

**SOCIAL SCIENCE  
IN  
PERSPECTIVE**

**Vol. 14  
April - June 2022  
No. 2**

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Vol. 14

April - June 2022

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## **Historicising Health and Medicine in Colonial Bengal**

**Saurav Kumar Rai**

**Suvankar Dey, *Health has a History: Revisiting Bengal*,  
K. P. Bagchi and Company, Kolkata, 2021, xvi+240 pages, Rs. 795/-**

Issues related to health and medicine have always been an integral part of human existence. However, it is ironical that for long history of health and medicine, especially in the context of South Asian history, remained an under-explored area of research. In 1970s, some pioneering attempts were made notably by Charles Leslie, Roger Jeffery, and a few others in this direction. Almost two decades later the writings of scholars like Mark Harrison, David Arnold, Poonam Bala, etc. followed by the scholarly interventions of Anil Kumar, Biswamoy Pati, Deepak Kumar, Mridula Ramanna, Kavita Sivaramakrishnan, and many others at the turn of the century facilitated the growth of a new genre of medical history in India. The present book edited by Suvankar Dey is a natural byproduct of this burgeoning and continuously expanding domain of history of health and medicine. It exhibits a bouquet of articles on different aspects of history of healthcare with special reference to colonial Bengal. There is no unifying theme as such that runs across all the articles except the genre of medical history to which all of them belong. It includes articles by some seasoned scholars in the field such as Arabinda Samanta, Sujata Mukherjee, and Mahua Sarkar on the one hand, and by young researchers like Sreyashi Sarkar, Apalak Das, Sneha Sanyal, etc. on the other. The icing on the cake is, of course, a short but meaningful foreword written by the veteran Deepak Kumar.

The volume begins with the article by Mahua Sarkar which explores the healthcare concerns of Bengali urban elite with special reference to women as reflected through *Bamabodhini*, a vernacular Bengali journal which was published between 1863 and 1922. The three important idioms of healthcare highlighted in the *Bamabodhini* were 'cleanliness, motherhood and childcare' (p. 12) which very much defined the contours of upper caste middle class oriented healthcare discourse of the time so far as women health was concerned. The next article by Arabinda Samanta reviews the then prevalent climatic notions related to spread or outbreak of diseases such as small pox, cholera, malaria, plague and tuberculosis in nineteenth century Bengal. It gives us glimpses of notions that went into the making of 'tropics of disease'. At the same time it also throws light on indigenous discourse on interface between climate and disease. Vernacular prognostics and proverbs, argues Samanta, as embodied in collective memory through texts like *Khanar Bachan* gave abundant expression to peasant anxieties about the season and crop prospects, health and general well being (p. 35).

The respective articles by Sujata Mukherjee and Sreyashi Sarkar make the sexually transmitted diseases, health of the prostitutes and lock hospitals as subject matter of their analyses. According to Mukherjee, the relationship between soldiers, sailors and Indian prostitutes produced a particular configuration of class and race wherein common prostitutes were subjected to different kinds of crude and obnoxious medical examinations. Further, the chapters by Imran Philip and Sneha Sanyal explore debates and discourses around spread of medical education among the women (including Muslim women) in colonial Bengal and their subsequent professionalization. In fact, Sanyal's article constitutes one of the richest articles of the volume in terms of archival sources and its content. She impressively explores widespread stigmatization and social apprehensions associated with nursing in colonial Bengal.

An interesting article in the present volume is by Apalak Das which looks at the functioning of the

Lepers Act of 1898 in the context of colonial Bengal. Leprosy and lunacy are two unique case studies for medical historians working on South Asia which unravel the blatant colonial otherizing of subject population through medico-legal provisions. Incidentally, under the colonial rule, as the studies show, the lepers as well as insane landed into jails instead of hospitals on account of their 'infirmities'. Further, Suvankar Dey's own article situates tuberculosis in the history of India as well as colonial Bengal and notions related to its cause and cure. Similarly, the articles by Sabyasachi Chatterjee and Nataraj Malakar (probing history of health movement in India), Sujata Banerjee (discussing health propaganda in colonial Bengal during the World War II), Basudhita Basu (focussed upon diffusion of physical education in Bengal) and Pooja Banerjee (exploring connections between Calcutta's urbanity, water supply and outbreak of cholera) add further diversity to the present volume.

Overall this volume offers a rich tapestry of essays on medical history by established as well as young scholars. A more profound and detailed introduction along with thematic categorization of articles would have certainly added extra value to the volume. Nevertheless, colonial Bengal, as remarked by Deepak Kumar in the foreword, has always been exceptional when it comes to linkages between state, society and medicine. The articles included in this volume dealing with different public health and medical issues with focus on local data, especially vernacular literature, definitely substantiates aforesaid assumption.

# Revisiting Livelihood Issues of Fisherwomen: A Review of Studies

Amala Anna Alex  
& Sheela S.R.

*Coupled with public policies for poverty reduction, there has been a renewed thrust on improving livelihoods for fisherwomen in recent times. This article attempts to revisit the livelihood issues as identified by the existing studies, particularly in India and the Asia-Pacific. Moreover, a critical review of the existing literature document anomalies in the implementation of welfare programmes for the fisherwomen by identifying their core livelihood issues. The literature review focusses on livelihood issues such as unrecognition of 'invisible work', unfavourable work environment, exploitation by middlemen, societal issues, domestic violence, climate change, scarcity of fisherwomen led collectives and gender-blind policies. The need of the hour is to carry out primary research at the grassroot level, so that a reliable pool of data is generated that could assist in formulating gender-sensitised policies for the fishing community particularly in India and the Asia-Pacific. Owing to women's pivotal role, empowerment programmes which rightly target issues of fisherwomen could benefit not only those within women's groups but the coastal community as a whole.*

## Introduction

To quote Maria Damanaki, "Behind each boat, there is a woman, a family and a community" summing up the vital role women play in the fishery sector (ICSF, 2020). However, across the world, women's presence in the sector is not only underestimated but also unnumbered. For example, when one speaks of the fisheries sector, one usually addresses the workers as 'fishermen', at once, excluding the women. Livelihood is considered to be sustainable when it can adapt to stresses and shocks and maintain or improve its capabilities to recover from it, while not undermining the natural resource base (Chambers & Conway, 1992). Nearly all fisheries policies are 'gender blind' (FAO, 2017; Gopal et al., 2020), which translates into inadequate funding for women in the sector; in turn further marginalizing and undervaluing their work and contributions.

Against this backdrop, this review article attempts to revisit the livelihood issues as identified by the existing studies, particularly in India and the Asia-Pacific. The literature review focusses on unrecognition of 'invisible work', unfavourable work environment, exploitation by middlemen, societal issues, domestic violence, climate change, scarcity of fisherwomen led collectives and gender-blind policies. Moreover, a critical review of the existing literature document anomalies in the implementation of welfare programmes for the fisherwomen.

Globally, women constitute nearly half of the global fisheries workforce when post-production activities are included (World Bank, 2012; FAO, 2020). According to the report by UN Women, in partnership with the International Collective in Support of Fish workers (ICSF), the level of income and livelihood security available to women in fisheries impacts not just their own well being but the lives and well-being of their families and communities as well. The income earned by women in fisheries is known to have a strong and beneficial impact on household incomes. In the case of India, fish trade is a traditional occupation that has been a means of livelihood for thousands in India with the majority of fish vendors being women (Hemaraj, 2020). Unlike men, whose labour is largely confined to the sea, river or lake; fisher women vendors form an important link in the marketing chain carrying the fish to the doorsteps of the consumer (Gopal, 2000). They

have to cooperate with both the public and the law. In the process, they are often forced to deal with prejudices and problems of various kinds.

In the northern coast of Java, Indonesia, during the low fishing season; wives of fishermen spend on average around 11 hrs of their day working, compared with 5 hrs during the high season (Anna, 2012). This indicates that during the low season, women worked harder to compensate for the fluctuation in household income due to low catches. They compensated for the low income from fishing related activities by engaging in other productive activities such as working as house maids and selling food in the neighbourhood.

Coupled with being involved in household chores from dawn to dusk, fisherwomen play a crucial role in retailing, auctioning, sorting, grading, curing and drying, prawn peeling and collection of seaweed apart from hand-braiding and repair of nets (Biswas and Rao, 2014). In comparison with their male counterparts, women in the fishing community are in a much more disadvantageous position and suffer from sustained deprivation even in basic aspects of wellbeing (Sheeja, 2017). The available literature reveals that the development policies of the state are incapable to uplift the condition of women in the fisheries sector (Kurian, 2000). In addition to that, the policies and welfare schemes are at times blind towards the requirements of these fisherwomen, marginalizing them further, especially those from female-headed households (D'Souza, 2020).

### **Unrecognition of 'Invisible Work'**

The seafood processing sector is dominated by women world over. The manual adeptness required in processing seafood comprises of activities such as sorting, grading, peeling, gutting, slicing etc., is the primary reason for this dominance. Nevertheless, women have been limited to the lower rungs of the production process (FAO, 2009).

Presently, the fisherfolk process their own catches and sell the products directly to consumers in fish marketing events. In this marketing strategy, women are typically in core role, although quite often women's labour can be considered as "invisible work" (Ogden, 2017; Salmi and Rautio, 2018). Gender and fisheries experts in Fiji commented that the contributions and fishing practices of males in Fiji were well documented by that time, while information on women fishers and their fisheries are both outdated and not as substantial (Thomas and Waqairatu, 2021).

The extent of women workforce participation in fisheries is not reflected in the data collected. It can be found that data collected during census captures only the occupation of the male head of the household - thereby failing to recognize the contribution made by the women which could be on a part-time or subsistence basis (Kleiber, Harris, & Vincent, 2015). There exists a lack of accurate, visible and accessible information on women in the fisheries sector (Gopal et al., 2020; Harper et al., 2020), and their unique needs or opinions are not routinely incorporated into fisheries management and policy resolutions (Salmi and Sonck-Rautio, 2018; Siles et al., 2019; Weeratunge et al., 2010). Overlooking the contributions of women fishers repeats this cycle and persists to marginalize them.

### **Unfavourable Work Environment**

Whether it be pre-harvest, harvest or post-harvest, women fish vendors across the local value chain in India are seen performing rigorous labour activities which directly affects their health. There has not been any significant change in the sorry state of the fish vending women. The issues raised in the 1980s continue to persist even to this day in parts of India. Few identifiable problems listed are non-availability of ice and storage facilities, improper transportation, lack of marketing yards and lack of finance (Ashalatha et al., 2002). The situation is no different in northern part of India. In Kashmir, fisherwomen exist either in the role of a homemaker or as a source of income generator through fishing jobs. Besides, women who are involved in fish selling face many problems like fluctuating market prices, unhygienic market places and lack of basic amenities in the market place (Farooqi et al, 2018).

During the COVID-19 pandemic, Sharma and Mahendru (2020) observed that the Government of India was in a dilemma as to whether to save lives or livelihoods, and the government preferred lives over livelihood. The curbs associated with COVID-19, difficulty in travelling, and advent of sophisticated supply chains and online applications during the pandemic have made life difficult for women engaged in fish vending across the state of Kerala.

Incidents of police brutality and ill-treatment by protocol enforcers increased and the fish vending women were displeased with the lukewarm response of the government that considers safety of women a priority (Sudhish, 2021).

Cambodia boasts one of the world's most productive freshwater fisheries, with almost 2 million people working in the sector. Yet with the COVID-19 crisis, many small-scale family fishing operations found themselves in rough waters. Restricted mobility reduced the demand for fish products. Where demand exists, supply chains had been severely disrupted. Procuring fish became harder and with people living in fear of exposure and choosing to stay away, the fish vending women barely make money. It is a challenge for the women to dry and freeze their unsold fish. Ice and refrigeration don't come cheap and the vendors in desperate need of electricity subsidies.

Long hours of work, long distance travel, poor access to credit, exorbitant interest rates, lack of proper storage facilities, lack of basic infrastructural facilities at fishlanding centres, selling fish in unhygienic places etc. are some of the critical issues faced by female fish vendors. They are vulnerable to extended working hours without break, repetitive activity, improper body mechanics, improper posture, lack of protective equipment while handling raw iced fishes and handling of sharp instruments. These women are at the risk of various health problems associated with the occupation (Kumar, 2019). Moreover, with the absence of legitimate vending zones, vending fish on city pavements and other areas are perceived as encroachments on public spaces. Within the existing markets, basic facilities for storing, processing, and selling fish; clean toilets; access to potable running water; and adequate waste disposal measures are usually not available (Sharma, 2010).

### **Exploitation by Middlemen**

Fisherwomen mainly depend on money lenders and fish traders for their fishery activities and family expenses like marriage of their children. These middlemen demand exorbitant rate of interest and capitalize the fish-supply value chain, run "*their businesses by essentially recycling the poor fishermen's capital*", and force the fishers into "*a vicious circle of debt and poverty*" (Mongabay, 2020). So, it is recommended that institutional credit facilities should be made available to the fisherwomen.

Women in value addition sector of Indian fisheries indicated low price for products and lack of assured markets as main constraints (Ashalatha et al., 2020). Fisherwomen suffer from lack of institutional finance. In India, among the total 2500 micro enterprise groups formed initially as part of various Tsunami rehabilitation programmes since 2005, only 1000 are surviving at present. Around 500 groups reduced their operations and became dormant due to various reasons (Salim et al., 2017).

Microfinance and fisherwomen SHG's should be enlarged. Fisherwomen also suffer from high procurement prices. The Government can take measures to regulate the procurement price of fishes (Nalatham, 2019). Creation of awareness about the importance of savings and investment in domestic and occupational commitments, to improve their standard of living would be beneficial for the fisherwomen. The study on socio economic empowerment of fisherwomen from the southern states of India revealed that if the fisherwomen are motivated and provided suitable technical and financial support, they will strive to improve their families' standard of living and also the fishery sector (Khader, 2013).

## **Societal Issues**

Illiteracy incapacitates the bargaining capacity of fisherwomen in the market, thus denying the reasonable price. Krishna Srinath (1987) noted that, women on the whole are hopeful of improving their lives through the development of fisheries activities in the inland and exhibit readiness to acquire new skills and undergo training for the same. The realisation that poverty and to certain extent, ignorance has hampered their progress. Fisherwomen discourage their children to carry on their occupation and thus extensively stress to give best education.

After a hard day's work, the womenfolk do not have any time left for recreation. In the Mogaveera community of Udupi district, women stated that they do not have time to spend with their family as she spends day selling fishes or other related works and later with the household chores (Ashalatha et al., 2020). They want their kids to get education and have better job opportunities, beyond the fisheries sector.

The main social problems identified by the Kashmiri inland fisherwomen in India were dowry, lack of proper health care, less literacy among children, lack of cooperation among different fishermen and fisherwomen (Farooqi et al, 2018).

The low educational attainment of middle women and female fish traders can negatively affect the efficiency of their tuna business in Vietnam (Nguyen et al., 2020). Also, owing to less chance for training programmes on business skills and tuna fisheries management, many women lack necessary management skills for their business.

## **Domestic Violence**

Alcoholism is well known to be on the increase in South Asia (Franco, 2015) and, in India, it has become an important political issue, with the government enacting various alcohol bans throughout the country. Women are dependent on their husbands, who control the finances and squander money on liquor. Fisherwomen have opined that the community will see a new dawn if the government takes concrete measures to impose a ban on the sale of liquor (Devalla, 2016; Coulthard et al., 2020). Unemployment occurring as a result of seasonal nature of work had the men turn to alcoholism and gambling, causing a spike in cases of wife beating and desertion and sexual harassment (Hemaraj, 2020). A regular association between being drunk and being violent was found throughout the studies conducted in India and Sri Lanka. Frequent episodes of serious physical abuse were reported by fisherwomen following their spouse's alcohol consumption, including being "chased away at knifepoint". (Coulthard et al., 2020).

## **Climate Change**

According to the report "Women Watch Fact Sheet: Women, Gender Equality and Climate Change" by the United Nations (2009), women are more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change than menfolk because they form the majority of the world's poor and are more dependent for their livelihood on natural resources that are threatened by climate change.

Recent studies on gender and climate change have shown that vulnerabilities arising in the aftermath of extreme-weather events induced by climate change (such as floods, cyclones, droughts, etc.) have a significant gender dimension (Rao, 2016). Fresh fish remains the primary source of animal protein for many equatorial nations in the Pacific. The decline and collapse of fish stock under climate change and increasing fishing pressure is becoming a common sight (Rabbitt et al., 2018). With rising ocean temperatures, the production of these onshore and coastal marine resources will continue to decline, eventually causing loss of income and increased food insecurity for the fisherwomen (Goundan, 2021). The existing gender-differentiated socio-cultural ethos discourages women from acquiring skills (such as swimming, climbing trees, wilderness survival skills, etc.) that could better prepare them for natural disasters. Relief shelters offer very little privacy and sanitation facilities, separate toilets etc., and also put them at the risk of being harassed by men and being overlooked by male doctors (John, 2009). In addition to that, the rate of illiteracy is the highest amongst

fisherwomen who work in the unorganised fisheries sector. Their lack of knowledge on scientific subjects, including those directly related to the environment further worsens the situation. All these existing systemic disadvantages for fisherwomen will inevitably be exacerbated by climate change (Misra and Bajaj, 2020). If climate change persists along the current trajectory, the fisher women will be faced with income reduction and will be unable to support their families or maintain their current independence.

### **Scarcity of Fisherwomen Led Collectives**

Women fishers also need greater participation in management decisions and policies, especially for the habitats where they are the main users (Thomas, 2021). The late 1970s-80s saw a rise in the number of women's organisations in coastal villages of the state of Kerala to resist against the marginalisation and exploitation of local fishing communities, the women members of the *Theeradesa Mahila Vedi* (TMV) famously organised the first ever march of women fish vendors with their fish baskets to the secretariat to demand for the right to access public transport. The government finally gave in and provided them with special buses after their consistent protests for about five years.

In the state of Odisha, the notable work of Samudram Federation run by fisherwomen involves create awareness regarding the need to end child marriage, training women in fish trade and reducing the dependency of members on local traders by linking them directly to the local and outside markets making the women game-changers. This collective of women fish workers has empowered them to take control of their lives - from spending on children's education and fighting domestic violence and alcohol abuse (Das and Misra, 2016).

In coastal Bangladesh, (Sunny et al., 2021) observes that, fishing communities were not self-reliant. Women rarely exercised their decision-making capacity in their family and had to depend on the men in their families. In the Binh Dinh province of Vietnam, (Nguyen et al., 2020) noted that responsibilities in tuna business management and household chores limit women's exposure to the community life. The majority of middle women and female traders do not have enough free time to involve in fisheries organizations and related activities in their communities. Failure to participate in these activities results in women's deficiency in organizational skills and positive relationships with other actors in the tuna value chain.

Contrary to this approach, women's groups have made benchmark progress in countries like Japan and have contributed to improve the economic situation of fisherfolk. After the Second World War, women's activities during the reconstruction of Japan's fisheries were concentrated on supporting and sustaining their families and communities. These activities were centred on limiting expenses, feeding families, and improving living conditions in communities (Miki, 2010).

From 1995 onwards, some of the women groups in Japan ran economic entrepreneurial activities with the financial support of the State through the cooperatives. This new role played by women's groups aspired to improve the economic and social development and environment of families and communities undergoing depopulation problems who need to increase the number of young people (Soejima, 2019).

In Japan, women's groups have become the main promoters of local fishery products. These women's groups have engaged in promoting fish consumption. For instance, women teach school and university students the process of cutting and cooking fish. Women also engage in the promotion of fish products that they have created. Processed products are sold at local festivals to boost fish consumption. With respect to the women's groups, processing seafood is another initiative to revitalize their own community (Fujii, 2009). The processing of fishery products is considered as a promising activity, because it serves as a touchstone for the amelioration of women's status in the community.

Another promising collective from Bangladesh, the Community Savings Group (CSG) comprising of 30-35 women, were created aimed at promoting the saving habits of the community. The project generated at least one fishers' women community savings group in every fishing village. Members were trained for 6-months through Business Literacy Schools (BLS) and encouraged to deposit the savings in banks.

## Gender-blind Policies

Capitalist modernization policies in Kerala welcomed ice plants and storing technologies, centralized boat landing sites and large-scale marketing of fish. Occasionally these developments have led to adverse implications for women's work. Previously, women vendors procured fish from their male relatives or community men. Eventually, over-exploitation of the sea created unemployment for men of their communities. When coupled with the commercialization of marketing networks, women lost intra-household, male kin-based access to fish and had to procure fish at higher prices from elsewhere, deal with the cooperatives, and resist manipulative moneylenders (Aswathy and Kalpana, 2018). To add insult to injury, large scale sand mining activities in the coastal areas made the water unfit for consumption, thereby forcing women to walk long distances to fetch drinking water. Less produce meant less income, and less income left them indebted to money lenders. Furthermore, with the traditional fish markets being devoured by multinational corporations, they were left all the more vulnerable (Hemaraj, 2020; Sagar et al.,2016).

