded research organizations) Vice-Chancellor to Assistant Professor or Assistant Registrar (In State and Central Universities), Principals and Faculty members of Government Colleges, Doctors and Engineers (central and state services), Magistrate and above in judicial services.

Class II or Group B (Gazetted)

Example - Doctors (state govt service) SDO, BDO, Dy.SP, Tahsildars etc. in State Administration, Principal of Government Schools, Income Tax and Revenue Officers, Senior and (AAO) Assistant Audit/Accounts Officers of (IA&AD) (CAG) Indian P&T Accounts and Finance Services, Section Officers (selected).

Class II or Group B (Non-Gazetted)

Example-Office Assistants, Senior Stenographer, Government School Teachers, Police Inspectors/Sub-Inspectors and Foreman, Central Excise and Custom Inspector, Junior Pharmacist, Junior Engineers etc.

Class III or Group C - Public servants in non-supervisory/non-administrative roles.

Example - Head clerks, Clerks, Assistants, Typist, Stenographer, Tax Assistants, Telephone operator etc.

Class IV or Group D- Manual workers (skilled or semi-skilled)

Example - Peon, attender, gardener, driver assistant grade III (fCI) etc.

Who can certify documents?

Attestation of copies of original documents: Class I and Class II (Gazetted) public servants.

Character certificate: Police records verification and gazetted officers.

Citizenship certification: *Citizenship* certification is limited to very few officials such as Sub-Divisional Magistrates.

Non-Gazetted Officers

Government/public servants who are in category II and are not in possession of any significant administrative position are categorized as Non-Gazetted people. Also, personnels falling under the category of Class III and IV are not gazetted.Further, people serving in Public sector undertakings and nationalized banks (in whatever capacity) are not gazetted.

KGOA

The Kerala Gazetted Officers Association is a major service organisation representing Gazetted Officers of Kerala State Civil Service. It was formed in 1966. Professionals like Doctors, Engineers, Veterinary Surgeons, Agricultural Officers, Scientific & Technical officers, Administrators and Ministerial officers are members of this organization. Out of the nearly 35,000 Gazetted officers eligible for membership, KGOA has about 20,000 members as on date. KGOA emphasizes the need for people oriented civil service leveraging the advantages of modern technology in ensuring service delivery to the doorsteps of all citizens.

The Kerala Gazetted Officers' Union (KGOU)

The Kerala Gazetted Officers' Union is a common platform for the *gazetted officers of Kerala having democratic and seculiarist views. KGOU started functioning in the state of Kerala during 1984, separating from KGOA after the martyrdom of Smt. Indira Gandhi,* then prime minister of India.KGOU politically extends support to the activities of the largest and oldest democratic party of India. KGOU moves ahead in protecting the rights of civil servants and same time works for an efficient, effective and transparent civil service having commitment to the society.Sri.K.P.Radhakrishnan was the founder president of KGOU.

Kerala N.G.O. Front

Formation of Kerala N.G.O. Front was a long cherished dream of Civil Servants of Kerala owing allegiance to democratic national organisations having secular credentials and have pledged for National unity and integrity. Kerala Non-Gazetted Officer's Front was formed on 1976.The Union was formed as a unitary organisation irrespective section of Non-Gazetted employees coming under the State Government of Kerala.

Kerala N.G.O. Front decided to rally behind the ordinary public against exploitation with an aim to bring a Socilsist social order. The State employees and teachers were in a very pitiable condition both socially and economically equivalent to slavery.The first task of the union was to release the employees from such slavery. There was no social obligation from the part of employees.The union tried its best to create a definite social obligation to the employees.Through the bitter experiences,the union succeeded to make the state employees more socially obligative.

NGO Sangh

The govt employees have no trade union rights in India inspite of the fact that ours is a democratic country. Still the govt employees in the state are associating and organizing under civil service organizations.

The NGO Sangh has formed not because there was a lack in employees' organizations or not the result of their non-functioning. After the National emergency in 1975-76 and the subsequent general election to Lok Sabha in 1977 it was decided to form a new civil service organization with the support of those who fought against the antidemocratic forces. Kerala NGO Centre was formed in 27th November 1977 in a convention held at Ernakulam.The foundation conference was held on May 1978 at Ernakulam.Differences arose between the Socialist fraction and the Nationalist fraction on the foundation day itself. Two General Secretaries were selected and flag was accepted as blue. In order to avoid the confusions in functioning and in programmes the name of the organization supported by Nationalist fraction was changed as KERALA NGO SANGH in 1988 December at the 10th State Conference held at Kasargode. The Saffron flag was accepted. The state office had been started functioning at Ulsavamadom Buildings, Fort, Thiruvananthapuram .Thereafter ideological and organizational support of Bharatheeya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) has become the backbone of Kerala NGO Sangh.There was no looking back from there on and NGO Sangh is functioning as a front row organization amoung state government employee of Kerala.

Naxal Movement

To understand the genesis of the Naxal movement, one needs to locate it within the framework of the Communist movement in India. To be more specific, any study on the Naxal movement cannot overlook the importance of the rise and fall of the Telangana Movement (1946-51), since Telangana will always remain the glorious chapter in the history of peasant struggles for Indian

communists. In fact, it was the first serious effort by sections of the communist party leadership to learn from the experiences of the Chinese revolution and to develop a comprehensive line for India's democratic revolution. On the other hand, the experience in Telangana also facilitated the growth of three distinct lines within the Indian communist movement.

The line promoted by Ranadive and his followers, rejected the significance of the Chinese revolution, and advocated the simultaneous accomplishment of the democratic and the socialist revolutions, based on city-based working-class insurrections. The group drew inspiration from Stalin and fiercely attacked Mao as another Tito. The second line mainly professed and propagated by the Andhra Secretariat, drew heavily on the Chinese experiences and the teachings of Mao, in building up the struggle of Telangana. The Andhra leadership, while successfully managing to spearhead the movement against the Nizam, failed to tackle the complex question of meeting the challenge of the Government of India. The Nehru government embarked on the road to parliamentary democracy, conditioning it with reforms like the 'abolition of the Zamindari system'. All these objective conditions facilitated the dominance of a centrist line, put forward by Ajay Ghosh and Dange. This line characteristically pointed out the differences between Chinese and Indian conditions and pushed the party along the road to parliamentary democracy.

In 1957, the Communists succeeded in forming a government in Kerala, which however, was soon overthrown. Additionally, following the India-China war, the party split into two during 1964 –Communist Party of India (CPI) andCommunist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI [M]). While the CPI preached the theory of 'peaceful road to non-capitalist development', the CPI (M) adopted the centrist line. Though there were serious differences on ideological and tactical grounds, both the parties went ahead with their parliamentary exercises and formed the United Front government in West Bengal.

In the backdrop of such organizational upheavals within the Indian Communist movement, an incident in a remote area transformed the history of left-wing extremism in India. In a remote village called Naxalbari in West Bengal, a tribal youth named Bimal Kissan, having obtained a judicial order, went to plough his land on 2 March 1967. The local landlords attacked him with the help of their goons. Tribal people of the area retaliated and started forcefully recapturing their lands. What followed was a rebellion, which left one police sub inspector and nine tribals dead.

Within a short span of about two months, this incident acquired great visibility and tremendous support from cross sections of Communist revolutionaries belonging to the state units of the CPI (M) in West Bengal,Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir.Though the United Front Government of West Bengal, headed by the CPI (M) was able to contain the rebellion within 72 days 3 using all repressive measures possible, these units had a formal meeting in November 1967, as a result of which the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) was formed in May 1968. 'Allegiance to the armed struggle and non-participation in the elections' were the two cardinal principles that the AICCR adopted for its operations. However, differences cropped up over how an armed struggle should be advanced and this led to the exclusion of a section of activists from Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal, led respectively by T. Nagi Reddy and Kanhai Chatterjee.

On the question of the 'annihilation of the class enemy', the Kanhai Chatterjee group had serious objections, as they were of the view that the annihilation of the class enemy should only be undertaken after building up mass agitations. However, a majority in the AICCCR rejected this and the AICCCR went ahead with the formation of the Communist Party of India (MarxistLeninist) in May 1969. This led Chatterjee to join the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC). The CPI (M-L) held its first congress in 1970 in Kolkata and Charu Mazumdar was formally elected its general secretary.Since then, both the CPI (M-L) and the MCC continued with their respective forms of armed struggle for the next couple of years. During this period, Charu Majumdar became the undisputed Naxalite guru and with the organizational skills of Kanu Sanyal and Jaghal Santhal, the movement spread to different corners of the country. The country witnessed the euphoria of a Maoist revolution. However, it was far more shortlived than expected. What was generally perceived by Indian as well as Chinese Communist revolutionaries as the final enactment of the revolution, in reality, proved to be no more than a dress rehearsal.

As hundreds of CPI (ML) cadres lost their lives, and thousands were put behind bars, the movement witnessed confusion, splits and disintegration. Charu Majumdar's larger-than-life image also had its negative impact, for after his death in 1972, the central leadership of CPI (ML) virtually collapsed.

The history of the Naxal movement postCharu Mazumdar is characterized by a number of splits, brought about by personalized and narrow perceptions about the Maoist revolutionary line and attempts at course-correction by some of the major groups. Even Kanu Sanyal, one of the founders of the movement, could not escape this. He gave up the path of "dedicated armed struggle" by 1977 and accepted parliamentary practice as a form of revolutionary activity.

It was during 1974 that an influential group of the CPI (ML), led by Jauhar (Subrata Dutt), Nagbhushan Pattnaik and Vinod Mishra, launched a major initiative, which they termed 'course-correction'. This group renamed itself the CPI (M-L) Liberation in 1974, and in 1976, during the Emergency, adopted a new line that called for the continuation of armed guerilla struggles along with efforts to form a broad antiCongress democratic front, consisting even non-communist parties. The group also suggested that pure military armed struggle should be limited and there should be greater emphasis on mass peasant struggles, in an attempt to provide an Indianized version of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism.

However, during the next three years, the movement suffered further splits with leaders, such as Kondapalli Seetharamaiah (Andhra Pradesh) and N. Prasad (Bihar) dissociating themselves from the activities of the party. This led to Prasad forming the CPI (M-L) (Unity Organization) and Seetharamaiah started the People's War Group (PWG) in 1980.While Seetharamaiah's line sought to restrict the 'annihilation of class enemies', the PWG's emphasis was on building mass organizations, not developing a broad democratic front.

Communist Party of India (Marxist–Leninist) Red Flag

Communist Party of India (Marxist–Leninist) Red Flag (CPI (ML) Red Flag) was *a political party in India. CPI (ML) Red Flag was formed in 1988 as a break-away from the Central Reorganization Committee, CPI (ML).The party's main base of support was in Kerala, where it emerged as the major ML faction. It also expanded to other states including Karnataka, MadhyaPradesh, Maharashtra, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal and Odisha. The party head office w*as located in *Delhi.*The first All India Secretary of the party was Arup Majumdar, followed by K.N. Ramachandran.

In 2003 a large section of the party *in Kerala, including the majority in the Kerala State Committee, broke away, and are running a parallel CPI (ML) Red Flag.* The split was led by the Kerala state secretary of the party, *P.C. Unnichekkan,* and M.S. Jayakumar. This party continues to use the name CPI (ML) Red Flag.

The main mass organization of the party was the Trade Union Centre of India (TUCI).Regional mass organizations of the party included Yuvajanavedi, Kerala Vidyarthi Sanghatana (Kerala Students Organization, a student's wing) and Janakeeya Kala Sahitya Vedi (a cultural front) in Kerala, *and Adivasi Democratic Front in Madhya Pradesh.* CPI (ML) Red Flag published Red Star *(English), Iykya Horatta (Kannada) and Saghavu (Malayalam).*

Ahead of the Lok Sabha elections in 2004 CPI (ML) Red Flag and CPI (ML) took the initiative to form a united front of revolutionary communists. In that front they were able to gather, more than CPI (ML) and CPI (ML) Red Flag, Centre of Communist Revolutionaries (West Bengal), Lal Nishan Party (Leninvadi), Marxist Communist Party of India, Marxist-Leninist Committee, New Socialist Movement, Gujarat, Provisional Central Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and Bhagat Singh Vichar Manch.

In *Kerala a Left Front was formed ahead of the elections together with BTR-EMS-AKG Janakeeya Samskarika Vedi* of V.B. Cheriyan.CPI (ML) Red Flag merged *with Kanu Sanyal's Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) at a unity conference in Vijayawada* January 2005

Mandakini Narayanan

Mandakini Narayanan (died December 16, 2006), popularly known as **'Ma'**, was an *Indian Naxalite leader in Kerala. Born in Gujarat, she married the late Naxal leader Kunnikkal Narayanan. She herself was one of the front-runners of the naxalite movement in Kerala, a* prominent state in India.

Mandakini was born to a Gujarati couple, Navin Chandra Osa and Urvashi Osa.She worked with the undivided Communist Party while studying in *Mumbai.*

Mandakini, along with her husband and daughter, led several agitations waged by naxalites in Kerala. She was arrested and sent to jail in the *Pulpally and Thalassery* police stations attack cases, which resulted in death of two police officials. She received a sentence of two and a half years during the emergency and was subjected to severe police excesses.Mandakini died on December 16, 2006, at the age of 82.

Mandakini is survived by her *daughter K.Ajitha,* naxalite-turned human rights activist and social reformist. Ajitha now championing the cause of women-rights and fight against *social evils* and corruption through an organization named ANWESHI.

K. Ajitha (born 1950)

K.Ajitha is a social activist *of Kozhikode, Kerala. Ajitha was indoctrinated to Marxism at a very young age through her parents to Kunnikal Narayanan and Mandakini, who were both its prominent supporters. She is one of the greatest ladies who are fighting for women's freedom from Kozhikode.She played an active role in the Naxalite movement of Kerala. In 1968, her group began their armed struggle.They conducted some armed raids in pulpallywhich* resulted in the death of two police officials.She was soon arrested along with most of her accomplices.She was tried for her crimes and was given Nine years Imprisonment.

After her jail sentence, she parted her ways with armed struggle movement and began working for the feminist movement in *Kerala.* She is now working for the rights of women through an organization *Anweshi.*

A. Varghese

For close to three decades, the death of A. Varghese, a radical Leftist revolutionary in Kerala, had remained a footnote of history.Till it exploded into the limelight last fortnight, with the appearance in the media of the unprecedented confession of former constable P. Ramachandran Nair. The long-buried details of Varghese's killing have now lit the fuse to a controversy revolving around repression and human rights violations perpetrated by the State.

Traumatised by guilt, constable Nair penned a confession shortly after he shot Varghese in a fake police encounter in the forests of Wayanad back in 1970. The letter was handed over to the slain Naxalite leader's compatriot, A. Vasu. It gathered dust until it surfaced in the memoirs of another Naxalite leader, K. Venu, published in a local journal recently. The intriguing question is why Vasu had suppressed the letter for over two decades. "I had mentioned its contents to anybody who cared to listen. When Venu approached me for the letter, that's when I searched for it and found it among my old papers," Vasu told Outlook. The letter promptly set off political reverberations at the highest levels in the state.

In effect, the controversy has put the police in the dock, resurrected the memory of Naxalite leader Varghese and pumped fresh adrenaline into a clutch of mutually hostile Naxalite groups labouring to revive a movement that lies forgotten in the trashcan of history. Constable Nair's letter represents possibly the first known case of a subordinate functionary going on record with an admission of a custodial killing carried out on the orders of a superior officer.

The CPI (M)-led Left Democratic Front (LDF) government has found itself fielding the awkward questions thrown up by the furore over the killing of the Naxalite leader. The Marxists have grounds to feel unjustifiably targeted. The government of the day, which drew flak for condoning the event, was headed by Achutha Menon of the CPI in partnership with the Muslim League, whose leader, C.H. Mohammad Koya, was then the home minister.The CPI (M), then in Opposition, credits itself with the first demand for a probe into the killing, raised by E.M.S. Namboodiripad as leader of the Opposition in the state assembly 28 years back. Ironically, the LDF government is now stalling on the selfsame demand. Chief minister E.K. Nayanar has rebuffed the demand by Naxalite organisations and prominent personalities as well as by Niyama Vedi, an organisation of lawyers against human rights violation, for a full-fledged inquiry into the circumstances that led to the killing of Varghese.A stand seconded by

Nayanar's politburo colleague, V.S. Achuthanandan.But, as the issue gathers momentum, the CPI(M) leadership seems to be facing pressure from party fora to relent to the probe demand.Overruling Nayanar and Achuthanandan, the CPI(M) state secretariat has called for a comprehensive inquiry into Varghese's murder.

If the probe does get under way, there could be unpleasant surprises in store for key figures in the police and possibly the political establishment.The police team that arrested Varghese in the Wayanad forests in 1970 was led by the then DIG K.P. Vijayan. And according to Nair, the order to execute the Naxalite leader was issued by the then Dy SP K. Lekshmana—also an accused in the infamous Rajan case involving the disappearance of an engineering student in police custody during the Emergency. Both officers are now retired.

There is speculation that the mainstream political parties had a vested interest in throttling the growing influence of Varghese among the tribal communities. Varghese had started out as a CPI (M) leader who worked among the Adivasis of his native Wayanad district. The Naxalbari uprising swept him in its wake and he soon emerged as the leader of a group of idealistic young men and women pledged to the armed overthrow of the State. The revolutionaries attacked police stations and killed landlords.

Following the murder of landlord Vasud-eva Adiga and a suspected police informer Chekkoo at Thrissileri in Wayanad in 1970, and the subsequent police crackdown, Varghese and his comrades retreated into the Thirunelli forests.And were eventually tracked down by CRPF personnel in a safe house for Naxalites run by an old widow.

The legacy of the Naxalite movement in Kerala is a dubious one. The annihilations alienated the public and invited a backlash in the form of police terror. The movement finally failed because it could not strike root in native soil as its leaders looked to China for inspiration. Today, Varghese's comrades-in-arms have served time in prisons and come out chastened. Among his compatriots, Vasu is an active trade union leader, Ajitha is a crusader for women's rights and Phillip M. Prasad is an advocate and a devotee of Satya Sai Baba. The torchbearers of the Naxalite movement, who believed that class enemies did not have the right to live, have found their respective slots in bourgeois society. Yet, with the resurrection of the radical ghost of Vargh-ese, a whiff of the revolution has been revived in the corridors of power.

Naxalite Movement and Cultural Resistance in Kerala:

Janakiya Samskarika Vedi

In the early 1980s, the Janakiya Samskarika Vedi saw itself as a cultural resistance movement involved in establishing its own cultural sphere of ideas and ethics as opposed to the earlier bourgeois ethos. However, its attempt to clearly separate the realms of the cultural and the political was opposed by adherents within the Vedi and also by other left groups that saw the "seizure" of power and establishment of a left wing hegemony as the overarching goal of the revolution.

However, attempts by the Vedi to assert its own autonomy were hindered by the fact that it had a symbiotic relationship with the radical left political parties.While opposing the dominance of those political parties; it also relied on the latter for support.

Revolutions do not begin with the thunderclap of a seizure of power – that is their culmination.They start with attacks on the moral-political order and the traditional hierarchy of class statuses. They succeed when the power structure beset by its own irresolvable contradictions can no longer perform legitimately and effectively. It is often forgotten that the state has often in the past been rescued by the moral-political order than the class hierarchy (authority) that the people still accepted.

Left cultural movements have hitherto played a crucial role in the advancement of radical politics. However, the relationship between the party and its cultural wing has not always tended to be smooth. Central to this conflict has been the debate over the relative primacy of culture or politics, and the question of autonomy of the former from the latter.

In this backdrop, we seek to trace the history of Janakiya Samskarika Vedi in Kerala, which in the early 1980s, was engaged in what Gramsci would have called the "War of Position" and which privileged the ethical-cultural aspects of the conquest of power. In the process, an attempt would be made to bring out how its ideal of a "dialectical" relationship with the CPI (ML), a party led by the Bolshevik concept of capturing power – a "War of Movement", in Gramscian terms – could not resolve the contradictions that manifested in the course of time, ultimately bringing the movement to a premature end.

Origins and Early Years

Prior to the withdrawal of Emergency in 1977, when democratic freedom was at premium, revolutionary cultural activities did not take root in Kerala. After the Emergency, in a more democratic set-up, the situation changed somewhat. The

Emergency had been an eye-opener for the various Naxalite groups in the sense that it made them realise that, in ordinary times, the Indian form of bourgeois democracy does offer some space, however limited, for protest. In the post-Emergency period, in contrast to their sectarian past, the Naxalite groups began to field various legal and semi-legal mass organisations which reflected their new orientation.

In Kerala, the Naxalites reorganised themselves into the Central Reorganisation Committee Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) [hereafter CRC CPI (ML)], and resumed the publication of the party organ Comrade which had been banned during the Emergency.More intellectuals were now prepared to side with revolutionary democracy and Prerana the Malayalam magazine which later became the organ of the Janakiya Samskarika Vedi was started in 1977.

The stories of the excesses committed during the Emergency had turned popular mood against all forms of authoritarianism. In May 1977, while inaugurating a camp for radical cultural activists at Olarikkara, the noted dramatist N N Pillai declared that "there is only one solution, and that is revolution."The statement reflected the mood of the times. The convention had issued a manifesto of revolutionary writers and artists which stressed the need for transforming the production relations of the capitalist system and its ideological and cultural meanings.The concluding paragraph of the manifesto read:

It is the responsibility of revolutionary artists and literary men to discern between progressive and decadent forces in history, to stand with the forces that make progress, to assess their growth, to assimilate them, and to be honest to one's times. Only thus shall we be able to realise the idea of a militant cultural front and to fight by means of new artistic-literary creations the cultural domination of the ruling classes.

The period witnessed the proliferation of small theatre groups, Wynadu Samskarika Vedi with its play "Padayani" and Ranachetana through a dramatic presentation of Gorky's novel Mother achieving notable success.The stage was now set for bringing together organisationally the various revolutionary cultural groups active in different parts of the state. In August 1980, during a convention held with this objective at Antikkad, the Janakiya Samskarika Vedi (hereafter Vedi) came into being.A state committee was constituted with Kaviyur Balan as state secretary and B Rajeevan, Civic Chandran, K S Sadasivan, amongst others, as members. Most of them had Naxalite leanings. The party's ties with the Vedi becomes clear in the message of K Venu, state secretary of CRC CPI(ML), read out on this occasion.

The leadership of the Vedi was familiar with the recent history of Marxist cultural movements where, in most cases, cultural activities had become a mere appendage to the political and economic imperatives of the party. It was thus keen to avoid potential pitfalls. "The cultural front", it was made categorically clear, "was not meant to become the open face for propaganda work of a secret party." The manifesto of the Vedi states that the view which always gives primacy to the base over the superstructure is non-Marxist and that the relationship between the two, and consequently between the party and the Vedi should be dialectical in nature.

Thus it was clarified that even though "cultural activists should have ideological affinity with that political organisation which upholds working class politics, this unity should not be at the cost of making cultural activities organisationally subjugated to it." The separate domains of the party and the cultural front were clearly demarcated. As one article in Prerana, the Vedi mouthpiece put it, "the political front represents the vanguard for the political liberation of a people, and the cultural front gives the lead to their spiritual emancipation." The party was quite happy with this arrangement, as a reply its organ gave to a question on the relationship between the party and the Vedi suggests – "the party and the Vedi work in two different spheres. The party's main task is to transform the economic base in the production relations, whereas the Vedi stands for transforming the superstructure." However, as we shall see later, this ideal relationship between the two was difficult to achieve, especially during the latter stages of the movement.

Towards a 'New Democratic Culture'

The manifesto of the Vedi had declared that the task of the revolutionary cultural activists was to create a "new democratic culture" in the country, allying with all the forces of the "new democratic revolution". It foresaw struggles at different levels, important of which were against:

(i) The still prevalent feudal culture which tries to "take us back to the medieval ages with its emphasis on caste, religion and the promotion of a spiritual atmosphere which hinders the growth of scientific ideas"; (ii) the all pervasive "consumer culture which generates base instincts among people and directs them to a fantasy world far removed from their material existence"; (iii) "Modernism" (as it got expressed in Malayalam literature) which "inactivates people and creates pessimism and alienation among them"; and (iv) "Revisionism" which endorses a mechanical culture, and while preventing man from realising his full potential and creativity, prepares the ground for the growth of "social fascism".

Thus, apart from the fight against the remnants of a feudal culture and a growing consumer capitalist ethos in the state, the Vedi accorded a high priority to the struggle against "modernism" and "revisionism". "Modernism" in writing was thought to have originated as a kind of reaction against revisionist literature which could not break free of the shackles of bourgeois consumer culture and aesthetics. As an article in Prerana observed:

For the revisionists, human beings get satisfied with the acquisition of consumer goods...Those who see the accumulation of material goods as the sole basis for human emancipation are, in effect, trying to convert the working class into capitalists. Here, the mechanical culture of the revisionists capitulates to the consumer culture of capitalism.