Fisherwomen are in the lowest rung of the social ladder, and are deprived of their entitlements which their counterparts in the agricultural sector enjoy (Pazhani, and Isabella, 2010). Fisherwomen play a greater role in the coastal economy than just their role in fisheries. During instances where fishermen face uncertainties such as seasonal variations, womenfolk often become the backbone of the family and are crucial for its survival. Turning a blind eye to their contributions would mislead our understanding about the dynamics of economic and social issues of the coastal communities (Anna, 2012; Job Paul 2012).

## Pressing Priority

The need of the hour is to carry out primary research at the grassroot level, so that a reliable pool of data is generated that could assist in formulating gender-sensitised policies for the fishing community particularly in India and the Asia-Pacific. This calls for combined efforts from the international organisations, central and state governments of India's coastal states, to work alongside the fisheries sector, so as to tap the underutilised resources and to offer opportunities for the development of livelihoods with special measures for the empowerment of fisherwomen. By empowering fisherwomen, poverty could be addressed in a more comprehensive manner. Owing to women's pivotal role, empowerment programmes which rightly target issues of fisherwomen could benefit not only those within women's groups but the coastal community as a whole.

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# Reasons and Ramifications of Ukraine Crisis and India's Stand

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*The current Ukraine conflict represents an intense geopolitical battle between the West and Russia intertwined with the rivalries and hegemonic ambitions of a set of regional and global players. Between and among the rivalries, Ukraine served as a vital buffer state in European and international security order. The ramifications of the crisis are numerous and grave for the entire Euro-Atlantic security structure and world order. The conflict inevitably marks a resurgent great-power rivalry, which will decide the course and shape of international relations in the coming decades. A new cold war is on the horizon, and it has the potential to retrograde us into the old world of arms races, espionage, proxy wars, and new rivalries. The two camps in the new cold war are- the US, holding an anti-Russia camp with the help of NATO allies, while the second is pro-Russia camp- with Belarus, Armenia, and Central Asian republics, North Korea, Syria, etc. ably assisted by China holding the Western hegemony and NATO expansionism responsible for the crisis. Countries like India have a slightly different take on the issue. Refusing to take sides, India plays the neutrality -national interest-strategic autonomy card in NAM 2.0 mode. This paper discusses and analyses the causes, events, and implications of the Russia-Ukraine conflict.*

## Introduction

On February 24, 2022, Russian President Vladimir Putin announced a “special military operation” against Ukraine, unveiling the most significant war in Europe since World War II. The invasion began full-on with Russian air, sea, and ground-based missiles striking the Ukrainian defense systems and killing thousands of people. The attack was from four directions - the first point of attack was Kharkiv, Ukraine’s second-largest city, which is located near the Russian border in the northeast; the second was from Belarus against the Ukrainian capital Kyiv; the Donbas region is the third; and Crimea and its naval base at Sevastopol, which has been under Russian occupation since 2014, is the fourth point of attack (Bommakanti, 2022). The current invasion represents a substantial escalation of the eight-year struggle that began in 2014, with the annexation of Crimea and the subsequent capture of territories of Donetsk and Luhansk in the Donbas region of Ukraine. Thanks to increased Western backing, Ukraine has managed to resist many aspects of Russia’s offensive. Still, several of its cities have been crushed, creating a mass exodus of refugees.

The immediate attack of Russia on Ukraine is the culmination of its resentment towards the expansion of NATO in Russia’s sphere of influence. In his address to the nation during the declaration of war against Ukraine, Putin viewed NATO expansion to the East as a grave security concern for Russia and pointed out that it would be irresponsible on his part to watch NATO controlling the East. He added that;

*Further expansion of the NATO infrastructure and the beginning of military development in Ukraine’s territories are unacceptable for us. The problem, of course, is not NATO itself - it is only an instrument of US foreign policy. The problem is that in the territories adjacent to us - territories that were historically ours, I emphasize - an “anti-Russia” hostile to us is being created (Al Jazeera, 2022).*

Apart from NATO enlargement, a significant concern of Putin is Ukrainian statehood and identity. Putin traces the roots of the Eastern Slavs - Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians to the medieval Kyivan Rus commonwealth - and argues that the present republics of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus should share a common

political destiny both now and in the future. He accuses the West of creating ‘anti-Russia’ sentiments in these nations (Mankoff, 2022).

The crisis emanated from the breakdown of Ukraine- Russia relations which has hugely impacted global affairs, predominantly European ties. Before delving deep into the causes and consequences of the current conflict in Ukraine, one has to get a clear picture of the history of Russia- Ukraine relations. The following section briefly describes the historical background in which the recent crisis is set.

### **Historical Backdrop**

Ukraine was the second most powerful nation in the Soviet Union, after Russia. Russia could not accept the independence of Ukraine after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Many Russians still regard Ukraine to be ethnically a part of Russia. Russia wanted Ukraine to be under its control due to its manifold interests, primarily security interests. But Ukraine defined its path by showing interest in joining the Western alliances, the EU and NATO (Masters, 2022). The country has been divided between the Russian-speaking community in the Eastern region (Donetsk, Luhansk) and the EU - supporting areas of the West. The history of Ukraine’s risky position between the East and the West can be traced back to the 17<sup>th</sup> Century Russian imperialism. Eastern Ukraine fell under Russian imperial administration far earlier than western Ukraine, in the late 17th century. This helps to explain why, since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, residents in the east have tended to prefer candidates with a Russian leaning. Western Ukraine was under the jurisdiction of European countries such as Poland and the Austro-Hungarian Empire for centuries (Conant, 2021).

The modern-day conflict between Russia and Ukraine began with the transfer of Crimea as a gift to Ukraine in 1954 by the Soviet leader Nikita Krushchev. The transfer was considered to be *an act on the part of the Russian people to commemorate the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the “reunification of Ukraine with Russia” (a reference to the Treaty of Pereyaslav signed in 1654)* (Kramer, 2015). Crimea is a peninsula that lies on the Black Sea coast of Ukraine, with the majority holding a pro-Russian sentiment. Following the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, Crimea became an autonomous republic within Ukraine as a result of an all-Ukraine referendum. In 1991 Russian President Boris Yeltsin reaffirmed that Crimea would remain a part of Ukraine. Also, the Budapest Memorandum signed by the US, Russia, Ukraine, and the United Kingdom in 1994 agreed to refrain from threatening or using force against Ukraine’s territorial integrity or political independence (“Ukraine Crisis: Does Russia Have a Case?,” 2014). But the growing ties between Ukraine and NATO provoked Russia. The decision to acquire Crimea was most likely taken in 2008, shortly after NATO offered Ukraine (and Georgia) eventual participation in the alliance at the Bucharest summit. After Victor Yanukovich, was elected as the President of Ukraine in 2010, the plans for the invasion were temporarily postponed. The presence of Russians in top Ukrainian government positions, Ukraine’s growing financial dependency on Russia, and greater military-industrial collaboration between the two nations likely decreased the urgency of annexation (Bebler, 2015).

The subsequent political coup and overthrow of Yanukovich in 2014 infuriated the Russians. Russia claimed that the events happening in Ukraine were anti-Russian and threatened the Russian population living in Ukraine. The Russian authorities framed the situation as a ‘threat to compatriots’, calling for the protection of Russian citizens in Ukraine (Strycharz, 2020). They also alleged the events of a Western-backed ‘fascist coup’. Thus, breaching the Budapest Memorandum, Russia annexed Crimea. A vote on the independence of Crimea and Sevastopol was conducted shortly after the annexation, and Crimea legally joined the Russian Federation (Matzek, 2016). Russia also began arming and aiding rebels in the Donbas region that lies in Ukraine’s southeast. The violence in the Donbas killed over 14,000 people between 2014 and 2021, making it Europe’s worst conflict since the 1990s Balkan Wars (Masters, 2022). The annexation of Crimea was a violation of international law; the referendum and annexation were declared illegal by the UNGA in 2014. The relationship between the United States, the European Union, former Soviet states, and Russia saw a shift as a result of this crisis. European countries were concerned about Russia’s next move and what it truly

desires. As a result, world politics faced a dilemma situation. The current conflict in Ukraine should be analysed in this historical backdrop.

### **What Infuriated Russia in 2022?**

The whole issue of the Russia- Ukraine conflict, in its essence, can be summarized as the tug of war between the NATO expansion by the West and the national security concerns of Russia.

Russia has its own perspective on Eurasia and its vital region. After 300 years of Mongol dominance over Russian territory, Russia realised that annexing more surrounding regions was a necessary and preventive action for its continued existence in a competitive international arena. Russia worked to develop its spheres of influence in surrounding countries so that it could secure Eurasia's Heartland from hostile invasion and infiltration. Russia continues to regard the former Soviet Union's whole territory as "regions of privileged interests for Russia" (Berryman, 2011). Because the Ukrainian heartlands are rather flat, big heavily-armed formations can easily move through them on their way to Russian frontiers, as demonstrated by World War II, and hence Russians are constantly afraid of attack from here (Kaddorah, 2014).

### **Russian Insistence on Ukrainian Neutrality**

The concept of Ukraine operating as a neutral link between Russia and the West is indeed not new. Neutral states have long existed in Europe, whether in the 19th century or throughout the Cold War. Smaller governments can use neutrality as a tool to safeguard their own political integrity against a larger neighbour or regional superpower. Neutrality, according to Maatje Abbenhuis (2022), a military historian at the University of Auckland, is "neutralisation, where the world agrees to remove something from the foreign policy so that no one attacks it (Kirby, 2022)." If Kyiv agrees to pursue a neutral approach, Russia will agree to respect Ukraine's territorial integrity, but NATO membership for Ukraine will most likely be terminated.

A study of Finnish neutrality can shed light on the Russian mentality. Finland and Russia share an 800-mile border. Finland was attacked by Russia in 1939, and after largely fending off a Russian takeover, it signed a friendship treaty with Russia in 1948 and remained non-aligned during the Cold War. Russia intends to do the same thing to Ukraine, as it did to Finland in 1939 (White, 2022).

### **The NATO, Russia, and Ukraine**

With the disintegration of the USSR in 1991 and the disbandment of the Warsaw pact, the world experienced a 'unipolar moment'. Russia anticipated its entry into the Euro-Atlantic security organizations and the abolition or transformation of NATO into a purely political organization (Sauer, 2016). Even though Russia did not formally enquire about NATO membership, it showed willingness many times; President Yeltsin in 1993 showed an interest in joining NATO (Goldgeier, 1998); President Putin was interested in 'a broader participation' in NATO (Lyne, 2015). But not only did the West ignore the candidature of Russia in its security architecture but also hurt Russia's sentiments by inviting Eastern European countries to join NATO and the EU (Sauer, 2017). For Russia, the ex- Warsaw pact allies joining NATO is a threat to its existence. In an attempt to counterbalance NATO expansion, Russia sought to strengthen its pan-European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe by transforming it into a legally binding pact (Smith, 2009). Realising that this move is in vain, Russia agreed to compromise proposals that resulted in the formation of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) in 2002 (Smith, 2009) through which Russia believed its interests would be served. Russia opposed the membership of Georgia and Ukraine in the alliance. But Ukraine established a special relationship with NATO through the NATO-Ukraine Commission, enabling wider cooperation whenever Ukraine faces a threat to its territorial integrity and security (Hunter, 2022). Russia's occupation of Georgia in 2008, and the annexation of Crimea in 2014 were to stop NATO's influence over these regions. Russia accuses NATO and the US of violating the promise that NATO would not expand eastward.

Ukraine has continuously articulated its desire to join NATO. It participates in annual military exercises with the alliance, such as the Sea Breeze and Rapid Trident manoeuvres. Ukraine was one of just six "enhanced

opportunity partners” in 2020, a unique designation granted to NATO’s closest allies like Australia (Masters, 2022). Russia demanded NATO to cease its expansion, stop arms deployment in Europe, etc, which went in vain. These provoked Russia, leading up to the invasion in February 2022.

### **Russia’s Security Concerns**

Ukraine is considered an integral part of Russia, just like Canada or Mexico is for the US. The US would not tolerate Russia building ties with countries in America - Canada or Mexico; the best demonstration is the Cuban Missile Crisis. Similar is the concern of Russia to secure its national security by keeping away US presence from its sphere of influence. For Russia, the issue is personal. According to Mearshimer (2014), the attack on Kyiv and the Donbas region by Russia is a reaction to the triple package of policies by the West - NATO enlargement, EU expansion, and democracy promotion.”The taproot of the crisis is NATO enlargement, the fundamental part of a bigger strategy to pull Ukraine out of Russia’s orbit and incorporate it into the West,” writes Mearsheimer (2014), blaming the West directly for the situation in Ukraine. Russia put forward three key demands to the US for its security. They are; a halt to NATO expansion, a refusal to install missile systems on Russia’s borders, and the removal of NATO personnel and infrastructure from Central and East European nations that joined the alliance after 1997 (Roth & Borger, 2022). But the US heeded to none. According to Ashford & Shifrinson (2022), the US and Russia have been trapped in an insecurity spiral where the actions of one threaten the other which responds in turn. For instance, Russia invaded Georgia in 2008 when NATO vowed to include Georgia and Ukraine in the alliance. Similarly, the 2014 Crimea annexation was followed by the Euromaidan protests against Ukraine’s refusal to accept the EU’s offer to join its association agreement. Recently, NATO’s decision to include Ukraine provoked Russian aggression, which in turn forced the US, NATO, and EU member states to dispatch large quantities of lethal weaponry to Ukraine and imposed harsh economic sanctions on Russia, thus accelerating the pace of the insecurity spiral (Ashford & Shifrinson, 2022). To substantiate the invasion, Russia also brings in the concept of equal security, that no country should strengthen its own security at the expense of the other (Gromyko, 2022). Here, the freedom of Ukraine to choose an alliance should not be at the expense of Russia’s security.

Hill (2022) observes that it is the deep-rooted Russian fear of the West that has fueled Putin’s invasion of Ukraine. Be it the Napoleonic invasion or the Nazi invasion, for all of its history, Russia has been afraid of military threats from the West, a concern that has been accompanied by distrust of western standards and ideologies like liberal democracy. The French invasion of Russia often described as ‘the most lethal military operation in world history’ (Grant & Snow, 2010) shows us that, even though the adversary may be able to penetrate the Ukrainian flatlands and overcome the initial defenses of the Russian forces, it has often been repelled at the cost of heavy loss of life and property. So, it is imperative for Russia to ensure that Ukraine is not either invaded or under the control of adversarial forces.

### **Russia’s Pride and Putin’s dream**

Putin, a former KGB (Russia’s secret service) agent, firmly believes in Russia’s capability to lead the European security architecture. According to Putin, the disintegration of the Soviet Union is the biggest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century (Joy, A.P., 2022). NATO took over European security and Russia was not in a position to stand strong against the Western hegemony. Russia’s honour and pride were hurt. Over a period of less than a decade since assuming office as the president of Russia in 1999, Putin materialised political stability, economic recovery and military modernization, and more importantly Russia’s pride and position as a pre-eminent power in Eurasia. Today, Putin dreams to regain Russia’s old superpower status. He is dissatisfied with Russia’s marginalization and China’s emergence as America’s principal geopolitical opponent, as well as the Indo- Pacific’s transformation as the primary theatre of world affairs. It is Putin’s dream to restore Russia’s honour and pride. Putin’s power play in Ukraine is a tactic for him to draw America’s attention (Joy, A.P., 2022) and limit the growing Western influence at its backdoor. Putin also plans to capture the Ukrainian coastline, thereby making Ukraine a landlocked nation. With Phase I of the invasion of Ukraine going haywire and not reaching its objectives, Russia is looking upon capturing the Black Sea coastline of

Ukraine as Phase II. By seizing the Ukrainian coastline, Moscow intends to create a land bridge between Crimea and Donbas, join with Transnistria, cut off Ukraine by the sea, and capture the port city of Odessa as a conciliation prize (Hassan, 2022). By capturing the southern coastline cities of Odessa, Kherson, Mariupol and Mykolaiv, Russia could organise referendums and create pseudo-states, and later create legal processes, that would join these separatist regions into the Russian Federation, as it did in Crimea. By conquering these warm-water ports, it could serve as an important PR purpose, as this is something the Russian leadership can sell domestically.

Warm water ports are all-year-round ice-free ports that serve a significant geopolitical and geo-economic purpose. In Ukraine, much of its economic activity occur through the means of exports that take place in the south, by the port city of Odessa. Losing Odessa to Russia, would block Ukraine from an essential export path and will alter the regional geo-economics (Caspian Report, 2022). By seizing the southern coastline, Russia intends to serve a dual purpose. By controlling the ports, it will gain the ability to control the nearby seas, project power abroad, and observe maritime consensus.

### **Impact on Global Politics**

The Russian invasion of Ukraine has had wider implications for the whole world as we live in a globalised world. The new kind of hybrid warfare, with its severe humanitarian crisis, cyber-attacks, economic woes, disinformation and propaganda campaigns, geopolitical tensions over energy supplies, and the possibility of nuclear war, will have far-reaching consequences.

### **Ineffective United Nations**

With the deepening of the war in Ukraine and the call for a diplomatic resolution, the United Nations is looked upon by the world nations to resolve the conflict. As the crisis escalates, the credibility of the UN is being questioned for its helplessness in stopping the conflict. The UN had been responding to Russia by diplomatically isolating it and imposing more sanctions. The crucial question is whether this leads toward productive diplomacy and peace or irreversibly drives Russia down a path of no return from confrontation, even nuclear conflict (Puri, 2022). Every phrase of the UN Charter preamble, i.e. “to save subsequent generations from the scourge of war,” runs opposed to the daily direct missile strikes and bombings of Ukrainian cities, resulting in both military and civilian losses, and the formation of millions of refugees.

The crisis also points out the inadequacies of the UN Security Council and necessitates a renewed focus on its reforms. According to the present system, the P5 members have the power to veto any UN action. This power is very often misused by the P5 members in order to thwart international challenges to their own actions. In February, Russia’s rejection of a Security Council resolution prohibited the UN from taking real action against it, such as imposing globally enforceable economic penalties (Taylor & Rupert, 2022). Even though the UN General Assembly adopted historic resolutions like suspending Russia from UNHRC, the veto power of the P5 is above the powers of the UNGA (Puri, 2022). Russia’s invasion of Ukraine may serve as an eye opener toward the urgent need for UNSC reforms, something which countries like the G-4 had been vying for.

### **European security at crossroads**

The world has been witnessing the developments in Ukraine with anxiety, disappointment, and horror. The attack has shattered the pillars of the international peace and security system. The greatest threat it posed was to the European security system. Europe was surprised, as they were unprepared for the war. Putin has succeeded in raising the issue of the European security order that has sparked a geopolitical awakening among the Europeans. Even though Russia has its own reasons for attacking Ukraine, the European nations find Russia violating the sovereignty of its neighbours and a threat to their security. Many European countries, even those countries that do not engage in boundary clashes with Russia seek to join NATO to ensure their security. The application of Sweden and Finland to join NATO is a case in point. The question they ask is, whether Russia would show the nerve to invade Ukraine had it been a member of NATO (Johny, 2022).

## **Impact on Global Economic Order**

The conflict has triggered a major humanitarian catastrophe and is wreaking havoc on an already frail global economy, which was only recently recovering from the pandemic's damage. Both Russia and Ukraine are key commodity producers, according to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and interruptions there have resulted in increasing worldwide prices, particularly for oil and natural gas. Food costs have risen as well, with Ukraine and Russia accounting for up to 30% of world wheat exports (Ghosh, 2022). Because Russia is a significant source of natural gas imports, energy is the main spillover channel for Europe. Wider supply-chain disruptions might be disastrous. These repercussions fuel inflation and slow the pandemic's recovery (Kammer et.al, 2022). While some effects may take years to manifest, there are already clear signs that the war and the resulting increase in the cost of essential commodities will make it more difficult for policymakers in some countries to strike the delicate balance between containing inflation and assisting the pandemic's economic recovery.

## **A Changing World Order?**

The crisis has brought in a shift in the global order. Ukraine has been devastated; Russia, the aggressor will have to suffer long-term consequences; the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has strengthened and is forcing a rebalance; Europe is experiencing a humanitarian crisis and remilitarization; India, like many other countries in the global South, is facing geostrategic pressure as they adopt their positions. The US is experiencing an apparent decline with domestic conflicts, the effect of the pandemic, negative experiences from Afghanistan, and Iraq where it aimed to play its democracy promotion card etc.

The fear factor has united the US, other NATO states and the EU; the West as such. Another major implication on the global order is the new trend set by the countries like India, China, UAE, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, etc. who took an independent position on the issue. Most of the countries exercising a kind of strategic autonomy and neutrality of the Indian variety are out to strike a balance between US and Russia since both sides are equally significant and want to avoid taking sides to the extending angering the other. For instance, the UAE a traditional ally of the US abstained from voting on a resolution against Russia in the UNGA because of its growing ties with Russia. China has explicitly shown its alliance with Russia by abstaining from voting against Russia as well as by neglecting the sanctions introduced by the West against Russia. Obviously, the world order is in flux with a renewed rivalry between Russia and the West in the context of the new superpower rivalry between the US and China intermixed with the balancing adopted by emerging powers like India.

## **India's Position: NAM 2.0?**

The Ukrainian crisis propelled by the invasion of Russia could be considered a world-defining moment that changed the strategic quotient heralding the rise of new world order. In this scenario, it is of paramount importance to understand India's response to the ever-changing dynamics of the Ukrainian crisis. An analysis of the Ukrainian crisis would invariably make us look at the predicament India has been led onto. India has been sandwiched between two opposing camps, the liberal West led by the USA and the authoritative regimes led by China and Russia, which signal the return of a new form of cold war 'Cold War 2.0' of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Against this background, it would be pertinent to revisit the non-alignment policy adopted by India during the cold war and apply it in a new form, 'Non-Alignment 2.0'.

India was the champion of the Non-Aligned Movement as the Cold War raged on and shook international politics. In those days, even though India could exert significant pressure, she was seen as punching above her own weight by taking the moral high ground on international issues. It could be argued that she exerted her soft power, by neglecting the tangible hard power. For this, India paid a terrible price, with a humiliating defeat from China in 1962. This border war with China in 1962, disillusioned India as no one came to her aid, in her time of need. So, from then on, India kept her selves away from the non-aligned policy to a pro-Soviet one.

The end of the cold war and the disintegration of USSR visibly buried India's neutrality credentials. The economic resurgence of India in the 1990s has changed the scenario and both camps are vying for the support of India and to join their own camp. The West led by the USA is doing this by engaging India by the QUAD (Quadrilateral Security Dialogue) to counter its rival China in the Indo-Pacific. Russia on the other hand stands strong as India's time-tested friend. India's friction with China and Russia's deep relationship with China is the only blemish in the Indo-Russian relationship. India views Russia as a dependable partner than the US due to a variety of reasons. The Soviet Union did not ally with Pakistan or China against India; she helped us during the 1971 war against the combined forces of the USA and the UK and did not interfere or condemn domestic political developments in India. These actions of goodwill remain deeply entrenched in the minds of our strategic thinkers. Hence it is no wonder that the relationship between India and Russia remains strong even after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. It is not in India's interests to amputate its relations with Russia. Like most of the countries in the Global South, India has adopted a position of neutrality on the issue. India refused to join the diplomatic alliance led by the US against Russia. India chose not to hurt Russian sentiments by abstaining from the resolution against Russia in the UN Security Council, General Assembly, and the Human Rights Council. It must be remembered that USSR vetoed on India's behalf the Western-supported resolutions on Kashmir in the UN akin to what the US did for Israel on Palestine.

The West is critical of India's non-aligned position. While Russia is India's largest defense partner, the US is India's largest trading partner. The strategic interests of India and the US converge in countering China. In the quadrilateral dynamics of India-US-China-Russia relations, India's vital national interests are intertwined. India's best friend and strategic ally - the US- is the worst enemy of China and Russia and India's worst enemy- China-is the best friend of Russia and worst enemy of the US. In this dynamic, it is important that India maintain a good relationship with Russia, especially in the context of the border disputes and other rivalries between India and China. As Jacob (2022) put it,

*“An aggressive Russia is a problem for the U.S. and the West, not for India. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) expansion is Russia's problem, not India's. India's problem is China, and it needs both the U.S./the West and Russia to deal with the ‘China problem’”.*

India distancing from Russia is detrimental to its prime national security interests in South Asia, especially in the context of the growing China-Pak-Afghanistan-Axis and its implications for India's territorial security and integrity. In this milieu, it is important that India maintains its strategic relationship and friendship with Russia to ensure Russian neutrality and supply of defense equipment which would be of immense value in case of a flare-up with China. India is heavily dependent on Russia for defense equipment, which is cheaper compared to that of its Western counterparts. To put it differently, the crisis in Afghanistan directly affects India's national security, while the Ukraine crisis does not pose a threat of that magnitude but has its unique significance in managing the relationship with Russia. Undeniably India faces economic impacts as well as a threat to its citizens in Ukraine, but such issues are of manageable gravity.

India's Minister of External Affairs Dr. S Jaishankar in his speech in Rajya Sabha stated that India is following a six-principle approach to the issue in Ukraine. First and foremost, India demands an immediate end to violence and hostilities, stating that India is committed to peace. Second, he stated that India believes there is no alternative to returning through conversation and diplomacy. According to Mr. Jaishankar, the third premise is that India recognizes that the global order is based on law, the UN Charter, and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states. The fourth point is that India requests humanitarian access to a combat zone. The fifth is that India provides humanitarian aid. So far, the country has donated 90 tons of humanitarian aid. Finally, India maintains contact with the leaders of both countries regarding the crisis (NDTV, 2022). He also stated that “If India has chosen a side - it is the side of peace and it is for an immediate end to violence” (Bhattacharjee, 2022).

India's decision to purchase oil from Russia, despite the sanctions and global backlash as a result of

the Ukraine conflict is another bone of contention between the West and India. India is even called an 'opportunist' for buying oil from Russia at a cheap cost. But India's decision to buy Russian oil has a logical economic basis. Given the country's inclusive growth ambitions, energy prices are crucial. India is importing additional oil at discounted rates from Russia in order to protect the economy from the recent spike in crude oil prices. India had previously conceded to US demands to stop oil import from Iran as a result of the US walkout from the US-Iran nuclear deal in 2019. But this time India decided not to dance to the tunes of the West, and instead focus on her national interest.

Even though the non-alignment of India is criticized by many as India's inaction, the stance taken by India shows its unique place in world politics. While India remained non-aligned during the cold war to receive aid from both blocs, NAM 2.0 gives more space for India to influence the two rival camps that are vying for India's support. Today, both US and Russia need India as much as India needs them.

## Conclusion

The Russian attack on Ukraine and the subsequent developments have a considerable impact on European security and world order. Despite the actions of international laws and institutions, and efforts by world nations, the issue remains unresolved. As analysed, Russia's invasion is a reverberation of its security dilemma emanating from Ukraine's efforts to join NATO. The economic sanctions against Russia and the support to Ukraine underline the hostility between Anglo-Saxons and Slav Russians. The crisis underlines the reality that it is difficult for traditional rivals to bury their differences and work together and traditional methods of war and territorial conquests are significant even in the era of cyber warfare. Nations, particularly great powers are ready to sacrifice men and material, peace and development for the sake of honour and status. It also reiterates the fact that often small powers fall victims to big power rivalry and great powers do what they want to do. The emergence of a new world order marked by the relative decline of the US, the rise of China, and other powers including Russia and India is on the anvil and will have a great impact on world politics. The crisis also underlines the enduring utility of India's non-alignment policy. India's policy towards the crisis was guided by its national interests of prime security concerns and economic mileage based on strategic autonomy and constructive neutrality in NAM 2.0. mode.

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## Winning the Mandate

**Dharmendra Pratap Srivastava**

**‘A Grammar of Professional Politics : Enter Politics Win Elections’  
by Dr. A K Verma, Book Mitra / Markmy Book LLP, Jaipur, 2022,  
pages 243, ISBN- 978819507021, Rs. 269/-**

‘A Grammar of Professional Politics: Enter Politics, Win Elections’ by Dr. A.K. Verma is a product of author’s 40 years teaching and research at Christ Church College, Kanpur as also of advising national and state parties. He had been associated with Lokniti, CSDS, Delhi for long, invited by dozens of universities including Harvard in US, Australia, Singapore, Pakistan and India. Currently, he is founder Director (Hon) of the Centre for the Study of Society and Politics, Kanpur. He is a prolific writer in both academic and journalistic domains and also very popular among students for his high quality You Tube lectures.

I find ‘A Grammar of Professional Politics’ attractive for two reasons. One, its title is very captivating and reminds us of Prof Harold J. Laski’s pathbreaking *magnum opus* in theoretical politics - ‘A Grammar of Politics’ that was published a century back at *London School of Economics and Politics*. Secondly, it appears to be the first book of its kind on professional or practical politics in India. We haven’t seen any book that tries to initiate an ordinary citizen to professional politics and elections pushing him/her towards success step-by-step.

Indian politics is looked at, largely, as amateurish, though there are recent trends towards professionalism. But, parties and politicians, by and large, rely on the winnability of candidates that mainly hinges on money and muscle. It has pushed the common man to the margins of politics and injected some apprehensions in the minds of ordinary citizens that politics is not meant for them, but only for the moneyed and the strong. This work on professional politics by Dr Verma tries to diffuse that myth. He not only encourages but also shows path to citizens to ‘enter politics and win elections’ - which is also the tagline of the book.

Reading Dr Verma’s book, one is reminded of the ‘Arthashastra’ by Kautilya and ‘The Prince’ by Machiavelli where the kings or rulers were advised by the authors how to expand their empire and consolidate their power through various cunning and not so moral strategies. But, ‘A Grammar of Professional Politics’ takes a different trajectory and tries to empower the people through democratic contestation. This the author does in a stunningly simple and lucid manner which is also the beauty of this work.

Today, when politics is not seen as a noble activity and political disharmony is steadily overtaking respect and consideration for opposing voices, the author makes a case for restoring rightful place to politics as a *conflict resolution mechanism* and *instrument of social welfare*.

The structure of the book is very attractive. It has one hundred chapters. Each chapter is, on an average, of about 500 words that one can read in a few minutes. That enhances its readability. And, the chapters are so sequential that one is tempted to read the whole book in one go. One can say that every possible anxiety that can come to the mind of a lay reader or prospective politician has been dealt with in this book. Though the author has not divided the book in various sections, but a careful reader can put these one hundred chapters in, at least, five parts for a better understanding of the subject dealt with in the book.

In the first part are those chapters which expose various misconceptions about politics and elections in the public mind viz. Is politics bad? Is politics all about elections? etc. In the second part, we can put

those chapters that try to restore the original glory of politics as a profession: ‘motivating children to take to politics’, smart politics, how to win people? etc. In the third section, we can keep those chapters that point out why politics is so fascinating viz ‘great opportunity for women in politics’, ‘double advantage to women in local politics’, ‘how important is money in politics’ constituency visibility, mobilisation of masses, creating social, political movements, etc. In the fourth part, which is the most vital, the author offers very practical and doable prescriptions that guide everyone how to take various steps in politics that can take one to winning elections. Essays like ‘the first step in politics’, ‘change your approach to politics’, ‘how to win people’, ‘choosing a political party’, how to form a new party’, etc. can be put in that part. In the final part, we can keep those chapters that deal with several concepts, democratic institutions, processes, laws and the central agencies that control elections and resolves electoral disputes.

The author seems to have deeply delved into identifying various problems that can come in the way of an ordinary, inexperienced, lay persons aspiring to enter politics. You think of any such problem and you will find a chapter dealing with that in a lucid and brief manner. ‘A Grammar of Professional Politics’ encourages people to become leaders to make the government and administration democratic and responsive. As one reviewer Prof K C Suri (Hyderabad University) wrote on the blurb of the book: *“It is a handbook of democracy, parties, elections and a manual of political skills essential for leaders in building political support, forming a party, fighting political opponents, managing differences and factions, communicating effectively, conducting a campaign and winning an election.”*

Reading the book, I was thinking of Max Weber’s essay, *Politics as Vocation*. The beauty of the work is its lucidity, simplicity and brevity in dealing with the subject matter. Prof Sandeep Shastri (Vice Chancellor, JagranLakecity University, Bhopal) beautifully summed up the author’s work thus: *“In these 100 essays, Dr Verma undertakes a masterly analysis of the intellectual, moral and political equipment that is needed to enter electoral politics and make a bid to win an election.”*

The book has also attracted excellent international reviews from Pradeep Chhibber (UCL, Berkeley), Robin Jeffery (ISAS, University of Singapore) and Brian Minn (University of Michigan) etc. I am sure the book will be very useful to all those who are not only aspiring to enter politics and win elections, but to all those who are into politics already. This interesting book seems to be essential reading for academics, students, politicians and the common man alike.

In fact, this book will be long remembered for Dr Verma’s seminal contribution to creating literature on practical or professional politics in India. It will enthuse and enable the common citizens of India to be a part of the active political process and qualitatively improve the political culture in India. As one reviewer Prof Robin Jeffery (Singapore University) has rightly suggested, *“This delightful book deserves to be translated into every Indian language.”*

The book is available at various platforms like Amazon, Flipkart, in hard copy as well as kindle edition. Email- [dps.deo@gmail.com](mailto:dps.deo@gmail.com)

# Utility Models as alternate IP protections: A Boon or a bane? An Analysis in the Global Context with Special Reference to India

Raju Narayana Swamy

*The utility model patent was first developed by Germany in 1891. Many countries such as Japan, Brazil, China, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Mexico, Poland, Russia and Korea have incorporated utility patent law. In fact, there are currently approximately 75 countries which provide in some form or another utility model protection. Significant among countries which do not have a utility model regime are US, UK and Canada. However the US is still reviewing the possibility of introducing second-tier patent systems to address several issues in the current patent system. In the context of India where almost 81% of the economy is informal, the existing patent regime is full of costs and uncertainties. Utility models may serve to remedy the shortcomings of the patent system provided that they are enforced within a legal structure conducive to innovation (i.e.) complemented with certain restrictions envisaged in the relevant IP legislation and conditioned by effective enforcement of antitrust laws.*

Utility model has been defined by WIPO as “an exclusive right granted for an invention, which allows the right holder to prevent others from commercially using the patented invention without his authorisation for a limited period”. The African Regional Industrial Property Organisation Protocol on Patents and Industrial Designs (Harare Protocol) defines utility models as “any form, configuration or disposition of elements of some appliance, working tools and implements as articles of everyday use, electrical and electronic circuitry or other object or part thereof in so far as they are capable of contributing some benefit or new effect or saving in time, energy or labour or improving the hygienic or socio physiological working conditions by means of a new configuration, arrangement or device or a combination thereof and are industrially applicable.” It is not a clearly defined legal concept within the IP paradigm, but is a generic term which refers to alternate IP protections (viz) lesser forms of patents which exist in many countries of the world together with patents and which protect incremental innovations on existing inventions which do not fulfill the strict patentability criteria. Sometimes referred to as petty patents or second -tier protection, these patent systems are known as innovation patent in Australia, utility innovation in Malaysia, utility certificate in France and short term patent in Belgium.<sup>1</sup> The theoretical rationale for utility models derives from the fact that most social welfare-enhancing inventions are cumulative in nature and that a great deal of them are sub-patentable.

The utility model patent was first developed by Germany in 1891. Many countries such as Japan, Brazil, China, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Mexico, Poland, Russia and Korea have incorporated utility patent law. In fact, there are currently approximately 75 countries which provide in some form or another utility model protection. Significant among countries which do not have a utility model regime are US, UK and Canada. However the US is still reviewing the possibility of introducing second-tier patent systems to address several issues in the current patent system. In East Asian countries such as Japan and South Korea, a combination of relatively weak IPR protection and the availability of utility models has encouraged technological learning.

Utility models tend to protect the functional aspects of a product (such as toys, watches, optical fibres and machinery). They refer to subject matter that hinges precariously between that protectable under patent law and sui generis design law.<sup>2</sup> Their common features include short term protection, waiving off the requirement of non-obviousness and inventive step as well as simpler application procedure as compared to patents.<sup>3</sup> But there are some major points of difference too across countries - subject matter under protection,

granting procedure, substantive criteria and duration of protection made available, to name a few. For instance, as regards duration of protection, Austria, China, the Czech Republic, Finland, Germany and Italy provide upto ten years of protection for their utility models from the date of filing whereas France provides up to six years of protection for its utility certificates.

It is worth mentioning here that the utility models are said to be advantageous for SMEs (Small & Medium Enterprises) in the less industrialised nations of the world because in these industries copying of ideas and designs is prevalent and cumulative innovation is the law.<sup>4</sup> The speed with which utility models can be obtained may be beneficial for some start up firms. Countries that are net importers of new technology such as Australia could benefit from a utility model system that aids the absorption and/or adaptation of such technologies by local firms. It also needs to be mentioned here that the World Bank has documented case studies in the farm machinery sector in Brazil where utility models allowed domestic producers to adapt foreign innovations to local needs and conditions.<sup>5</sup> LDCs can experiment with utility models so as to use IPRs as a tool for industrial transformation of their economies. However the impact of such efforts will crucially depend on development of managerial practices about IPRs and on availability of low cost and simple procedures to register innovations and enforce the rights conferred. A word of caution is needed here. Most firms in LDCs rely on mature technologies and on imported equipments and are unlikely to be active in the kind of improvements that utility models may protect. Moreover the system is not without its drawbacks. Arguments are galore that if we provide second and third tier rights for inventions that fail to meet the traditional standards of novelty, inventive step and originality/distinctiveness thereby allowing insufficiently inventive works to get protection through the back door, we are undermining both the public - private boundary and the integrity of existing IPRs and their doctrines. Larger market players may use utility models as a means of circumventing the more stringent criteria under the patent system and overuse the system in ways that make it hard for SMEs to compete. For instance in Europe, utility model systems in some countries have created problems so great that the systems were ultimately abolished. Due to the amount of legal uncertainty caused by the lack of substantive examination for the short term patent system in Netherlands, it was done away with in 2008. Similarly in Belgium due to the legal uncertainty caused by lack of novelty search for the small patent before granting, the entire system was abolished in 2009. Add to these the fact that utility model protection is not as strong a form of IPRs as patents and that they are harder to enforce and the picture is complete.

The basic difference between utility models and patent system is summarized in the following table.<sup>6</sup>

**Table 1 : Difference Between Patents and Utility Models**

<b>Basis of difference</b>	<b>Patent system</b>	<b>Utility models</b>
Cost to obtain and maintain	High	Lower
Subject Matter	Both products and processes	Only products (mainly technical and mechanical innovations) (It is worth mentioning that processes can be patented by utility certificates in France and by utility model patents in Austria)
Examination required	Substantive examination required for	Nil (In some countries enforcing infringement)
Novelty	Required	Required
Level of inventiveness required	High(Only new and substantial improvement of inventions can be protected)	Low (All marginal improvements of inventions can be protected)
Time to grant	Time consuming (often years)	Granted within 6-12 months
Term of protection	20 years from the time of grant	7-15 years

The main factors identified as explaining the composition of a utility model system include technological, historical, interpretational and policy diffusion. The advantages and disadvantages of utility models are broadly as follows:-

**Table 2 : Advantages & Disadvantages of Utility Models**

<b>Advantages</b>	<b>Disadvantages</b>
May encourage local innovation and can protect valuable inventions which would otherwise not be protected	Increase in spurious and wasteful claims and litigation
Prevents free riding of inventions by other predatory firms	May lead to economic rent - seeking behaviour by companies
May reduce incentives for industry to lobby for inclusion of minor inventions in the patent regime	Can be used by companies to cordon off areas of research

### **The International Regime**

Utility models are recognised by Article 1(2) of the Paris Convention (to which India is a member since 7<sup>th</sup> December 1998) as objects of industrial property together with patents.<sup>7</sup> But Paris Convention does not demand that signatories thereof implement utility model laws. The Patent Cooperation Treaty (PCT) which came into force in 1978 (and of which India became a signatory and member in 1998) also permits to file Utility Model application through national phase utilising the priority date and flexibilities provided therein as applicable for patent. The provisions of this treaty enable the inventors or the applicants filing of an international application for the grant of patent claiming priority based on the utility model application. In fact, Article 2(1) of the PCT stipulates that “application” means an application for the protection of an invention; references to an “application” shall be construed as references to applications for patents for inventions, inventors’ certificates, utility certificates, utility models, patents or certificates of addition, inventors’ certificates of addition, and utility certificates of addition. Thus Article 2 makes it crystal clear that the references to patent would include utility patents.

Mention must also be made here of the International Patent Classification (IPC) as provided by the 1971 Strasbourg Agreement which facilitates retrieval of patent documents in order to conduct effective novelty searches and determine the state of the art. Article 1 states that the IPC covers not just “patents for invention” but also “inventors’ certificates, utility models and utility certificates.” However the TRIPS agreement requires all countries to maintain minimum substantive standards for all IP regimes and does not explicitly mention any second-tier patent system. In other words, member countries are left free to formulate it for themselves. But Article 2(1) of TRIPS<sup>8</sup> allows member nations to adopt more extensive protection which is required in their law and comply with Article 1(2) of Paris Convention. This still does not require WTO members or signatories to the Convention to provide utility model laws. However, it needs to be mentioned here that TRIPS Agreement as opposed to patents does not contain any minimum standards on the protection of utility models.