K Satchidanandan, a poet and an important figure in the Vedi in its heydays wrote that "as revisionism had accepted capitalist institutions and yardsticks while hoping to bring about a revolution through them, it followed the same capitalist market laws in its art as well." In a detailed critique on the cultural policy of the established left, an editorial in the Prerana pointed out that:

The revisionists do not realise that even within culture there are elements of class struggle. That is why they commodify art and culture and sell them in the market; that is why they mechanically attach art and culture to their party politics, and fail time and again.

Raymond Williams once described left cultural movements ideally as attempts "to defeat that system of meanings and values (which an unequal society has generated) through the most sustained skills of intellectual and educational work". In its activities, the Vedi conforms to a similar view. It made use of various forms, one of which was the street play, ideally suited for an organisation of its kind as it incurred less expense and could be staged even without prior notice to the administration.More importantly, it had better scope than the conventional proscenium theatre to reach the masses. Apart from the dramatisation of famous novels like Gorky's Mother and Howard Fast's Spartacus, the Vedi took up local issues and contemporary injustices as its plays MLA, staged during the assembly elections, and Chasnala dealing with the miner's tragedy amply illustrate.

As part of their critique of the established left in the state the Vedi activists, during this time made a critique of Thoppil Bhasi's famous play Ningalenne Communistakki which was believed to have played an important role during the early phase of the communist movement in the state. Civic Chandran, for instance, wrote that in this play, the cruelty of landlord

oppression is shown to be an individual aberration, and as a consequence, feudalism as a system goes unscathed.He also portrayed the drama as one where the last cry of feudalism is heard, whence the younger generation in feudal families along with some of their elder members go over to the winning side, i e, communism. In a later article, he was to trace the origins of the present day commercial theatre tradition in the state – "a little bit of revolution, a little bit of comedy, a little bit of love" – to Ningalenne Communistakki which had all these ingredients in ample measure to ensure a commercial success.

Seen in this context, the play Nadugaddika staged by the Vedi in hundreds of places throughout the state constitutes a radical break from the past, not the least because a majority of whom were involved with it was adivasis themselves.Nadugaddika illustrates how the naxalite cultural activists, unlike their predecessors, were able to use the folk traditions and myths of a people to convey, from a working class perspective, the oppression they had been going through for generations. "Gaddika", a tribal ritual of the Adiyars of Wynad, was used to exorcise evil spirits.Here, the "gaddikakaran" (exorcist) is none other than Varghese, the naxalite leader who was killed by the police in Wynad during the early phase of the movement in the state.

Nadugaddika ends with the tribals reclaiming the red flag from the landlords who had turned communists in 1957, following the party's victory at the hustings. The 'gaddikakaran', at one stage, pointing to the flag, tells the landlord that "this is not meant for making your loin cloth." The Left Front government which had returned to power in the state in 1980, expectedly, did not take kindly to the staging of this play, and CPI (M) attacks on Vedi activists on this account were not rare.

Malayalam poetry acquired a new meaning during the Vedi days. In their poems, Kadamanitta Ramakrishnan, K G Sankara Pillai, Satchidanandan, Civic Chandran and others did not exhibit any metaphysical anxieties, led as they were, by a harsh political reality. In one of the earliest instances where Varghese, the Naxalite "martyr" finds a place in Malayalam literature, Civic Chandran wrote:

Radhakrishnan, the journalist, just back from the trip To the hills of Brahmagiri and Narinirangi says That his tribal guide cherishes warm memories of a fighter he calls the 'peruman'He says that the summer forests of Wynad are waiting for Their spark And the rock of Kumbarakuri is bleeding still, that the corridors of the press club are still haunted by a pair of eyes gouged out of their sockets. Radhakrishnan, the journalist, upon the testimony of Marachathan, his guide, says for certain that the river Kabani will turn red again.

To shake the readers out of a complacency bred by familiarity, these poets resorted to what has been called "linguistic shock". Thus, in their poems, "soft melodies of birds", for instance, are missing, and instead, we hear only "the roar of landslides and floods." Kadamanitta's poem 'Avar Parayunnu' and Attoor Ravi Varma's 'Cancer' illustrate how these urban middle class poets used morbid symbols of decadence and carefully selected images of revulsion to critique the existing system.

The most famous poem of Kadamanitta in those days was 'Kurathi', which, significantly the CPI (M) found to be an 'extremist' poem. 'Kurathi', which narrates the saga of a marginalised tribe, was widely used by the Vedi during its poetry evenings and "kavyayatras". The Vedi also introduced the genre of political poetry represented by the likes of Mayakovsky and Neruda to a larger Malayalee audience. For this, apart from the pages of Prerana, it took recourse to a new form, "poster poetry", i e, posters filled with the lines of these poets as well as those of communist legends like Mao and Che Geuvara.

Louis Kampf defined the tasks of radical culture as the attempts "to bring about a social revolution; to make institutions democratic; to make us free; to make life more beautiful and humane." For the Vedi too, cultural activities did not remain confined to art and literature, but instead included whatever activities that revolutionised the consciousness of man. As an organisation, it was "committed to create an aggressive cultural consciousness against a system dehumanised from top to bottom."

To be more precise, it represented a social movement rather than being a cultural organisation of the conventional type. Its activities ranged from settling domestic discords to organising bonus strikes. In March 1981, the Vedi led an agitation in Kannur against public gambling, which allegedly, "got support from the local police and DYFI activists".The movement led to the banning of gambling during exhibitions. In the process, however, Ramesan, a Vedi activist who had been in the forefront of the struggle was stabbed to death. The killing did not go unprotested, though. On March 23, some Vedi members entered the legislative assembly and after distributing pamphlets, shouted "down with gamblers both inside as well as outside the legislatures".

People's Political Power

Alongside attempts to bring about a "new democratic culture", the Vedi and the CRC CPI (ML) were engaged, during this time, in setting up what they termed parallel centres of "people's political power".Citing instances from the Russian and Chinese revolutionary experiences and from India's own santhal

rebellion in the mid-19th century upto the Naxalbari uprising, they stressed the need for people's political power to be established in the course of the revolutionary struggle.

It was argued that involving people with political power would lead to the growth of self-confidence amongst them, whereas in its absence in the post-revolutionary phase, political power could easily lapse into the hands of the party, or worse, "a new ruling class". For the Naxalites, bourgeois courts were institutions meant for the protection of the interests of the propertied classes. They saw in the "people's courts" and people's trials which ran counter to the bourgeois system of justice, instruments for the establishment of people's political power at the local level.They were seen as institutions whereby people could think and decide for themselves on matters affecting them instead of depending on outside agencies. According to the party leadership:

Today the people have begun to understand that people's political power cannot be established by voting to determine who will oppress them every five years and that it can be brought into existence only by the people in each area seizing power locally to take decisions and implement them in all economic, political and social problems faced in their own locality.

Attempts in this direction achieved a fair degree of success at Calicut, where in March 1981; the Vedi "tried" a corrupt doctor through a people's court, an event which also brought to the forefront of social activism the question of medical ethics. The "trial" was well received by various sections with even a former chief justice forced to admit in public that "the people's trial was the sign of a social revolution" and that it could be viewed as "the resistance of a people against injustice." Not insignificantly, even the Democratic Youth Federation of India (DYFI), the youth wing of the CPI (M) was constrained, in the wake of the success of the doctor's trial, to fill up the walls of the state with the graffiti "corrupt bureaucrats should be beaten up".

The activities of the Vedi had won for the CRC CPI (ML) unprecedented popularity during this phase. At many places, the differences between the two were negligible, and where the party had only a marginal presence, the Vedi assumed the role of a mass front leading many a struggle. However, the contradictions between the two proved to be too fundamental, in the final analysis, for them to be united for long. The party leadership, increasingly wary over the way its "military line" was being sacrificed at the altar of "mass line", reintroduced the former to the forefront of the struggle through the annihilation of Madathil Mathai, "a people's enemy" at Kenichira in Wynad in May 1981.

In the aftermath of the Kenichira action, the movement had to face severe state repression. The government resorted to draconian laws even as the holding of "people's trials" were banned, and Prerana threatened with confiscation.28 On July 9, 1981, T K Ramakrishnan, the home minister, declared in the state assembly that 191 cases had so far been registered against the "extremists" and that 930 arrests were made. The movement could not survive this "white terror"!

The Rift Within

More than the state repression, however, it was the irreconcilable differences between the Vedi and the party which brought the movement to an abrupt end. Here, it should be noted that the two did not constitute monolithic structures with any two opinions within them. For instance, there was a small but vociferous section within the party who opposed the "annihilation", indicating a vigorous two-line struggle on this issue. Similarly, inside the Vedi, there were some people who toed the official party line. Thus, when we speak of a party or a Vedi line, it relates to the "dominant" line or the line that prevailed.

The Vedi leadership was quick to denounce the annihilation and dissociate itself from it. Satchidanandan saw elements of fascism in the action, and in a letter to a popular weekly, expressed the view that the annihilation did not "suit the civilised political sensibility of Kerala" and that it "nauseated a big section of the populace".In the days following the annihilation, when the schism between the two widened, their acrimony became public, the Vedi accusing the party of trying to capture the organisation through a fraction, while the latter blamed the former for going public with these differences violating all organisational principles and thereby exhibiting "anarchist" tendencies.

When, in the next few months, the party continued to uphold the annihilation, some members including its state secretary Kaviyur Balan resigned from the Vedi. It was also stated through the press that Nadugaddika which had played a pivotal role in the movement would not be staged hereafter under the party's banner.

The break did not occur overnight. The ideological differences between the Vedi and the party had a long history. For instance, on the question of base/superstructure, the party held on to Stalinist orthodoxy which accorded primacy to a self-contained economic sphere, with a secondary, passively reflexive superstructure. The Vedi, on the other hand, tried to strike a balance between this "vulgar" Marxist position and the opposite idealist view that art/literature is an isolated sphere determined by its own laws.Connected to this debate was the question of the relative importance of politics and culture within the realm of the superstructure.

In one instance, countering the party line according to which changes in the base get reflected first in politics, the latter being the concentrated expression of these changes, Satchidanadan argued for the simultaneity of expression of changing production relations in all areas of social life. The inherent tension that persisted throughout the tenure of Vedi between the cultural and political activists finds expression in an anguished piece written by one of the former in Prerana:

Is the cultural activist inferior by birth? Is not the political activist viewing his cultural counterpart as Gulliver would a Liliput? Is it justified that somebody who has learnt the party programme by heart and who has fortuitously achieved some success in one or two struggles should get more recognition than the cultural activist?

The differences in perception between the Vedi and the party could be seen in the way the two viewed the Cultural Revolution in China. The Vedi, influenced as it was by Mao's assertion that during the socialist phase, emphasis should be laid on the struggle at the superstructural level, characterised it as a revolution in the cultural sphere.For the party, however, the Cultural Revolution, though it had other dimensions as well, was essentially a resistance by the socialist forces under Mao against revisionism in the international communist movement as well as against the resurgent bourgeoisie which had entered the Chinese Communist Party. It was, in fact, a continuation of the class struggle within a socialist society.

In the realm of culture, the movement had given a blow to the bourgeois belief that arts and the sciences are the monopoly of a few intellectuals, and instead reiterated that it was the working classes who alone are the creators of culture. This lesson, according to the party leadership, was lost on a section of the Vedi who continued to be influenced by bourgeois thinking. It attacked the Prerana editorial board for making the periodical one that was laced with "dry philosophical terms understood by only a handful of middle class intellectuals" and for "not going to the masses".

Though the Vedi as a whole had been opposed to the bourgeois system per se, there were sections within it who were not "Marxist" in the true sense of the term. Rather, by their own admission, they had come to the movement carrying the burden of an existentialist and anarchist past. Others were influenced by the New Left, which, for the party leadership, constituted an attack on Marxism from within. The party saw as one example of the "anti-Marxism" in the New Left

ideology, Wilhelm Reich's prescription of a sexual revolution to precede a social revolution. A Vedi member, clearly under Reich's influence, in a rejoinder to the Vedi manifesto, had lamented that the party in its rigorous attempts at class war, ignored the sexual needs of its activists.

The ideas of Lukacs too had attained wide currency within Marxist circles in Kerala during this time.In his History and Class Consciousness, Lukacs had reduced Marxism to sheer methodology. For him, thus, one could forego the basic assumptions of Marx and still claim to be a Marxist, provided he did not relinquish historical materialism.Obviously, under his influence, Subramanyadas, a young party/Vedi activist, in a series of articles, questioned the party's position vis-a-vis, the formation and polarisation of classes in Kerala society, resulting in his getting censured by an offended party leadership. In distress, Subramanyadas committed suicide. The revolution had, as its wont, devoured one of its own.

Subramanyadas had been one of the most outstanding individuals in a movement which had attracted the cream of Malayalee intelligentsia.The tragic irony was that a while earlier, he had been fighting on the side of the party against the "bourgeois liberal" trends within the Vedi. From there, it did not take him too long to jump to the other extreme, a trend that was symptomatic of the petty-bourgeois predilections that informed the movement.

Conclusion

Gramsci had discounted the possibility of a Bolshevik type revolution in the west. Here, unlike in pre-revolution Russia, there was a civil society which involved the "thick web of interpersonal relationships and represents the social surface over which is extended the cultural hegemony of the ruling elites." It is here that the dominant class creates, through its diffusion of values, myths, beliefs and ideals, its hegemony.

According to Gramsci, a subordinate class should be able to elaborate its own ideological system, one competitive with the dominant system of beliefs and values. "In the west," he says that a social group can or rather must be in control even before it acquires governing power. The key word in Gramsci, thus, is hegemony as when he says that the struggle between the classes for domination is in essence a "struggle between two hegemonies".

However, it is not only in the west that the state rules with the consent of the people. As Eric Hobsbawm observed, "the struggle for hegemony before as well as during the transition of power is not merely an aspect of the western countries but of all revolutionary strategy."

In Kerala, where, following lower caste and communist movements in the earlier decades, there was a vibrant civil society, the struggle for hegemony resorted to by the Vedi looked appropriate. Such a struggle was facilitated by the fact that the party to which it was aligned had, during this time, adopted an approach marked by "a strong fight against terrorism and utmost confidence in the masses." However, ideological differences between the two did not allow this state of affairs to continue for long.

In the contest over strategies, "massline" was to become sidelined, and the proponents of the "military line" would have the final say, as reflected in the "annihilation" at Kenichira. The consequence, however, was that the Vedi disintegrated, and the party, badly bruised by severe state repression, had to start once again from the scratch.By then, postmodernist moods had set in Kerala. Those like Civic Chandran, the last secretary of the Vedi, broke away from the movement citing irreconcilable differences with Marxism, to take up social activism of a new kind.The era of new social movements had begun in Kerala. As for the Vedi, though officially not disbsanded, it never became active again. An experiment, in spite of its initial success, had failed.

UNIT-III

KERALA EXPERIENCE IN THE MAKING

Malabar Migration

Malabar Migration refers to the large-scale migration of *Syrian Christians from Central-South Kerala to northern regions of Kerala called Malabar* in the 20th century.The migration started from early decades of 20th century and continued well into 1970s and 1980s.This migration had a significant demographic and social impact as the Christian population of Malabar increased 15-fold from 31,191 in 1931 to 4, 42,510 in 1971.

Central Travancore had experienced a steep increase in population in early 20th century and pressure on arable land increased. At the same time people realised the potential in the large uncultivated lands in the northern regions called Malabar which was then part of Madras Province under British Rule.Migration initially started in trickles.Land was bought from the local rulers and plantations were set up. Against many odds, the community thrived, thereby attracting more migrants and by 1950s had reached its peak.

The entire migrating community was homogeneous and was Syrian *Christians (Syrian Malabar Nasrani) from erstwhile Travancore state.The migrants were mostly from present day Kottayam, Idukki*, and Ernakulam districts. The migrations happened in the entire Malabar region (north Kerala) including the following districts of present-day Kerala (Some key migration centres also mentioned):

- *Kasargod -Malom, Chittarikkal*

- *Kannur - Alakode, Chemperi, Cherupuzha,Kudianmala, Iritty, Peravoor*

- *Calicut - Thiruvambady*

- *Wayanad - Pulpally*

- *Malappuram - Nilambur*

- *Palakkad - Mannarkkad, Wadakkanchery*

- *Thrissur -* especially in the hill tracts near Vellikulangara

Huge tracts of uncultivated forest and waste land were converted into farms and plantations during this period.

The *Syro-Malabar Catholic Church* gave significant support to this migration by providing churches, discipline, schools, hospitals and other infrastructure.

The migration has resulted in hundreds of thousands of people moving to these lands. The percentages of Christians to these districts were small before the migration. Since 1950 this settler community has formed a significant share of the demography in the hill areas of these districts.

New Shift in Coalition Politics

Kerala is one of the ealiest states in India to practice coalition politics to capture power. The coalition politics in the state saw several ups and downs in the 1970s and it showed that coalition politics often overtook ideological underpinnings.Sometimes coalition politics forced the established political parties to ally with communal organizations, only for the enjoyment of power. A new shift was seen in the coalition politics in Kerala at the beginning of the 1980s

On the eve of the Assembly elections in 1980's, a split occurred in the Congress party giving birth to two Congress parties. Congress (I) and Congress (U).Likewise Kerala Congress also was split into two to give rise to Kerala Congress (M) and Kerala Congress (J). These splits paved way for new political arrangements involving a drastic grouping of major political parties.The result was the formation of two political combinations – the UDF (United Democratic Front) and LDF (Left Democratic Front).The UDF included Congress (I), Kerala Congress (J), PSP, NDP and SRP. The NDP and SRP were the newly formed political organizations of the NSS and SNDP respectively. Some seat adjustments were made between the UDF snd Janatha Party in certain constituencies, though they were locked in battle in some others

The LDF comprised of CPI(M),CPI,Congess(U), Kerala Congress (M), Kerala Congress (Pillai Group),AIML and PSP. As both the CPI (M) and CPI came on the same Front, consolidations of the entire left votes took place.The result was in favour of the LDF as they could win 93 seats out of the total 140 seats in the Assembly. The UDF was able to win 46 seats only.As a section of the Congress party was with the LDF, it helped for the thumping victory of them.Though in the future there occured several shift in the alliance partners both LDF and UDF, the coalition was established in the Kerala political scene and is still continuing.

Though the LDF formed the new ministry under the Chief Ministership of the CPI (M) leader E.K.Nayanar differences arose among the alliance partners soon.The Congress (U) left the government followed by Kerala Congress (M) and the Ministry had to resign in October1981.Alliance partners of both the Fronts changed; Congress (U) and Kerala Congress (M) joined the UDF camp.Subsequently, Congress (I) leader K.Karunakaran became the Chief

Minister.The government had a very narrow margin of majority. Decisions could take only with the casting vote of the Speaker. Finally Lonappan Nampatan a Kerala Congress (M) member crossed over to the opposition and the Ministry had to resign. The Assembly was dissolved.

The next election was conducted in 1982 and the main contestants were UDF and LDF.By this time the coalition system had been stabilized in the state politics and there emerged a clear demarcation between LDF and UDF.The clear cut polarization between the two Fronts apparently provided a dividing line in the Kerala politics. The inclusion or exclusion of the alliance partners, often minor political parties did not affect the basic structure of the Fronts.The UDF was now comprised of Congress(I), Congress(A), Kerala Congress(M), Kerala Congress(J),IUML,NDP,SRP,RSPand RSP(S). The LDF on the other side included CPI (M), CPI, AIML.Congress (S), RSP and DSP, apart from its alliance with the Janatha Party. There were twenty five political parties in the election to test their popularity. But the larger number of political parties did not disturb the basic frame work of the coalition system.

It was a straight fight between the UDF and LDF in 1982 Assembly election.Though the BJP had fielded 68 candidates they could not win a single seat.The UDF got majority in the elections with 77 seats, while the LDF had to satisfy with 63 seats.Though there was a significant difference in the number of seats bagged by the two Fronts, the difference in the percentage of votes received by them was very little. While the UDF got 48.25% of the total votes polled the LDF was able to get 47.24%. The BJP could secure only 2.75% of votes in the state. With this election result it was proved that the Kerala politics was convincingly moving towards a stablecoalition system. The coalition ministry of 1982-87 wascomposed of national and communal political parties and casteism, communalism and regionalism all played dominant roles in this election than any previous one.

Before the 1987 elections, the prominent CPI(M) leader,M.V.Raghavan deserted and formed a new party, the CMP and then his party joined with the UDF, but it did not make any significant change in the political scenario of the state.By this time factions of the Congress part, Karunakaran Group and Antony Group merged and strengthened the Congress Party.No fundamental changes occurred in the formation of the two political Fronts in the 1987 election.The BJP, this time came up with a third Front in the election scene, with the formation of BJP-Hindu Munnani alliance, but failed to make any mark in the elections.This time LDF gor the majority of the election and they formed the ministry.They had a majority of 12 seats in the Assembly.

The 1987 LDF government led by the Chief Minister E.K.Nayanar had certain unique features.It was a government formed by the representation of national parties only.It proved that a government could be formed in the state without the help of the regional and communal political parties.But even the LDF could not continue this healthy tradition in the future.Led by over enthusiasm and over confidence of the thumping majority in the elections to the District Councils in 1991 and anticipating one more change for the LDF. Nayanar ministry rendered registration and recommended for the dissolution of the Assembly, a year before the expiry of its five year item.

In the 1991 elections both Fronts remained almost the same except that of the joining of the CMP with the UDF and the entry of KC(J) as the LDF partner.Elections was postponed to one month due to the tragic assassination of the former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. In the ensuing election the LDF got a thumping majority of 92 seats against the 48 seats of the LDF K.Karunakaran, the Congress leader became the Chief Minister. However the UDF was able to complete its five years term.

In the 1996 elections the Kerala politics saw the disappearance of two political parties, the NDP and SRP.This time LDF won 80 seats and formed the ministry.Again in 2001 election, UDF got 99 seats and formed ministry.In the next elections, LDF won in the 2006 election again followed by the UDF in 2011 election. It could be well seen that since the formation of the coalition systems in the early 1980's the UDF and the LDF were ruling the state alternately. The last three decades had clearly shown this experience of the stabilized coalition system in the state. Kerala has become a lively model of coalition politics for the other states in the country.Since the Congress party with its tradition of independence struggle lost its domination in the national politics, coalition system of different public parties being tried at the Centre also. But it has to be noted that the coalition system at the Centre is not stabilized as that of Kerala.

Literacy in Kerala

A 'Literate' is any person who is able to read and write on his own and 'Literacy' is the ability to read and write or is the quality of being literate.Kerala with a literacy rate of 90.90%, stands first among other Indian states.Recognizing the need for a literate population and provision of elementary education as a crucial input for nation building, the state government with the backing of the central government, launched a number of plans and programmes over the past years to facilitate the provision of free and compulsory education with satisfactory quality to all children at least up to the age of 14

years. 'Akshara Keralam' Project introduced in the early 1990s was one such project initiated with the aim of bringing the the maximum number of illiterates to schools and other study centres.This project was implemented in different phases throughout the state.Apart from this, a number ofgovernment organizations and voluntary associations under various schemes and services, conduct classes (mainly evening classes) for the illiterate adults. Such classes are held throughout the rural and backward areas of the state where educational institutions were absent in the yesteryears or for those who were unable attain elementary education in their childhood or later.The literacy rate in the urban areas is slightly greater than in the rural areas. As per the norms of National Literacy Mission, a literacy rate above 90% shall be treated as complete literacy. On this basis, Kerala was declared a, 'Fully Literate State', on April 18th, 1991.

Like men, women in Kerala also hold a high literacy rate -87.7%, which is higher than any other state in India. As a result women in Kerala enjoy a social status which is unattainable by the women folks in other parts of the country. Of the total working class (Main and Marginal) of Kerala, which is 32 % of the total population, 15.3 % are women.

The literacy rate of the three communities shows that Christians are more literate than Hindus and Muslims. The literacy percentage of these communities are: Hindus (male - 90.2 and female - 86.7%), Muslims (male - 89.4 and female - 85.5%) and Christians (male - 94.8 and female - 93.5%).

Compared to other states in India, living standard of Keralites is high. Obviously, this is attributed to the high literacy rate and the educational standard of the people. Kerala, once home too many social evils is now absolutely relieved of them.

Apart from providing general education, Govt. of Kerala has taken initiatives to provide computer education to all students.This programme is being implemented at all schools and colleges throughout the state.

Important Dates and Events in Kerala's Literacy Mission

- June 1989 - Kottayam Municipal Town is the first Fully Literate municipal town in India
- February 1990- Ernakulam District is the first Fully Literate district in India
- 1991 - Launch of '*Akshara Keralam*' project
- 1991 - Kerala's Literacy rate reaches 93.64 %
- 1991, April 18 - Kerala declared a Fully Literate State.

People's Planning in Kerala

People's Plan Campaign, held in 1996 in *Kerala* State, was a remarkable experiment in decentralisation of powers to local governments with focus on local planning. Kerala State lying in the south-west part of India is considered a fertile land for decentralization. In India's *Ninth Five-Year Plan*, each state within the national federation was expected to draws up its own annual plan and the Peoples Plan was an off-shoot of it.

In the beginning of the ninth plan, the Government of Kerala took a bold decision to devolve 35% of the state development budget down from a centralized bureaucracy to local governments where local people could determine and implement their own development priorities under the People's Plan Campaign (PPC).

Decentralization is, basically, the process of devolving the functions and resources of the State from the centre to the elected governments at the lower levels so as to facilitate greater direct*participation* by the citizens in governance. Peoples Planning is an attempt in this direction.

The historical context

The Government of India amended its Constitution in 1993 to have a third tier of governance which paved way for passing conformity legislation in all the States including Kerala. The Congress-led government, which was in rule in the State, came up with two bills - Kerala Panchayat Raj Bill and Kerala Municipality Bill - for conformity legislation. In the ensuing public debate, pro-decentralization thinkers and leaders from all political parties including the Indian National Congress, lobbied for introducing amendments for a better legislation on decentralization. Intellectuals and non-governmental organisations took the lead in organising public opinion. Finally, an amended version of the bills was passed in the legislative assembly.

Later, elections to the local governments were conducted by the Congress led government under the Chief Ministership of A.K. Antony.Sixty percentage of the local governments were won by the then opposition Left Democratic Front (LDF) candidates while the remaining 40% went to the United Democratic Front (UDF) candidates.

New Government in power

In 1996 on assuming power, the ruling left Democratic Party took the agenda of *decentralization* as the first priority item. The *Government of Kerala* decided to devolve 33% of the plan budget of the state for preparation of development projects formulated by the local governments at the village, block

and district levels. People's needs were assessed through meetings of the grama sabhas (lowest village consistency) with the village *panchayat* making it into a plan, coordinated and vetted at the block level and approved at the district level by a District Planning Committee constituted to assist the panchayats. This was the 'People's Campaign for Ninth Plan', popularly known as 'People's Planning' (Janakeeya Aasoothranam).There was much euphoria and expectation.

Modality of the Campaign

A high power guidance council was created *with E.M.S. Namboodiripad* as the Chairman, the incumbent and former chief ministers and the leaders of the opposition as Vice-chairmen, and a few persons of eminence as members with a view to have political consensus. The *Kerala State Planning Board,* hitherto an expert advisory body, suddenly acquired a political profile as the key manager of the Campaign. The board was reconstituted with party-political nominations that included two state-level party functionaries of the CPM. It was designated as the coordinating agency for all the programmes under 'People's Planning'. The board chalked out a five-phase program of activities, and went ahead with a high-speed mode of functioning unheard of in government organisations. A special decentralization cell was created to cope with the challenges of this new task. Many of the personnel in this cell were drawn from voluntary organisations with a track record of selfless work.

Stages in People's Planning

Need identification, situation analysis, strategy setting, projectisation, plan finalisation, plan vetting and plan approval were the stages in peoples planning.

In the first phase, **Gram Sabhas** (village constituencies) were convened and people at the local level were mobilised to assess felt needs.

In the second phase, **development seminars** were held in every village panchayat, followed by formation of 'task forces' for the preparation of development projects. 12,000 task forces were formed that worked out to around 12 task forces per village panchayat. Close to 120,000 people participated in these task forces.

In the third phase, **development projects** were prepared according to a format suggested by *the Kerala State Planning Board,* giving details such as the nature of activities envisaged and financial and organisational aspects. Despite such quantitative achievements, a review by the state planning board showed that 'the task forces' did not function as effectively as was expected. The main weakness was that adequate number of experts could not be attracted to the task forces. The participation of officials was also far from satisfactory. The training given to the task force members was also inadequate. An interim review

of the projects prepared revealed numerous weaknesses, particularly with respect to technical details and financial analysis. Accordingly, a number of rectification measures like project clinics, reorientation conferences, etc. were organised. All these created unforeseen delays in the final plan preparation'

By the time the fourth phase started, the financial year 1996-97 was over.This phase, from March to May 1997, was expected to **prepare five year plans for the panchayats** based on their development projects. This was no easy task since it involved prioritising projects, assessing resources and institutional capacity, weaving the plan into the development strategy of the state, coordinating it with other village panchayats within the block (intermediary tier) and district level developmental framework and spelling out mechanisms for supervision and monitoring.

The fifth and final phase was meant for the **preparation of annual plans** for block and district panchayats by integrating the lower level plans and, presumably, to developing their own plans that would be complementary to the village panchayat plans. Due to the delays and inadequacies in the preparation of village panchayat plans, this exercise could not be undertaken. To quote the *Kerala State Planning Board*, the lead agency: 'As a result, there were many instances of duplication of planning activities and also critical gaps between the various tiers'. Even when projects and plans were available, it was realised that most of them had to be examined closely for their 'technical soundness and viability.' This led to another phase leading to the formation of expert committees and project appraisal teams to scrutinise and approve the projects and plans.

Difficulties in implementation

But the panchayats could not spend more than 10% of the earmarked funds at the end of the first year of people's planning, i.e. by March 1997. The government initially extended the expenditure period by three months; when this was found inadequate the period was extended up to 31 March 1999, i.e. an extension of two years, understandable given the massive exercise based on a 'campaigning' mode.

During the second year too, the panchayats could not spend more than 10% of the earmarked funds of around Rs750 crore1 and the period of expenditure was extended by another three months to the end of June 1998 with the stipulation that unspent balances would be deducted from future allocations. By end June 1998, the panchayats formally reported 95% expenditure, the bulk of the funds were withdrawn during the final month. This was due to an interesting innovation. The panchayats withdrew the amount from the government treasuries and deposited them either in public sector organisations (such as the State Electricity Board), which were supposed to

execute works for them, or in their bank accounts. And these were shown as 'expenditure'. For the third year, 1998–99, the funds earmarked were Rs 970 crore and the allocation for the fourth year, 1999–2000, was enhanced to Rs1020 crore.

Some weaknesses

Obviously, the 'campaigning' mode raising people's expectations to levels beyond the system's capability to respond.Decentralised planning followed a 'festive approach' that characterises the launching of many a government programme in Kerala. The opposition led by the Congress Party began a political attack on the people's planning. They alleged that the programme was being tailored to suit the interests of the leading ruling party. The UDF constituted an enquiry committee and published a report sharply critical of the implementation of the programme, presenting evidence of *corruption* and mismanagement from a selected number of panchayats. The real reasons for the ire of opposition parties, especially the Congress, were obviously political in nature. The Congress Party felt that the credit for the decentralisation programme was being appropriated by the CPM in the name of people's planning neglecting their party's, especially Rajiv Gandhi's, contribution to the 1993 Constitutional Amendments.

Hegemony of institutions

The concept of *hegemony* was experimented in the people's planning. Every organisation or institution - be it organisations of white collar employees, workers, cooperatives, students, women or even cultural bodies - was hegemonised with the movement. But hierarchical organisations such as employees associations, trade unions, students' organisations and the cooperative bodies could not be enthused to support and strengthen the decentralisation process. Many *organisations*, especially the associations of government employees, are openly antagonistic and even opposed several attempts to deploy departmental staff to various tiers of panchayat raj.

A committee set up to recommend measures for the implementation and institutionalisation of the decentralisation process, chaired by the former Vice chairman of the *West Bengal* State Planning Board, S.B. Sen, had submitted a four volume report(popularly known as Sen Committee Report) that included detailed recommendations including deployment of departmental staff. However, resistance from the associations of government employees was such that so far no substantive steps have been taken by the government.While powerful sections in every political party oppose the decentralisation process, because of the enactment of the Panchayat Raj Bill, they are all formally committed. But there is no such compulsion for the *bureaucracy*, especially its powerful organised tiers at the middle and lower levels.

Poor administrative support

The people's planning faced with fundamental constraints in *institutional capacity building.* What has been followed was called 'a big bang approach' by deciding devolution of 33% of plan funds and embarking on a 'campaigning' mode to shake up the system. It was just like putting the cart before the horse or reversal of the normal sequence of events.Panchayats could not cope with the administrative or organisational challenges of spending so much money (nearly one to one-and-a-half crore of rupees per panchayat per annum). The absence of sound administrative support created a critical vacuum and often led to conflicts between an 'inexperienced' political executive and an 'experienced' administrative executive. Technical support was near absent and hence the voluntary experts were inducted in the form of 'Key Resource Persons' for facilitation and 'expert committees'for vetting of plans. The powerful and large *rent-seeking* departments in *government,* particularly in public utilities such as irrigation, public works, water supply and electricity distribution, did not give up their considerable powers.

Major Prospects

There were some gains. For the first time, village panchayats have been freed from the clutches of the Public Works Department in matters relating to the design and implementation of construction works. So too in the case of minor, really minor, irrigation and small drinking water projects. Overall, given such dismal failures to restructure and redeploy the bureaucratic system, a demand has arisen for the establishment of a Development Administrative Service along the lines of the *Indian Administrative Service.*A paradigmatic challenge indeed to the mediocratic hegemony in the state's bureaucratic system! The one-third representation of women in elected panchayats would never have become a reality without constitutional backing. *Women* in leadership positions in the panchayats have often felt the heat from men and some have been forced to abdicate, even though many women representatives are related by family and kinship to men in politics. More important, their political visibility remains low in this 'socially and politically progressive' state of Kerala. Nevertheless, the educated, unemployed and unrecognised women, especially the younger ones, are waiting for an opportunity.

Kerala Urbanism

The urban sector in Kerala comprise of five Municipal Corporations and 53 Municipalities.25.97% of the population lives in urban areas. This is a little less than the National average. However unlike the other parts of the country the

Urbanization in Kerala is not limited to the designated cities and towns. Barring a few Panchayats in the hilly tracts and a few isolated areas here and there, the entire state depicts the picture of an urban rural continuum. The Kerala society by and large can be termed as urbanized.

It is seen that in the year 1981, there were 106 census towns which accommodated 4,771,275 population which worked out to 18.74% of the total population; and in 1991 there were 197 census towns with a population of 76,80,294 which worked out to 26.44% of the total population). The Census of India 2001 recorded an urban population of 82, 67,135 in the state which is 25.97% of the total population of 3, 18, 38,619 and is spreaded over 159 census towns in the state. When the urban content of the total population increased from 18.74 in1981 to 26.44 in1991, it showed a declining trend during the decade 1991 - 2001, with an urban content of 25.97 in 2001.

The percentage decennial growth of urban population in the state was 60.89 during 1981-91.But during 1991-2001 it is only 7.64 %. The number of census towns is reduced to 159 too.The change in jurisdiction in statutory urban areas mainly speaks for this.

Prospects and options of urbanization in Kerala

Urbanization trend in the state of Kerala shows marked peculiarities. Generally, increase in urban population growth rate is the result of over concentration in the existing cities especially metropolitan cities. This is true in the case of urbanization in the other states of India. But in Kerala, the main reason for urban population growth is the increase in the number of urban areas and also urbanization of the peripheral areas of the existing major urban centers. This is quite clear from the study of the density pattern also. Kerala has the third highest overall density of 819 persons per sq.km.(Next only to west Bengal and Bihar) in 2001. But the density pattern in our major cities and towns shows that, the increase in density is due to the overall population increase over the entire spread of Kerala, which is occasionally accentuated in the urban areas with nominal variations.

The dispersed settlement pattern, a result of historical trends, a liking for homestead type development, comparatively developed infrastructure in urban and rural areas, geographical reasons, availability of sub-soil water etc can be considered as both a prospect and a problem. In terms of investments in infrastructure development and social services sector, we spend quite a good share of our budgetary resources. When the scarce resources are spread thinly over the entire mat of Kerala, the accruing benefit is marginal.

Whereas, selective investment in priority areas could show better results.The urban spread demands more investment in infrastructure development. Such an urban spread may result in depletion of agricultural areas. This trend may also increase transportation costs and energy consumption.However, the dispersed settlement system does have certain positive aspects also. We do not have primate city development and metropolitan city development and the problems connected there with.The rural to urban migration which accentuates urban problems and urban poverty is only marginally present in the urban scenario of the state.

Economic role of Urban Areas

The National Commission on Urbanization (N.C.U.), appointed by Government of India, in their recommendations has recognized urban areas as generators of economic momentum. The State Government also accepts the special economics inter-related to urban development. All urban areas do not have the same economic capabilities. The economic potential of an urban area may depend on a number of factors like geographic location, availability of economic infrastructure, regional linkages, and propensies for accepting further investments and creating spread effects.

Urban areas are characterized by their concentrations of different economic activities.One of the main reasons why an industry or another economic activity concentrates geographically is because of the so called 'agglomeration economics' that it can enjoy. Exploring the positive factors of agglomeration economics, it is possible to exploit urbanization to aid economic development. Urbanization and Economic Development have long been recognized as concomitant factors. Policies need to be enunciated to use urbanization as a positive factor to aid economic development.

The state has only limited resources. It can not disregard or neglect the social commitments. The possibility of additional state investment in this sector is too remote.The financial position of urban local bodies is also not too rosy.

Criteria for Constitution of Statutory Urban Local Bodies

There are no prescribed criteria for constitution of cities. Municipalities were elevated to the status of Corporations on considerations of their importance, pace of urbanization in the area, need for integrated development of the urban core and its neighborhood, density of population, income and demand for more progressive civic administration. The Kerala Municipalities Act does not prescribe any criteria for constitution of Municipalities.However Government as per G.O MS 108/67/HLD dt.2nd March 1967 had laid down the following standards for the constitution of new Municipalities.

(i) The locality should predominantly be urban i.e. at least ¾ th of the adult population of the area should be engaged in pursuits other than agriculture.

(ii) The population of the locality should not be less than 20,000 and the density of population should not be less than 4000 per 2.59 sq.km Except in hilly areas.

(iii) Per capita revenue resources of the locality should not be less than Rs. 5. Government visualize change in the scenario in tune with the pace of development and will formulate specific revised criteria and procedure for :-

1) Declaring an area as statutory urban local body.

2) Elevating local bodies to Municipal Status and

3) Effecting jurisdictional changes to existing statutory urban local bodies, in consideration of the peculiar settlement characteristics of the State.

Urbanization Strategy

The poor picture depicted in the development scenario of our urban areas is mainly due to the lack of proper vision and master schemes, which envisage long term and short term effects of urban infrastructure improvements. Proper development strategy should cater to the development needs of urban society ensuring modern comfort levels and standard of living while preserving natural, cultural and historical entity of the city.

Considering the urbanization trends in Kerala, the urbanization strategy to be adopted for the state needs a broad based assessment. It has to take into account the fact that there are 58 statutory towns and 101 other census towns together with urbanized villages. It is necessary to identify urban centres which demonstrate economic potentials and propensities and to priorities them. Such an attempt will lead to 'Selective Urban Development' which will give a fillip to development of many other sectors of development. Along with this approach the minimum required infrastructure support shall also be given to other not so economically potential urban area to serve an existing population. The Government shall identify such towns and cities and prepare urban development investment packages for preferential development treatment of such towns and cities, which require intersect oral investments.

The present practice of annual planning based on the budgetary provision envisioning only short period implementation is inadequate and will hamper the comprehensive mass scale development of the town. Therefore an integrated and co-ordinate planning strategy based on comprehensive master scheme which effectively reflects the social, cultural and heritage factors of every city is required.

Involvement of Private Sector

Kerala is one of the advanced States in terms of physical quality of life index. It also is a model in the developing world for its achievement in social sectors such as health, education etc.At the same time the physical infrastructure in the State presents a very poor picture. Government is pre-occupied with its existing commitment on the social front thereby limiting its ability to make fresh investment in infrastructure.The urban local bodies are supposed to generate their own financial resources. However, these bodies do not often muster the courage to levy taxes under their powers. Inadequate taxation and inefficient management both render the municipal services far from satisfactory. The infrastructure development is not in a position to keep pace with the population growth of such cities resulting in serious inadequacies in service. Since public funds for urban infrastructure projects are inadequate urban organizations have to look for alternative sources of funding from financial institutions. Participation and availability of private sector funds for development of infrastructure therefore becomes not only desirable but also absolutely essential. A number of options have emerged in private sector / non government organizations participation in the financing and management of urban services in India. These should be tapped to the benefit of the public. Out sourcing and Private Sector Participation have the following advantages:

• Utilization of Private funds thereby ensuring budget savings

• Timely availability of funds and thereby ensuring faster completion of project

• Efficiency in execution

• Savings in cost

• Development of Trade and Commerce

• Ability of Local Bodies/ Development Authorities to focus on other core areas

• Avoidance of problems of maintenance and administering personnel etc.

• Boost Government Revenue.

• Opportunities for capital market development

• Potential to stimulate foreign direct investments

• Availability of innovative technology

The presumption that involving private Sector in itself makes for higher level of efficiency is not correct.Some services seem to be more efficiently and effectively supplied, regardless of whether they are in public or private ownership. Introduction of private produces into urban service may bring benefits but it also brings risks. There is possibility or unwillingness of contractors to deal with less profitable areas, pressure to raise prices in monopoly situations, bankruptcy and difficulties of co-ordination between multiple producers. Government agencies are also not immune from these problems.Hence Government is likely to have an involvement in the role of fonder and regulator.

Government should have an ultimate responsibility, but entire operational responsibility is to be transferred to private sectors. There shall be clear segregation between Governmental functions and functions and services assigned to private sector. Provisions may include role such as establishing policies or plans and ensuring their implementation drawing up and monitoring contracts ensuring standards of service, financing, advising, enabling, co-coordinating, regulating and licensing or monitoring the production and management of service delivery. Government shall continue to perform the regulatory tasks.

Government is committed to provide the best service possible to the tax payer at the lowest possible cost. It would therefore explore all options such as outsourcing of service, privatization, Public Private Participation (P.P.P) etc., to achieve these objectives. The feasibility of involving co-operatives and N.G.O's will also be explored.

Urban Regulatory Authority

Government will constitute an Urban Regulatory Authority.This Authority will be entrusted with the responsibility to ensure private sector participation in municipal services, avoid creation of monopolies in municipal services, maintain quality of services, make sure that the cost of services to the public is reasonable and will also function as a forum for receiving complaints/ suggestions etc., on all urban services. This authority will be given statutory powers to enforce these objectives. To begin with, issues relating to the power and water supply of Municipal Corporation of Thrissur will be brought under the purview of this Authority.

6.3 Development of Growth Centers

The urban areas which have the potential to be developed as major growth centers with prospects in different sectors such as industries, tourism, I.T, trade, commerce etc., shall be identified, planned and developed. The growth centers will improve the economic status of the people of the region, curtailing unplanned urban spillovers and adverse impact on the productive agriculture sector in rural areas. This will help in improving the balanced economic development of the state. The status of infrastructure in such growth centers will also be improved to meet the increase in demand. Prospects for private –public participation in implementing various projects in growth centers will be explored.

Planned Development

The development activities of cities and major towns in Kerala have not kept pace with their growing demand. The status of physical and social infrastructure needs immediate improvement. The urban areas will be prioritized and interim development plans will be prepared for those towns, which are not covered under development plans. This will facilitate in undertaking urban development projects for more towns under various schemes such as IDSMT (Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns – a centrally sponsored scheme).Traffic Improvement and Management Schemes for these towns will be prepared and implemented in a time bound manner.The 58 statutory towns in the state are classified under 5 categories based on the present developments in these towns and the future economic development potentials of these towns

Kochi city region has already attracted substantial industrial activity supported by well developed trade and commerce. The port, the newly developed airport and railway linkages have contributed to the development of Kochi region as the prime economic node of the state. This region rightly deserves the most priority status for convergence of infrastructure and development inputs. The National Commission on Urbanization has identified this Region as the Spatial Priority Urbanization Region (SPUR).

The capital city of Thiruvananthapuram is the apex centre of all governmental functions.The Executive and Legislative arms of the Government have their apex bodies functioning in this city which have contributed to the development of the present city structure. These institutions along with highly developed education and health facilities and the potential tourism centers within the city region demand that the capital city region be considered as a special priority region in the state. From the economic development point of view, Thiruvananthapuram city region is also considered as a priority city in the state.

Kozhikode city is the nodal point for all districts in the northern region. Kozhikode has traditionally been developed as a centre for forest and agro based industries. It has a high order of development in trade especially in food grains, marine products and spices. The city offers very high potential for development contributing to the economic development of the entire northern region of the state. In view of this Kozhikode is considered as the Second priority city.

The urban agglomerations of Thrissur, Kannur, Kollam, Alappuzha, Palakkad and Kottayam, apart from being District Head Quarter towns also serve a very vast hinterland providing higher order facilities in services, marketing, health, education and production.

Development inputs into these towns may have positive multiplier effects.Infrastructure development in these towns can attract many private sector production units which can contribute to the economic development of the state. Each one of these towns has already attracted specialized functions which could be further exploited. These towns deserve special priority treatment and are therefore classified under 'priority three' towns.The remaining statutory towns are classified under priority four towns depending on their potentialities for development and their economic development capabilities.Government will introduce a system of categorizing and prioritizing cities / towns for infrastructure investments in view of their respective roles in economic development.

The Government will fix and publish appropriate criteria and their weight age for arriving at the priority; so that the local bodies can know how and how far they can come up and go down the priority ladder. Plan funds will be released only on assessment of performance of ULBs in the field of statutory obligations.The Government will direct preparation of development strategies for each of these towns considered under the above classifications. Short term and long term development packages will be prepared for all these towns and the timely implementation of these development proposals will be coordinated with all the sectors involved in development.

Projects under statutory town planning schemes shall get priority while preparing such development packages.Spatio economic integration will be ensured in the budget proposals and budgetary allocation will be enhanced for implementation of Town Planning Schemes.The annual planning and budgeting system will be functionally linked with 5 year Development Plans and long range (20 - 25years) Perspective Plans.

At present there is no unified Town and Country Planning legislation for the state. The present Town Planning Acts have only very limited scope and provide for preparation of only General Town Planning Schemes for towns and Detailed Town Planning Schemes for priority areas.The Government proposes to bring out a unified legislation on Town and Country Planning with wider provisions for preparation of State Spatial Development Plans, Regional Development Plans, District Development Plans, Urban Development Plans and Special Area Development Plans.

Local Self Governments often ignore the future development issues of the towns as a whole and therefore major town level projects which transcend the boundaries of the wards were not given adequate importance. In order to overcome this gap in the comprehensive long term planned development of the towns, Government desire to support major town level projects and major innovative urban development projects taken up by ULBs. Government will create Kerala Urban Development Innovation Fund with specific guidelines for selection of projects, usage of funds etc.

Urban Land Policy-Land Consolidation

Land being the source of all civilization needs to be protected, preserved and used for greater good of the society. The procurement of land required for providing public facilities and services; even the essential ones; often meet with little scope due to the high density of population in the state. The problem is more acute in the urban areas.

Procurement of land for such public purposes can be materialized through urban land consolidation. Possibilities for practices such as allocation of alternate land, issuing of TDR (Transfer of Development Right), urban land reconstitution, creation of Land Banks, popularizing land lease etc., shall be studied and explored.

Urban land being the base on which all urban activities take place it is important that urban land management is made more effective. A comprehensive urban data base is a prerequisite for effective urban land management.The National commission on Urbanisation has emphasized this point in their recommendations.The Government shall make required arrangements to build up Urban Land Information System (ULIS) in a phased manner.The traditional system of acquisition and processing of data is time consuming and liable to errors and is difficult for retrieval when necessary.The state Government have attempted to design and launch a special program to develop city /town maps using remote sensing; GIS and latest computer application technologies and Management Information System/Data Base for effective Urban and Regional Planning.

The manpower and technical expertise in the state shall be effectively utilized including all the institutes and organizations involved in planning studies.Government reserves the right to designate critical land for its best use. Indiscriminate conversion of low lying urban areas shall be regulated using policies arrived at based on scientific studies. Such a Land Utilization Policy shall among other things take into account our water resources, mineral wealth, agricultural land, forest land, rural and urban areas etc. Participation of a number of sectoral agencies, both Government and Semi-Government, may be required to prepare such a policy. Inter-sectoral dialogues would be encouraged towards preparation of such a state-level land utilization policy.