### **Experiences Across the Globe**

The general experience across the globe has been that the degree to which inventors in countries seek utility model protection typically depends on the differences in the standards of inventiveness required for patent protection and utility model protection. The narrower the difference in standards, the more likely it is that agents will file for patent protection since patents provides stronger protection than utility models. Evidence suggests that utility model protection stimulates the kind of minor, adaptive inventions that are important in the early to middle phases of technological development. They are a source of data on innovative activity. However the one-size fits all approach does not apply and it should be on a case by case basis. Experiences from a few countries across the globe are summarized below:

## 1. Germany (Gebrauchsmuster Utility Model)

Conceptually the German system was not a supplemental patent regime, rather the utility model protection was introduced as a supplement to the 1876 legislation protecting copyrights and designs. In addition to the usual excluded subject matter under patent law (discoveries, scientific theories etc), the utility model law additionally excludes inventions relating to processes and biotechnological inventions. Moreover, non-obviousness under utility model law is easier to meet than under patent law as the former refers to “inventive step” unlike the latter which requires “inventive activity”. The country has a relative novelty for its utility model. The allowance found in Germany that an invention patent and utility model do not necessarily have to be filed on the exact same day in order for the utility model to be branched off from the invention patent is accommodating both to the applicants and to the patent office. Moreover Germany allows not only parallel findings but also double granting of a utility model and invention patent.

The German utility model system continues to be a popular one. The number of utility model applications has however fallen from the 1999 peak, but the drop is insufficient to indicate that the use of the system is declining. However, the utility model system in Germany is not really serving one of its primary purposes (viz) spurring innovation through SMEs. The second tier patent system seems to function more as a strategic tool for protecting innovations until a patent is granted.

## 2. European Union (apart from Germany)

In EU member states, there is wide disparity in the amount of applications made within each country and this in turn correlates to the nature of utility model protection. There is currently no consistent policy for utility model protection across EU member states. The countries with and without utility models in the EU are tabulated below:

**Table 3 : Countries with and without utility models**

Currently have (18)	Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia and Spain
Used to have (2)	Belgium, Netherlands
Did not/currently do not have (7)	Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Sweden and the UK

It needs to be mentioned here that the French law despite terminology is not really a utility model system, but is a quick reservation system for patent applications and offers protection akin to the standard patent law. In fact, utility certificates in France are relatively unattractive to patentees given the legal uncertainty inherent in the unexamined right. The grant of utility certificates in that country has fallen over the last several years. The Italian system however despite usage of the word “patent” is more similar to the traditional utility model regime. Denmark, Finland, Greece and Portugal adopt a three dimensional paradigm.

## 3. China

Three types of patent protection are available in China - invention patents, utility models and design patents. Several studies focus on the usefulness of the utility model system in China - in particular to stimulate competitiveness and incremental innovation. China is the largest user of utility model patents in the world. Growth in utility models is found to have increased labour productivity in that country. Individual inventors and SMEs in particular, as well as large companies to some extent, have benefitted from learning opportunities afforded by using utility models which can enable innovation. It needs special mention that computer programmes cannot be protected by utility models in China.

Out of the patent applications that are made to China about two-fifths are utility models, of which

almost all are local applications.<sup>9</sup> The usage of utility models relative to invention patents is considered as a useful indicator of the optimality of the technological trajectory of China. However there are criticisms too. For instance, some experts are of the view that many utility models are being granted to local “inventors” for inventions imported from overseas. Put it a bit differently, counterfeiters are now employing the utility model to claim protection for their modified versions of goods and products which are protected only under foreign patents. The system has produced huge numbers of useless and worthless rights. To make matters worse, utility model owners are threatening to take legal actions against the true inventors - who are often foreign companies seeking to expand their commercial activities in China. Arguments are also galore that the utility model system in China is being abused since no examination as to substance is made either at the grant stage or even at the infringement stage. It is seen that 95% cases for invalidation are filed for patent rights for utility models and more than 60% of these requests have ended in invalidation of the granted right.

#### **4. Malaysia**

Under the Malaysian Patents Act 1983, two types of protection are available - the first is through the grant of a patent and the second is through the issue of a certificate for a utility innovation<sup>10</sup>. A bird’s eye view of the Malaysian utility innovation regime is as follows:

- a) No requirement for inventive step (this being specifically excluded by the Act)
- b) The application can contain only one claim
- c) Duration of protection is for twenty years (Though a certificate for utility innovation expires 10 years from the filing date, an application for extension can be made for 2 additional five year periods. Thus the total possible length of protection is 20 years which is the same period available for a normal patent)
- d) Need to show that the invention is in commercial or industrial use in Malaysia.
- e) Not subject to compulsory license
- f) Lower registration and maintenance costs

Utility innovation system does have a place in the IP regime of Malaysia. The percentage of Malaysian innovators who make use of the system is high vis-a-vis the patent system. Highest number of utility innovations encompass those relating to human necessities (foot wear, furniture, agriculture, jewellery etc) followed by performing operations and transporting. Moreover the percentage of individual innovators (compared to companies/institutions making use of the utility innovation system) is very much high as compared to the use of the patent system. It is however worth mentioning that the utility model system does not offer any cheap or quick alternative to patent protection. The reduced costs of obtaining utility models and lower thresholds for protection may be attractive, but the long examination period and limitation to one claim only makes it quiet unattractive in practice.

#### **5. Japan**

Japan used to be a good example which has successfully established the utility model system and used it to promote domestic, industrial and technical progress. However the system is no longer attractive. The Japanese Utility Model Law (which was based on the German Law and was enacted in 1905) was adopted in response to a situation wherein patents were largely held by foreigners, most of the applications from Japanese nationals with far lower technical level than the western standard were refused and it was impossible to protect small inventions with the patent law. For a long time the model worked well. In the days when innovative capacity of Japan was lower than western countries, utility model system helped the Japanese industry to save money on importing technology. However with the growth of domestic creativity leading to a situation wherein patent system becomes more attractive, utility model applications declined gradually.

A sharp drop appeared in 1993 because of the revised Utility Model Law of that year.<sup>11</sup> The 2004 amendment however prolonged the protection term and thus brought in a little increase of applications. Since 2000, the number of applications for utility models has never exceeded 3% of that for patents. As things stand today, the Japanese domestic industry is competitive enough in the world and therefore overprotection brought in by the utility model would do harm to further development of technology. Moreover, giants from foreign states would utilize the system to expand its territory fenced by exclusive right and then harm the interest of Japanese industry. To put it a bit differently, the reasons advanced against the utility model systems are:

- 1) The Utility Model Law has already completed its mission and has become obsolete
- 2) Protecting petty inventions that are potentially achievable by engineers serves only to encourage technology which is not internationally competitive.
- 3) Increase of utility model registrations only presents problems for companies and harms industrial development.
- 4) Large companies utilize the Utility Model Law only to defend themselves from an attack by small and medium size companies.<sup>12</sup>

It is also worth mentioning here that a provision on conversion has been introduced in Japan since the first Utility Model Law in 1905. An applicant could thus try to apply for a patent first and if it fails, then turn to get a utility model.

## **6. Taiwan, Province of China**

In Taiwan, utility model patent is defined as a creation or an improvement which has been made in respect of form, construction or fitting of an object. The first Patent Act which was introduced in Taiwan on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1949 included invention patents, utility models and design patents. The latest version of the Act came into effect in July 2004. The purpose of the utility model is to protect smaller inventions. The fundamental differences between patents and utility models are:

- a) Patents cover method, substance or device whereas utility models protect shape, structure or device.
- b) Duration of patents is 20 years whereas utility model protection lasts for 10 years.
- c) Compulsory licensing is available only for patents and not for utility models.
- d) Utility model applications will not be substantively examined whereas patent applicants have to request a substantive examination within 3 years from filing date.

In 2003, the utility model provisions were revised in three major ways:

- i) Substantive examination was abolished.
- ii) The concept of Technical Evaluation Report was introduced.
- iii) The level of inventive step required between a patent and a utility model was differentiated.

Statistics show that nationals are using utility models heavily as compared to foreigners. Thus utility model patents appeal to Taiwan because 98% of the country's businesses are small and medium sized enterprises with very diverse R&D capability. The top domestic industry applications for utility models include transporting, basic electronic elements, pharmaceuticals and entertainment. Innovators prefer this type of patent as they are rapidly granted.

## **7. South Korea**

South Korea has had a utility model law since 1961 and the current law is the Utility Model Act 1<sup>st</sup> July 1999. The Korean experience is interesting in that its domestic sector is active both in utility model and patent filing. Of course, compared to utility models, foreign patenting activity takes place at a much higher rate.

## **8. Ethiopia & Uganda**

Ethiopia is the most populous LDC in sub-Saharan Africa. One of the main reasons behind the enactment of utility model protection in this country is to foster local innovation. It is noteworthy that the Ethiopian Patent Law does not clearly define the kinds of inventions that are eligible to be protected by utility model certificate. The Proclamation stops at defining it as a certificate given to a minor invention which fits to practical use.

As regards Uganda, it is a poor country that depends on transfer of foreign technology for its economic and social development. Its utility model protection is poised to become a tool to stimulate the country's capacities towards adaptation and new uses of existing technologies. The Patent Law of Uganda was repealed in 1991 by the Patents Act. The Act recognises patents granted under the Harare Protocol which is administered by the ARIPO and in respect of which Uganda is a designated state. This Act also governs the grant of utility model certificates u/s 41. These certificates are permitted where the invention does not fulfil patentability - a requirement that is difficult to meet in Uganda's socio-economic situation.

The question that naturally arises is - does utility model protection foster local innovation activities? Data from EIPO and URSB show that the answer is in the affirmative. For instance, according to the Ethiopian office there is an increasing number of utility model applications year after year. Moreover, Ethiopians are the major beneficiaries of the Utility Model System and filed more than 99% of the applications. A breakdown of total minor inventions into the field of technology shows that the largest filing took place in the agriculture sector and chemicals which is formally in line to the strategic development direction of the country. Evidence further suggests that the inventive activities focus on the basic national problems of eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, improvement of health standards and ensuring environmental sustainability. In fact, utility model has contributed to development of a national technological database. However, it needs to be mentioned that low level of awareness on the importance of IPR is standing in the way of utility model protection.

## **9. Australia**

A vast majority of the innovation patents in Australia are granted to Australian applicants. In fact only one out of six innovation patents are granted to foreign applicants. The innovation patent system in the country has been used by less knowledge - intensive industries and SMEs and has served the interests of domestic innovators. But there have also been concerns over the abuses of the system. In fact, some applicants use this system for tactical purposes rather than for protecting lower level inventions.

## **10. India**

The concept is not unknown in India as the country runs on Jugaad - creating new things with ordinary resources. But India still does not have any laws protecting intellectual rights on utility patents despite being a signatory to various international treaties and conventions wherein utility patent system is well recognised.

### **Should India go in for utility models?**

In the context of India where almost 81% of the economy is informal, the existing patent regime is full of costs and uncertainties. Utility models may serve to remedy the shortcomings of the patent system provided that they are enforced within a legal structure conducive to innovation (i.e.) complemented with certain restrictions envisaged in the relevant IP legislation and conditioned by effective enforcement of antitrust laws.<sup>13</sup> Arguments are hence galore that the country needs an effective legal protection system to bridge the gap between invention and innovation. Coexistence of the utility patent system may help in identifying the limitations of the patent system and offer to find a solution for them. Utility patents are affordable, simpler and faster and will if it comes through be used to the fullest extent by Indians who are always better at finding solutions to ease our work by making minor modifications to existing machines (like the engine operated sugarcane juice cart) - inventions which fall short of patentability, but that make life convenient. If laws on protection of Utility Protection Rights are legislated in India, our country will also progress in

the ranking of the international IPR index and the Global Innovation Index which in turn will enhance the economic development of the nation as utility models are conducive to innovation and growth. This is all the more true in the context of the country's MSME (Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises) sector.<sup>14</sup> SMEs account for more of breakthrough and incremental innovation than MNCs, but are hesitant to file patents as it has complex procedures and is costly. Hence utility patents are the solutions for them.<sup>15</sup> Add to these the fact that there are close to 51million MSME units in the country and the picture is complete. The utility patent system will definitely help them in sectors as diverse as electronics and electrical, computers and robotics etc. and will invigorate the "Make in India" initiative of the Government of India. However, before implanting the said model to the Indian IPR landscape, the following questions need to be answered:-

- a) Should we leave sub-patentable inventions (ie) inventions which show little or no inventiveness) unprotected?
- b) Should we lower the inventive step threshold under the standard patent law so that more inventions become patentable?
- c) Should we seek to create alternative legal means of protection such as a tort or misappropriation law or a hybrid property right system such as design rights?
- d) Is the adoption tailored to respond to the country's industrial structure?
- e) Should we go in for an accretion approach or an emulation approach?

The following features can go a long way in improving the impact of a utility model system:-

- a) Universal novelty standard
- b) A renewal based term of protection with tiered fees
- c) A non-examination system for the first term of protection followed by a compulsory examination for the second stage
- d) Government action to increase awareness of utility model protection
- e) Compulsory licensing
- f) The utility model law should comprise a detailed list of excluded subject matter which must mirror the exclusions under patent law. It is worth considering excluding some types of inventions as dictated by public policy (such as chemicals or pharmaceuticals or biological material).

To summarize, the lengthy procedure, patentability criteria, examination formalities and fees have made it very difficult for creative grass root innovators to get their inventions patent and utility model should step in here as a saviour. If implemented with necessary safeguards, it is worth taking the risk as it could lead the country along a path of inclusive, nay sustainable growth.

#### Notes

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5. World Bank (2002), *Global Economic Prospects and Developing Countries*, Oxford University Press, Newyork
6. Ibid
7. The protection of industrial property has as its object patents, utility models, industrial designs, trademarks, service marks, trade names, indications of source or appellations of origin, and the repression of unfair competition.
8. In respect of Parts II, III and IV of this Agreement, Members shall comply with Articles 1 through 12, and Article 19, of the Paris Convention (1967).
9. By contrast, the majority of standard patents are constituted by foreign applications
10. A utility innovation is defined in the Act as “any innovation which creates a new product or process or any new improvement of a non product or process, which is capable of industrial application and includes an invention.”
11. In the 1993 amendment, a non-examination system was introduced and the term of protection was significantly reduced. The amendment was not a successful trial.
12. Kenichi Kumagai and Japan Patent Office, *Asia Pacific Industrial Property Center JIII*, Supra note 16 at 5
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# Women's Perception on the Impact of Responsible Tourism in Kerala: An Enquiry

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*Tourism values what is most precious in our world-our environment, wildlife, history, culture, and our people. As one of the most thriving economic activities of the 21st century, tourism can contribute to improve the livelihood of women. If managed responsibly and sustainably, responsible tourism spurs cultural interaction and revival, bolsters employment, alleviates poverty, curbs rural migration, empowers local communities, encourages tourism product diversification, allows people to retain their relationship with the land and nurtures a sense of pride. The perception of the women on the impact of responsible tourism in Kerala is important in influencing their participation and support for further tourism development. Lack of empirical research is still evident in our state. The present study aims at filling this gap through analyzing the perception of women on the economic, socio-cultural and environmental impact of responsible tourism in Kerala.*

## Introduction

Tourism values what is most precious in our world- our environment, wildlife, history, culture, and our people. It can be a great catalyst for growth in local economies, providing good-quality jobs, opportunities for innovation and business creation and funds for conservation and ultimately having a tremendous economic, socio-cultural and environmental impact. It also supports diversity and inclusion. Tourism has an unmatched ability to boost equality across the world. It is the point where the global north meets the south, where wealthy travellers come into direct contact with shepherds, rickshaw drivers, weavers and tea sellers, and it may be the only opportunity for both sides to have a direct experience of how the “other half” live. As suggested by Hanafiah et al. (2013), the tourism industry should provide new opportunities and instigate socio-economic change in the community. Residents perceived tourism as having a positive impact on local services by improving the standard of roads and other public facilities (Xue et al., 2015). Garcia et al., (2015) in their studies pointed out that the majority of residents view tourism as a tool for economic development strategy. The residents are likely to consider tourism as a tool that reduces unemployment by creating new employment opportunities, bringing in new businesses and creating new investment opportunities. It also generates additional business for local and small businesses and revenue for local communities and governments.

The impact of development on the local community is continuously being researched by many scholars and this subject is important as the outcomes will contribute towards better planning and development in a tourist area and will lead to a better understanding in terms of support from the local community (Zhang et al., 2016). Furthermore, tourism areas have changed over time (Butler, 2004; Ma & Hassink, 2013), therefore, the impact and support for tourism development have evolved as well (Garau et al., 2018). Majority of previous researchers have suggested that tourism impact can be classified in to three dimensions, namely, economic, environmental, and socio-cultural with positive and negative impacts. The positive impacts include improvement of local economic conditions, social and cultural understanding, and protection of ecological resources (Mihalic, 2016; Yolal et al., 2016). Conversely, the negative impacts include a decrease in the quality of life of the local communities because of the negative environmental effect (Kim et al., 2013).

## **Responsible Tourism**

The term “responsible tourism” was coined in 2002, in association with the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Cape Town. The goal of responsible tourism is to make better environments for humans to live in and better tourist destinations. It is a prevalent intervention which guarantees to improve its business opportunities by enhancing vacation life experience, inhabitants’ well being, socio - economic status, and natural resource safety in tourist places; as a result, scholars and professionals in this field have given it a lot of attention (Goodwin & Francis, 2003; Mathew&Sreejesh, 2017).

Responsible tourism (RTP) is considered to be the best tool to minimize the negative impacts of tourism activities at the destination (Vadell et al., 2018). RTPs focus on maximizing the economic, socio-cultural and environmental benefits of tourism while also dealing with how to minimize these impacts. Tourism also has another feature; the majority of its workforce is female. With such a broad geographical reach, and a huge range of skills required, tourism has the opportunity to pull women out of poverty, equip them with skills and provide dignified, sustainable employment. Goodwin (2011) makes a strong connection between responsible tourism and taking action to make tourism more sustainable. It emphasises that assuming responsibility leads to specific acts, which are referred to as sustainable actions. Responsible tourism, on the other hand, is not the same as sustainable tourism (Mihalic, 2016). Responsible tourism is more of an expression to define tourism that is sustainable because it acts sustainably, and it addresses the aforementioned sustainable tourism concept in implementation. As a result, when local communities think that responsible tourism activities are founded on proper sustainability-based strategies and policies, it is inferred that acceptable acts or behaviours, referred to as sustainable actions or behaviours, will result.

## **Responsible Tourism in Kerala**

Kerala, India’s southernmost state, has risen to prominence as a top tourist destination both at national and international scale, and is widely regarded as the country’s tourism pioneer. Kerala tourism took the pioneering effort to bring responsible tourism in India. This initiative was first implemented in four destinations of Kerala namely Kovalam, Kumarakam, Thekkady and Wayanad. Responsible tourism in Kerala focus mainly on three areas of responsibility; - Economic, Social and Environmental responsibility. Kerala’s Responsible Tourism initiative will help locals benefit from new sector by promoting their products and services to tourists. Also it allows locals to interact with tourists, exposing them to new ideas and cultures while also providing them with opportunities to promote their skills. Responsible tourism in Kerala is instrumental in inspiring women to come to the forefront and participate in the development activities of the region. Kerala’s Responsible Tourism initiative concentrates on three themes: the destination’s economic, social, and environmental concerns. It makes the locals an important part of the village’s expanding tourism sector and promotes pride in their homeland and culture. The Kerala government has taken steps to support the tourist industry in the state and has established a number of programmes through RT projects. The Kerala government also fosters initiatives that provide more economic advantages for local people and improve their well-being, in line with the goals set forth by RT activities around the world. It is also culturally sensitive, raising awareness of the importance of preserving varied cultures and the destination’s ecosystem. From the tourist’s point of view, the activities enable him or her to interact with natives, resulting in more positive travel experiences.

## **Responsible Tourism - A Bridge to Women Empowerment**

Empowering women to participate fully in economic life across all sectors is essential to build stronger economies, achieve internationally agreed goals for development and sustainability, and improve the quality of life for women, men, families and communities. Responsible tourism initiative provides many worthwhile opportunities for women thus empowering them. It leads to a positive and meaningful involvement of local women in the tourism industry. It has brought economic and social development to women. Economic empowerment is considered in terms of opportunities which have arisen in terms of employment and business

opportunities. Social empowerment refers to a situation in which women's sense of cohesion and integrity has been confirmed and strengthened by responsible tourism activities. Responsible tourism thus enable women to enjoy their rights to control and benefit from resources, assets, income and their own time, as well as the ability to manage risk and improve their economic status and wellbeing.

Women's role is important as its instrumental effect in promoting social equity and fairness in the community is well recognized. It is important to examine the perception of women on the impact of tourism since it is vital for tourism involvement and sustainable development. As one of the most thriving economic activities of the 21st century, tourism is well placed to contribute to women in improving their livelihoods. If managed responsibly and sustainably, responsible tourism spurs cultural interaction and revival, bolsters employment, alleviates poverty, curbs rural migration, empowers local communities, encourages tourism product diversification, allows people to retain their relationship with the land and nurtures a sense of pride. This study is crucial as women's representation is growing in the tourism industry in Kerala.