Government have powers to reserve any land required for future widening of road without denying the right of the land owner to enjoy the existing use of the land till land is taken over for road widening. In taking over land for road development, the principle of 'quid pro quo' shall be adopted which provides concessions to land owner for development and building in lieu of surrendering land for road development.

Development Charges

Development charges shall be levied on every land transaction, new construction, and new commercial ventures that are coming up in any project area after the notification. In the cases of land transactions and new constructions it can be a one-time charge and in the case of commercial ventures it can be charged annually. In order to collect the charges a notification for land acquisition, a notification under the Town & Country Planning Act to ensure development control, a tender of particular work etc can be accepted. Development charges can be collected for all projects irrespective of the fact whether the projects are implemented by State, Central, Local Governments, Development authorities, PSUs, PSPs or purely private.

The Development Authorities can charge development charges wherever they exist and if there are no development authorities in existence it can be charged and collected by the local bodies. Depending upon the project the charges could vary from 5 to 15 years. The amount thus collected should not be unreasonably high and it can be mandated that prior permission of the Government be required to charge this. In order to avoid too many development charges there should be safe guards such as insisting floor tag on the project cost etc. . . . Projects, which are based on collecting user fee, need not be exempted from this levy, if those paying user fee and those getting benefits are different persons. In order to encourage people to surrender land for road

widening etc they are given additional FSIs. In such cases certain formulae can be worked out. If the cost of surrendered land is more than the proposed development charges the landowners can be exempted from the development charges. Proportionate reduction in development charges for the land surrendered can also be considered when the cost of surrendered land is lower than the proposed development charges. Moreover, the Development charges shall be applicable only to these who avail the benefit of the scheme.

Recently in urban areas, there has been a trend in construction of high rise buildings for residential apartments and for other uses. There have been arguments for and against such high rise buildings. In many cases there has been arbitrariness in permitting the maximum Floor Area Ratio. From the planning point of view the Floor Area Ratio (FAR) permissible for an area shall be based on the considerations of the infrastructure availability in the area. High rise-high density developments can be permitted only in those parts of the towns where the available infrastructure is well developed and/or the infrastructure capacity could be augmented without creating imbalance to the infrastructure system of the town. In such cases the additional cost for capacity augmentation can be collected from the developers. Parts of the town where such high rise-high density development can be permitted and where it cannot be permitted can be identified in each town and this can be incorporated in the zoning regulations of the development plans and regulations on high rise buildings.

Conservation of Heritage Structures and Open Space

Historic towns in Kerala still possess heritage buildings and precincts though the economic pressures on prime urban land are threatening their existence. Also, in order to give impetus to tourism – one of the major sectors identified to boost the economic development of the state, conservation of the rich heritage structures and areas will be given priority. Appropriate schemes, projects and regulations will be materialized for meeting the above objectives. Wherever feasible, land owners of heritage sites may be offered T D Rs with higher FARs at alternative locations in lieu of maintaining the status / up keeping the heritage. The role of Art and Heritage Commission for Kerala will be strengthened for this purpose. By protecting Archaeological and cultural sites and establishing Museum and other adaptive uses, Urban Local Bodies can attract tourists from all over.

The extent of parks and open spaces in the urban areas of Kerala is far below the standard norms. Development of the same including those of specialized nature such as amusement parks, recreational walkways etc., will

also be given appropriate weight age and encouragement. Prospects for involvement of N.G.O.s in the upkeep of parks and play grounds will be explored.Conversion of existing recreational open spaces for other uses will be prevented.

Government shall require all developers including government agencies to attach Environmental Impact Assessment (E.I.A.) statements to all applications for obtaining approval for major development projects.The Government shall issue necessary guidelines in this regard. Guidelines for preparation of Environmental Impact Statements will also be issued by Government.

Kerala Gulf diaspora

The Kerala Gulf diaspora refers to the people of Kerala living in the Middle Eastern Arab states of the Persian Gulf. I*n 2008, they numbered more than 2.5 million. The* **Gulf Boom** *refers to the mass migration of a large number of people from the* Indian state of Kerala to the Gulf Countries from 1972 to 1983.Largely consisting of the migration of Malayalis, the dominant indigenous ethnic group in Kerala, the movement of many migrant workers from Kerala to the Gulf Countries continues to the present day, although in smaller numbers after the 2008 international financial crisis began to affect the Gulf region. This initial wave of migration is usually referred to as the Kerala Gulf Boom. The Kerala migrants are usually laborers and low-skilled workers. In 2008, the Gulf countries contained a total Keralite population of more than 2.5 million, who annually sent home a sum of around $ 6.81 billion (US),[3] which is more than 15.13% of the total Remittance to India in 2008.*In 2013 the remittance was more the 60,000 crore rupees. This was achieved by the hard work and sweat of the millions of Malayalis who toiled as low-paid laborers, servants, maid-servants and low skilled workers for the rich Gulf States.*

Background

Huge Oil reserves were discovered in the Arabian Peninsula and the Gulf region in the 1930s, with large-scale commercial extraction beginning in the early 1950s. Soon, these countries became major world oil-exporting countries, amassing huge riches within a matter of years, a feat that perhaps has no historical parallel.However; these nations were handicapped by small populations and labour forces, with commensurately small skills levels. To meet the challenge they faced, they had to substantially increase immigration at all levels. India, which faced very highunemployment rates, quickly saw the opportunity for its citizens to gain a share of the new work opportunities, with manual workers from Kerala at the forefront. Historical ties and the religious identity of Indian Muslims in particular, helped to forge a bond with Gulf Countries.

Effects of the Gulf Migration on the Economy and Society of Kerala

Remittances are a key source of income for Kerala's economy. In 2003 for instance, remittances were 1.74 times the revenue receipts of the state, 7 times of the transfers to the state from the Central Government and 1.8 times the annual expenditure of the Kerala Government and were 15 to 18 times the size of foreign exchange earned from the export of cashew and marine products.

Gulf migrants, many of whom were from the working and the lower-middle classes, gradually gained social status. A myth was in the making: that of the 'Gulf man'. Gulf migrants were highly sought after as bridegrooms. Their attractive earnings, irrespective of their shortcomings, enabled them to marry into wealthy and respected families when they returned home.

The Gulf Dream has also found its expression in Malayalam cinema and literature. *M. Mukundan's Daivathinte Vikrithikal* draws out in detail the socio-economic impacts of Gulf migration on the enclave of Mahe.

Growing Consumerism

The world consumption has expanded at an unprecedented pace over the 20th century.Consumption is viewed by most South Indians as a path to better, freer life; it will bring social status, increased convenience and new forms of mobility and entertainment. Kerala, a state in southern India is known for its consumerism.

Kerala is widely known for its unique features in a developing region. Quite often it is being equated with several developed countries. High literacy, better rates of birth, death, infant mortality and morbidity, a *Sex* ratio which is advantageous to women and their status in the society, long life expectancy are some of the characteristics that distinguish Kerala from other States in the Indian Union. Contrary to this, the performance of the State on the economic front has been rather dismal. Kerala lags behind the nation in per capita income. The industrial scenario offers a bleak picture.The State is credited with the highest number of educated unemployed in the country.

However, this backwardness is not reflected in the consumption pattern of the people. Moreover, the consumption level is above the national average and even that of many well off States in India. Kerala has emulated a consumption pattern that is more akin to that of developed nations. Keralites display the penchan for luxury consumption which is pervasive among different segments of the society. The emerging pattern, now known as consumerism, has its own repercussions in the *Context* of Kerala.

Consumerism may be defined as a belief system that promotes high and rising levels of personal consumption of material goods and services among a large segment of the population ascribing to consumption a central role in promoting individual happiness. Consumption habits and pattern are determined by a complex set of socio-economic, cultural, religious, psychological, ethical and environmental factors. Consumption boom could be witnessed across the world resulting from phenomenal progress of technology and business management.

The consumption pattern in India underwent a sweeping structural change and now it tends towards assuming a new mobility. Market led globalization intensifies commodity exchange thereby capturing global markets promoting consumerism through lucrative promises such as fair and efficient use of resources to meet basic human needs, increased access to more goods.The rapidly globalizing economy has brought about important debate about consumption and socio-cultural change in countries of the south.

Consumerism: A Global Scenario

Consumerism is all about goods being purchased in excess and to stimulate the economy.This can be traced back to many ancient civilizations like the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians.Consumerism started to become a problem right after the Industrial Revolution (a time where industries were booming and changes were being made). During this revolution many goods were available at low prices and they were available to everyone. Everyone wanted in and wanted to buy things. Today Consumerism is used all around the world but mostly in the Western World Countries (Canada and America.) The entire economy of the 'developed' world is geared to consumption - a process that is driven by saturation advertising.

By virtually any measure—household expenditures, number of consumers, extraction of raw materials—consumption of goods and services has risen steadily in industrial nations for decades and it is growing rapidly in many developing countries. A growing share of the global consumer class now lives in developing countries. China and India alone claim more than 20% of the global total—with a combined consumer class of 362 million, more than in all of Western Europe. Developing countries also have the greatest potential to expand the ranks of consumers. China and India's large consumer set constitutes only 16% of the region's population, whereas in Europe the figure is 89%. Indeed, in most developing countries the consumer class accounts for less than half of the population—suggesting considerable room to grow. While the consumer class thrives, great disparities remain. The 12% of the world's population that lives in

North America and Western Europe accounts for 60 % of private consumption spending, while the one-third living in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa accounts for only 3.2%. Economic growth of global consumers promotes global consumerism. Global consumers are becoming affluent with the rapid growth of economy, spending two third of a country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP).With accelerating globalization and advance in technology, consumers can have more chance for shopping in terms of marketing mix (e.g., product, price, place, and promotion). Accordingly, consumers are more sophisticated and have different levels of desire or needs, which lead to global consumerism with diverse claims over the world. Consumerism is further encouraged by increasing the usage of credit cards, loans, and other instruments of debt. According to ACNielsen study (2005), more than 627 million consumers have shopped over the Internet in 38 markets from Europe, Asia Pacific, North America, Latin America, and South Africa.

Recent Trends of Consumerism in India

India is so culturally diverse that it may seem impossible that there exists just one consumer ideal, but it appears that globalization has led to the transcending of this cultural boundary.The basic social institution of India's countryside such as village, the joint family system and the caste and tribe relation are under great transformation. As India moves from a production oriented mixed economy to a consumer society, there is a need to understand the forces behind this transition.

Unlike some of the other Asian countries like Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and Taiwan, where the "consumer revolution" has already forged ahead, or is in progress, India has been a slow starter in this push for change. However, recent trends indicate that a wave of consumerism is spreading to India also. Several authors have pointed out the growing economic and consumer power of India. Many multinational corporations are beginning to invest in India. In this respect, India is no different from many other emerging consumer economies, whether they are in Eastern Europe, Asia or Latin America.This fact by itself does not give any special clue to the Indian scene unless one also examines what peculiar circumstances pertain to India.The attitude of Indian consumers has undergone a major transformation over the last few years.The Indian consumer today wants to lead a life full of luxury and comfort.The important factors that account for Indian consumerism are, Burgeoning middle class, and their changing values, Changing women's roles, their labor participation and the changing structure of the family, Media explosion, satellite and cable TV and the thriving film industry, entry of transnational corporations and increased consumer spending on luxury items aided by past savings and the entry of the credit system.

They (consumer) want to live in present and do not believe in savings for the future.An important and recent development in India's consumerism is the emergence of the rural market for several basic consumer goods.The Indian middle class has provided a big boost to the consumer culture during the recent past and it is hoped that their buying behavior will continue to change in the coming future. Due to fast growth of the services sector per capita income of people of India is also increasing.

The number of middle class is increasing due to another fact that people are fast shifting from agriculture to the services and industry sector where growth prospects are reasonably high as compared to the agriculture sector which is showing slow growth. Consumer behavior is affected by a lot of variables, ranging from personal motivations, needs, attitudes and values, personality characteristics, socio-economic and cultural background, age, sex, professional status to social influences of various kinds exerted by family, friends, colleagues and society as a whole. According to Techno park Advisors, The overall retail market in India has grown from US$ 310 billion (ca. 237.000.000.000 euros) in 2006 to US$ 470 billion (ca.359.000.000.000 euros) in 2011 and is projected to reach US$ 675 billion (ca. 515.000.000.000 euros) in 2016. Today, despite their lower incomes, rural households, due to their majority share of the population, are collectively India's largest consumers—57 percent of cur- rent consumption is in rural areas versus 43% in cities. However, by 2025 the Indian consumer market will largely be an urban affair; with 62% of consumption in urban areas versus 38% in rural areas.The Indian consumer trend is moving towards bulk buying (buying from hypermarkets) and living a stylish lifestyle, effect of the heavy western influence.

Kerala: Transition towards Consumer State

Kerala is one of the smallest states in the Indian union. Its area 38,863 square kilometers is just 1% of the total area of India. Kerala as a unique model of development because it has been able to achieve exceptional social development in such areas as health, education, and even the demographic transition, despite low economic development and low per capita income. The population distribution of Kerala according to religion is about 56.20% Hindu, 24.7 % Muslim and 19 % Christian. At present the state is administratively divided into 14 districts, which in turn are divided into 63 Taluks, 152 Blocks, 1532 Villages, 978 Grama (Village) Panchayats, 53 Municipalities and 5 Corporations.

The preference of Kerala is changing. Changes in the pattern and trends are striking and obvious and become so prominent in the last two decades. Kerala's high consumption and low economic growth relative to the rest of India raises interesting questions about the reasons behind increasing consumption in Kerala.

Factors Facilitating Consumerism

The process of urbanization in Kerala has placed the state among the most urbanized places in India. As markets concentrate in and around urban centers, things are more accessible to the urbanites. This in turn exercised its impact on the consumption habit of the people. Kerala society received some unforeseen changes in its socio-economic environment due to large scale migration of gulf countries. The oil boom in the West Asian countries from the seventies led to a massive boom in migration. The economic consequences of migration and migrant remittances have found an increase in the household income of Keralites and changes in income distribution. Conspicuous consumption has become the hallmark of an emigrant, especially a Kerala emigrant. The present Kerala economy is often described as a money order economy. The total remittance in Kerala in 2011 was estimated to be approximately 55,000 crore compared with 43,228 crore in 2008. The economy was unable to take full advantage of the growth in consumption expenditures despite a potential increase in productive capacity by way of savings generated from the remittance inflows. Market led globalization indicates the emergence of the free market. This produces consumers all over the world with an extensive range of products and services that were not easily available before. Another reason for the growth of consumerism is government policies. In the then socialist countries, for instance production of consumer goods was restricted by the state. In order to encourage industry the government of India initiated liberalization policies. These policy measures had a bearing on the advancement of consumer durable goods.

Developments in the modern communication technologies (social media and internet) and the transport facilities cause the development of the society to a consumerist culture. Apart from government policies, the role of advertisement and media is very important. Consumerism is heavily dependent on advertising and the advertising is booming. Media is not only the mirror of society but also an instrument of social change.

The KSSP study reveals that the influence of Tele Vision, Radio, Newspapers and Journals on Kerala society is very high. The unyielding use of advertisement of products compels the consumers to buy them without paying

much attention to the absolute utilitarian aspects of the product. Television advertisement target women, youth and children, for they are the prime decision makers when it comes to the purchase of household items. Aging population and frequent divorce have lead to segmentation of households into smaller units which leads to further structural increase in consumption. Exposure to outer world, pressure from neighbours and friends, credit card, social prestige, mad craze for new products, growing middle class, influence of western culture and style of living etc are other factors.

Changing Consumption pattern

Consumption pattern of the people in Kerala exhibits some interesting features. Kerala has been undergoing an unprecedented consumption boom and increasing standard of living. The state ranks at the top among Indian states in per capita consumption expenditure though its rank in terms of per capita Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) is relatively lower. With only 3.4% of the country's population, it accounts for 10 % of the total consumption. The value of consumer articles flowing into the state is estimated to be in the range of 50-60 billion Indian rupees. For the past two decades, Kerala's market has been witnessing the domination of Multi National Corporations with their branded products and services compared to other states in the rural sector, Kerala has the highest MPCE. In 2004-05 the average rural and urban MPCE of India was Rs. 559 and Rs. 1052 respectively.During the same year the rural and urban MPCE of Kerala was 1013 (KSSP study-1059.2) and 1291(KSSP study-1397.1) (NSS 2004-05).

There is a significant increase in the level of consumption of both food and non food commodities. During the last few decades drastic changes have taken place in food habits items quantities of food consumption. When compared to 2000 increasing use of packaged foods is seen in 2011.No wide rural urban disparity in the consumption of food items.Majority of the household in Kerala shifted their purchase from local market to super and Multi nationals. Eating out habits of the people has also changed substantially.The proportion of food expenditure is 21% in 2001 which increased to 26% in 2010. The consumption of beef, mutton, chicken and fish has increased during the last three decades.The consumption of household goods and commodities are growing and changing rapidly in India. According to NSSO survey (2008-09), consumption of household durable goods in Kerala is four times the national average.Changing life style, income, social prestige, better health and standard of living led to the changing consumption pattern of non food items. The proportion of non food expenditure was 39.8% in 2000 which increased to 44.3% in 2010. The

percentage increase in food and non-food expenditure in rural area remains more or less the same in both periods, but in urban area the increase is more in favour of non food items. Now Kerala is regarded as the hottest market for consumer goods.Nearly two thirds of homes have Mixer and gas connection and nearly one third have a refrigerator. But the effects of consumerism would be seen essentially in the social and economic spheres of life.

Demonstrative and luxurious consumption has resulted in heavy financial commitment for the people. Unable to pay back the loan taken from individuals and financial institutions, many are driven to suicide. Unlimited consumption causes exploitation of natural resources and environmental problems in the form of limited resources and in the form of pollution.

Conclusion

The growth of consumption throughout the world has been unprecedented in its scale and diversity. As Kerala is characterized as a consumer society, consumption pattern and market trend determines the living standard of the people in rural as well as urban areas. Consumerism found favour with people especially among the middle and low income groups.

Today the people in Kerala recognize consumption as a yardstick to measure socio economic status and prestige.There has been a significant increase in the absolute level of consumption of both food and non food items.The need for state intervention through the adoption of strict measures with respect to items of consumption so as to preserve environmental and ecological balance and also measures should be adapted to reduce the cost of production of items of mass consumption.

UNIT-IV

KERALA EXPERIENCE: REALITIES AND ISSUES

Environmental problems

Increase in population coupled with rapid urbanization and industrialization and consumerism, without due regard to environmental considerations, have led to extensive pollution of air, water and land.The raw materials consumed during these activities has resulted in the dwindling of non renewable resources and accumulation of wastes.These wastes are indescriminately disposed and as a consequence the water air and land becomes more polluted.Added to these the recurrence of drought and water scarcity and sand mining resulting in the death of rivers and rivulets, change in land use pattern leading to severe soil erosion, depletion of biodiversity, increasing incidence of natural disasters like earth quakes, landslides and so on are undermining the once serene and splendid environment of this 'God's own land.

Deterioration of water quality: The major water quality problem associated with rivers and open wells is bacteriological pollution. The dumping of solid waste, bathing and discharge of effluents also create problems. Low pH, high iron etc, are common in well waters in the laterite covered midland areas. High concentrations of fluoride over the permissible levels have been reported from certain parts of Palakkad and Alleppey districts. The salinity level is frequently high in the coastal belt.. Clean water has become a precious commodity and the quality is threatened by activities such as agricultural discharge, domestic sewage, municipal solid waste burial grounds and industrial effluents in Kerala. Managing and protecting surface and groundwater is essential for sustaining life.A continuous water quality monitoring program and proper water safety plan are essential to preserve and improve the water quality.

Groundwater Quality Problems

The ground water quality problems of Kerala are associated with mineralogical origin, human interference, industrial effluents, agricultural wastes, municipal solid waste burial grounds etc. Generally, the ground water problems in Kerala in coastal areas are due to the presence of excess salinity, high fluoride, hardness, and coliforms, low pH, high iron content, high TDS (Total Dissolved Solids) and excess chloride concentration. The ground water problems due to high fluoride content are reported from Palakkad and Alapuzha districts of Kerala.. Ground water contamination due to industrial pollution has been reported from places of Cochin, Palakkad some parts of Kollam, Kozhikode and Kannur.The municipal and industrial landfills operating in various parts of Kerala is causing great concern to the quality of ground water.

Kerala since early nineteen eighties have been resorting to tube well construction to take underground water even from 500 feet deep tube wells. Water that took over 10,000 years, to accumulate in underground aquifers has been mined dry in the last 30 years with consequent environmental problems such as drying up of nearby wells, intrusion of salt water due to lowering of underground water level, and drying up of a large number of tube wells themselves.

Over exploitation of ground water resources can be tackled through a process of intensive education on the adverse impacts and resorting to the merging practice of rain water harvesting. At the macro level, it is very necessary to dig tanks and canals, plant trees and collect rainwater. At the micro level, each individual should avoid water wastage through simple measures like tightening taps, maintaining delivery lines, using low HP pumps and motors and collecting and storing rainwater. Appropriate ground water laws should be framed to regulate indiscriminate exploitation of the limited ground water availability in the state.

Death of the rivers

Kerala, a narrow coastal strip, is nourished by a large network of 44 living rivers. Our rivers die due to a variety of reasons such as lack of rain,deforestation, unchecked and indiscriminate mining of sand ,encroachment of the banks by unautorised settlers, Wet land filling, construction of dams and barrages, deepening of land along the river banks to manufacture bricks, indiscriminate use of fertilizers and pesticides, pollution caused by the discharge of effluent from industries, civic bodies and domestic wastes, salinity intrusion, soil erosion, siltation, dam construction and deforestation and drying up of rivers in the summer season. The rivers of Kerala have been increasingly polluted from the industrial and domestic waste and from the pesticides and fertilizer used in agriculture. Industries discharge hazardous pollutants like phosphates, sulphides, ammonia, fluorides, heavy metals and insecticides into the downstream reaches of the river. The major rivers namely Periyar and Chaliyar are apt examples for the pollution due to industrial effluents.It is estimated that nearly 260 million liters of industrial effluents reach the Periyar River daily from the Kochi industrial belt.The death of rivers has resulted in severe shortage of drinking water and drought conditions in the state.

Fresh water lakes face a number of adverse environmental impacts due to many factors such as draining the water from the lake, reclamation of low lying areas for agriculture, increasing the depth of the lakes due to siltation as a result of soil erosion, using the lake areas for building houses, construction of bunds in the lakes for pisciculture growth of algae in water, pollution thorugh fertilizers, chemicals from agriculture and disposal of wastes.

Uncontrolled sand mining: The greatest single factor that has contributed to the destruction of river ecology in Kerala is indiscriminate unscientific sand nining from rivers. All the 44 rivers in Kerala are facing a big crisis because of sand mining. The construction boom, fueled by the inflow of remittances from non-resident Indians and the inherent nature of people to construct ostentatious residential buildings, leads to indiscriminate mining of sand from rivers. This has pushed the water table down, reduced the water holding capacity and adversely affected the diversity of life forms thriving in the riverine eco system. The sand holds water and fills the nearby ponds and lakes by raising the water level.When the sand is removed from the river bed, it reduces the availability of water in the wells and canals near the river. Removal of sand has resulted in lowering or sinking of riverbeds which encourage the intrution of saline water into fresh water, causing serious threats to drinking and irrigation. Other staggering ill-effects of uncontrolled sand mining in Kerala are: Damages the ecosystems of rivers and the safety of bridges, Affects fish breeding and migration, Increases saline water in the river. Spells disaster for the conservation of many bird species such as storks, sandpipers and egrets that feed on the riverbeds

Coastal erosion: The coastal area is about 16.4% of the state's total area, extending over a length of 580 km. There are about 27 estuaries and 7 lagoons or kayals. Almost 30% of the total population lives in the coastal area. The population is the most prominent driving force which exerts pressure on the marine and coastal environment. Besides, many industries are situated in the coastal stretches. About 300 medium and large scale and about 2000 small scale industries are discharging effluent directly into marine or fresh water bodies. It is estimated that about one million m3 of sewage is generated per day in the coastal areas and about 30000m3 of this reaches the surface water bodies. Over exploitation of resources such as mangroves, fisheries, Sand and landspace is evident. Infrastructure development including Ports and Harbors, Sand Mining for industrial and construction purposes, siting of industries recreational activities and house holds have contributed to coastal erosion.