## **Review of Literature**

Kim et al. (2013) conducted a study to test a theoretical model that links community residents' perceptions of tourism impact (economic, social, cultural, and environmental) with residents' satisfaction with particular life domains (material well-being, community well-being, emotional well-being, and health and safety well-being) and overall life satisfaction. The study showed that the association between the economic and social impact of tourism and the gratification in specific aspects of one's life (financial health, societal health, mental health, and safety) initially decreased in the growth stage of tourism development and peaked in the maturity stage of tourism development. However, when a community enters the decline stage of tourism development, the strength of the relationship between the economic and social impact of tourism and the satisfaction with correspondent life domains decreases.

Richie (1988) conducted a study in the two western provinces of Canada. The study revealed that over 94 percent of residents consider tourism to be important while about 5per cent held an opposite view. Around 87 percent viewed tourism as extremely or fairly important while only 10 percent considered it not very or not at all important. Davis et al. (1999) conducted a study to assess the perceptions and attitudes of Floridians towards tourists and tourism in general, to identify the extent of the negative and positive perceptions of residents towards tourism and to classify residents on the basis of their attitudes towards tourism, and profile the classified residents on the basis of their demographic characteristics. It uses cluster analysis to analyze the data. The study found that creation of employment opportunities is the most important benefit.

Liu and Var (1986) conducted a study to determine resident attitudes to the economic, sociocultural, and ecological impacts of tourism development in Hawaii. The study found that 95 percent of the respondents agreed that tourism has created more jobs for the state of Hawaai's residents. Weaver and Lawton (2001) examines resident perceptions of tourism on Tamborine Mountain, a destination in the urban-rural fringe of Australia's Gold Coast. The study found that majority of the respondents has agreed that tourism has created employment opportunities in the destinations.

Paul and Moli (2014) strives to describe the characteristics and impacts of Responsible Tourism in the destination in accordance with sustainable development concepts. It aims to comprehend the role of responsible tourism in the development of sustainable tourism destinations, and to identify the many players involved in responsible tourism. The study indicates that tourism has improved the local community's income, local purchase, investment and standard of living.

## **Statement of the Problem**

In the Responsible Tourism Mission in Kerala, most of the activities are women-centered and the majority of the beneficiaries are women. Women stakeholders are at the forefront in executing village life

experience packages and most of the training beneficiaries are also women. Despite the fact that various studies have been undertaken to better understand the significance of responsible tourism, and its effect on various socio-economic aspects, its impact on women and their quality of life was hardly analyzed. Women's perceptions help to understand the complexity of gains, losses and needs of the women studied. The perceptions of women are likely to be an important planning and policy consideration for the successful development of existing and future tourism programmes and projects. For tourism in a destination area to thrive, its adverse impacts should be minimized and it must be viewed favourably by the host community, especially women. The success of the programme depends on many aspects, and one of the key aspects is the collaboration and involvement of the local women who are working in this sector by understanding their perceptions on the impact of the programme. The perception of the women on the impact of responsible tourism in Kerala is important in influencing their participation and support for further tourism development. Lack of empirical research is still evident in our state. The present study aims to fill this gap through analyzing the perception of women on the economic, socio-cultural and environmental impact of responsible tourism in Kerala.

### **Objective**

- To examine women's perception on the economic, socio-cultural and environmental impact of Responsible tourism.

### **Hypotheses**

- Responsible tourism has a significant role in creating economic, socio-cultural and environmental impact.
- The magnitude of impact with regard to economic, socio-cultural and environmental fronts differs in each destination.

### **Research Methodology**

The study was conducted at three major tourist destinations of Kerala: Bekal, Kumarakom and Wayanad, which were officially declared responsible tourism destinations by the Government of Kerala. Primary data was collected using a well-structured questionnaire. Systematic random sampling methodology was used to select the respondents. The required number of samples was calculated on the basis of Yamane's formula. Thus a total of 450 samples were collected: 150 from each destination.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

The study focused only on the women residents working in the tourism sector and did not consider the views of tourists who visited the destinations. The statistical data were analysed using the statistical package of SPSS. Simple statistical tools were used for descriptive analysis such as mean, and standard deviation.

### **Data Analysis and Interpretation**

Tourism has both negative and positive impacts on a destination, but travelling responsibly is a question of how to mitigate negative impacts and take advantage of the opportunities tourism can provide. For analyzing the socio-economic and cultural impact of tourism, it is necessary to study the views of various stakeholders in tourism industry. A plethora of studies address tourism impact as an essential component of tourism development. Tourism planners typically consider the nature of the impact and how it can be managed to ensure optimal outcomes. The literature review revealed that tourism impact could be analyzed from economic, social, cultural, and ecological perspectives. This study tries to analyze the information provided by the respondents working in the tourism sector. The perception of women on the impact of responsible tourism is analysed by five point likert scale of Quality of Life (5 = very satisfied and 1= very unsatisfied). The

items from Andrew and Withey, (2012), cummins, (2005), and Sirgyet al. (2001) were adopted and tested by Kim in the same context were used for the study.

### Perceived Economic Impact

The economic impact of tourism has commonly been viewed as a positive economic force, both positively and negatively. With respect to the positive economic impact of tourism, the evidences prove that it helps to improve the standard of living , increases investment, and increases business activity. With regard to the negative impact of tourism, the evidence suggests that property taxes increase as a result of tourism, the price of goods and services increases, and the price of land increases too. Women’s perception on the economic impact of responsible tourism in Kerala’s shown in table 1 given below.

**Table 1 : Women’s Perception on the Economic Impact of Responsible Tourism**

Sl. No.	Economic Activities	Mean	SD	Z-value (p-value)
1	Tourism increases employment opportunities in the destination	4.64	0.537	64.9 (<.01)
2	Local businesses benefit the most from tourists	4.55	0.498	65.8 (<.01)
3	Tourism improves investment, development and infrastructure in the local economy	4.60	0.563	60.2 (<.01)
4	Tourism improves revenues for local government	4.46	0.542	57.2 (<.01)
5	Income and standard of living has increased due to tourist spending	4.50	0.579	54.9 (<.01)
6	Small scale entrepreneurship among women is higher in tourist destination	4.57	0.583	57.0 (<.01)
7	Price of goods and services has increased due to tourism	3.87	1.09	16.8 (<.01)
8	Real estate cost and property taxes are increased due to tourism in the area	3.73	0.99	15.6 (<.01)
9	Tourism leads to increase in the cost of living in the community	3.69	1.04	14.0 (<.01)
10	Tourism leads to large scale land acquisition by big companies leading to land alienation among locals	3.36	1.16	6.6 (<.01)

Source: Computed from Primary Data

Tourism is a sector that is all about people and is an incredible enabler of employment opportunities in the tourist destinations. It offers a wide array of job opportunities to people in the locality including the youth and women. Women account for the majority of the employment in the tourism sector. Majority of them are working as casual and self-employed. Since the majority of the women participants are not employed before entering into the responsible tourism activities the highest level of economic impact as perceived by women can be seen in this factor. The corresponding mean value is 4.64. The Z test shows that the respondents agree significantly with the statement that tourism increases employment opportunities in the destination at one per cent level of significance. The result was consistent with the studies of Belisle and Hoy, 1980; Tosun, 200 stating that tourism has created employment opportunities in the destination.

Responsible tourism ensures that the local community and the tourist collectively support the local

business to meet their demands thereby showing their commitment towards sustainability. Tourists are coming to experience the real taste of local foods, to understand the local life and so on. These experiences are available only in local shops and hence a higher demand for the products of local businesses. This can be seen in the high mean value(4.55) of benefits given for the local business as part of responsible tourism. The Z test shows that the respondents agree significantly with the statement that tourism increases opportunities for the local business in the destination at one per cent level of significance. This result was harmonized with the findings of Liu and Var, 1986 which shows that tourism has promoted local business in the destination area.

Tourism is to a great extent dependent on the range and type of infrastructure available at the destination. Infrastructure is a core area of the tourism industry and plays a distinctive role in the development of this ever-expanding industry. Tourism industry stimulates investments in new infrastructure, most of which improves the living conditions of local residents as well as tourists. Tourism also brings investment into the destination in terms of starting new businesses and for the development of various kinds of infrastructure facilities. The mean value (4.60) shows that women perceived a high impact of responsible tourism on investment and development of infrastructure in the economy. The Z test also shows that it is significant at 1per cent level of significance.

Tourism brings enormous opportunities for augmenting revenues for the local government. It consists mainly of entry fees, parking fees, land tax etc. this ensures a better involvement and participation of local governments in promoting tourism related activities in the area. The mean value (4.46) also shows that the women perceived that responsible tourism has increased the revenue for the local government. The Z test also shows that it is significant at 1per cent level of significance. The result was congruent with the findings of Tosun (2002) stating that tourism has positively impacted the revenues of local governments.

Increased arrivals of a tourist helps to create employment opportunities in the destination which improves the level of income of the households. Tourism also brings various kinds of basic amenities and well developed infrastructure in the destination which helps to enhance the living standards of the local communities. The high mean value (4.50) shows that responsible tourism has a higher impact in the context of increase in income and standard of living. The Z test also shows that it is significant at 1 percent level of significance. The result is consistent with the findings of previous studies stating that the tourism development will contribute to increase their standard of living (Paul and Moli, 2014). One of the ways in which women can be incorporated into economy and society would be through tourism .

Women, especially those who reside in rural areas with low career prospects, may benefit from entrepreneurship to boost their autonomy and self sufficiency. Tourism development can bring job prospects, particularly for women in remote areas. Participating in tourism activities allows these women to acquire their own income and helps to enhance their social condition. The mean value (4.57) also shows that the women perceived that responsible tourism has improved the small-scale entrepreneurship opportunities among women in the destinations. The Z test also shows that it is significant at 1per cent level of significance.

Growth of tourism in a destination leads to increased demand from the locals as well as tourists for the goods and services which resulted in increased price of goods and services in the locality. The mean value (3.87) also shows that the women perceived that there is an increase in the price of goods and services due to responsible tourism in the destinations. The Z test also shows that it is significant at 1per cent level of significance.

Tourism leads to increased demand for land for developing infrastructure facilities, for setting up of resorts, shops or homestays or starting businesses. This in turn contributes to increased cost for real estate and property in the destination areas. This is true in the case of the study areas as well. The mean vale (3.73) shows this trend in the responsible tourism destinations also. The Z test also shows that it is significant at 1per cent level of significance. Similar results were found in the studies conducted by Perdue et al. (1990)

stating that majority of the the respondents agreed that tourism development unfairly increases real estate costs. Increased price for the goods and services and rise in price for the land and other properties has resulted in increase in the cost of living in the destinations. The mean value (3.69) also shows that the women perceived that there is an increase in the cost of living in the community due to responsible tourism. The Z test also shows that it is significant at 1per cent level of significance.

Growth of a destination as a tourist spot leads to increased arrivals of tourists from the domestic country and foreign countries. This leads to increased demand for accommodation units and other services in the destinations. This increased demand for various services resulted in the arrival of big companies which leads to acquisition of land from the locals. This will further result in the increase of price of land in the destination that worsen the case of locals in terms of land ownership. The mean value (3.36) also shows that women perceived that tourism has led to large scale land acquisition by big companies leading to land alienation among locals. The Z test also shows that it is significant at 1per cent level of significance.

### Perceived Socio-Cultural Impact

The social impact of tourism have both favorable and unfavorable aspects. Studies have revealed that places in the growth stage of the tourism development cycle have traffic problems, congested public spaces, and other negative effects of tourism as well as other social problems. There is also evidence suggesting that tourism often leads to social issues such as beggars, betting, trafficking, and adultery, as well as the deterioration of conventional culture and society.

In contrast, evidence exists that supports the notion that tourism has a positive social impact. For example, studies have shown that tourism has been demonstrated to provide greater possibilities to update facilities such as outdoor leisure facilities, parks, and roads. There is the cultural perspective of both positive and negative impact. Focusing on the negative impact, Tourism has been called a “culture embezzler” by certain tourism researchers. Conventional socio cultural systems and social behaviors have been extensively challenged as a result of tourism. Table 2 shows women’s perception on the socio- cultural impact of responsible tourism.

**Table 2 : Women’s Perception on the Socio-Cultural Impact of Responsible Tourism**

Sl. No.	Socio- Cultural	Mean	SD	Z- value (p-value)
1	Tourism has increased availability of recreational facilities and entertainment	4.04	1.03	21.4 (<.01)
2	Tourism has improved image and understanding of different communities and cultures	4.36	0.76	37.9 (<.01)
3	Tourism increases demand for historical and cultural exhibits	4.48	0.63	50.2 (<.01)
4	Tourism encourages variety of cultural activities	4.48	0.59	52.9 (<.01)
5	Tourism improves quality of police and fire protection	4.42	0.58	52.2 (<.01)
6	Tourism leads to well maintenance of roads and other local services like waiting sheds, public toilets	4.42	0.60	50.5 (<.01)
7	Tourism helps in cultural exchange between residents and tourists	4.27	0.57	47.1 (<.01)

8	Tourism has augmented pride in the local culture in the community	4.23	0.52	50.2 ( $<.01$ )
9	Public places in localities with more tourist footfall are safer for women	4.14	0.49	49.4 ( $<.01$ )
10	Tourism has increased traffic accidents	2.83	1.09	-3.3 ( $<.01$ )
11	Tourism has increased crime /robberies	2.16	0.80	-22.1 ( $<.01$ )
12	Tourism has increased alcoholism/drugs/prostitution	2.17	0.93	-18.9 ( $<.01$ )
13	Tourism has increased exploitation of local natives	2.30	0.99	-15.1 ( $<.01$ )
14	Tourism causes introduction of alien culture and lifestyle among local communities	2.40	0.98	-13.0 ( $<.01$ )

Source : Computed from Primary Data

Relaxation through recreation and entertainment is considered as a major motivating factor for travelling. So in order to attract tourists to the destinations, the planners will create ample facilities for the leisure activities. This in turn can be useful for the local communities as well for their recreation activities. The mean value (4.04) shows that the women participants in responsible tourism have a positive perception towards the impact on availability of recreational facilities and entertainment. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance. The result is consistent with the findings of Lankford and Howard (1994); Perdue et al (1987) revealing that tourism brings better opportunities for outdoor recreation facilities.

Tourism brings people from different communities and cultures together to interact with each other. This will improve their attitudes by reducing the prejudices and biases towards others. It helps to provide a better image and broader understanding about the different communities and cultures in the world. The mean value (4.36) shows that responsible tourism has a positive impact on this factor according to the perception of women participants. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance.

Visiting and understanding about the historical and cultural aspects of a place is another motivating factor for travel. Since each destination has a unique culture, promotion of local cultural aspects makes the destination attractive for them. Hence increased arrival of tourists leads to increased demand for historical and cultural exhibits of a tourist destination. The mean value (4.48) shows that responsible tourism has a highly positive impact on the historical and cultural exhibits. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance. Cultural activities are part and parcel of tourism. It promotes the understanding of the culture of a region. It also generates a sufficient amount of income to the local people. Thus it helps to preserve the culture of a region. The mean value (4.48) shows that women respondents perceived a high positive impact on the encouragement of a variety of cultural activities due to responsible tourism. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance. This result was consistent with the findings of earlier study stating that the majority of the respondents felt that tourism encourages a variety of cultural activities by the local population (Liu &Var, 1986).

Safety and security is a major concern for the tourists. Hence efficient deployment of police services and fire services are essential for the development of tourist destinations. The mean value (4.42) shows that the women respondents have a high positive perception towards the impact of responsible tourism on the quality of police and fire services. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance.

The result is consistent with the findings of Pizam (1978) revealing that the respondents in the destination has perceived a positive impact of tourism on local services like police and fire protection.

Availability and accessibility of various types of services are essential conditions for the development of tourism. Connectivity between different sites in a destination is very important in order to attract the guests to a particular destination. This will improve the competitiveness of the destination. The mean value (4.42) shows that responsible tourism has a positive impact towards the maintenance of roads and other local services. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance. This result was harmonized with the findings of Sethna and Richmond (1978) in which they found that tourism has helped the government to provide better public services like roads and other local services.

Tourism brings different people with different cultures and different nationalities together. Tourism improves the interaction between these people which leads to better understanding of diverse cultures in the world. When the tourist stays in local homestays, both the locals and tourist get more time and opportunities to become closer and be better aware about their respective cultures. It helps the people to become broad minded and removes the unnecessary prejudices from their minds. The mean value (4.27) shows that the women respondents have a positive perception towards the impact of responsible tourism on cultural exchanges between residents and tourists. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance. The result was congruent with the findings of Belisle and Hoy, (1980) stating that the inhabitants sensed that tourism has a good impact on cultural diversity.

Tourists want to experience the local culture of a destination which helps to preserve the local culture in the community. Increased demand for historical and cultural exhibits in the destinations makes people aware about their rich cultural traditions. This will increase their self respect and self esteem. When the tourist shows interest and respect their culture, the locals feel proud about their culture. The mean value (4.23) shows that the women participants have a positive perception towards the role of responsible tourism on increasing pride in the local culture in the community. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance.

Tourism will improve the security condition of a destination through better policing services. The local community knows that negative perception about the destination among the tourists may tarnish their image and will adversely affect the coming of tourists. This in turn will become a threat to their prosperity. So responsible tourism ensures the active role and support of the local community for the security of tourists, mainly women tourists as well as the local women. The mean value (4.14) shows that the women participants have agreed that the public places in localities with more tourists footfall are safer for women. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance.

When the number of tourists are increasing the number of vehicles in the destination will also increase. It may lead to congestion and traffic accidents in the area. However the mean value (2.83) shows that the women respondents have stated that responsible tourism does not increase traffic accidents in the destinations because of the active deployment of traffic police forces and with the support of the local community in managing the traffic. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance.

Crime and robberies are a major concern in tourist destinations. This issue arises because there is a lack of employment or income opportunities created in the destination for the locals. They are deprived of the benefits of tourist development in the region. This may lead to crime and other illegal activities. However the mean value (2.16) shows that the women respondents have stated that responsible tourism does not increase crime/robberies in the destinations because of the generation of income supporting activities for the locals and thus they feel part of the tourism industry. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance. The result was against the findings of Liu and Var, (1986) showing that the crime rate has increased in Hawaii due to tourism while Allen et al. (1993) study found that the residents were quite neutral with regard to its effect on increasing crime.

Increased use of alcohol, drugs and prostitution activities are considered as the major negative impact of tourist activities in a destination. These issues arise because of the perceived loss of local control, depersonalized and commercialized human relations, conflicts, enmities and community resentment. However with the emphasis of experiential tourism as part of responsible tourism, travellers are primarily focusing on experiencing various aspects of the God's own country like Kathakali, natural beauties, theyyam etc. Hence the study did not find any increase in these activities because of the tourism activities. The mean value (2.17) also shows the same. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance.

Locals are deprived of many benefits from the development of the tourism sector. It has been hijacked by the big business people. However with the development of responsible tourism and experiential tourism the tourists are more responsible and they are supporting the locals through staying in local homestays, trying local cuisines and buying local products. Thus the locals feel empowered with the development of the tourism sector. The mean value (2.30) shows that the women respondents have stated that responsible tourism does not increase exploitation of local natives in the destinations rather it helps them to explore the various opportunities. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance.

Usually the development of tourism leads to introduction of alien culture and lifestyle among the local communities. But responsible tourism provides an avenue to showcase the rich cultural traditions of the destinations to the tourists. This gives them self respect and boosts their self esteem and causes increased pride about their local culture and lifestyle. They become aware that the preservation of local lifestyle and culture will attract more tourists and thereby bring more benefits to them in the long run. The mean value (2.40) shows that the women respondents have stated that responsible tourism does not cause the introduction of alien culture and lifestyle among local communities in the destinations. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance.

### Perceived Environmental Impacts

Lastly, we have an environmental perspective of tourism impact, both positive and negative. In terms of the positive influence, some argue that tourism contributes to a greater understanding of the need to conserve the environment by capturing its beauty for tourists and raising expenditures in the hosting country's environmental infrastructure. Tourism is also thought to be relatively a clean industry, with less pollution problems compared to other types of industries (e.g., manufacturing). This "clean" industry contributes to the enhancement of the outward attractiveness of the community and its environs. On the other hand, others think that tourism contributes to pollution, the depletion of natural resources, vegetation degradation, and species extinction. Table 3 shows women's perception on the environmental impact of responsible tourism.

**Table 3 : Women's Perception on the Environmental Impact of Responsible Tourism**

Sl. No.	Environmental impacts	Mean	SD	Z- value (p-value)
1	Tourism preserves environment and improves the appearance of areas	3.28	1.15	5.1 (<.01)
2	Tourism improves living utilities infrastructure (supply of water, electricity and telephone)	4.10	0.57	40.9 (<.01)
3	Tourism improves public facilities (pavement)	4.24	0.52	50.9 (<.01)
4	Tourism damages natural environment and landscape	3.55	1.08	10.9 (<.01)
5	Tourism destroy natural ecosystem	3.06	1.19	1.1 (.252)

6	Tourism increases environmental pollution	3.06	1.17	1.0 (.296)
7	Tourism produces large quantities of waste products	3.10	1.16	1.8 (.067)
8	Tourism causes diversion of scarce resources like potable water away from local population	2.92	1.11	-1.6 (.116)
9	Tourism produces congestion	2.70	1.07	-6.1 (<.01)

Source: Computed from Primary Data

Tourism can help protect and revitalize the environment through preservation programmes and creates conservation jobs for the local people. It boosts awareness of the tourist site, attraction or area's significance. It helps encourage local residents and tourists to be mindful about their impact on the natural and built environment. When tourism brings people closer to nature and the environment, it also has the potential to increase general awareness of environmental issues and foster environmental respect. This conflict may raise environmental consciousness and lead to ecologically conscientious conduct. The mean value (3.28) shows that the women respondents are neutral about the impact of responsible tourism on the preservation of the environment. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance. The result was against the findings of Perdue et al. (1987) stating that tourism development had improved the appearance of the area.

Living utilities infrastructure like water supply, electricity and telephone are prerequisite for the development of a tourist destination. The major challenge before the local administration in any tourist centre is to provide basic amenities like good drinking water, undisturbed electricity and good roads and other basic infrastructure. This in turn demands more planning and execution. Increase in tourism activity in any area definitely improves supply of all these basic amenities and its proper maintenance. Most tourist towns are blessed with uninterrupted supply of electricity and drinking water to provide the tourists a worry free living as well as better experience so that they won't think twice about visiting the same place next time. The mean value (4.10) shows that there is a positive impact on these facilities due to responsible tourism. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance.

Public facilities like pavement helps to improve the daily commuting needs of tourists as well as the local community. It also helps to reduce unnecessary traffic in the destinations thereby reducing the burden on the quality of the environment. One of the main advantages of tourism is better infrastructure facilities not only for the tourists but also for the people who are living in the area. Tourist inflow demands better town planning. In many popular tourist towns we can see well laid pavement on either side of the road to promote walking tours as well as for the free movement of natives as well as tourists through the busy street. We can also witness some well paved areas which are vehicle free, that is no vehicle is allowed to enter and exit. Such an area is specifically made keeping in mind the tourists as well as natives who are coming for shopping. The mean value (4.24) shows that the women respondents perceived that there is a positive impact on these facilities due to responsible tourism. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance.

Tourism depends on the quality of the environment, both natural and manmade. The relationship between tourism and the environment, on the other hand, is complicated. It entails a slew of activities that have the potential to harm the environment. The creation of general infrastructure, such as roads and airports, as well as tourism facilities, such as resorts, hotels, restaurants, shops, golf courses, and marinas, is responsible for many of these effects. The detrimental effects of tourism development can be mitigated over time and damage the natural environment and landscape on which it depends. The mean value (3.55) shows that the

women respondents perceived that responsible tourism damages the natural environment and landscape. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance. The results were in contrast to the findings of Breyley et al. (1990) and Sheldon & Var (1984) stating that respondents failed to agree with the statement that tourism leads to deterioration of the natural environment.

Beach mining and encroachment, soil depletion, and wide pavement can all be part of the development of tourism facilities such as lodging, water supplies, restaurants, and recreation facilities. Furthermore, road and airport construction can result in soil degradation, the loss of wildlife habitats, and deterioration of the landscape. The mean value (3.06) shows that the women respondents are neutral about the impact of responsible tourism on the natural ecosystem. The Z test shows that it is not significant at one per cent level of significance.

Tourism, like any other industry, can pollute the environment in many ways: air pollution, noise, solid waste and littering and water pollution. Increased levels of pollution in its various forms may hinder the prosperity of a destination and thereby negatively affects the support of the local community. The mean value (3.06) shows that the women respondents are neutral about the impact of responsible tourism on environmental pollution. The Z test shows that it is not significant at one per cent level of significance. The result was against the findings of Romeril (1985) and Gartner (1987) stating that tourism development has increased environmental pollution in the area.

Waste disposal is a big concern in locations with high concentrations of tourist activities and appealing natural assets, and inappropriate disposal can be a major detriment to the natural environment, waterways, beautiful sites, and roadways. This may create a negative image about tourism among the local communities. The mean value (3.10) shows that the women respondents are neutral about the impact of responsible tourism on generating waste products. The Z test shows that it is not significant at one per cent level of significance. The results were in contrast to the findings of Lankford and Howard (1994) stating that the majority of the respondents felt that tourism brings more littering and waste problems.

For hotels, swimming pools, golf courses, and personal usage of water by tourists, the tourism industry frequently overuses water resources. This can lead to water shortages and the deterioration of water sources, as well as a higher volume of wastewater. It may also cause diversion of potable water away from the local population. The mean value (2.92) shows that the women respondents are neutral about the impact of responsible tourism on generating waste products. The Z test shows that it is not significant at one per cent level of significance.

Tourism resources belong to the common heritage of mankind. One of the consequences of the growth in world tourism has been that the wonders of the world have attracted large number of visitors. These visitors arrive whenever they wish, causing at times delays and crowding at destinations and sites that spoil their experience. This may discourage people from making a return journey or recommending the trip to their friends and colleagues. Congestion results in operational inefficiencies, unhelpful competition for scarce resources, increased business costs and loss of profits. It results in disruption to the local community, excessive pressure on infrastructure, reducing the welcome extended to visitors and adversely affecting local political support for tourism. Congestion can adversely impact the long-term conservation of a site, negatively altering the biodiversity of a natural site or physical fabric and significance of a cultural site. The two important factors which create congestion in a developing/developed tourism area are unauthorized constructions to accommodate huge demand as well as traffic blocks on account of huge inflow of tourists during the main tourist season. Considering the evil effects of both, most tourist places are giving more importance these days not to allow any unauthorized construction as well as demolish all the existing ones which cause threat to public as well as nature and also implement traffic modifications in busy seasons to ensure free flow of tourists. The mean value (2.70) shows that responsible tourism has not increased congestion. The Z test shows that it is significant at one per cent level of significance.

**Table 4 : Economic Impact of Responsible Tourism**

Impact	Destinations	Mean	SD	Kruskal Wallis Test	
				Chi square value	P- value
Entrepreneurship, Investment, infrastructure development, Income and Standard of living	Wayanad	4.61	0.31	7.11	.029
	Kumarakom	4.58	0.29		
	Bekal	4.47	0.42		
	Total	4.55	0.35		
Cost of living	Wayanad	3.60	0.95	0.578	.749
	Kumarakom	3.70	0.86		
	Bekal	3.68	0.66		
	Total	3.66	0.83		

Source: Computed from Primary Data

It can be observed that the mean scores of entrepreneurship, investment, infrastructure development, income and standard of living are above 4 at all destinations. It shows that the perceived impact of responsible tourism on these activities is high. It is highest at Wayanad (4.61) and lowest at Bekal (4.47). Since the p-value  $<.05$ , the Kruskal- Wallis test shows that there is significant difference among these destinations at 5 percent level of significance.

Regarding the cost of living factor, the mean score is highest at Kumarakom(3.70) and lowest at Wayanad (3.60). It indicates that the cost of living has not highly increased due to responsible tourism. Since the p-value  $>.05$ , the Kruskal-Wallis test shows that there is no significant difference among the destinations.

**Table 5 : Social and Cultural Impact of Responsible Tourism**

Impact	Destinations	Mean	SD	Kruskal Wallis Test	
				Chi square value	P- value
Positive social and cultural impact	Wayanad	4.45	0.27	63.07	$<.01$
	Kumarakom	4.42	0.32		
	Bekal	4.08	0.46		
	Total	4.31	0.40		
Negative social and cultural impact	Wayanad	2.27	0.77	25.83	$<.01$
	Kumarakom	2.35	0.80		
	Bekal	2.50	0.62		
	Total	2.37	0.74		

Source: Computed from Primary Data

Regarding the positive parameters of social and cultural impact, the mean value shows that there is a perceived impact of responsible tourism on these factors. It is highest at Wayanad (4.45) and lowest at Bekal (4.08). The Kruskal - Wallis test shows there is a significant difference in social and cultural impact due to responsible tourism among the destinations at one percent level of significance (p-value  $<.01$ ). The mean scores of negative impacts are less than than 2.5 which indicates that the respondents disagree that there are negative impacts on socio-cultural aspects due to responsible tourism. The Kruskal - Wallis test shows there is significant difference in disagreement among the destinations at one per cent level of significance (p-value  $<.01$ ).

**Table 6 : Environmental Impact of Responsible Tourism**

Impact	Destinations	Mean	SD	Kruskal Wallis Test	
				Chi square value	P- value
Positive environmental impact	Wayanad	4.18	0.34	133.63	<.01
	Kumarakom	3.95	0.53		
	Bekal	3.48	0.48		
	Total	3.87	0.54		
Negative environmental impact	Wayanad	3.20	0.97	5.46	.065
	Kumarakom	2.96	1.01		
	Bekal	3.04	0.74		
	Total	3.07	0.92		

Source: Computed from Primary Data

It can be observed from the mean value that there is a positive environmental impact due to responsible tourism. It is highest at Wayanad (4.18) and lowest at Bekal (3.48). The Kruskal-Wallis test shows that there is a significant difference in positive environmental impact due to responsible tourism among the destinations at one per cent level of significance ( $p$  value<.01). The mean scores of negative impact are about 3. This indicates that the respondents neither disagree or agree that there are negative environmental impacts due to responsible tourism. The Kruskal- Wallis test shows there is no significant difference in perception of women among the destinations.

### Conclusion

Women are actively involved in Responsible Tourism in a variety of ways, according to the survey. Responsible tourism gives numerous worthwhile employment options for women, resulting in beneficial socioeconomic growth and women empowerment. Women were given opportunities to develop their decision-making power, self-confidence, life status mobility, and social awareness through responsible tourism, as well as opportunities to attend meetings, seminars, and workshops to further their skills and abilities. In addition, a comparison of analyses by destination demonstrates that Responsible Tourism has had a considerable positive impact on the economic and social upliftment of women in Kerala's Responsible Tourism locations.

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# Demographic Profile of Urban Poor in Kerala

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*Urban poverty which is a cruel reality is considered to be the most demanding urban challenge and number one urban problem because it is poverty which leads to many other problems in the urban area. Urban poverty in Kerala is more than double compared to the rural poverty level, and may further increase if not immediately addressed due to unemployment and lack of economic opportunities in urban areas. The pattern of poverty gives the descriptive information on the characteristics of poor people. In the present paper an attempt is made to analyse the demographic profile of urban poor in Kerala. The study also focused on understanding the educational status of urban poor among Thiruvananthapuram and Kochi.*

## 1. Introduction

Poverty, in simplest terms, means a state of deprivation. In broader terms, it is viewed as a failure to meet the basic requirements (which include biological requirements and nutritional norms). Poverty means the deprivation that people suffer throughout their lives. It is a phenomenon that shows itself in different ways with multiple factors. There was a growing realization that poverty not only includes the level of income and expenditure but also refers to social, cultural, and political aspects of life (Sharma and Chakravarty, 2015). Hence the variables that directly reflect the deprivation suffered by households are to be analysed to extend the concept of poverty. Kerala significantly differs from the rest of the states in several respects such as population density, cropping pattern, topographical characteristics, and structural characteristics of the economy, educational and social development, and migratory tendencies of the people. Among the states, Kerala has undergone highest level of urbanisation i.e. 47.72 in its history during 2001-2011 with an increase of 83.82 percent in its urban population. Kerala positioned 19th in terms of the level of urbanisation among the states of India in 2001 came to be ranked ninth in 2011. Urban poverty in Kerala is more than double compared to the rural poverty level, and may further increase if not immediately addressed due to unemployment and lack of economic opportunities in urban areas. The fast-paced urbanisation in Kerala leads to many problems like shortages of housing, formation of slums, worsening water quality and sanitation, disposal of solid wastes along with urban poverty. This necessitates the analysis on the pattern of poverty in which it provides descriptive information on the characteristics of poor people.

In this paper, an attempt has been made to explore the pattern and demographic profile of urban poor households in the selected urban areas of Thiruvananthapuram and Kochi. It is hypothesised that regional level disparities exist in the pattern of urban poor households. The demographic characteristics such as religion, age and sex composition, characteristics of head of households, educational qualification among urban poor people are assessed in this paper. This paper has been divided in to five sections. The second section is the methodology and data sources, while the third section deals with the basic profile of study area. Fourth section deals with the results and findings, and the final section concludes the paper.

## 2. Methodology

The present study intends to discuss the demographic pattern of urban poor households in the selected urban areas of Thiruvananthapuram and Kochi. Primary sources of data were used in this study and data were collected among urban poor from the Municipal Corporations in Kerala. Of the seven Municipal Corporations in Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram and Kochi Municipal Corporations were selected for the present study. The justification for the selection of the respective corporations is that it is made on the basis of the concentration of large number of urban population and the implementation of major poverty eradication

programmes like BSUP. The study was conducted among 350 urban poor households in Thiruvananthapuram and Kochi Municipal Corporations. Primary data were collected from the identified slums of Thiruvananthapuram Municipal Corporation and Kochi Municipal Corporation through stratified sampling. In the first stage, the entire wards of the two municipal corporations are stratified in to three groups- core area, coastal area, and the wards lying outside the core area. In the second stage, 20 percent of wards are selected from each group. After choosing those wards, in the third stage, ten urban poor households are selected from each ward for the survey.

The Thiruvananthapuram Municipal Corporation and Kochi Municipal Corporation are divided into 100 wards and 74 wards respectively. Therefore 20 wards from Thiruvananthapuram and 15 wards from Kochi were selected proportionally among the three groups. The total urban poor households selected from Thiruvananthapuram and Kochi are 200 and 150 respectively. These cities have similarities as well as prominent differences in their poverty profile and demographic dynamics and together present a varied mix of contexts in which to examine the issues of urban poverty in Kerala.

### 3. Basic Profile of Study Area

#### 3.1 Basic Profile of Thiruvananthapuram Municipal Corporation

Thiruvananthapuram city is located on the western coast of India that is lying close to the extreme south of the mainland. Thiruvananthapuram Municipal Corporation came into existence as early as in 1940. It covers an area of 214.86 sq.km. As per 2011 Census, the size of the population in the city was 9.57 lakhs. The corporation is divided into 100 administrative wards, from which the members of the corporation council are elected for a period of five years and the municipal council is headed by the Mayor. The council takes care of infrastructure growth, urban quality of life and implementation of poverty alleviation measures in the city.

The corporation has its central office situated in Thiruvananthapuram and it has zonal offices at Attipra, Ulloor, Kadakampally, Fort, Thiruvallom, Nemom, Vattiyoorkavu, Kudappanakunnu, Sreekaryam, Kazhakuttom, and Vizhinjam. The assembly constituencies in Thiruvananthapuram Municipal Corporation include Thiruvananthapuram, Vattiyoorkavu, Kazhakkootam, Nemom, and Kovalam and the parliament constituency is Thiruvananthapuram. The basic profile of Thiruvananthapuram Municipal Corporation is given in Table 1.

**Table 1 : Basic Profile of Thiruvananthapuram Municipal Corporation**

Area	214.86 sq.km
Number of Wards	100
Total Population	9,57,730
Population Density	4457
Number of Slums	211

Source: Census 2011

#### 3.2 Basic Profile of Kochi Municipal Corporation

Kochi city is a commercial, industrial and port city witnessing rapidly changed during the last three decades. Kochi Municipal Corporation came into existence in 1967. Kochi Municipal Corporation manages 94.88 sq.km of Kochi city. As per 2011 Census, the size of the population in the city was 6.7 lakhs. It is the most densely populated corporation in the state. The corporation is divided into 74 administrative wards, from which the members of the corporation council are elected for a period of five years and the municipal council is headed by the Mayor. The corporation has its central office situated in Ernakulam and it has zonal offices at Fort Kochi, Mattanchery, Palluruthy, Edappally, Vaduthala, and Vyttila.

The assembly constituencies in Kochi Municipal Corporation include Ernakulam and Mattancherry and the parliament constituency is Ernakulam. The basic profile of Kochi Municipal Corporation is given in Table 2.

**Table 2 : Basic Profile of Kochi Municipal Corporation**

Area	94.88 sq.km
Number of Wards	74
Total Population	6,77,381
Population Density	7139
Number of Slums	280

Source: Census 2011

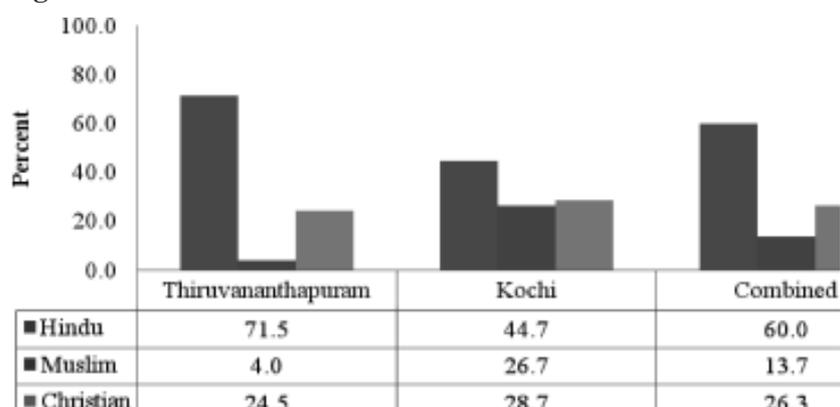
#### 4. Demographic Profile of the Urban Poor Households

In this section, an attempt is made to examine the general profile of the sample households. The total population in the 350 sample households surveyed was 1512 comprising 717 males and 795 females. It is examined through the details of religion, caste and marital status, age and education background of urban poor.

##### 4.1 Religion

The distribution of the respondents on the basis of religion shows that over 60 percent of the sample populations were Hindus, 13.7 percent were Muslims and 26.3 percent were Christians. It is given in Figure 1.

**Figure 1 : Religious Profile of Urban Poor**

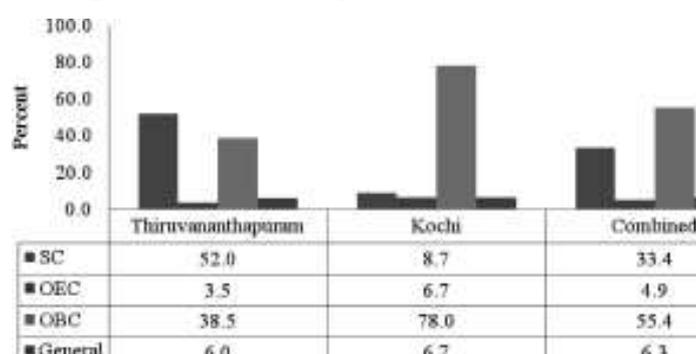


Source: Primary Survey

##### 4.2 Community

Community and poverty status seem to go hand in hand: an outcome of a history of discrimination that extends to the economic sphere. It is well known that the probability that a given household is poor is much higher for scheduled castes (SCs) or scheduled tribes (STs) and other backward communities than in the case of other social groups.

**Figure 2 : Community Profile of Urban Poor**



Source: Primary Survey

The community profile of the urban poor households is shown in Figure 2. Scheduled caste formed 33.7 percent and other eligible communities (OEC) formed 5.7 percent of sample households. Only 6.3 percent of the urban poor belonged to forward caste and the remaining 54.3 percent belonged to other backward castes (OBC). From the primary data, it was evident that scheduled tribes were not in the sample. Scheduled caste had less occupational mobility and had little social exposure and educational opportunities. Data proved that majority of the urban poor households belonged to backward and marginalized sections of the society. Among the corporations, 52.5 percent of urban poor households in Thiruvananthapuram were included in SC category. Unlike other parts of Kerala where an overwhelming proportion of poor is SCs/STs, they formed only 8.7 percent of Kochi's poor. Kochi was to be highest in terms of OBC population (78 percent).

**Table 3 : Summary of Chi-square Test: Community and Region**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	74.106*	3	0.001
Likelihood Ratio	82.424	3	0.001
N of Valid Cases	350		

\*0 cells (0 percent) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 7.29

Source: Computed

Chi-square test was conducted to determine the association between community and region. The summary of Chi-square test is given in Table 3. The results showed that there is an association between the two categorical variables under consideration.

#### 4.3 Marital Status

The marital status of sample respondents is given in Table 4. In the age group of 21 years and above, 84.8 percent of people were married, 14.5 percent were unmarried, 0.5 percent was separated and the remaining 0.3 percent was divorced. It was also noted that 5.2 percent of females in the age group of 18 to 20 years were married.