Private entrepreneurs, in the name of tourism and development, have taken control of the coast. Their sphere of activity extends all along the coasts in the form of luxury hotels & boats, swimming pool, chains, of cottage and helicopter services. Developmental projects in the name of tourism are damaging the highly fragile ecosystem of the coasts. Developers are also destroying the mangroves known as 'tidal forests,' which constitute the fascinating ecosystem. About 30 to70 Km of Kerala coast is subject to coastal erosion of various magnitudes .The erosion tendencies may increase with human activates such as urbanization, construction of dams, development of harbours etc.

Deforestation: Kerala's forests are under severe threat.High population density, flawed State decisions in opening up for cultivation, artificial fires and corruption even among the law enforcing agencies in encouraging illegal encroachments the deforestation has resulted in the destruction of forests. As fosrests are destroyed, the suitability of the habitat for their wild animals is also seriously jeopardized, with the result that a number of forest animals have become scarce if not extinct. Moreover this has skewed the rainfall pattern, substantially reducing the water in its rivers, creating a drought condition even in traditionally water rich areas.

Sustained development of the forest resources of Kerala would call for a rational and dynamic approach, which among other things should include management of existing natural forests for non destructive uses,such as conservation of biodiversity, rehabilitation of degraded natural forests through protection and care, promotion of agroforestry and social forestry for meeting local needs and promotion of effective people's participation in all types of forest activities, particularly plantation forestry.

Noise Pollution: The major causes of air and noise pollution in the state are due to automobiles and industries. Vehicular emission and noise from these vehicles are severe in the three major cities of Kerala, viz., Thiruvananthapuram, Kochi and Kozhikode.The pollution from industries are mainly contributed by the four major industrial areas of the state, three in Ernakulam (Eloor, Ambalamughal and Udyogamandal) and one in Kanjikode at Palakkad. Bulk of the major/medium industries and the maximum number of vehicles are in Ernakulam which has naturally resulted in an adverse impact in the air quality. The unplanned urban growth also augments the air quality and noise pollution considerably. Indiscriminate use of loud speakers contributes to the sound pollution problem in the state.

Noise pollution is a serious threat to the quality of man's environment. Loud noise as a pollutant is injurious to health. The body absorbs the sound and often reacts to it in terms of adverse physiological and psychological responses. But noise pollution has never been put on the agenda of legislators and planners. Noise control should be a cooperative venture between three agencies- the government, the society and the industry. In addition to the creation of an extensive information system for the public for awareness and education, political forces in the country should be mobilized not only to strictly implement present laws and formulate new ones

Plastic pollution: In Kerala, which is a consumer State, there is an unprecedented increase in the use of plasticsthat cause deadly pollution whose ill effects are irreversible. The major chemicals that go into its making are highly toxic and cause serious threats to public health. Some constituents like benzene and vinyl chloride are known to cause cancer while many others are gaseous and liquid hydrocarbons that vitiate air and earth. When burned, plastic releases a host of chemicals into the air including dioxin, the most toxic substance known to science. The only way to reduce the hazard of plastic is to reduce its use and thereby force a reduction in its production. Educating the masses on the damage potential of plastic is no easy task mainly since its ill effects are not immediate or tangible as with vehicle smoke or factory fumes. On direction from Hon. Supreme Court, the Kerala the State Pollution Control Board has introduced a ban on plastic bags with less than 30 microns thick in 2003. None of the bans on plastic ags has been accompanied by fiscal measures to either encourage alternatives or discourage plastics

Vehicular Pollution: As a result of rapid urbanization and industrialization, the quality of air in almost all the cities has dangerously declined.Increase in the number of motor vehicles has contributed to rise in air pollution. In 1991 there were only 5.81 lakhs vehicles in the State, it increased to 53.97 in 2010 Studies have now proved that motor vehicles cause 60% atmospheric pollution.The pollutants released from the exhaust such as carbon comes from petrol vehicles hydrocarbon, nitrogen oxides, lead, sulphur oxides etc. have rendered the pollution of the air. Sound of horns also has become a major cause of noise pollution. Not only the metropolitan cities but even small cities are already under high concentration of pollutants like small particulate matter, oxides of nitrogen and oxygen. All these cause diseases of different types such as headache, vomiting lung diseases, heart diseases and cancer. Sound beyond 100-dB tend to cause deafness.

A major reason for vehicular pollution is due to carbo n monoxide produced from the exhaust. To control air pollution, unleaded petrol and desulphurised diesel have been introduced to reduce emission of lead and sulphur respectively. Use of air horns has been banned. The accelerated renovation of road network would help to reduce vehicle emissions and noise levels created by them. Incentives, subsidies and tax benefits are extended to industries by the Government to help them implement the latest pollution control Beside Vehicles, which are older than I5 years, should not be allowed to run. In order to reduce traffic jam and the resultant atmospheric pollution, more roads and flyovers should be constructed. There should be timely repair and maintenance of roads. The Pollution Control Board and Motor Vehicles Department and Police Department should be more vigilant to implement the rules and regulations to reduce air pollution and sound pollution.

Pesticide Pollution: Pesticides and fertilizers, used indiscriminately in Kerala to coax the land to produce more, have resulted inlethal environmental impacts: excessive mortality, produce more, have resulted inlethal environmental impacts. Through our crop fields, the poison has seeped in to our food chains, vegetables, fish, grains, meat and even in the breast milk.Studies has shown that less than 0.1 per cent of chemical pesticides in India reach the target pest. The remaining is absorbed by humans, livestock and the natural biota. It has been reported that the The aerial spraying of the pesticide endosulfan on cashew plantations by Plantation Corporation of Kerala has created much environmental concern among the people of Kerala for the last few years. Government records show aerial spraying of endosulfan killed 486 people and affected the health of thousands of others up until 2008 in Kasargod. About 4,000 have been affected over the past 25 years since the spraying began on government-owned cashew plantations in the district.On May 18, 2011 Kerala's new government banned use of endosulfan in the state.

Loss of Biodiversity: The Western Ghat region is one of the 24 biodiversity hot spots in the whole world. The state contains more than 4500 species of flowering plants. The major causes for the loss of indigenous agriculture and domesticated biodiversity is due to the degradation of native agri-ecosystems, large conversion of agricultural land, introduction of exotic crops, mechanised farming etc. There are 102 species of mammals, 476 species of birds, 169 species of reptiles, 89 species of amphibians and 202 species of fresh water fishes, reported from Kerala. The degrading of natural forests due to factors such as unregulated / illegal harvest, forest fire, weeds, diversion for non-forest purposes, soil erosion, harmful effects on management and poor regeneration leads to loss of biodiversity.

The rapid urbanization, constant change in consumption pattern and social behaviour have increased the generation of municipal solid waste (MSW) in Kerala beyond the assimilative of capacity of our environment and management capacity of the existing waste management systems. All types of waste including solid, hazardous and biomedical waste generation in the state are more compared to other states in the country.The average waste generation per capita in Kerala is high compared to the national average. The lack of proper management of waste disposal systems has resulted in a menace of contagious diseases and unhygienic environment, casting shadow over the health and growth of the entire state.Kerala is having the highest number of health care institutions. Its number and sophistication is also changing. More over, there is a trend that more and more foreigners are making use of the health care facilities in the State.

Environmental problems of tourism:

As and when tourism increases, the environmental problems also increase proportionately, due to various reasons like the construction of buildings that are not suitable to the environment, encroachment of the beach, unscientific waste disposal system, indiscriminate d isposal of plastics, etc. Deforestation, pollution of air, water and land, as well as visual and imbalance in the environment are direct results of tourism because tourist zones are ecologically sensitive areas like rain forests wetlands, mountain slopes, coastal tracts and santuaries.The indigenous communities have always been immediate victims of unplanned tourism development. Well-planned ecotourism has proved to be one of the most effective tools for long-term conservation of biodiversity

Climate Changes:

The consumption of the fossil fuel is increasing with population and per capita consumption.Due to the pressure of population, forest areas are under threat which leads to higher concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. Similarly, coconut husk retting which is a major activity in the coastal areas of the state generates methane (second important green house gas) along with the hydrogen sulphide.Methane emission from various sources when converted to equivalent CO_2 in terms of global warming potential accounts for about 16% and Nitrous Oxide contributes another 2%. Together, they contribute more than 93% of the warming potential of the green house gas emissions from Kerala. The study of the average annual mean maximum and minimum temperatures in Kerala from 1961 to 2003 confirms the raising trend of maximum, minimum and average temperatures of the order of respectively 0.80C, 0.20C and 0.50C. The

climatic changes will take place not only due to the emission of green house gases but also due to the significant contribution from population increase and also due to the changes in land use pattern. However, climate change being a global phenomenon, the environmental impact of such activities with the state is bound to be minimal.

Land based oil pollution: Land based pollution mainly from accidental oil spills from storage tanks and pipelines and also durirg transportation of oil through automobiles.Components of oil such as methane and ethane can cause suf focation. Benzene is toxic and its inhalation can cause anemia and components of sulphur can damage the liver and kidneys. Suspended particulate matter released in to the air by refineries can cause lung diseases.

Environmental problems caused by stone crusher: The main complaint of the affected people was that inhaling the air containing the dust formed as a result of blasting of rocks caused several diseases in the area such as silicosis, asthma, and allergy. Sound pollution produced during the operation of the stone crusher units created hearing problems and disturbed the learning capacity of school children in the area. The dust and fragments of rocks from the units fly in the air and fall into the nearby wells and water systems whereby polluting thern. The particulate matter and dust fall on the trees nearby preventing the pollination of flowers.The particulate matter also falls on all the household articles causing lot of inconvenience. The Pollution Control Board has very effective rules and regulations to control them, but unfortunately 99% of Stone Crusher Units had not implemented those regulations

Destruction of Mangrove Forests: Evergreen mangroves known as 'tidal forests' constitute a fascinating ecosystem by the sea..For centuries, this ecosystem has been of great use and value to mankind. It helps in preventing soil erosion, floods and other natural calamities; Mangroves' protective buffer zone helps shield coastlines from storm damage and wave action, minimizing damage to property and losses of life from hurricanes and storms. Mangroves have been useful in treating effluent, as the plants absorb excess nitrates and phosphates, thereby preventing contamination of near-shore waters.

Mangroves absorb carbon dioxide and store carbon in their sediments, thereby lessening the impacts of global warming; and help in the protection of associated marine ecosystems, provides food, fuel, fodder and a host of other useful products. Mangrove estuaries are the breeding ground for many estuarine species and nursery ground for many marine species. Many birds also find their habitat in mangrove forests.

Mangrove Forests are largely facing deforestation. Mangrove forests are treated as "wastelands," or useless swamps. During the beginning of the last century, Kerala had 700 sq. kilometers of Mangrove forests. Today they are reduced to just 17 sq.kms and restricted to isolated areas. The reasons that have contributed to its decline are encroachment due to high population density on the coasts commercial prawn farming, Sand mining, dumping of wastes. The efforts for eco-restoration of mangroves are outdone by the ongoing process of converting the wetlands for construction of hospitals, hotels and flats. . Environmental activists continue to raise their concern that the wet lands and sensitive mangrove ecosystems will soon vanish if these fragile areas continue to be reclaimed unchecked in the name of development

Conversion of paddy fields: Paddy fields help in recharging the ground water reserves by holding rain water and helps in mitigating floods. The area under paddy cultivation in Kerala continues to be reduced as a result of reclamation of land. In Palakkad district, known as the 'granary of Kerala', Kuttanad, rice bowl of the State hundreds of acres of paddy fields, have been converted for setting up industries., which contributes nearly 20% of the total paddy production, is also not free from the menace with fields being filled up increasingly. The real estate operators are all over Kerala buying up paddy fields, filling it up, selling it fragmented or constructing luxury villas and multistoried apartmeits. the sharp decline of paddy cultivation in Kerala can be directly attributed to clay mining; But ever since the construction boom started in the early eighties, vast tracts of rice fields have been converted into clay mines to feed Kerala's almost insatiable demand for bricks and roof tiles.

Landslides: In some hilly parts of Kerala people have begun to experience the severity of a relatively new phenomenon of natural disaster, landslides. Such landslides have become quite common in Idukki districts especially during rainy seasons due to the environmental degradation of the region, particularly deforestation and soil erosion.

Clay mining: Kerala's lush countryside is under threat due to unrestrained sand and clay mining, posing a serious environmental problem in Kerala. In the eighties when the construction boom started, vast tracts of paddy fields in the in the districts of Thrissur, Malappuram, Kozhikode and Palakkad, Ernakulam and Kollam have been converted into clay mines to meet the increased demand for bricks and roof tiles. In the rainy season the pits which were abandoned,were filled with water,leaving the neighbouring In the rainy season the pits which were abandoned,were filled with water,leaving the neighbouring lands with little or no water for irrigation.These pits became the breeding ground for mosquitos and dumpin g rounds for wastes.

Ecological Impacts of Monoculture

Monoculture, consisting of only one type or species of vegetation is the most noticeable feature of the agricultural system of Kerala. Monoculture invites several ecological problems. Many plant pests have very specific requirements for their food and so they attack only one variety of plants. Traditional agriculture mixes varieties of plants .So if the crops are attacked; only some of them will be affected. The use of exotic and hybrid varieties of plants and chemicals used as insecticides, pesticides, and herbicides exhaust the land and kill small animals and microorganisms as against natural farming practices. These small animals and plants including microorganisms play an important role in the preservation of biodiversity and maintaining the ecological balance.

Destruction of sacred groves

Sacred Groves, the unique Islands of biodiversity is fast disappearing in Kerala. They are the home of the local flora and fauna, a veritable gene pool and a mini biosphere reserve. Within these groves are locked ancient secrets of herbs and traditional medicine. In addition to functioning as a cradle of biodiversity, sacred groves are responsible for water cycling, nutrient cycling and water conservation areas.The upper soil of sacred groves containing decaying leaves and crores of microorganisms of are responsible for slowing the flow of water and absorbing the water into the underground. People are prevented from entering into kavu and taking even a dried branch or leaf of tree, and if one does so, it is believed that he will have the curse of God. Disappearance of the 'tharavadu system', human interference through grazing, poaching and other antisocial activities and changing socio economic scenario are the major threats to the sacred groves of Kerala. The preservation of fast disappearing sacred groves of Kerala is as important as preserving the forests for protecting biodiversity and securing the underground water table.

Species invasion

Species invasion is an emerging environmental problem of the current century.Species invasion is an inevitable consequence of globalization. Coastal and inland waters of Kerala are being invaded with foreign species.These exotic species can multiply and cause extinction of native species, bring many diseases and disrupt the natural cycle. Among the invasive species that have already caused ecological problems: are Ichornia that arrived from Brazil in 1902, and Salvinia that reached Kerala from South Africa in1955, ucalyptuses from Australia and Lantana from South America have extensively colonized in Kerala. The latest arrivals are Uppatorium oderatum Cammunist paccha) which was not

present in Kerala until about 25 years ago, and (Parthenium, a weed that causes severe allergy in many people, are rapidly spreading in Kerala. Foreign flowers have become status symbols of the globalization infected post-modem Kerala culture. Among domesticated animals indigenous species are almost completely replaced by foreign species or their hybrid varieties.

Hotspots of Corporate Excesses

A typical example of corporate excesses in India is Dow Chemicals, which has taken over Union Carbide, the company responsible for the Bhopal gas leak, despite being warned of outstanding criminal charges against Carbide. The Plantation Corporation of Kerala, Grasim Industries, Kozhikode and Eloor Industrial Estate in Cochin have in no way played a much lesser role. The aerial spraying The aerial spraying of the highly dangerous pesticide endosulfan on cashew crops by the Plantation Corporation of Kerala has led to an abnormally high rate of deformities, cancers and diseases related to the central nervous system. The Grasim Industries, Kozhikode is another example. For nearly 30 years, forests in the Western Ghats were cut down to feed a rayon factory operated by the Birla Group's Grasim Industries.Effluents polluted the Chaliyar River in Kerala, devastating local fisheries, even while air pollution made life unlivable in surrounding villages. Now the company is shut down leaving jobless workers, a devastated ecosystem.The Coca Cola factory, Plachimada is now charged with sucking ground water and depriving local villagers of water to drimnk and polluting the underground water

Increasing Environmental Refugees

They are people who can no longer gain a secure livelihood in their homelands because of drought, soil erosion, desertification, deforestation industrialization and other environmental problems. Eloor, which is the State's largest industrial belt where 247 chemical factories operate within the vicinity of this residential area, has become a standing monument of growing number of environmental refugees. Local people who have been exposing instances of toxic pollution caused by these industries are now moving out as environmental refugees to safer places. The number of environmental refugees in Kerala will continue to increase due to the broad scale environmental degradation, severe population pressures, absolute poverty, pollution and landlessness.

Kerala is a state considered to be having a developed modern society. The consumption of more resources results in the generation of more waste.All types of waste including solid, hazardous and biomedical waste generation in the state are more compared to other states in the country.

The State Government set up the State Pollution Control Board in 1984 to address issues arising out of pollution of air and water as well as hazardous wastes. Several sectoral departments such as forest and wildlife, water resources and local self government have been addressing issues relating to forest and wildlife, to river pollution and solid waste management respectively.The Clean Kerala Mission has been set up by the Government of Kerala with the objective of having a litter free state. A Coastal Zone Management Authority has been set up top administer issues relating to Coastal Regulation Zone notification. Recently, State Biodiversity Board has been set up to the Government in accordance with Biodiversity Act, 2003.In spite of all these efforts the environmental pollution has been rising .So what is needed is a change in attitude of the people towards the environment

Silent Valley

Save Silent Valley was a social movement aimed at the protection of Silent valley, an evergreen tropical forest in the Palakkad district of Kerala, India. It was started in 1973 to save the *Silent Valley Reserve Forest in from being flooded by a hydroelectric project. The valley was declared as Silent Valley National Park* in 1985. Nonetheless the controversy surrounding the valley is still on...

Background

The Kuntipuzha is a major river that flows 15 km southwest from Silent Valley. It takes its origin in the lush green forests of Silent valley. In 1928 the location at *Sairandhri on the Kunthipuzha River was identified as an ideal site for electricity generation.* A study and survey was conducted in 1958 of the area about the possibility of a hydroelectric project of 120 MV and one costing Rs. 17 Crore was later proposed by the Kerala State Electricity Board.

Beginnings

After the announcement of imminent dam construction the valley became the focal point of "Save Silent Valley", India's *fiercest environmental debate of the decade. Because of concern about the endangered lion-tailed macaque, the issue was brought to public attention. Romulus Whitaker, founder of the Madras Snake Park and the Madras Crocodile Bank, was probably the first person to draw public attention to the small and remote area. In 1977 theKerala Forest Research Institute* carried out an Ecological Impact study of the Silent Valley area and proposed that the area be declared a Biosphere Reserve.

In 1978 Smt. *Indira Gandhi, the Honorable Prime Minister of India, approved the project, with the condition that the State Government enact Legislation ensuring the necessary safeguards. Also that year the IUCN (Ashkhabad, USSR, 1978) passed a resolution recommending protection of Lion-tailed Macaques in Silent Valley and Kalakkad and the controversy heated up. In 1979 the Government of Kerala passed Legislation* regarding the Silent Valley Protection Area (Protection of Ecological balance Act of 1979) and issued a notification declaring the exclusion of the Hydroelectric Project Area from the proposed National Park.

Participants

Kerala Sasthra Sahithya Parishad (KSSP) effectively aroused public opinion on the requirement to save Silent Valley. They also published a Techno-economic and Socio-Political assessment report on the Silent Valley Hydroelectric project. The poet activist Sugathakumari played an important role in the silent valley protest and her poem "Marathinu Stuthi" (Ode to a Tree) became a symbol for the protest from the intellectual community and was the opening song/prayer of most of the "save the Silent Valley" campaign meetings. Dr. Salim Ali, eminent ornithologist of the Bombay Natural History Society, visited the Valley and appealed for cancellation of the Hydroelectric Project. A petition of writ was filed before the High Court of Kerala, against the clear cutting of forests in the Hydroelectric Project area and the court ordered a stop to the clear cutting.

Dr. *M.S. Swaminathan, the renowned Agricultural Scientist, and then Secretary to the Department of Agriculture, called at the Silent Valley region and his suggestion was 389.52 km² including the Silent Valley (89.52 km²), New Amarambalam (80 km²), Attappadi (120 km²) in Kerala and Kunda in Tamil Nadu (100 km²) reserve forests, should be made into a National Rainforest Biosphere Reserve, with the aim of "preventing erosion of valuable genes from the area".*

In January 1980 the Hon. High Court of Kerala lifted the ban on clear cutting, but then the Hon. Prime Minister of India requested the Government of Kerala to stop further works in the project area until all aspects were fully discussed. In December, the Government of Kerala declared the Silent Valley area, excluding the Hydroelectric Project area, as a *National Park*.

In 1982 a multidisciplinary committee with Prof. *M. G. K. Menon as chairman, was created to decide if the Hydroelectric Project was feasible without any significant ecological damage. Early in 1983, Prof. Menon's Committee submitted its report. After a careful study of the Menon report, the Hon. Prime*

Minister of India decided to abandon the Project. On October 31, 1984 Indira Gandhi was assassinated and on November 15 the Silent Valley forests were declared as a National Park, though the boundaries of the Silent Valley Park were limited and no buffer zone was created, despite recommendations by expert committees and scientists.

Park inaugurated

Ten months later, on September 7, 1985 the Silent Valley National Park was formally inaugurated and a memorial at Sairandhri to Indira Gandhi was unveiled by Shri. *Rajiv Gandhi, the new Hon. Prime Minister of India. On September 1, 1986 Silent Valley National Park was designated as the core area of the Nilgiri Biosphere Reserve.Since then, a long-term conservation effort has been undertaken to preserve the Silent Valley ecosystem.*

A New Dam proposal

In 2001 a new Hydro project was proposed and the "Man vs. Monkey debate" was revived. The proposed site of the dam (64.5 m high and 275 m long) is just 3.5 km downstream of the old dam site at Sairandhiri, 500 m outside the National Park boundary. The 84 km² catchment of the project area included 79 km² of the Silent Valley National Park.

The Kerala Minister for Electricity called The Pathrakkadavu dam (PHEP) an "eco-friendly alternative" to the old Silent Valley project. The PHEP was designed as a run-off-the-river project with an installed capacity of 70 MW in the first phase (105 MW eventually) and an energy generation of 214 million units (Mu) with a minimal gross storage of 0.872 million cubic metres. The claim was that the submergence area of the PHEP would be a negligible.041 km² compared to 8.30 km² submergence of the 1970s (SVHEP). However, the spectacular waterfall between the Neelikkal and Pathrakkadavu hills bordering the Silent Valley will disappear if the proposed Pathrakkadavu hydro-electric project is implemented. During January to May 2003 a rapid Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) was carried out during by the Thiruvananthapuram-based Environmental Resources Research Centre and its report was released in December, stating that forest lost due to the project would be just .2216 km², not including the 7.4 km approach road and land to be acquired for the powerhouse in Karapadam.

Plachimada

Plachimada is often cited as a prime example of corporate aggression over natural resources and the consequent denial of the rights of the people. It has also been portrayed as the fight against a multi national corporation by a small section of the local population in order to protect basic human rights, such as the right to drinking water and the right to livelihood. What happened in Plachimada is often raised in discussions about the state's actual record (as opposed to the position that the state ought to take) in the 'fight for basic human rights.' Plachimada, a small village in Kerala, became the centre of controversy after The Coca Cola Company set up a bottling plant there.

The village became more famous (or infamous) after incidents of pollution and over extraction of groundwater by the Company, were reported by various organisations and the popular media.Those who campaigned against Coca Cola's presence in Plachimada allege that the over-exploitation of groundwater by the company had caused the deterioration of groundwater, both in quality and quantity. These are very serious issues in a place like Plachimada where people depend extensively upon groundwater for domestic and agricultural purposes. In this context, the Plachimada controversy raises several legal questions.

Briefly, the case involves the question of right to life, the right to livelihood and the emerging jurisprudence of environmental law. But a micro level analysis reveals that the relevant legal framework is rendered complex due to the co-existence of some statutes, constitutional provisions and principles.The Kerala government enacted the Kerala Ground Water (Control and Regulation) Act in 2002 but the Act was notified only in 2003. By this time the matter had already come before the Kerala

High Court and therefore, this Act have not been applied by the High Court and is not applicable to the case now pending before the Supreme Court of India. Hence, in anticipation of the future of the case, the fourth part examines the arguments presented before the Supreme Court. Since the Kerala Ground water (Control and Regulation) Act is the statutory framework to prevent and control the situations like Plachimada in the future, an analysis of the Act is also included in the fourth part.

I. The Background

Palakkad district in Kerala State where the Coca Cola plant is situated, is an important agricultural region for the state and is popularly known as the 'rice bowl of Kerala'.The whole area requires large quantities of water for irrigation purposes and depends heavily on canal irrigation and groundwater. Unfortunately, Palakkad district is in the rain shadow area of the Western Ghats

and is a drought-prone area. The Hindustan Coca Cola Company set up a plant in this district in the year 2000. The plant occupies an area of around 34 acres of land.This land had been classified 'arable' by the Government of India.Quite naturally, the site of the plant is surrounded by a number of water reservoirs and canals built for irrigation.

Plachimada village of Perumatty panchayat in Chittoor taluk is a small hamlet in Palakkad district. It is also home to several scheduled caste and scheduled tribe populations. The villagers are predominantly landless, illiterate, agricultural labourers. Almost 80 per cent of the population depends upon agriculture for their livelihood. Hence, it is most likely that, the location of an industrial plant, which consumes water heavily, in a socially and economically backward, in a region that is agricultural but drought prone would result in serious adverse implications to the life and the environment.

The people of Plachimada started to suffer adversities within six months after the Company started its activities.It was reported that the salinity and hardness of the water had risen. Apart from the increase in salinity and hardness, the water from some open wells and shallow bore wells nearby was alleged to have an extremely The site is located barely three kilometers to the north of the Meenakkara Dam reservoir and a few hundred meters west of the Kambalathara and Venkalakkayam water storage reservoirs. The Moolathara main canal of the Moolathara barrage passes less than ten metres north of the factory compound and the main Chittoor River runs very close to the Coca Cola plant.unpleasant strong bitter taste. The people who used this brackish, bitter water complained of a variety of illnesses such as a burning sensation in the skin of the face; greasy, sticky hair; stomach disorders and skin deformities. It was also reported that a few wells in the nearby area had become dry due to the over extraction of groundwater by the Company. The insufficiency of water had also resulted in the decline of agricultural production. Consequently the local economy and life in the area was alleged to have been ruined.

The local people started their agitation against the Company within a year of the setting up of the Company's plant. Mylamma, a tribal woman, had organised the local community against the Company.Later, several nongovernmental organisations and other sections of the mainstream society joined the agitation. Due to this hue and cry the Perumatty Grama Panchayat passed a resolution on 7 April 2003 refusing to renew the license given to the Company.This was the beginning of the legal battle. The matter came before the High Court of Kerala on two occasions and is now pending before the Supreme Court of India.

II. Legal and Institutional Framework

Often, law is seen as the solution to almost all problems in the society. But the Plachimada case study reveals that the mere existence of law is a very blunt-edged weapon. Equally important is the efficient implementation of the laws. This part of the paper examines the legal and institutional framework, which was in operation since the beginning of the problems in Plachimada. This part also examines the implementation of the legal framework and the flaws in it.

The Coca Cola Company started their operation in the year 2000 and the people's agitation against the Company began in 2002. Meanwhile, the Kerala legal system underwent a major change in 2002 through the enactment of the Kerala Ground Water (Control and Regulation) Act. But the said Act was not applicable as it was notified only in 2003. In the absence of a specific statutory framework, principles such as the public trust doctrine and the common law rule of uncontrolled right of the landowner over groundwater prevailed in the Plachimada case. These principles are discussed as part of the case law analysis.

A. Analysis of Pollution Control Laws

This part examines how the laws (as they existed   then) addressed the Plachimada issue and further, how and where did the laws go wrong? The object of this section is to analyse the pollution control laws and the way in which these laws have been implemented.An in-depth research is not necessary to come to the conclusion that there were quite a few legal provisions to prevent and control the pollution problems in Plachimada.The government and its agencies have failed to exercise their legal powers impartially and according to the newly emerging jurisprudence and the needs of contemporary society.

It has been rightly pointed out by the Supreme Court that the law is not always the problem. Often, it is the implementation of the law.The Plachimada problem could have been solved with the existing laws. If the powers as per the legal provisions (as they existed) had been used in a proper and in a pro-environment manner, the Plachimada problem could have been avoided. The delay on the part of the government to notify the Ground Water Act of 2002 and its irresponsible approach to the implementation of the pollution control laws together resulted in grave injustice, the denial of the fundamental human rights of the people of Plachimada and irreparable damage to the environment.

The Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1974 (hereafter 'The Water Act'), the Environment Protection Act, 1986 (hereafter 'The EP Act') and the Hazardou Wastes (Management and Handling) Rule, 1989 as amended in 2003 (hereafter 'The Rule') are the main compon nts of the legal framework that has been in operation since the beginning of the Plachimada problem. These legislations envisage mechanisms to ensure the quality of the water.Here 'quality' encompasses the quality of water for all its uses such as the domestic, agricultural and industrial.

Mayilamma

Mayilamma was an *Indian social activist whose claim to fame was the campaign against Coca-Cola company in Plachimada of Palakkad, Kerala. She belonged to a native tribal community. She was the recipient of the Speak Out award by Outlook* magazine and the Sthree Shakthi Award.

Mayilamma was directly affected by Coca-Cola's operations in Plachimada, in Kerala's Palakkad district. The water in her well (in Vijaynagar colony in Plachimada) had been so heavily polluted by Coca-Cola's operations that it has been deemed unfit for human consumption.

Mayilamma played a key role in the campaign to hold Coca-Cola accountable for water shortages and pollution in the area, and it was under her leadership that the community forced the Coca-Cola bottling plant to shut down in March 2004. The plant has remained shut down since.

Mayilamma, a member of the Eravalar tribe, was the founder of the Coca-Cola Virudha Samara Samiti (Anti Coca-Cola Struggle Committee) in Plachimada which has spearheaded the campaign against Coca-Cola. The Anti-Coca-Cola Struggle Committee has held a continuous vigil directly outside Coca-Cola's factory gates since April 22, 2002, demanding its permanent closure.

Mayilamma lived with her extended family in Vijaynagar Colony in Plachimada, and is survived by three sons and a daughter.Mayilamma died on Jan 6, 2007.

TRIBAL LAND ALIENATION IN KERALA

The State of Kerala was formed on 1st November 1956, as a part of the state's reorganizationexercise integrating Malabar with the princely states of Cochin and Travancore. Walled off by theWestern Ghats and watered by the Arabian sea, the small strip of land called Keralam (this endearingterm has been anglicized into Kerala), with only 1.2 per cent of the geographical size of India, yethousing a population as large as that of Canada and almost double of Sri Lanka and ten times that of Costa Rica; has attracted the attention of the world for its achievement in human developmentcomparable to that of the affluent countries.

To quote Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen,"To achieve asmuch as Kerala has done for a population of its size is no mean record in World History."But behind this entire facade there is the grim tale of the adivasis

Adivasis constitute the most run-down segmentof the Malayalee society.The most imperative reason for their wretched state of affairs can be tracedto the unabated process of land alienation.Land is at the heart of tribal life. More than a thing of value, land to him is mothering earth, whichsatisfies both his material and spiritual needs. Hence depriving him of his land is to snap hiscontinuation as a self-respecting member of society.

Infact, the root cause of all human right violations perpetuated on them can be traced to land alienation, since the tribals depend on land for their identity, existence, security and livelihood.

Muthanga Incident

Muthanga Incident refers to a situation in which police fired on the *Adivasis (tribal clans) in the Muthanga village of Wayanad district, Kerala. On 19 February 2003, the Adivasis had gathered under Adivasi Gothra Mahasbha (ADMS) to protest the Kerala Government's delay in allotting them land, which had been contracted in October of 2001. During the protest, Kerala Police* fired 18 rounds resulting in two immediate fatalities (one of which was a policeman). In a subsequent statement, the government placed the official death toll at five. A video of the firing was aired on several news programs.

Muthanga strike

The Adivasi people began to protest in August 2001 after many of their members had died of starvation in Kerala. The protest was carried out primarily by setting up 'Refugee Camps' in front of the State Chief Minister's residence. The protest continued for 48 days, forcing the *Government of Kerala* to promise the disbursement of land and other rehabilitation measures for the Adivasi people living in the state.

When no action was taken by the government to implement the promised measures, the tribal alliance (similar to tribal groups of the *Nagarhole) renewed their protest. The indigenous people of Wayanad decided to enter the forest under the banner of Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha (AGMS). The Muthanga forest where AGMS put up huts is recognized as the homeland of different Adivasi communities in Wayanad—such as the Tamil Nadu , the Karnataka, the Andhra Pradeshs, the Adivasi and the Kerala . Adivasi families had been forcibly evicted from Muthanga during the 1970s after the area was declared a sanctuary and again in the 1980s to make way for eucalyptus* plantations. The evicted tribal groups were compelled to live in difficult socioeconomic conditions as part of several other tribal colonies.

The Adivasi families who entered the forest sought to assert their traditional right over the Muthanga forests, by restarting the Adivasi (similar to *Panchayati raj) and setting up subsistence agriculture. A minimum program for Self Rule in accordance with the spirit of the Panchayati raj* was drawn up. Maintaining a self-supporting and regenerative natural ecosystem, primarily with regard to water sources and vegetation, was an important objective of the Adivasi moving into the forest.

Government authorities did not negotiate with the protesters, but simply issued a notice of scheduled eviction procedures.As part of the eviction; the Forest Department was alleged to have set the Adivasi huts on fire and fed domesticated elephants with alcohol to induce the animals to attack Adivasi huts.

Aftermath

After the 19th February 2003 actions by Police Forces of the Kerala State, tribal members were arrested in connection with the eviction operation in Muthanga Wildlife Sanctuary in the Wayanad district. Police said that all the accused, along with 37 children, were deported to Central Jail in the Kannur district. A total of 33 men were charged under various sections of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) and 99 women were charged under sections of the Wildlife Protection Act. On 20 February 2003, 132 persons were remanded to judicial custody for 15 days, including 99 women volunteers of the Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha (ADMS).

On February 21 2003, ADMS leaders *C. K. Janu* and Geethanandan were arrested. The two were spotted by locals at the roadside, near Nambikolli, about 4 kilometers from the town of *Sulthan Bathery* on the Bathery-Ootty road. K. K. Surendran, a lecturer in DIET, was also arrested in connection with the tribal agitation in the sanctuary.

Then Chief Minister of the State of Kerala, *A. K. Antony, rejected the demands of the Opposition for a judicial probe into the Muthanga action which led to the killing of two persons. The thenUnited Democratic Front (UDF) convener, Oommen Chandy, added: "apart from the liberal attitude towards the tribes, the Government has already distributed 1800 acres of land to the landless tribals, besides allotting 6 crores for tribal housing schemes. The government is targeting 1840 acres to be distributed to tribals".Then Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee (KPCC) president K. Muraleedharan* countered statements by the UDF leaders, stating that there is not enough land to distribute equitably among the tribal groups and that the calculations being cited are erroneous.

On 24 February 2003, social activist A. Vasu spoke to C. K. Janu and Geethanandan in Calicut District Jail. He quoted the agitation leaders as having said that nearly 15 persons were fatally wounded in the course of the police firing. After this information became public, the government issued a statement stating that the death toll was five.

C. K. Janu

C. K. Janu is the leader of the Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha, a social movement that has been pushing for land to be redistributed to landless *adivasisand that grew out of the Dalit-Adivasi Action Council in Kerala state, South India.*

Janu's background is Ravula (called Adiya by the Malayalis, due to historical background), one of the adivasi groups in Kerala who used to be indentured laborers (adiya actually means slave) and whose people are still mostly landless agricultural laborers.Janu had no formal education but learned to read and write through a literacy campaign that was conducted in *Wayanad,* the area in the north of Kerala, near the border with Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, where Janu comes from. Her biography is quite typical of Adiya people: she used to be landless (until she organized a long drawn-out struggle to occupy land with her community and finally got a piece of land) and used to work as an agricultural laborer. Actually, as she never gained much money with her political career—or even lost money on having to pay for her political activities—she still often does this kind of work to get by.

Janu was with the *Communist Party of India (Marxist)* for a while in her youth and gained some experience in politics there—but also soon learned that the CPI (M) was not actually interested in the landless poor very much any more (adivasis—a legal category under which many very different groups of people fall—are in total only 1.5% of the population in Kerala). She therefore left the party in 1982. She was an active social worker at the beginning of the 90s and was even, in November 1994, awarded a state award for her efforts in this field. She however returned the award as a critique of the government's lack of responsiveness to the demands of landless adivasis.

In 2001 C. K. Janu became a prominent person in Kerala as she led a protest march through the state and held a long sit-in strike in front of the Secretariat in *Thiruvanathapuram to demand land for landless adivasis. In 2003 she also led the occupation of land at Muthanga. The occupation ended with massive police violence in which a policeman and an adivasi were killed. It came to be known as the Muthanga incident. Since then the movement has been in the news less and has concentrated on occupying land at Aralam* farm, a huge cooperative farm that the government had promised to distribute amongst landless adivasis.

It is quite notable that C. K. Janu as a woman managed to gain such an important role in politics in the state of Kerala—without her being the wife of an important politician or even having the support of a political party. Indeed, apart from *K. R. Gowri Amma (a former communist leader who became minister several times, coming from a lower-caste—Ezhava—background) and K. Ajitha(a former Naxalite leader and now organiser of a feminist NGO),* there are not many women in Kerala who make it to such political prominence.

Janu has sometimes been described moreover as the first 'organic' leader of adivasis in Kerala: she does not hold strongly to abstract political dogmas but works more from the concrete experiences of adiya life. She cooperated for some time with national and international indigenous people's organizations but was always very wary of being funded by any organization. Most of the activities of the Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha are funded entirely through the solidarity of poor adivasis and dalits.

CHENGARA LAND STRUGGLE

The hilly terrains at the southern plantation belt of the Pathanamthitta district in Kerala reverberates with a major land struggle of an unprecedented nature involving more than 5000 families of the most deprived sections of the population. They demand land to live and labour on it. These are the people left-out in the once lauded land reforms of Kerala as a grand success. By tradition and practice, they have the creative potential to lead a highly productive life in relation to land and nature. But, they do not posses it. The mainstream society of Kerala either ignores this struggle or pretends that nothing seriously happen except for a bit of law and order problem. Some even perceive this as a violent and militant struggle, thereby indirectly even indicating that they are supported by 'Naxals'. So goes the behavior of the media too.

This struggle by landless Dalits and Adviasis to gain ownership of land, which began on 4th August 2007 has completed one month now. They have been labelled as 'encroachers' and attacked by the Goonds of the rubber plantations of Harrisson Malayalam Limited at Chengara near Konni in Pathanamthitta District.Ten of them including women were admitted in the hospitals in Pathanamthitta. According to the President of the Sadhujana Vimochana Samyuktha Vedi (SJVSV), Laha Gopalan, about 4500 landless families involving 29000 odd people from different parts have moved on to the struggle front building tents with poles and plastic sheets.The Chickungunia epidemic is also taking its toll on these poor people. Several people are lying in the sheds. Sixteen people have been admitted in hospitals in Pathanamthitta.

With the rains continuing, the fever tightening its grip and the food stock drying up; the people are facing a dire situation. But their spirits are high even after 33 days. They affirm that they will not go back. "Give us land or bullets", their lips read.

This is actually the second phase of the struggle. 10 months back the SJVSV launched a struggle that was on very much similar line. It was in Kumbazha Estate of the same management. The struggle was called-off after getting assurance from the Government that their demand would be looked into. Since there was no indication of any positive move from the state Govt, the SJVSU moved into the present struggle by occupying new land. To begin with, they occupied about 125 acres. After Onam Festival they have spread on to a larger area covering four hills - each family occupying one acre of land. This has two advantages. One, the earlier area was covered with Rubber trees which were yielding. The present spot is having old trees, non-yielding. The Trade unions were against the landless poor who occupied the land, saying that the 'encroachers' were not allowing them to continue their plantation related work. But, now since there is no hindrance for rubber tapping, the workers are friendlier. Secondly the Management and TUs had approached the court and the court advised the authorities that the encroachers be evicted without using force. Now, as they are out of that particular locale, the management may need fresh advice from the court.

The estate under purview has trespassed its lease period. Their claim is that even if the land is not theirs, the trees are theirs. Basically this is land which has to be taken back from the planters and given to the landless. The Left Front Government by its one year old promise is bound to do that. The Ghost of Muthanga, where the police shot at the advisis who claimed their ancestral land, should continue to haunt the authorities.The government had given in writing that the Advasis will be allotted land. The governments of whichever shade; right of left have not fulfilled the promise of providing land to the landless except in a very very nominal way. Muthanga is a landmark in peoples struggle for land and it challenges people to go on with struggles claiming land for the dalits and adivasi.

By the least standards, 56% of dalits and advisis in Kerala have no land. One of the women in the huts in Chengara was narrating her experience of having to bury her husband a pit in the kitchen of her hut. The Advisis, dalits and dalit Christians (all these communities are among the 4500 occupiers in Chengara) constitute about 65 lakhs in Kerala's population - 5 lakhs of Adivasis and the rest Dalits. These people if they posses 2 cents, 4 cents or at best 10 cents of land, they are considered as landowners while there are corporate

houses that get thousands and thousands of acres on lease. And there are estate owners such as 'Harrisons Malayalam' who have no legal right over thousands of acres that they hold on to. They have 33 estates (Tea & Rubber) holding not less than fifty thousand acres in six districts of Kerala. How do we reconcile with such injustice? The reality which is the reason for hope is that these communities who are denied basic rights are becoming conscious and they are rising up.

The present agitation is an indication of the intense nature of the struggle. It is not easy for 4000 odd families (which keeps on increasing by a minimum of 20 families a day) to come away to an area surrounded by "enemies" and to stay on for weeks and months fighting the most horrid situations of rain, epidemics and hunger. The families at the Kurumbatti division of the Chengara estate were asked what if the court gives the verdict to oust the encoachers; the women were the most vocal in declaring:"We have fiive liters of Kerosin Oil and the moment the authorities turn us out we will burn ourselves. No question of retreating without getting land".

The management, Trade Unions and the media were most unfriendly to the land struggle at Chengara. The Political Parties including the CPI-M and CPI who led the land struggle in Khammam in Andhra Pradesh in August, who are collecting money to help the families of the deceased in Khammam; are sparing no effort to drive away the poor dalits and adivasis struggling for land in Kerala. The media except for one or two Malayalam dailies are adopting an anti- struggle position.

The important thing to note is that common people are not aware of the developments; the life and death struggle going on in the neghbourhood in Chengara involving thousands of landless poor.The ruling coalition is showing total apathy to the struggle of a major section of people. These Communities are coming to a new awareness that they have to posses land. They realize that land is the symbol of power and authority. So far they have been kept out of that. Land, which was the life-blood of these communities, was plucked away from them. The same land is in the hands of Corporations like Harrisons and real estate mafia. It is no more a life-providing, God given resource, but a commodity to make profit. The communities near to the natural resources like land and water are realising that they have to reain ownership of the natural resources their ancestors collectively owned. They have to posses the life-producing and life-sustaining resources. The present trend is leading to a negation of life of humans and nature. Unless they retrieve the land, the future of human and nature are in danger.

The land struggles that go on in Kerala in Chengara and in some other parts also are a symbol of people coming to deeper conciopusness of their relation with land and nature and its politics. They are symptomatic of the land struggles in Mudigonda Kammam (Andra Pradesh), Sonbhadra (UP), Rewa (MP), Orissa and in other parts of India. There are land struggles trying to posses land and then land struggles to affirm the right over land, not prepared to yield their land to the corporations as in the case of Singur and Nandigram.

Land struggles of such nature represent a new era of peoples awakening. They point to a bright horizon where we see people asserting their right to life; to create and preserve life.The Chengara struggle of the Sadhujana Vimochana Samyukta Vedi deservers support and encouragement from all sections of people who look for a new order. The people have to get land. They have to win. They need your support.

Women, Politics, and Development in Kerala

It has been observed in the literature on the Kerala Model that the political field remained inaccessible to *Malayalee women* despite their impressive social developmental achievements in the 20th century. More than a decade after that observation was made, and after many years of effort to mainstream gender concerns into local government, there is little effective change in sight.There is no doubt that more women have entered local bodies now. However, whether this will lead to a rise in the numbers of active women politicians, and to a greater articulation of women's interests via the broader politicization of women as a group is still to be seen. Ironically enough, since mid-90s, feminists have been demanding gender justice from the state and battling the major political parties over a series of well-publicized cases of rape, traffic and sexual harassment, in which leading members of major parties, both on the left and non-left seemed implicated.

Very little support to this cause came from women who were inducted into the political process through political decentralization. So the gender equality lobby in the state, represented mainly by the feminist network, the Kerala Stree Vedi, had been engaged in almost a continuous combat with the state and political parties - who of course are the major actors in political decentralization. Indeed, a certain rapprochement of the feminists with the left - that seems to be falling apart in the present -- came when one of the most powerful and senior leaders of the CPM, the present Chief Minister of Kerala, V.S. Achutanandan, began to seriously take up the issue of sexual violence as Opposition Leader under the previous UDF government, in 2005. This has important

implications that the large numbers of women in local governance have not yet become part of the gender equality lobby, and that senior male leaders still control the decision whether or not to support it.

This curious phenomenon -- the simultaneous 'presence' and 'absence' of gender concern in political decentralization in Kerala in the 1990s -- makes sense when viewed in a historical perspective. Playing on the title of Robin Jeffrey's well-known book on the Kerala Model, a widely shared conception of the roots of the Kerala Model may be expressed in formulaic terms as 'Politics + Women = Social Development/Wellbeing'. The conjunction of a particular sort of politics with a particular sort of female subjectivity is seen to have produced the well being Kerala is so famous for. Politics as mentioned earlier has been a male zone; as for the 'enlightened' female subjectivity, it, as well as the community reform movements that projected it as a desirable attainment, has been incisively criticized in recent feminist research. It has been pointed out that women were accorded a new role and social space shaped by and serving modern patriarchy that limited female agency to the sphere of modern domesticity, and ultimately tied to the welfare of the larger collective -- be it the community, the locality or the nation. There were efforts to expand women's social space in the 1930s -- this however largely made a powerful case for women's presence in the public by emphasizing that certain 'Womanly' qualities -- capacities supposedly given to women by virtue of their 'natural' sexual endowment, like compassion, patience, gentleness and so on -- were necessary for the smooth running of modern public life.

This claim was never really effective in the field of politics and political society in mid 20th century Kerala continued to implicitly or explicitly endorse the public/domestic divide and the relegation of modern female agency to the domestic. This continued to be so during the decades of left hegemony in the Malayalee public sphere that lasted roughly up to mid -1980s.The gains of mid 20th century dominant leftist politics were certainly gendered and historians have begun to notice this now. As Anna Lindberg has recently shown for the cashew workers of Kerala, women workers were directed towards the home through a range of strategies by state officials, employers and their own trade union representatives. Thus while maternity benefits were fought for, the family wage remained in place. In the state-sponsored development programmes of the 1950s and 60s, women were organised at the local level, the focus being on the intersection points of social development and rationalizing and modernizing family life.

The civil social associations of women which began to appear since early 20th century were also less concerned with resolving the 'women question' in favour of women's autonomy and equal participation in community life and citizenship than with shaping ideal home managers. Though the issue of patriarchy was raised in the major civil social mobilizations of the 1980s (such as the People's Science Movement and the Fishworker's Movement), those who sought to articulate it within these movements found it a steep climb. At the end of the 1980s, however, feminist groups had indeed made their entry, they found not much support in civil or political societies rather, they were greeted with hostility and suspicion at worst and palpable caution at best.

In the 1990s, gender equity came to be discussed much more in the hugely expanded mass media (the coming of satellite television) with the sites of enunciation for Women increasing. In the same decade, public debates over gender inequity and injustice have been bitter and long-drawn out and still continue to be so-- while in contrast, there seems to be all-round support for women's associational efforts that define empowerment as strengthening women's economic contribution within patriarchal frameworks, which, it is assumed, will lead to an expansion of their life-choices automatically. Indeed, there is reason to think that the drive towards mainstreaming gender in local level governance was inspired at least as much by strategic considerations as it may have been by commitment towards gender equity. For, the PPC was also an effort to overcome the crisis of redistributionist politics. The remedy, it seemed, was to expand the inclusiveness of People as the historical agent of change and so the interest in integrating women into peoples planning was to be expected. Women in Kerala had already proved their mettle as agents of change within their families, and in local communities, more recently as instructors in the Total Literacy Campaign of the early 1990s.

It is important to note that the PPC was launched and implemented in an atmosphere in which the feminist network in Kerala was confronting the major political parties over their adamant and blatant sexism. This meant that an element crucial in ensuring the attainment of declared goals of mainstreaming gender in political decentralization was missing right at the beginning. It must be remembered that this was the first time in post-independence Kerala that Women were treated as a political group with representatives (pre-independence legislatures had nominated members to represent Women). However, for the large number of women who were newly inducted into the political process, this was certainly a new and unfamiliar idea. Similarly for women in general too, the idea of having representatives of their own was a new one.