**Table 4 : Marital Status of Urban Poor**

Marital Status	Frequency (Percent)								
	Thiruvananthapuram			Kochi			Combined		
	≤ 17	18–20	≥ 21	≤ 17	18–20	≥ 21	≤ 17	18–20	≥ 21
Married	0	4 (7.3)	527 (84.9)	0	0	364 (84.7)	0	4 (5.2)	891 (84.8)
Unmarried	241 (100)	51 (92.7)	89 (14.3)	143 (100)	22 (100)	63 (14.7)	384 (100)	73 (94.8)	152 (14.5)
Separated	0	0	5 (0.8)	0	0	0	0	0	5 (0.5)
Divorced	0	0	0	0	0	3 (0.7)	0	0	3 (0.3)
Total	241 (100)	55 (100)	621 (100)	143 (100)	22 (100)	430 (100)	384 (100)	77 (100)	1051 (100)

Source: Primary Survey

#### 4.4 Age and Sex Composition of Urban Poor

The experiences and response to urban poverty are dissimilar among men and women, due to gendered constraints and variations in opportunities. Therefore, an examination of the gender dimensions of urban poverty is extremely critical for a better understanding of the interlinkages, as well as for effective policy interventions (Table 5). Age and sex composition of the poor households revealed that the majority of people were in the age group of 15 to 64 years who constitute labour force. Among them, about 47.8 percent belonged to the age group of 25 to 54 years. The numbers belonged to the age group of 15 to 24 years were 17.5 percent and another 8.1 percent belonged to the age group of 55 to 64 years. Urban poor above the age of 65 years represented comparatively lesser than children and labour force group.

**Table 5 : Age and Sex Composition of Household Members**

Age in Years	Frequency (Percent)								
	Thiruvananthapuram			Kochi			Combined		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
≤ 14	77 (8.4)	108 (11.8)	185 (20.2)	67 (11.3)	55 (9.2)	122 (20.5)	144 (9.5)	163 (10.8)	307 (20.3)
15 – 24	79 (8.6)	102 (11.1)	181 (19.7)	41 (6.9)	43 (7.2)	84 (14.1)	120 (7.9)	145 (9.6)	265 (17.5)
25 – 54	215 (23.4)	210 (22.9)	425 (46.3)	154 (25.9)	143 (24.0)	297 (49.9)	369 (24.4)	353 (23.3)	722 (47.8)
55 – 64	28 (3.1)	45 (4.9)	73 (8.0)	24 (4.0)	26 (4.4)	50 (8.4)	52 (3.4)	71 (4.7)	123 (8.1)
≥ 65	17 (1.9)	36 (3.9)	53 (5.8)	15 (2.5)	27 (4.5)	42 (7.1)	32 (2.1)	63 (4.2)	95 (6.3)
Total	416 (45.4)	501 (54.6)	917 (100)	301 (50.6)	294 (49.4)	595 (100)	717 (47.4)	795 (52.6)	1512 (100)

Source: Primary Survey

It is very obvious that presence of females (52.6 percent) was high as compared to males (47.4 percent). There seemed to be no sex imbalance in the population. But, evidence of imbalance in gender at birth was found in Kochi. The lower proportion of girl child in the 0 to 14 years age group (9.2 percent) might be an indication of inequalities faced by women. At the same time, it was 11.3 percent in males. The picture in Thiruvananthapuram exhibited a reverse pattern (11.8 percent). Women above the age of 65 years (4.2 percent) represented comparatively higher than the male population (2.1 percent).

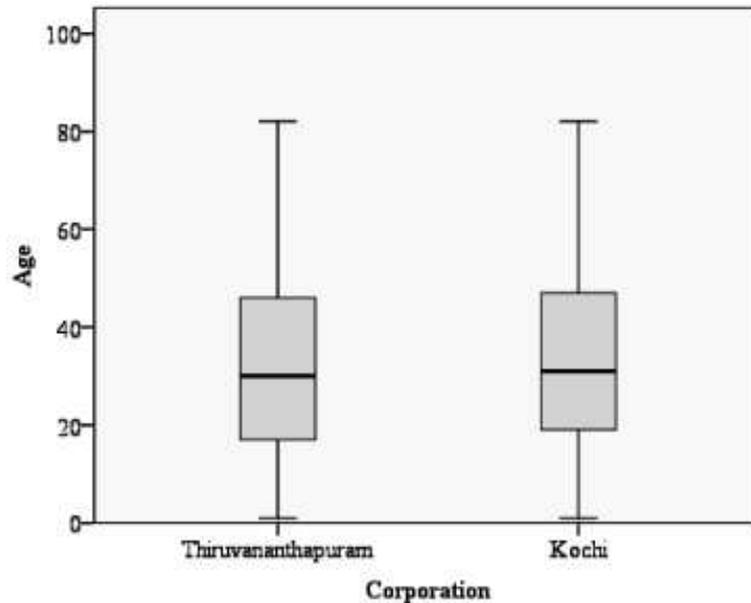
**Table 6 : Measurement of Age**

Age	Thiruvananthapuram			Kochi			Combined		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mean (Years)	31.69	32.35	32.05	31.19	34.86	33.01	31.48	33.28	32.43
N	416	501	917	301	294	595	717	795	1512
Std. Deviation	17.96	19.41	18.76	18.44	20.06	19.33	18.15	19.68	18.99

Source: Computed

The mean age of the female population (33.28 years) was higher than the male population (31.48 years). The comparison between the two regions indicated that female mean age in Kochi (34.86 years) was higher than that of Thiruvananthapuram (32.35 years). But in the case of male population, the mean age in Kochi (31.19 years) is slightly lagging behind Thiruvananthapuram Municipal Corporation (31.69 years). The measurement of age is given in Table 6 and box plot of age vs. corporation is shown in Figure 3.

**Figure 3 : Age of Household Members**

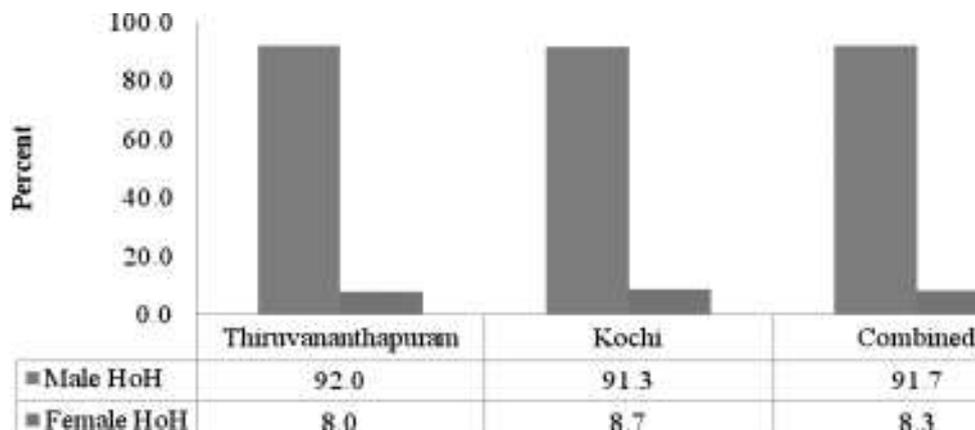


Source: Primary Survey

#### 4.5 Head of the Household

The proportion of females as heads of household in Thiruvananthapuram and Kochi were found to be eight percent and 8.7 percent respectively as shown in Figure 4. Literature clearly showed that the female headed households are at the highest risk of poverty due to gender wage gaps, lack of work and family support, and the challenges involved in accessing public benefits. Due to lack of income and resources, they were suffering from the burden of poverty and their children tend to be disadvantaged in comparison to their peers.

**Figure 4 : Head of the Household**



Source: Primary Survey

#### 4.6 Size of the Household

It has been generally seen that the poor households are generally large-sized in urban areas. Normally, larger the size of the household, higher the chances of a household being poor.

**Table 7 : Size of the Household**

Number of Family Members	Frequency (Percent)		
	Thiruvananthapuram	Kochi	Combined
1 - 4	101 (50.5)	99 (66.0)	200 (57.1)
5 - 8	91 (45.5)	51 (34.0)	142 (40.6)
9 - 12	8 (4.0)	0	8 (2.3)
Total	200 (100)	150 (100)	350 (100)

Source: Primary Survey

Table 7 gives the distribution of households by household size. It can be seen that majority of urban poor households (57.1 percent) were having members of one to four. Another 40.6 percent were having five to eight members. Some of the families (2.3 percent) were having members of more than eight. The families having more than eight numbers are totally absent in Kochi. This clearly supported the achievements of Kerala model of development and its successful achievements in terms of family planning methods.

#### 4.7 Educational Qualification

Human resources development means the process of increasing knowledge, skills and other dexterities of people. This can be ameliorated through formal education beginning with a primary level continuing with various forms of secondary and then higher education including colleges, higher technical institutes, and universities (Devasia, 2005).

Education has become a powerful tool for social change, especially in a society in which the majority is poor. This is especially so in the case of marginalized groups, which are deprived off the material means of production. The weak bargaining power of the working urban poor also derives from their poor educational background. Kerala achieved high levels of literacy long back even when the income levels in the state were very low and Kerala was ranked quite low in terms of economic achievements.

The educational status of the respondents found that 14.9 percent were found to be completely illiterate. A person who can read and write a simple message with understanding in at least one language is considered to be literate. While the present study finds that 0.4 percent of the urban poor was literate; but they did not have any formal education. It was also found that about 73.2 percent were having formal school education with varying levels. But the situation was not satisfactory in the case of higher education among urban poor households. The percent of urban poor who attained the pre-degree level was 6.8 percent, diploma level was 1.2 percent, degree level was 2.7, postgraduate (PG) level was 0.6 percent and professional education was 0.4 percent. Kerala is a state which gives importance to education, but the figures showed that the education status of urban poor is still lagging behind.

The age and sex composition of illiterates shows that, among the illiterates, 36 percent belonged to the age group of more than 65. Of the total illiterates, 65.2 percent were females which raise a major concern regarding gender disparity. Table 8 shows the year of schooling of persons in the households. In the adult group, mean year of schooling was 6.88 years. The average year of schooling for males and females in Kochi was found to be same. But in Thiruvananthapuram, the average year of schooling of male and female showed a considerable difference of 7.41 and 6.90 years respectively.

**Table 8 : Year of Schooling (Other Than Students)**

	Thiruvananthapuram			Kochi			Combined		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mean (Years)	7.41	6.90	7.14	6.48	6.48	6.48	7.03	6.73	6.88
N	304	339	643	211	226	437	515	565	1080
Std. Deviation	3.87	4.53	4.23	3.66	4.24	3.97	3.81	4.42	4.14

Source: Computed

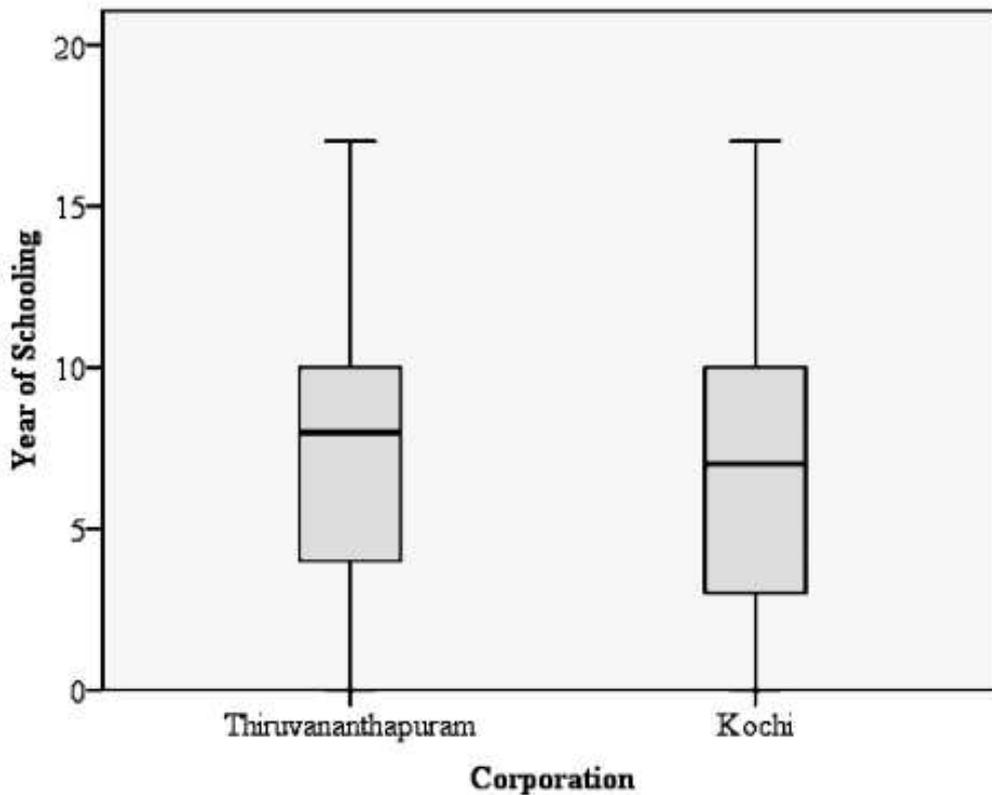
The summary of independent t-test for the year of schooling among the regions is given in Table 9. It was found that the mean year of schooling was statistically different between Thiruvananthapuram and Kochi. It was also evident that there were no significant differences in the case of variances among the regions. Figure 5 shows the box plot of the year of schooling vs. region.

**Table 9 : Summary of T-Test: Year of Schooling and Region**

	Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Equal variances assumed	0.535	0.465	2.595	1078	0.010
Equal variances not assumed			2.627	975.198	0.009

Source: Computed

**Figure 5 : Year of Schooling and Region**



Source: Primary Survey

## 5. Conclusion

The pattern of urban poverty in Kerala was explored through a primary survey conducted in Thiruvananthapuram and Kochi Municipal Corporations. The demographic and social characteristics of urban poor were studied in detail. Taking the poor population as a whole, the majority of poor individuals came from households whose heads had the poor educational background. Through various tests it was proved that disparities in the pattern of urban poor households exist between the two corporations. Hence the hypothesis in this regard was validated. Accordingly, the region-wise estimates were found to be absolutely necessary for a complete understanding of the level of living prevailing in any part of the state.

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# Rethinking the Role of the Governor

K. Suryaprasad

*An analytical and detailed study of the constitutional provisions will show that the Governor is neither a figure head nor a rubber stamp. He is an important functionary designed to play a vital role in the administration of the affairs of the state. The role of Governor as perceived to be the agent of the ruling party at the centre has always been a subject of heated discussion. However, what the critics often fail to understand is that the institution of the Governor is noble by its intentions. It is the politicians who have time and again misused it for their parochial, personal and political motives. The ill images of the institution is not a constitutional error but is a personality error. If sufficient safeguards are fostered as conventions the office of the Governor can play a useful, inevitable and vital role in the constitutional scheme of India. A constitution never operates in a vacuum. It works in the context of a given political system. In the context of the present political system, the office of the Governor is very essential and it cannot be abolished.*

The constitutional provisions and critical and analytical appreciation of them in the perspective of the totality of the constitutional scheme, will show that the Governor is neither a figure head nor a rubber stamp but an inevitable functionary designed by the framers of the constitution to play a vital role in the administration of the state as a linchpin of the constitutional apparatus and in the preservation of the federal structure as the living link or channel between the union and the state. Governor's office also assures the continuity of government.

The post 1967 politics has catapulted the role of Governor to the politico-constitutional horizon as one of the key issues in Union - State relations. The Indian National Congress dominated the Indian political scene for two decades since independence. Problems which arose in the working of union-states relations were mostly matters of adjustment in the intra-party forum and the Governor had a little occasion for using his discretionary powers. The office of the Governor had a little occasion for using his discretionary powers. The office of the Governor remained largely passive and latent. Political developments in Kerala in 1959 brought into prominence the role of the Governor, but thereafter it did not attract much attention till the fourth general elections in 1967 when a major change occurred in the Indian political system which, in its evolutionary process, passed from essentially transitional phase of the politics of one party dominance to another phase of the politics of polarization or political coalitions.<sup>1</sup> In six states non-congress governments came into power and position of the congress party was relegated to the minority opposition.<sup>2</sup> The following decades witnessed the fragmentation of political parties and emergence of new regional parties. Frequent and sometimes unpredictable realignment of political parties and groups took place for the purpose of forming governments. The result was chronic ministerial instability. As a consequence the Governors were called upon to exercise their discretionary power more frequently. The new situation in the political climate demanded upon the incumbent of the office of the Governor sense of complete impartiality and the balanced sense of situational discretion which should be above fear and prejudice. But it was alleged that the Governors have acted as the agents and representatives of the central government and they were looked upon as chief instruments of centre's alleged conspiracy to topple the non-congress ministries. It was also alleged that the Governors have not acted with necessary objectivity either in the manner of exercise of their discretion or in their role as a vital link between the union and the states. The major criticism against the Governor's office was that it has been misused by the party in power at the centre for the furtherance of its own political ambitions. It has been alleged that opposition parties or groups were not given opportunity to form alternative

ministries during the fall of ministries; assemblies were suspended or dissolved when convenient to the party in power at the centre; president's rule under Article 356 was recommended to dislodge state governments run by opposition parties on the plea of corruption, breakdown of law and order etc; Chief Ministers were denied the right to appeal to the electorate for a renewed mandate and opposition parties were not allowed to prove their strength on the floor of the House in case of confusion. The part played by some Governors in criticizing Chief Ministers/governments in public has also evoked strong resentment.

This paper is an attempt to examine how far there is substance in the above criticisms and to find out the lacuna, if any, in the existing system and also to outline some remedial measures which could lessen, if not prevent, the danger of its abuse. For this purpose, it is necessary to have a look into the constitutional provisions pertaining to the office and functions of the Governor.

### **Governor and the Constitution**

The framers of the constitution in principle, the parliamentary or cabinet system of government of the British model both for the union and the states. The pattern of union and the state levels of governments with demarcated powers remained broadly similar to the pre-independence arrangements but their role and inter-relationship were given a major re-orientation.

The two problems which the constituent Assembly discussed with regard to the office of the Governor, were: (1) whether there should be an elected Governor and, (2) the extent of discretionary powers to be allowed to the Governor. The concept of nominated Governor was accepted on the ground that the co-existence of an elected Governor and a Chief minister responsible to the legislature might lead to friction and consequent weakness in administration. Ambedkar justified his stand with the argument that two elected entities might make for ego clashes and upset the orderly running of government. Nehru expressed his apprehension that an elected governor would to some extent encourage separatist provincial tendency<sup>3</sup>. With regard to the second issue the draft Article 143 which referred to the discretionary powers of the Governor (now Art. 163) generated considerable discussion, replying to it Dr.Ambedkar maintained that vesting with certain discretionary powers was not contrary to responsible government<sup>4</sup>. The notable among those who supported the view were T.T.Krishnamachari, Brajeshwar Prasad and Mahavir Tyagi. T.T.Krishnamachari observed that Governor's discretionary power under Article 143 was necessary for Article 188 which was related to the emergency power of the Governor<sup>5</sup>. Prasad suggested that looking into the political conditions of the country, the Governor should be vested with the powers to act in his individual judgement<sup>6</sup>. Mahavir Tyagi supported the discretionary power of the Governor by saying that 'After all we have to keep states linked together and the Governor is the agent or rather he is the agency which will press for and guard the central policy<sup>7</sup>.

### **Constitutional Status and Discretionary Powers**

The constitution as it finally emerged envisages that normally there shall be a Governor for each state (Art. 153). The Governor is appointed by the President and holds office during his pleasure (Art. 155 and 156(1)). Article 154 vests the executive powers of the state in the Governor who exercises it either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with the constitution<sup>8</sup>. Under Art 163(1) the Governor exercises almost all his executive and legislative function with the aid and advice of his council of ministers. But the executive power is actually and really exercised by the council of ministers who were responsible to the legislature, except in the limited sphere of his discretionary action. Does this mean that the Governor has no real function to perform? Does the constitution contemplate any situation in which the Governor has to act independently of the council of ministers?

Art.167 lays down that the Chief Minister has to communicate to the Governor all decisions of the ministry and proposal for legislation and such other information relating to the administration of the affairs of the state and proposal for legislation as the Governor may call for. "If the Governor so requires", the chief minister has to submit for the consideration of council of ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by the council. This information which the governor is entitled to receive under clause (b)

of Art 167, must not only be related to the affairs of the state administration, but also have a nexus with the discharge of his constitutional responsibilities.

The nature and scope of the Chief Minister's duties and the Governor's corresponding rights and powers are to be understood in the context of their respective roles and responsibilities under a cabinet system of government as adopted in our constitution. Under this system, the Governor as constitutional head of the state has a right to be consulted, to warn and to encourage" and his role is overwhelmingly of a 'friend, philosopher and guide to his council of ministers. In harmony with this role, the Governor also function as a sentinel of the constitution and as a link with the union. The rationale of Article 167 is that it provides access to necessary information relating to the administration of the state and the legislative proposals. It enables the Governor to discharge effectly this multi-faceted role. The Governor can under article 167 give advice to the government to exercise caution and there by build bridges between the government and the opposition<sup>9</sup>. The efficacy of this advisory role of the Governor depends on the respect that the commands among the parties, legislators and the general public.