The gender equity lobby which could be reasonably expected to mediate between these two groups and establish the lines of communication between them, however, was grievously debilitated precisely because of the massive confrontation between feminists and political society in general. Indeed, political society, both the left and the non-left, have been doing their utmost to strip off the feminists their claim to represent the interests of women as a distinct group. In such a situation, the impact of *women's* large-scale induction into local-level political structures was bound to be limited seriously. The latter rapprochement arrived with the CPM in 2006 was under the hope that the new LDF government under V S Achutanandan would act seriously on issues raised by the feminists; something that has not yet actualized.

The PPC, however, seemed to offer much: besides the 33 per cent reservation of seats, it has been further characterized as marked by a concern for gender equity, along with social justice and efficient implementation of developmental programmes. This experiment at micro-level planning tried to structurally integrate gender priorities into the planning process (rather than simply upholding them as normative ideals) through providing for a Women's Component Plan (WCP) to be implemented with ten per cent of the total grant-in-aid for the plan. This was later made mandatory. It was hoped that these measures would help build synergies between women's political empowerment and their active induction into socio-economic life as subjects of development in their own right.

Beginning actively in 1997-98, the Women's Component Plan (WCP) fell short of the expectations of policy-makers.The allocations for the WCP did not often come close to the stipulated ten per cent; besides, many of the projects allocated under it were stereotypical. Some effort to correct this was made in the second year of its implementation with guidelines being set and attempts to tackle gender stereotyping in project formulation.The serious inadequacy in the participation of women in the planning process was sought to be overcome through setting up need-based neighbourhood groups and including their convenors in the Village Assemblies.

The number of women who entered the local bodies has been quite large. A total of 6566 positions are reserved for women, of which 382 are seats for the president position. Now, the number of women in the LSGIs exceeds the 33 per cent. At present, the participation of women in the Village Assemblies highlighted in PPC as the basic forums of local democracy -- have improved considerably mainly due to the integration of the vast network of womens self-help groups set up towards the end of the 1990 as part of the Kerala States Poverty Alleviation Mission, the Kudumbashree, with the panchayats.

A Quick Survey of Literature

There is general consensus in the existing literature on gender in the PPC that the substantial reservation for women was definitely a major step towards inducting women as participants in local governance and have often resulted in individual capacity building of women, they have also pointed out the limited interest of political parties in ensuring the actualization of the mandatory Women's Component Plan; their reluctance to politicize women as a group and even their hostility towards assertive women.

About local planning, almost all the reports agree that practical gender needs are often well-addressed while projects that address strategic needs are ignored or opposed. Indeed, the moral opposition seems greatest when the boundaries between these are not so clear that is, when the effort is to address women's practical gender needs through means that essentially challenge entrenched forms of patriarchal power. For instance, Vanita Mukherjee and T.N. Seema mention how a scheme for training girls as auto-rickshaw drivers (not only a male preserve, but also a very visible masculine public role in Kerala) that aimed at generating greater income for *women* was crippled through public derision of the women who underwent the training and finally, had no takers, as it went against accepted gender codes and seemed to hold the possibility of upsetting established norms of sexual morality.The SAKHI report mentions another telling instance, in which a proposal for generating employment for women through starting a unit to manufacture cheap and hygienic sanitary napkins was booed out as indecent.

Many of the reports point out that the remarkable spread of self-help groups in the state has often given women much greater self-confidence as earners. However, many have also remarked about the consequences of tying women's empowerment to poverty eradication, which leads to the instrumentalist reduction of the former into a tool for the latter. Fourthly, many reports reveal the extent to which community solutions were posed for gender conflict instead of the mobilization of women in anti-patriarchal struggle.

The situation in the planning experiment at present, in sum, is as a report put it: The conscious efforts to alter the conceptual rationale of planning, under the decentralized regime, recognizing the market and domestic roles of women, and the gender differences in needs and interests, remained largely at the level of rhetoric in policy making and disappeared the level of implementation. Gender Status studies recently conducted in 43 panchayats by the Kerala Institute of Local Administration, SAKHI, and SDC-CAPDECK revealed that women's

subordinate status continues uninterrupted in almost all, and indeed, women are at least more visible in public precisely in panchayats which have had a history of strong political mobilization in the mid-20th century (for instance, Karivalloor-Peralam).

However, most of these reports do not explicitly consider how the experience of the past ten years has impacted upon women's perceptions and assessment of, and expectations from politics.

If it was also hoped that by the induction of a large number of women into local-level governance, women as a category would emerge as a political one i.e., as a group conscious of common interests to be secured in society and economy, with a direct claim on state resources and well-defined rights as equal citizens then, ten years past, it is certainly time to make an assessment of the ways in which this making-space within political institutions has impacted on women's perceptions of the nature and possibilities of politics, their self-perception as a distinct social group, and the social space that they may legitimately claim. This may require us to take an approach that is more sensitive to the contemporary context in Kerala.we need to be alive to the fact that such change is being shaped by several processes, institutions and agents, at times unconnected or even antagonistic to each other.

With the exception of one study that focuses rather narrowly on feminist politics in Kerala in the 1990s), such serious work on the transformation of women's lives and space in the political public here is grievously lacking. While it is important to study the numbers and the achievements of women who have entered local governance, it may also be important to go beyond such considerations to reflect upon the kinds of spaces and agency that this avenue has opened up for women. This, however, cannot be done by maintaining a singular focus on the expansion of local self-government and the new opportunities for women, to the exclusion of adjacent processes in the fields of politics and development that may be of equal importance.

New Perspectives, Possibilities

The present report hopes to make a beginning towards constructing a richer and more complex account of women's entry into the public in Kerala since the mid-1990s. We do believe that it is pointless to assess the achievements of women members of the LSGIs without scanning a larger field to understand emergent challenges to gender justice and citizenship, so that one may ultimately reflect whether political decentralization and women's representation in LSGIs has indeed been capable of rising to meet these challenges. This is not

to say that focusing on the achievements of these women is unimportant. Nor is it to apply a feminist measure to assess the achievements of these women only to condemn them as victims of false consciousness in other words, sit upon (political) judgment. The historical significance of the 33 per cent reservation of seats in the LSGIs of Kerala for women can scarcely be belittled.

It is for the first time since the 1940s since the pre-Independence legislatures in the princely States of Travancore and Kochi -- that women have been recognized as a political category in their own right. But besides, the question whether it offers opportunities for women to enter the almost-exclusively male domain of politics is all-important. The lack of women in politics demands immediate redress, and without the expectation that women be have as better and less corrupt politicians or, indeed, they become gender justice warriors. Moreover, the enthusiasm for public life and knowledge of public affairs that women members have generally displayed all over India certainly serve the important feminist political goal of breaking down misogynist stereotypes about women's reluctance to enter public life.

That said, however, given that the political field generally remains hostile to issues of gender justice, feminist researchers cannot afford to discard their critical lenses. While we need to relax the assumption that women in power will somehow automatically fight for gender justice, we also need to relax the assumption that the entry of women into local governance will automatically redress their abysmally low presence in politics. Indeed, as we were to find out in our research, conservative gender norms may be reiterated precisely through the availability of certain forms of agency to women. And bargaining with patriarchy does have its limits; most importantly, we need to inquire about which women are able to bargain with patriarchy at all. This leads to the question whether the spaces and agency opened up for certain kinds of women masks parallel processes of disempowerment of other women, and eventually to the larger question of understanding what women's critical agency may be, under emergent neoliberal contexts of extractive growth, welfarist regime based on responsibilization of the subject of welfare, and crucially, within a conservative interpretation of the concept of gender in prevalent discourses of local development and politics.

Given this goal, we hope to take our inquiry beyond political decentralization. How exactly we propose to do this is summarized in the following points:

Instead of concentrating on political decentralization, we propose to focus on three processes that unfurled side by side in this period, covering the major portions of the fields of formal politics and oppositional civil society. These are:

(a) The opening up of a number of spaces within formal institutions of local self government under the 33 per cent reservation of seats as part of political decentralization.

(b)The creation and functioning of the State-wide network of self-help groups constituted by women from below-poverty-line families under the aegis of the State Poverty Alleviation Mission, the Kudumbashree.

(c) The burgeoning of struggles around degradation of the environment and destruction of livelihoods outside both politics and local governance, in which poor women, who are affected more drastically by these changes, are active participants.

The exploration of adjacent processes will help us to produce rich comparative insights. The focus on the women who are now at the interface of development and politics through the expansion of the machinery of social welfare -- is interesting not only because women are now emerging as central targets and agents of welfare governance, but also because this group has been an important catchment area from which women have been inducted into local governance. An active circulation of women between this area and local governance is evident today. Thus becoming the President of the Community Development Society, the highest tier of the Kudumbashree self-help group structure at the village panchayat level, is often a passport to candidature in local elections.

However, though the Kudumbashree was envisaged as a state-centric civil society that would work independently alongside the village level local body, it has been heavily penetrated by political parties, particularly the CPM, from the second tier (the ward-level Area Development Society) onwards. Also, focusing on women in the oppositional civil society is important to examine what forms of agency are emerging outside the states openings, and how they relate to the latter. In sum, our effort is to make sense of women's opportunities in and through decentralization within the larger and more complex picture of women's entry into the public in the period from the mid-1990s onwards.

Secondly, we bring to bear on our empirical work on the present, a feminist historical perspective. In other words we seek to understand our empirical observations in the light of the critical history of gender, politics, and development in Kerala so that shifts are perceived and reflected upon. This

means that we introduce a generational comparison in the first chapter, on women in politics and governance, between women who entered politics in the decades of the mid-20th century and those who entered local governance in the mid-1990s.

The comparison does bring insights into the shifts in the manner in which politics is conceived by the two generations, the gendered implications of current institutional changes, and allows us to ask what this may mean for the de-masculinisation of high politics. This also allows us to ask whether the identification of poor women as principal targets, and the induction of large numbers of women as agents in the new welfare disbursement network that Kudumbashree represents, really alter the androcentric structure and culture of the development bureaucracy, entrenched here since the 1950s. This perspective also helps us avoid presenting the oppositional civil society as a monolith, allowing us to take note of implications of the chronological differences of its many strands.

Thirdly, our methodology has been crafted out of specific elements to gather more than numbers and quantifiable achievements. Originally we had planned to combine a questionnaire survey along with qualitative fieldwork semi-structured and in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, memo-writing, and participant observation --and textual analysis. However in the field we found that the questionnaire was less useful, for two reasons: one, it did not seem to be yielding anything more than what we could learn from available analysis of larger data sets; two, for many of our interviewees, especially the women outside the formal institutions of politics and governance, it represented the state. Striking discrepancies were noted between what many of our interviewees wanted to be formally written up in the questionnaires and what they told us in interviews. Thus we decided to use the survey in a much more limited way. Statistical analysis in this work uses State Election Commission Data for 2005, and also data which we collected as part of fieldwork, of aspects not available in the former source.

Fourthly, while we were not interested in simply reducing womens experiences into numbers, we were also wary of replacing this with an equally questionable romanticisation of women's voices'.Thus, we certainly listened to women's voices, especially those of women marginalized from mainstream politics and governance, but? also sought to record and interpret the rich narratives we collected from the field through interviews within emergent and historical contexts.

We however, do not claim to have resolved the tension between listening to women's voices and placing them within discursive and non-discursive contexts.The tension between these two imperatives is certainly evident in our writing, especially in our accounts of marginal women's battles in oppositional civil society and indeed it may be necessary to retain the tension than offer unsatisfactory resolutions one way or the other. Such resolutions would only affirm our own location within the dominant as privileged researchers researching marginalized women. Further, not allowing the tension to dissipate also lets us reflect on critical political agency in these troubled times.

Fifthly, our concern for the futures of democracy, and our conviction that democracy cannot be complete without gender justice, informs our fieldwork deeply.This again forces us to go beyond numbers.The material we have produced lets us engage with major ongoing debates on civil society and social democracy in general, as well with those on postcolonial democracy in India.

Women Rights Issues

Social movements have enabled the development of wide ranging alliances that have led to tremendous social, political and economic changes. Social movement and their social bases are not recent, new and modern data of human society. Social movements have an existence independent of their social biographers and historians. The imminence of social movements and the basic social conditions of which movements are expressive extensions tend to lie deep in and are inalienably linked with certain relatively permanent, generally inevitable and stubborn social structural contradictions and conflicts in the make-up of society. Social contradictions and conflict are in the very nature of the founding of human society and social organization

Discrimination, deprivation, exclusion and exploitation are endemic to every society, which leads to frustration, anger and aggression. Those who are subjected to injustice and oppression tend to rebel and revolt. These reactions culminate in assertion which give rise to people's movements. But social movements are not an everyday phenomenon. Discrimination and deprivation always do not lead to protest and aggression.Only when people become conscious of these inequalities and injustices and mobilise and organise themselves to struggles against those who subject them to servitude and bondage, people's movements takes place. Moreover when the disadvantaged and the downtrodden see that another alternative is both possible and viable they try to overthrow the existing social order.

The Genesis of Women's Movements

The assumed interest in this paper proposes that women's movement originate not as an opulent and elegant group with a sole women's agitational consciousness but as objects of massive struggles for colossal social change. In the due course, women preserve and promote an "interest".Similarly, the fashionable idea of "Women's interest" affiliates to identity and gender and assume a twist. In the meantime, gender become the sole motivational spirit and receives some unique characteristics peculiar to women's movement. The demand will be to engender every aspect of social, economic and political existence. This may be called "gender syndrome" and will be the nemesis to all forces impeding women's insurrection.

Only a couple of social movement have proliferated in as many parts of the world as women's movements have for all these, movements share certain broad commonalities they differ radically along many dimensions. Paradoxically, women's movements that ultimately define themselves as autonomous from male-dominated political parties, institutions, national freedom movements, social reforms movements as spoted in different parts of the world are often closely intertwined with broader movements for social change. For, women's movements are associated with a broad range of struggles, for national liberation, human rights, democratization, serial reform and political self-rule.

Women have increasingly vocalized their demands in the course of nationalist struggles. It grew out of the movement for self-determination. Similarly, women's movements have often been closely connected with working- class struggles. Women played important role in struggles against class and gender inequality in many industrial sectors. Were they took active involvement in peasant organizations. Their joint actions instrumental in bringing about some beneficial legislation – higher wages, health benefits, longer materially leaves and equal pay for equal work.

Women's movement in India

The Indian women's movement has a long and rich history linked to the social reform movements of the nineteenth century and the political challenge to British colonialism in the twentieth, with the first all-India women's organizations being formed in the 1920s.The beginnings of the contemporary women's movement are usually traced to the early 1970s, when women were particularly active in radical protests against the Indian state. The first new groups comprised women from Maoist movements in Hyderabad (Progressive Organization of Women) and Maharashtra (Purogami Stree Sanghatana and

Stree Mukti Sanghatana), while women's issues were given national legitimacy by a report on the status of women published in 1974 and by the United Nations Declaration of 1975 as International Women's Year. Driven underground, along with other political organizations between 1975 and 1977, with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's declaration of a state of emergency, the women's movement really exploded on the Indian political scene after 1977. Today the movement exists in highly decentralized form with hundreds of organizations in both urban and rural areas throughout the country, including the women's fronts of socialist and communist parties, independent trade unions, women's wings of mass organizations such as Shetkari Sanghatana in Maharashtra and Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini in Bihar, and smaller autonomous counseling centers and agitational groups.

Space of Womens Movement in Kerala's Public Sphere

Kerala, a federal state in South India, is a unique location to investigate and deepen the understanding of the relationship between gender and power. The state of Kerala has achieved the highest status of women in India. Inspite of this there is a considerable low participation of women in the political sphere and an increase in social problems, such as violence against women, and high suicide level. This questions the liberal assumption that formal equality, in terms of women's high status, produces changes in the power relations between women and men. This chapter discusses this paradox and looks at the two collective actors that are politicising gender relations: the left women's movement and the autonomous feminist network.Their processes of framing and articulating gendered political discourses reflect the tension and contradictions between identity politics and party politics, between the civil society and the state and between women's status and power.

The space of women in every epoch of social moments in Kerala has been hijacked by the prevailing dominant sentiments.These sentiments are fabricated out of a combination of conflicting elements.These elements are constructed either deliberately or naturally evolved.All these constructed elements are picked-up in linear upward tendencies. In fact, the women question is projected out of a binary opposition of good or bad framework. Whether in tradition or in modernity or in globalized world, the plight of women is not decided solely by women, but by force beyond her comprehension.

The west –inspired ideas of social reforms in Kerala were a full articulation of liberal values in social institutions and practices, and questions whether such articulation was infact at all possible in the socio-political conditions created by

colonialism. The frame work in which reform was initiated and its limited agenda was itself inadequate to bring about radical changes in the position of women.For instance, almost all indicators of empowerment measure an amazing and surprising status for women in Kerala. Whether, it is education, health, sex ratio, sex preference, life expectancy, all tools of measurement of empowerment place women at high echelons of Social hierarchy. There are no social impediments, which prevent women from enrolling in engineering, medicine, B-School, liberal arts and in a couple of technical institutions.Women even outnumber their biological counterpart in certain layers of education especially liberal arts and science.The prevailing gender status of women in Kerala has been conspicuously decorated and upheld in high esteem by popular and mainstream literature, mini-screen and historionics, and arts and sculpture from very early period. In Kerala, there are no seeming social taboos which prevent women's entry into the mainstream society. In short, Kerala has the elementary pre-requisites for women's equality, literacy, education, and freedom from legal inhibition against women's education or employment.In fact, through a series of agitations and confrontations, Malayalee women who were on a receptive mood to the twenty first century, remained under the guise of a pseudo projection and hollow model which was built- in by reforms, political activism, vigilantism, education and uprisings.

The "women in movement syndrome" of various social movements had highlighted drovesof issues. Most of these ventilations were concerning inferior social position, employment, ideology, political awareness, family and other social problems. Unfortunately, the 'women interest' has been subsequently hijacked by powerful male articulations and concealed patriarchal tendencies. In other words women did not organize their own with ideology and identity. From the outset women's movement in Kerala has been defined in the larger frame of social reforms.It has been subsequently affiliated and co-opted by political parties, organizations of all sorts etc.Hence women question has been always defined in terms of what she is denied and deprived.In the process of giving meaning to women's movement it faces an absence in itself.It has not been self revealed and self present. The movements neither affiliated an identity to its fore, nor cultivated an agency for women.Instead, women's movements remained dormant and static.

Simultaneously there exists stark contradiction in the dominant discourses of the empowered women in Kerala. It is found that in Kerala women assume new roles without having confronted or questioned the ideologically or socially constructed basic inequality of the structure in which they found themselves. A

woman's identity and the course of her life are normally to be determined by her husband and his family and therefore, marriage is the single most determining event in a woman's life. For, the Kerala society has created differential norms and practices, structures and institutional images and perception of women. In this process, women have been subordinated to men through denial of dominant areas of expressions, creativity and acquisition or power.

In the literature on international women's movements, politically affiliated women's groups (particularly groups on the left) are seen as having a tendency to focus on general issues of poverty and inequality, including gender concerns when convenient, but often subordinating the "strategic" interests of women to the larger interests of class. Politically autonomous groups, on the other hand, are considered to be more explicitly feminist. They do not have to subordinate women's interests to those of the party or for political expediency, and are thus able to focus on issues most threatening to men and patriarchal institutions, above all issues of the body, sexuality, and violence. Assumptions commonly made about party-affiliated women's groups are, with their focus on work, poverty, literacy, and ideology, while assumptions about autonomous groups are confirmed by their emphasis on violence against women. It makes manifest that the outcome of one or another form of organizing can only be evaluated within the context of the localized political field. Some fields will be more receptive to autonomous organizing and others less. Some fields will impel party-affiliated organizations to be rigid about women's issues and others will not. There are clearly trade-offs involved in choosing one form of organizing over another. A focus on fields allows avoiding simplistic and one-dimensional conclusions about the kinds of organizations and activism that best represent and promote women's interests. For it is the nature of the field, as we can see, that shapes the effects of organization type, be it autonomous or affiliated; the type of organization does not necessarily have independent effects. If the divergences in the two women's movements are better explained by differences in political fields than by differences in lived experiences, we need to ask how the two fields are structured and how they affect the organizations and movements within their influence.

Conclusion

The women's movements and its space have been hijacked by the prominence of party politics and co-optation strategies of state and other organizations in kerala. The tension between autonomous women's organizations and politically affiliated women's organizations is one of historic proportions. The debate between autonomous and affiliated organizing includes problems of political

loyalty and the role of men in women's organizations. In particular, the struggles between women working within the parties of the left and women organizing autonomously have been of decisive importance in the ideological debates that rocks the women's movements all through kerala. Despite women had been mobilized in all walks of life in kerala, the space of women in kerala apparently remains almost congested and suffocated. The space of women is marginalized, distorted or negated within various masculinist practices in the public sphere.

Issues in Education Sector

Kerala's achievements in education sector includes near total literacy, free and universal primary education, low drop out rates at the school level, early access and gender equality.Kerala is often compared with the developed countries in these respects.It is also acclaimed as a part of the 'Kerala Model' and some recommend Keralization of the whole system of India.An important factor for the large scale education development in the state government is gradually withdrawing from funding and from other aspects. While the demand for funds has been increasing, the government gradually withdrawing from funding and from other aspects.While the demand for funds has been increasing, the government funding in education is decreasing, partly because of fiscal crisis.Restructuring, diversification and modernisation in the educational system could not be carried on by the government, due to many reasons including financial.

Large amount of investment is required for quality improvement and diversification in education and at the same time allocation of fund by the government is on the decrease. The state government, following the policy of the Central government is regularly reducing its share on education in its budgets. The state revenue expenditure on education during 1980-81 was 6.1% which has come down to 3.3% in 2004-05. Further most of the allocation of funds for education in the state budget is spent for salaries and there is very like left for modernisation, restructuring and diversification.Another reason for the financial crisis in Kerala's education lies in the reduction in the flow of funds from the Central Agencies, based on the notion that Kerala is ahead of other states in educational attainments.Planning Commission, Central Ministry for Human Resource Development and other Agencies are also reducing their commitments because of state's better image of educational progress. Delinking of Pre-degree course from colleges and attach them to schools enforced great financial burden on the state government. Nearly two lakhs students were shifted to schools and in the first year itself Rs 70 crores was required for this.

The gradual withdrawal of the government from the running of educational institutions was also result of the Liberalisation policy of the Central government from the early 1990's.Technical educational institutions were very few, especially Engineering Colleges in the state till recently.Their numbers remained almost stagnant during the period between 1970 and 1996.From there onwards there was a regular increase in the number of Engineering Colleges in the state.In 1998 there was only 15 Engineering College with an annual intake of 4844 students in the state, which was increased to 30 and 8543 respectively in 2000.So it could be seen that within two years time, the number of Engineering Colleges and the annual intake of students in these institutions almost doubled.

The system of charging higher fees for a professional course in the state was first started by the University of Kerala in the late 1980's. In 1989 it was introduced by IHRD and its Model Engineering College, but it had received financial aid from the government in its formative stages. The tution fees charged initially was Rs 300 per seester, and it went up toRs 10,000 per year. However, this college though charging higher fees than the other government owned and aided colleges; it was not recovering the entire cost for the students.The Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam started Self Financing Courses in pedagogical sciences, nursing, laboratory technology, pharmacy, and physiotherapy. In 1993 government sanctioned 35 self financing engineering colleges to IHRD, MES. And it was followed by KSRTC, Cochin University for Science and Technology (CUSAT) and MG University.Several Arts and Science Colleges affiliated to Kerala, MG and Calicut Universities then started self financing courses in computer education and electronics.School of pedagogical science of Kerala, MG and Calicut Universities conduct B.Ed and M.Ed courses for thousands of students in the self financing stream.

Since 1990s higher education in Kerala has been subject to significant policy shifts.The self finanacing institutions started in the early 1990s became full fledged since 2000 and it is entirely based on private participation. Likewise there are several private schools also. All these institutions charge fees which cover not only the recurrent costs but also the capital cost.It is to be noted that in the midst of the proliferation of educational institutions in the fields of technical management, medical, and para medical.The traditional courses are pushed behind.A general arts and science education is frequently perceived as a residual option of those who do not get admission to professional courses, being financially poor.

Since the year 2000, with the exception of Kerala University there are more self financing colleges than colleges in government or private aided section under all universities in the state.These self financing institutions generally focus on technical and application oriented course like electronics, computer, business management, bio chemistry, microbiology, physiotherapy, nursing, fashion designing etc.Social science subjects in these institutions are conspicuously absent.The provision of employment oriented courses reinforces the view that the return to a liberal arts education is poor, leaving their provision to the government and to ant extant aided sector.

Significantly the ownership of the private and self financing institutions is being shared by the major religious communities in the state.Among these colleges, various Christian groups from the single largest, from corporate management to diocess societies, the NSS, SNDP,and MES.The Devaswam Board set up to manage temples in the state too are involving in running private management colleges.Earlier religion and caste organisations used to finance education partly from their own resources are now choosing the easier option of students financing for promoting education.Today more than 80% of engineering, nursing, pharmacy colleges etc. are in the self financing scheme. More than three-fifth of the institutions offering medical courses in different streams such as allopathy, ayurveda and homeopathy are also under the self financing system.

It is argued that the expansion of self financing institutions is partly due to the growth of middle class in the state in the recent times. Increased flow of external remittances, reduced size of households and the lower number of children in the family have increased the capacity of large number of households in Kerala bear the cost of education in self financing institutions.The middle class generally opt out of government institutions and this tendency has highly helped for the growth of self financing institutions.The social and economic mobility made possible by the education system in the past is now becoming near impossible due to the outright commercialisation of education.Better employment opportunities are issued to the elite group only, as they only have the necessary financial background to afford the full cost of education. The inequitable growth and the denial of opportunities to a large section of the society can adversely affect the relatively high degree of social stability and harmony.

The qualities of education provided by all the self financing educational institutions are not evaluated properly.Some of the self financing institutions could get a pass of 10 to 15% only.The pass percentage of B.Tech course in

CUSAT in 2008 was 33% only, while in the government engineering colleges it was within an average of 50 to 60%. The self finanacing colleges in Kerala could attract only 10 to 15% of the total households.The new group of students who directly enter multinational companies after their education in self financing colleges have little social commitment, little knowledge of local culture, tradition and history in general, ofcourse with exceptions.

The advocates of self financing institutions argue that it is the only practical solution to getout of the present financial crisis in the field of higher education in the state.The government share in the cost education is becoming nil.Large number of students and their parents are willing and has the capacity to pay the required money for self finanacing education.The self finanacing institutions in the state would prevent the out flow of funds to the self financing institutions in the neighboring states, where it is outright exploitation of the students.The government control is more and the society is more vigilant in Kerala when compared with the other self financing institutions in other states. The contribution of the private sector to the growth of education in Kerala in the past years was significant.

Communal Issues

Religion is one of the social institutions found in all human socities. It assists men to establish and maintain harmonious relationship with each other.It also envisages maintaining relationship with supernatural forces that are believed to have direct influence in the fortunes of man. Religion is also one of the agents that contribute to the integration of society.Religion provides 'we feeling' among its members through the performances of religious rites, participation in religious festivals, leadership provided by religious functionaries, following many common beliefs and values etc. None of the religions propagate hatred against other faiths and religions.Still some people in all major religions of the world look at other religions with a feeling of enimity. But this negative feeling has nothing to do with the religion as such. That is why Nehru stated that 'communal problem is not a religious problem, it has nothing to do with religion'.

Nobody can blame the presence of diverse religions for the emergence of communal problems.However, there is a long history of violent conflicts between members of different religions, throughout the course of world history, at different stages of its growth.Often the causative factors of communal problem are non-religious, but political and economic interest of certain groups. Thus communal problem itself is an ideology which envisages the religious community

as a political group committed to the protection and promotion of its social and economic interests together with cultural values.One must not confuse communalism with communal violence, as communal violence is poorly conceived communal ideology.

Despite some differences at rituals, social and cultural levels among different religions there is a conspicuous communality at the values that promote social communal harmony.There are several examples of inter-religious co-operation that exist in the society.Generally there is a belief that Kerala is free from any type of communal problems and issues and thus it is a paradise of communal harmony.Recently there is an often quoted statement: 'If Gujarat is the crucible of communalism, Kerala is the laboratory for secularism'.But in the present day Kerala, reality is not so alleviate and naive.Althogh the state is well known for its better standard of living and high life indexes such as literacy, primary health, public distribution system, higher education, high life expectancy rates etc. Recently it has been seriously troubled and threatened by the flames of communal issues and segregations. In fact this is unprecedented for a state which was the fertile land for many secular progressive movements.

Communal issues in Kerala is intrinsically mixed with opportunistic party politics, misuse of religious idioms and religious sentiments for misappropriating secular, social, economic and political benefits. So it is the religionised political strategy or political religious strategy of vested groups to misappropriate secularism.Communalism is resulted in the burst of riots and in these riots, involvement of either a majority group or minority group could be cited side sources, which often had a hidden agenda or interest to fulfil certain motives.Majority of communal conflicts occurred in the coastal regions than other areas. The direct or indirect involvement of political, social, religious organisations could be seen behind every communal issues or communal outbursts.

Communal riots in Kerala have so far exhibited an inherent character of time duration that it occurs in frequent intervals with a sudden outburst. In the initial stage it is found that the state fails to minimise the casualties and compact violence. It has to be noted that now-a-days there seems to be an alarming spread of communal forces in the state. Communal issues give rise to a heightened sense of identity and belongingness, as it operates on the basis of the theory of polarisation. Polarisation results in emotional, mental or physical mobilization of individuals and groups to cause cohesion within a group. It divides people into communities.

Community groups, non-governmental organisations and media together with political parties, business men and trade unions should act positively to bring communal harmony in the society.Professional associations can encourage communication and cooperation between members of different communities. Religious groups should encourage mutual respect and understanding of the nature of pluralism. Academic community should work for upholding the concept of pluralism. State and civil society should work together for promoting the ideas of secularism and the necessity of maintain communal harmony.The curriculum and syllabi of all courses from schools to professional courses should include separate modules containing the capacity to widen the perception of life inplural society.Religion or caste based politics should not be encouraged in the campuses. Media should act as a means of forum for mass education and mass mobilization. Media including communal tensions should be strictly supervised by the state and at the same time media with right and positive attitude should be encourages.Media can motivate people to live in accordance with the demand of social surroundings.The state should act dynamically in the formulation and development of a multi-cultural approach.The world is becoming increasingly homogenous at the globel level, but more and more heterogenous locally due to the force of globalisation.The recognition of differences can strengthen unity by allowing individuals to enjoy security of particular identities within an accepted social and constitutional frame work.As the UNESCO preamble says: 'it is in the minds of men the importance of peace must be constructed.

Role of civil society in promoting

Communal harmony in Kerala

The problem

Kerala was a state, well known for communal harmony and peaceful co existence of different religions. Everywhere the Hindus, Muslims, and Christians have been leading harmonious life.But now, the dehumanized paradigm of human development and the ballot box politics have fragmented our society and disturbed its peace. The development model, caste based politics, rising unemployment among the educated youth, increasing poverty, population explosion, fundamentalism etc have created and intensified the frequency of the problem. Mankind demands the realization of diverse values to ensure their individual and collective well-being. It is also observed that certain communal forces in the society engage in exploitation, oppression, persecution, and other forms of deprivation resulting in disturbing communal harmony. In our society it is the responsibility of every individual to preserve harmony and protect the

rights of the individual. It is high time to check mate the impact of identity politics and communalism in Kerala and the erosion of secular space by new forms of aggressive communalism. Civil societies have to join together to thwart the narrow-minded policies of the polity with an iron hand to create communal harmony. The multifarious activities can play a dominant role in influencing the civil society at all levels and creating increasing awareness for communal harmony to ensure sustaining peace in the state.

Kerala had given birth to strong civil society. To bring communal harmony to the society, it requires democratic ideology, welfare policies, and popular development activities to make people exercise their democratic rights. This is to make way for meaningful popular participation and vigilance against the abuse of power and to prove that it was worthwhile for people to promote their own future through collective effort and action based on common interests and ideas, instead of relying on communal loyalties.

Even though there are so many things needed for bringing communal harmony, we can see that some factors are inevitable with regard to this. It needed a wide spectrum of activities. We must recognize that the modus vivendi between the communities that we adopted at the time of partition of India has broken down and that new modus vivendi needs to be worked out. The civil society and the state can do wonders in the field. This network between the individual and the state holds great potential as a vehicle for a continuous flow of information between governors and the governed. This flow of information allows for greater local authority in managing civil affairs.Thus, the networks of democratic associations become the effective organizational mechanisms for local to global governance.There is need to reconceptualise and riposte existing institutions.Therefore, schools, media and other civil organizations reclaim their public voice and political and social legitimacy, a thriving civil society depends upon people's habits, customs, and ethics - attributes that can be shaped only indirectly through conscious political action and must otherwise be nourished through an increased awareness and respect for culture. In sum, cultural scholars suggest that society is evolving a new order of freedom and justice, indeed, a new order of community that enhances the life of individuals. Civil society grows out of a paradox of opposites - between what is private and what is public what is secular and what is sacred, what is voluntary and what is coercive, what is free and what is orderly. Historically democratic politics in India has been complemented by a strong and active civil society. A key characteristic of Kerala civil society is that it is heterogeneous and representative of multiple ideologies and perspectives

Communal harmony: "To develop harmonious relations between people based on respect of equal rights and self determination of people, fundamental freedom for all without any distinction of caste, class, religion, sex and region, for that all members of the society have to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the state for the achievement of these and related purposes".

Civil society: - Civil society includes non governmental organizations, people's movements, citizens' groups, consumer associations, religious institutions, women's organizations, and indigenous people's associations. Civil society organizations may be grassroots organizations directly serving individuals of their community, or networks of grassroots organizations like federations. Civil society is the network of citizens and nongovernmental organizations that create a political community. This network lies between the individual citizen on the one hand, and the state on the other. The institutions of civil society are concerned with the expression and preservation of core community values and beliefs.

Minority community: Luis Wirth defined a minority group as "a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination" This definition includes both objective and subjective criteria: membership of a minority group is objectively ascribed by society, based on an individual's physical or behavioral characteristics; it is also subjectively applied by its members, who may use their status as the basis of group identity or solidarity . In any case, minority group status is categorical in nature: an individual who exhibits the physical or behavioral characteristics of a given minority group will be accorded the status of that group and be subject to the same treatment as other members of that group.

Each and every section of civil society has its own role to develop communal harmony in the state. The following methods can be adopted to reach this goal.

(1) Need for social reform

Civil society theorists maintain that the individual is a social being, not just a political being, or a citizen of the state. So, civil society can initiate the process of social reform or social renaissance in the state. What is needed is a national campaign for reconciliation and harmony. At the heart of reconciliation, effort must be taken for inter- religious dialogue between communities.All communities must be taught to regard each others' religion with respect. Groups of persons of goodwill, drawn from different communities can teach the noblest

elements of each of the sacred texts. Fables and teachings from various religious sources must be made and used for the purpose of countering negative feelings and promoting positive ones. Regular arrangement for a continuing inter-religious dialogue must be established. Religious groups can encourage mutual respect and understanding if they emphasize the inclusive aspects of their respective traditions. For such renaissance the civil society should organize a mass movement which should be structured, and able to institutionalize the society. There is the need to reestablish and restructure movements in order to make them more people centered and relevant to the context. Religious institutions, NGOs, and other groups align with similar bodies of other faiths and ideologies can take up the mantle for mobilization and create awareness among people. This networking of movements of various groups need to be encouraged and facilitated and can bring communal harmony in the society. Community groups and other NGOs can bridge cross-community divisions; and can awaken the people. Like Spenserian theory describes the evolution of society through the heterogeneity, integration and transformation, various civil organizations in the society can bring forth new ideas to change and improve the institutions for the welfare of the communities.

(2)Moral persuasion of the individuals

The most important vehicle for social change is the moral persuasion of the individuals in the society. The civil society can create awareness about to learn, to accept and appreciate the differences in our culture. There are some basic values that are accepted by all communities. These include trust, honesty, integrity and justice, which are for the well being of every society. These ethical values are relevant despite changes in society. For that the civil society must ensure the proper socialization from the childhood itself. Each section of society must be taught the positive contributions of other ones. The positive assertive role of both majority and minority communities to lessen the fear, hatred and suspicion is essential to generate communal harmony.

(3)Role of academic community

For moulding such an awakened and harmonious society, the academic community, can play a role through the encouragement of greater understanding of the nature of pluralism. The academic community can give enough importance to renew the curriculum and syllabi of the text books from schools to higher studies. Education being a state subject, the content and structure must carry in accordance with the characteristics of the communities in the region. In order to strengthen the education system and for introducing the relevant and

appropriate syllabus, the government, NGOs and community must actively participate.The civil society organizations can push the government to introduce peace education in the school curriculum. Life history of leaders, and renowned persons should be included in the school curriculum. The civil society should be aware of the need to introduce the peace and non violent education in the curriculum. Exaggerated stories of different rulers from different religions should be avoided.

Education has the capacity to lift our mind and it widens our perception of life.It can sensitize the country's young through the common cultural heritage. From the childhood one learns to become the citizen of the nation, and through socialization process child can be developed into a citizen absorbing habits, qualities, attitudes and so on. The instructional materials such as syllabi, text books etc should be periodically evaluated in order to incorporate the theme of national integration. It can act as a pro-active force to foster in students the capacity for critical thinking, nonviolent resolution of conflicts, responsible citizenship, inter-cultural understanding, etc. Here mothers, leaders of different religious groups and particularly the teachers can play an active role in developing the character and quality of love, peace etc.Therefore, selection of teachers is a vital area where the academic community should give due importance.Teachers who encourage communal activities should be dismissed from their job.Training programs can be organized for the teachers for the implementation of such curricula packages in the state. The political parties infusing hatred directly or through educational set up should be purged. As part of the political agenda some parties have been trying to revise the text books and the curriculum. It will create innumerable social networks where prejudices are nurtured and fascist solutions to the problems are legitimized and it will rule the roost. It can change and mould the mindset of children from a broader identity of national unity to the narrow mindedness of communal hatred.

Campuses in the state can organize apolitical and cultural activities. Campus always moulds a knowledge society. This knowledge society can guide the outside society. For that we must eradicate religious based politics from the campus.Caste based regional political parties are rapidly emerging at different regions of Kerala. All the tension around the campus is politically inspired. This type of resentment and tendency to behave in the communal way should be strictly scrutinized and plucked off in the bud stage, at any cost. Politics based purely on religion in the campus should be banned. Otherwise it would cripple the young minds of the state.

(4)Role of media

The media, which is a vital element of the civil society, can also play a crucial role in moulding the character of the individuals as it is the potent means of mass education and mass mobilization of people. Media can scrutinize the public affairs without fear or favour and must be accountable.Media inducing communal tension should be strictly supervised by the state and at the same time media with the right attitude should be encouraged.Media can integrate our society economically, socially, and politically. It can motivate people to live in accordance with the demand of the social surroundings; it can propagate the need for living in harmony and peace through the presentation of various communities in a harmonious way. Programmes highlighting communal harmony are helpful to respect all religions and cultures. In the overall sphere of the activity of the nation the media can play a role in raising the awareness level and enable the masses to recognize individual's role in socio economic and political power structure of the country. Leaders of our freedom struggle used media to generate awareness and prepared people to fight for their rights. It can sensitize the people towards preserving the cultural heritage and the national identity. Hence the media can play an active role in cementing communal harmony.

(5)Strengthening composite culture

We could see that behind the entire dynamism and progress, there lies philosophical ideal of composite culture that again revolves around the integration of mankind. Our basic culture itself is a blend of tolerance and reasonableness, the acceptance of free thought in matters of truth, a strong will to live and let live. Hence we can proudly claim ourselves to be the part and parcel of the common culture whether we are Hindus, Muslims or Christians.All political, social, economic and cultural institutions contribute to the creation of this unique culture. Therefore efforts must be made to teach everybody to be proud of being the part of our composite culture.

(6)Need for a pluralistic approach

For that feeling we need a pluralistic approach. There is a long term debate between communitarian and liberal theories.Common values must be protected in order to ensure both the possibility of self fulfillment of individual members and the long term survival of the community.Civil society should uphold the cultural right of various communities.The significance of every community would be generated through the secular solution.The pluralistic solution deals with its own cultural and religious affairs.Government has the crucial role in the

formulation and development of a multi cultural approach. Government can celebrate the festivals of different religions and should give equal importance to all faiths and can enable its citizens to bear worthily the responsibilities of democratic citizenship and counteract all the fissiparous tendencies which hinder the emergence of a broad social outlook. It can establish a national system of education and encourage the institutions to promote national integration and communal harmony. The world is becoming increasingly homogenous at the global level but more and more heterogeneous locally due to the force of globalization. The aim should be equality and inclusiveness, not uniformity. The recognition of differences can strengthen unity by allowing individuals to enjoy the security of particular identities within an accepted social and constitutional framework.

This has important implications for attempts to accommodate the complexities and to meet the challenges of pluralism. Government and civil society organizations together can reduce the impact of globalization and can bring new plans and policies to bring up the backward and downtrodden in the society. Globalization has had its ramifications in the socio economic conditions of the state. In recent times globalization of the economy pervades all walks of life.The net result of globalization such as poverty, unemployment, exploitation, growth of slums together forms the feeling of relative deprivation and it finally lead to communal tension in the state. So, effective steps should be taken to reduce the rate of unemployment and poverty in the state.

(7)Save minorities

The disadvantages and disempowerment experienced by the backward and downtrodden people in the country induce communal violence to some extent. Civil society organizations and social movements should include in their agenda the issues of communalism and violence. However, the civil society often falls into the trap of the majority the very power that it seeks to challenge, and always the views of are articulated through the civil society. As a result, marginalized groups are in struggle for recognition not only with the state but also in the civil society sphere. Further the language, narratives, vocabulary and symbols that civil society uses constitute an exclusive dominant discourse that prevents the marginalized from representing their perspectives in the struggles that are ostensibly in their name. The civil society can protect the minorities. The secular activists concerned with social justice have a responsibility to ensure it as a public discourse and to enhance the feeling of security among them.Civil society can emerge as a central player in bringing communal harmony in the society.

Another problem is that minorities in the state experience more relative deprivation. They are discriminated and excluded from the social and economic activities of the state. Their representation in major posts of public and private sector is very low. They suffer from widespread illiteracy, low income, irregular employment and a high incidence of poverty.As the relationship between socio economic deprivation and religious identity is complex, the civil society must address the socio economic deprivation faced by religious minorities that can reduce the communal tension to some extent, and the government has to take steps to corrective and welfare legislation.Cementing of trade union movement, special concession to the depressed classes in educational institutionsand creation of employment opportunities can go a long way in consolidating the social and economic status of different segments and thus the problem can be mitigated to a great extent. Therefore the government should find positive alternatives in economic issues. The process of recruiting young men for acts of terrorism begins with the offer of jobs, either abroad or close to home. Most of them never know the real reasons for the offer.

(8) Control of government over religious institutions

Some institutions in the state propagate and mobilize people communally.Religious symbols and idioms have been manipulated to promote narrow sectarian interests which create division in societies.. Religious groups with vested interests induce their own religious symbols and values which will act as catalysts for thinking in a sectarian way. Political parties in the state also influence religious institutions. In some places we find that these institutions promote violent attacks against groups on grounds of religion, deliberately indulge in malicious acts intended to outrage religious feelings, and promote enmity between different groups on grounds of religion. Thus money, power, and religion together play a crucial role in communal violence and ultimately create far reaching impact on the society. In our society there are no laws to control or supervise such institutions. Most of them have the money inflow from foreign countries. In order to make them transparent and accountable, there should be proper auditing of its financial matters and scruting of their activities.Here only the state and civil society organizations can undertake such intervention and can bring adequate measures to control their activities and curb communal violence. Here the civil society activists can organize a collective effort to boycott and eradicate such fanatic feelings.

(9)Social boycott

All communal problems tend to cease when we accord one another the dignity of a human being. In the nineteenth century, individualist anarchists experimented with various strategies that hinged on using psychological pressure to affect change. Thus social boycott practiced in those days aimed at eliminating destructive elements from organizations or from society itself. Social boycott is the shunning of a person by the group. Here the civil society can reject and refuse people to involve in the normal socio-political, economic relations that make the life palatable to the individual. It makes the individual so uncomfortable that he decides to leave the society. This strategy never involves the confiscation of property or the initiation of force. It has been used effectively by a wide variety of societies, most notably the Amish. Social boycott seem to provide a peaceful means by which people could address actions they considered as immoral as to be intolerable.

(10) Make people aware of the consequences

It is the responsibility of civil society organizations to make the people aware of the consequences of communal violence such as the death of innocent civilians and polarization of communities. They have to teach the need of respecting the rule of law in the state and expose the political parties which exploit the common man for his vote bank. Violent communal conflict slows down economic growth by destroying physical infrastructure, motivating talented individuals to migrate and deferring away foreign investors from investment. It will destroy lucrative tourism opportunities and eventually threaten the very existence of a civil society and democratic institutions. There must be greater awareness about the impact of communal conflicts on the development goals of India.The following agenda should be included in the state programmes for bringing communal harmony in the society.

(1)Bring out a bill in consultation with relevant secular civil society groups and minority community leaders.

(2) Youth should be requested to be vigilant about contributing to development and social service organizations.

So it is high time to mobilize the like minded people and make them aware of the dangers of involving in communal violence and conflicts and the need to join hands for protestesting against such divisive and destructive forces.

Need of the hour

Since wars begin in the minds of man, the UNESCO preamble says: "It is in the minds of man the importance of peace must be constructed". Apart from the

socio economic and cultural factors, there is an unhealthy mingling of politics and religion. The minds of modern mass must be addressed constructively if we are to root out this menace. Among the suggestions that could be considered within the action plan is the formation of Rapid Response Teams that could be quickly deputed to trouble spots to nip communal conflagrations in the bud. Long term measures would include strengthening inter faith dialogue initiatives besides structured education and awareness programs targeting key groups such as police, social activists and religious leadership from all faiths. However, we can see that today's civil society is unable to address the problem of material deprivation of minorities that highlights the hegemonic tendencies within the civil society. In addressing the issues of cultural rights and for protecting the constitutional guarantees of the communities, civil society can play an indispensable role. Here civil society can effectively push the state to move beyond its limitations. Civil society, despite its limitations can articulate the needs and demands of the down trodden and negotiate with the state for attaining them.

Conclusion

The civil society can organize various groups in the society such as government officials, women, youth and leaders from different religions to work towards communal harmony in the state. Small but concrete steps are to be taken to organize and empower the weaker sections in the society. Much more needs to be done in order to restore the communal harmony and to build a shared humanity for all with special concern to the most distressed and dehumanized sections of society. It is our common cause and we need to work across the boundaries of caste, religion and cultures.Our goal is to ensure communal harmony and national integration in the country.The sentiments of mutual understanding, brotherhood, secularism and respect to each others religion, caste, language, region, etc may prove conducive to realize these goals. It is our moral responsibility of bringing harmony in the society. Punitive penalties to root out the problems such as communal riots, scientific education comparative study of religions, a strong political will and a dedicated government can bring communal harmony. However, we cannot leave these ideas to government alone. The political system and the civil society must come together and the combined effort of both can establish communal harmony and thereby we can attain national integration. In order to bring communal harmony in the state everybody should take part in all the activities and we should avoid becoming the part of the communal conflicts. Members of civil society can mobilize the resources and influence to help in diffusing the communal conflicts whenever they arise, and they should help in fostering the policies, that create communal harmony and national integration.

<u>Syllabus</u>

HY6B12 CONTEMPORARY KERALA

No. of Credits: 4

No. of Contact Hours per week: 5

Aim of the Course: To enable the students to understand the issues in contemporary Kerala so as to be responsive to the same.

Unit I - Historical Foundations

• Aikya Kerala Movement and the Proclamation of State – Structural adjustments and Regional imbalances.

• Coalition politics

• Reforms in Education

• Land reforms

• Liberation agitation

• End of feudalism

Unit II - Historical Background

• Reorienting district boundaries

• Development of service sectors – Health and education

• Growth of service organisations

• Experiences of Emergency period and the development of human rights movements

• Marxist-Leninist organisations.

Unit III - Kerala Experience in the Making

• Impact of migration from the South to the north on economy society and culture

• New shift in coalition politics

• Literacy movement

• Janakeeyasutranam

• Kerala urbanism.

• Impact of Gulf money

• Growing consumerism

Unit IV - Kerala Experience: Realities and Issues

• Sustainable growth and the problem of ecology – Silent Valley – Plachimada and Mathur

• Adivasi and land rights – Muthanga and Chengara

• Women rights issues

• Issues in Education Sector – Governmental withdrawal – new experiments and public responses – issues of self financing institutions

• Communal issues.

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