According to the constitution the state government takes executive action in the name of Governor under the rules of business framed under Article 166(3) and the Governor is not entitled to take it individually or personally. Therefore, it is the state government and not the Governor who may sue or be sued in respect of any action taken in the exercise or performance of powers and duties of his office<sup>10</sup>. The Governor's position and powers under the constitution have been well brought out in rather precise terms in the well known case of *Shamsher Singh v. State of Punjab*. In a leading observation Chief justice Ray points out that the Indian constitution generally embodies the parliamentary or cabinet form of government on the British model, both for the union and the states. The fundamental principle of British constitutional law that the sovereign does not act on his own responsibility but on the advice of the ministers who are responsible to the legislature is embodied in the constitution of India<sup>11</sup>.

The president and the Governors are the formal constitutional head of the union and the states and they must act with the aid and advice of the council of ministers except where a contrary position is made by the constitution. However, in a very limited field, the Governor may exercise certain functions in his discretion under Article 163(1) which reads as follows

1. There shall be a council of ministers with the chief minister at the head to aid and advice the Governor in the exercise of his functions except in so far as he is, by or under this constitution required to exercise his function or any of them in his discretion"; Further,
2. If any question arises whether any matter is or is not a matter with respect to which the Governor is by or under the constitution required to act in his discretion, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in his discretion; and
3. The question whether any and if so what advice was tendered by the ministers to the Governor shall not be inquired into by any court.

The first part of the Article 163(1) required the Governor to act on the advice of his ministry. There is, however, an exception in case of matters where he is by or under the constitution required to function in his discretion. The expression 'required' signifies that the Governor can act only if there is compelling necessity to do so. The expression 'by or under the constitution' means that the necessity to exercise such powers may arise from any express provisions of the constitution or by necessary implication. The Sarkaria commission observed that such necessity may also arise from rules and orders made 'under' the constitution<sup>12</sup>.

The scope of discretionary function of the Governor is limited by the clear language of the two clauses of Article 163. In a parliamentary democracy with a responsible form of government, the powers of the Governor as the constitutional head of the state should be enlarged at the cost of the real executive viz the

council of ministers. The scope of discretionary powers has to be strictly construed. Article 163 does not give the Governor a general discretionary power to act against or without the advice of his ministry. The area for the exercise of discretion is limited. Even in this limited area, his choice of action should not be arbitrary or fanciful. It must be a choice dictated by reason, actuated by good faith and tempered by caution.

The question that comes up is whether the Governor is only the de jure head of the state and as such he has the powers which correspond to the prerogative of the British crown or the Governor is more than a constitutional head? An analytical and detailed study of the constitutional provisions will show that the Governor is neither a figure head nor a rubber stamp. He is an important functionary designed to play a vital role in the administration of the affairs of the state. The post 1967 period showed that Governors used their discretionary powers more often and became so powerful during coalition politics. The institution of Governor came under heavy fire from legal luminaries and opposition parties. A careful study of the power of the Governor is highly essential to evaluate the role of Governor under changing conditions of the political system in the context of which the constitutional provisions acquire real and actual worth, utility, meaning and significance. Another question to be considered is whether the present post 1967 role of governor is the natural unfolding of the related constitutional provisions as intended by the framers of the constitution under condition envisaged by them or whether it is the mere misinterpretation of those provisions by making the Governor a mere instrument in the hands of the union executive in the interest of the party or power politics? Is it true that the office of the Governor is used by the party in power at the union for their own interest under the disguise of the integrity and unity of the nation? If so, what are the remedies and safeguards that could be provided either by amending the constitution or by fostering them as conventions to be followed not only by the union government and the governor but also by the state governments and the political parties? What is attempted here is a critical examination of the problems referred to.

### **Discretionary Powers Expressly Conferred by the Constitution**

The constitution expressly confers on the Governor certain powers which he may perform in his discretion or in his individual judgement or independently of the state council of ministers. A Governor has the power to reserve certain bills for the consideration of the President<sup>13</sup>. Under Articles 371A, 371F and 371H and paragraph 9(2) of the sixth schedule, the Governor of Aruchanal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura are entrusted with some specific functions to be exercised by them in their discretion.

Articles 371 (2) and 371C(1) entrust certain special responsibilities to the Governors of Maharashtra and Gujarat and the Governor of Manipur respectively. Article 371(1) which has been deleted, made a similar provision in respect of the Governors of Andhra Pradesh and the former composite state of Punjab. The presidential orders issued so far under these Articles have provided that the concerned governors may exercise their discretion in carrying out certain functions relating to the special responsibilities entrusted to them. These Articles themselves do not expressly provide for the exercise of discretion by the Governors concerned. Thus, these presidential orders are instances of a Governor being required to act in his discretion under the constitution.

It has to be noted that the above provisions are applicable only to a few states and are in the nature of temporary, transitional, or special provisions as the case may be. Further, some of the above functions are expressly termed 'special responsibilities; while others are not. But in all cases, the final decision is taken by the Governor in his discretion. He is not bound to seek the advice of the council of ministers and his role is not controversial, when he acts in his discretion to fulfil his obligations. However, the following observation of the Sarkaria Commission assumes relevance in this context.

“But it does not mean that he is forbidden to consult them. Rather, it is advisable that the Governor should, if feasible, consult his ministers, which relate essentially to the administration of a state, before taking a final decision in the exercise of his discretion. Such a practice will be conducive to the maintenance of healthy relations between the Governor and the council of ministers<sup>14</sup>.

Further the commission observes that a Governor, while exercising these functions, may act in his discretion only when he finds that the advice given by his ministers would be prejudicial to the effective discharge of such functions<sup>15</sup>. If we had adhered to the above observation many of the controversies could have been avoided.

### **Functions to be Exercised in their Individual Judgement**

The Governors of Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland are required to exercise their 'individual judgement' after consulting their council of ministers in carrying out their special responsibilities entrusted to them in respect of states under Article 371(H)(a) and 371A(1)(b). These are the only two provisions of the constitution which use the expression 'individual judgement' and make prior consultation with the ministry mandatory. The ultimate decision is taken by the Governor on his own. This feature distinguishes these provisions from a provision for the exercise of discretion by the Governor.

### **Functions to be Exercised Independently of the Council of Ministers**

A Governor when appointed by the President as the administrator of an adjoining union territory has to exercise his functions as administrator, independently of the state council of ministers<sup>16</sup>. In fact, the Governor as the administrator of the union territory, is in the position of an agent of the President along with his status as the constitutional head. In the case of special responsibilities, the Governor has to consult his council of ministers, but he is not bound to accept its advice. In exercising discretionary powers, no such consultation is obligatory<sup>17</sup>.

### **Circumstantial Discretionary Powers**

Circumstantial discretionary powers are not defined by the constitution. These powers are implied powers, which are exercised according to the situations which may vary. When Governor acts in such circumstances his role becomes controversial many a times. This raises a question whether the Governor is merely a figure head, who is to exercise his powers in accordance with the advice of his ministers, responsible to the lower House or has he some real powers? If any question arises as to whether any matter is or is not a matter which the Governor is by or under the constitution required to act in his discretion, the decision of the Governor in his discretion shall be final and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question on the ground that he ought or ought not to have acted in his discretion<sup>18</sup>.

The Administrative Reforms Commission pointed out that the Governor has to face situations in which he has to take decisions in view of the oath of his office to preserve, protect and defend the constitution and the law of the land. The report insists that the Governor must be impartial and must have a sense of fair play and he should command the respect of all parties in his state. He must have firm faith in the constitutional set up and the democratic institutions.

According to Iqbal Narain, the Governor has two kinds of discretion, constitutional discretion and situational discretion which has its basis purely in the exigencies of the political situation<sup>19</sup>. But O.P. Goyal disagrees with Narain's view of the situational discretion of the Governor. He also points out two types of discretion; one is the discretion of the Governor as the representative of the centre and the other is his discretion as the constitutional head of the state<sup>20</sup>. However, the Sarkaria Report includes both the views discussed above. In addition to the express constitutional provision, the commission is of the view that:

“The Governor's obligation to discharge a function under the constitution in the exercise of his discretion may also arise by implication from the constitutional provision, the very nature of the function or the exigencies of a particular situation where it is not possible or practicable for the Governor to seek or act on ministerial advice”<sup>21</sup>.

Thus the commission's view is that the discretionary powers of the Governor may arise by implication, by function or by situation. Some such typical situations are (1) the appointment of the chief minister; (2) the dismissal of the ministry; (3) consideration of a problem by the council of ministers; (4) the right to

report to the President on the failure of constitutional machinery in the state; and (5) reserving bill for the consideration of the President. The commission does not mention specifically dissolution of the Assembly and advising the President for proclamation of state emergency or president's rule, but the fourth situation covers the above two functions. The commission gives only some typical situation and not all. Further, no body can come up with a complete list of situations since the prevailing politics is the outcome of everchanging and fluid conditions.

In this connection, however, it may be noted that the circumstances, in which he may use his discretionary powers, arise in the following matters.

1. Appointment of Chief Minister;
2. Governor's Assent to Bills;
3. Dissolution of State Assembly;
4. Dismissal of Ministry
5. Summoning and proroguing of the state Assembly;
6. Recommendation of President's rule;
7. Pardoning power;
8. Role as the Chancellor of Universities

The political history of India is replete with instances of how Governors have been used to prevent the formation of opposition governments and to topple them whenever they are formed. Governors have recommended President's rule in the states one hundred and thirteen times. Out of these, on seventy five occasions the power was used for the furtherance of the political interests of the ruling party at the centre on grounds like failure to maintain law and order, corruption, inability to pass the budget, fractured verdicts in the elections, paralysis of parliamentary process, violence with the precincts of the Assembly, political instability and to give time to the ruling party at the centre to re-organize their political fortune<sup>22</sup>.

It is obvious that the opposition parties or groups were not allowed to form alternative governments even when they had the right to do so. For instance, in Andhra Pradesh (1954), the CPI was denied an opportunity to form a government after the defeat of the congress led Prakasam ministry. Similarly in the erstwhile Travancore-Cochin, the PSP leader Pattom A. Thanu Pillai was not given a chance to form an alternative government after the resignation of the congress government in 1956. This trend continued as was evident in Kerala (1965 and 1982), West Bengal (1970), Uttar Pradesh (1968, 1995 and 1996), Odisha (1971 and 1973), Assam (1982), Sikkim (1984), Nagaland (1988), Karnataka (1988) and in Bihar (2005)<sup>23</sup>. Likewise while the recommendation for dissolution of legislative assemblies made by Chief Ministers not belonging to the ruling party at the centre under Article 174(2)(b) were rejected in some cases, dismissal of government was recommended under Article 356 of the constitution of India. For example, in Gujarat the Chief Minister Hitendra Kanaiyalal Desai advised the Governor to dissolve the Assembly. The Governor, however, did not accept the recommendation though he had majority support in the House at the time of the recommendation. Instead president's Rule under Article 356 was imposed. The recommendations of Virendrapatil in Mysore (1968), Gurnamsingh in Punjab (1968), Charansingh in UP (1968), Karpoori Thakur in Bihar (1971), etc. were not conceded because of political interests<sup>24</sup>. As against this, in certain cases the recommendation of the Chief Ministers with doubtful majority or even defeated chief ministers were accepted under Article 174(2) when there was absolutely no ground for dissolution of the concerned Assemblies. This kind of situation arose in Kerala (1979 and 1982) in Andhra Pradesh (1951), in Bihar (1972) in Gujarat (1972) and in Nagaland (1988)<sup>25</sup>.

The allegation that opposition parties were not allowed to prove their strength on the floor of the House in case of minor confusions is also corroborated by facts. In some cases the Governors in their subjective

satisfaction, even in a situation when the Assembly was under summon or the concerned chief ministers were very much willing to face the Assembly at an early date, had taken the view that they had lost majority support and either dismissed the ministries or recommended the imposition of president's Rule. This hypothesis is very much strengthened by dismissals of Rarewala ministry in Pepsu (1953), the Rao Birendra Singh ministry in Haryana (1967), the Charan Singh Ministry in UP (1970), the Devaraj Urs ministry (1977), and the Bommai ministry in Karnataka (1988)<sup>26</sup>.

There is another area in which some of the Governors have been notorious and that is destabilizing of state governments. The controversial role of Dharmavira, the Governor of West Bengal, may be remembered in this connection. In 1967 he dismissed Chief minister Ajoy Mukherjee and skipped some portion of the address drafted by the cabinet. His action generated much heat and anguish in the country. The steps were described to be not in conformity with the norms of parliamentary democracy. The action of Dharmavira is not the solitary example of Governors acting in an undemocratic and unconstitutional manner. Sampurnanand of Rajasthan in 1967, S.S.Ansaria of Odisha in 1971 and B.D Jetty of Odisha in 1975 similarly flouted cabinet advice. Recently in 2012 the Governor of Gujarat went to the extent of appointing the Lokayukta of the state without consulting the Chief Minister and after consulting the leader of opposition. No doubt, it was a plain and simple short-circuiting of the democratic process. The role of Gopalakrishna Gandhi, the Governor of West Bengal came under spot light in this connection. His public statements critical of the government's handling of the Nandigram issue over stepped his constitutional boundaries<sup>27</sup>. His move was widely criticized as politically immature. A Governor can guide a state government and can send a report to the centre, if required. But under no circumstances he can air his views in public. His public statements were aimed at destabilizing an elected state government of which he is the constitutional head. A Legislative initiative of the state government can be crippled when Governor reserves bills for the consideration of the President. Many Governors have resorted to what was done by President Zail Singh in the case of post office bill. In this controversy, he neither gave his assent nor returned the Bill for the reconsideration of the parliament and thus causing the Bill to lapse. These kinds of actions on the part of the Governors, no doubt, tends to impair the system of federalism and parliamentary democracy, detracts from the autonomy of the states and generates strain in union-states relations.

The above analysis makes it very clear that there is a great divorce between constitutional provisions and actual constitutional process which is immensely influenced by the political process which in turn is conditioned by the socio-cultural and economic milieu of the society. No constitutional office in India has suffered grater erosion or degradation than the office of the Governor. What makes the office controversial is not the provisions contained in the constitution but the person who interprets the constitutional provisions to suit his own political, personal or selfish interests. The practice has undermined the accepted parliamentary norms, democratic processes and constitutional provisions. Actually, this is not only a problem of centre-state relations. It is a vital political question between the centre and its agent-the Governor-on the one side and the state with elected representatives, responsible ministries and the people on the other side. What is nullified here is democratic process in the state, the growth of healthy conventions and principles of federalism

### **Governor-An Agent of the Centre?**

To quote Soli J.Sorabjee 'The public today generally regard the Governor as the employee of the central government and, in some cases, a spy of the centre; Thus the key question to be considered for serious examination is whether the Governor is an agent or employee of the union government as alleged by constitutionalists and opposition parties? It is important to note here that the Governor is appointed by the President i.e., the Union government. It is also to be noted that he holds office during the pleasure of the President which means the pleasure of the union government. As the president acts in accordance with the advice of the union cabinet, it may be contented that if the Governor takes action contrary to the policy of the centre he faces the risk being removed and he is likely to follow the advice of the union government. In

this context it is assumed that the Governor is an employee and agent of the centre and should consult the union government before taking decisions even in matters where the Governor has discretionary powers. However, on a close analysis of the constitutional provisions, it would be seen that the Governor is not an agent of the centre as alleged by the opposition parties. First of all, let us examine the oath which the Governor has to take before assuming the office. He takes the oath 'to faithfully execute the office of the Governor and to preserve, protect and defend the constitution and the law and devote to himself to the service and of the people of the state. Constitutionally speaking, it says nothing about the Governor's obligation towards the centre. Merely because he is appointed by the president and holds his office during his pleasure, he cannot be expected to act in Sync with the policies of the government or should subscribe to the ideology of the party in power at the centre. He has to function only within the four corners of the constitution. There is absolutely nothing in the constitution to make the Governor an employee of the centre.

While inaugurating the National convention on Union-state relations in 1970, Vice-President G.S.Pathak observed that in the sphere in which the Governor is required by the constitution to exercise his discretion, it is obvious that it is his discretion and not that of any other authority and therefore his discretion cannot be controlled or interfered with by the centre<sup>28</sup>. Further, the committee of Governors in their report said the Governor as the head of the state, has his functions laid down in the constitution itself, and is in no sense an agent of the president<sup>29</sup>.

The issue involved in this controversy was examined by the Supreme Court in Hargovind Pant v. Raghukul Tilak. In the leading judgment, a five member constitutional bench held that the Governor is not subordinate or subservient to the centre. To quote the judgement:

'Every person appointed by the President is not necessarily an employee of the government of India. So also it is not material that the Governor holds office during the pleasure of the President. It is a constitutional provision for determination of the term of office of the Governor and does not make the government of India an employer of the Governor. The Governor is the head of the state and holds a high constitutional office which carried with it important constitutional functions and duties and he cannot be regarded as an employee or servant of the Government of India. He is not amenable to the directions of the government of India, nor is he accountable to them for the manner in which he carries out his functions and duties. He is an independent constitutional office, which is not subject to the control of the government of India. He is constitutionally the head of the state in whom is vested the executive power of the state<sup>30</sup>. The above ruling was further strengthened by the Supreme court in 2010 in B.P Singhal v. Union of India.

While criticising the role of the Governors is okay, depicting them as mere agents and representatives of the ruling party is wrong. It is true that the Governor is appointed by the President which means in effect and substance the Government of India, but that is only a mode of appointment and it does not make the Governor an employee or servant of the government. Every person appointed by the President is not necessarily an employee of the government of India. He is the constitutional head of the state, and becomes the friend, philosopher and guide of his cabinet and guardian of the local people in the state in which he is appointed. Unfortunately, whatever the constitutional intentions, Governors are seen as agents of the centre, responsible only to the centre. Since 1967 the sanctity of this institution is being questioned. It has become a magic stick in the hands of the ruling party at the centre to curb the growing influence of the opposition parties. In this context the demand to abolish the office of the governor has emerged.

### **Whether the Institution is Relevant to Indian Democracy?**

It needs to be pointed out that the institution of the Governor has to remain if the existing form of parliamentary democracy has to continue. In the present set up there is an important area in which he acts in the exercise of his discretion. As a link between the union and the states, he can foster better understanding between them. We have seen that the constitution of India under Article 355 places an obligation upon the

centre to ensure that the government of every state is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. Further, the possibility of a state government directly or indirectly supporting an armed rebellion cannot be ruled out as an impossibility in the present situation. Any government may flout the norms and there may be virtual dictatorship in the state. It is the bounden duty of the centre in such instances to intervene and see that the state is governed in accordance with the constitutional provisions. It has no agency in the state other than the Governor, to keep it informed of the happenings and to see whether the government is being carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and when he discovers that the state government is not functioning in accordance with the constitution, it is his duty to report the matter to the President<sup>31</sup>. Moreover in the evolving milieu of coalition politics the office of the Governor has assumed a special importance of its own. Thus the office is highly desirable for our country where state governments often fail to maintain the spirit of the constitution and probity.

The Sarkaria Commission strongly recommended the retention of the institution. The commission observed that the Governor is the linchpin of the constitutional apparatus of the state<sup>32</sup>. So far as the structure of the Indian Union remains without change, and the Governor is appointed by the President, the commission's observation is factual and real. The Governor, like the President, is the constitutional head. All the executive actions are taken in his name. He chooses and appoints the chief minister in his discretion. No bill can become law without his assent. No money bill can be introduced in the legislature without his consent. State legislature cannot be summoned or prorogued without his orders. It is he who orders dissolution of the Assembly, some times in his discretion. In short, it is observed that the government at the state level cannot function without the Governor.

The commission also defended the institution on the ground that the institution is quite essential to ensure the continuity of governmental process at the state level<sup>33</sup>. The commission observed that the tenure of the Governor does not depend on majority support in the Assembly, but on the pleasure of the President. The Governor continues irrespective of the change of ministries or even the dissolution of the Assembly. He continues even after the expiry of five years till his successor takes over. Thus the institution of the Governor ensures continuity of governmental process. He fills the political vacuum as and when there is a breakdown of the constitutional machinery in the state. The commission came to their conclusion on the basis of decision in *Golak Behari v. state of Orissa*.

The commission concludes that the functions of the Governor are at once diverse and important. Functioning in normal times as the constitutional head of the state and as a vital link between the union and the states, he becomes an agent of the union in certain special circumstances, when the proclamation under Article 356 is in force. When no ministry is available to aid and advice him, he fills the political vacuum and ensures continuity in the executive government for short periods. In this context one cannot but agree with the commission's observation that:

'The Governor is the key functionary of the system envisaged by the constitution. No other constitutional functionary can discharge these responsibilities in addition to his duties. We are, therefore, of the firm view that it is an office which cannot be dispensed with'<sup>34</sup>.

The debate over the abolition of the post of the Governor is not new. The role of Governor as perceived to be the agent of the ruling party at the centre has always been a subject of heated discussion. However, what the critics often fail to understand is that the institution of the Governor is noble by its intentions. It is the politicians who have time and again misused it for their parochial, personal and political motives. The ill images of the institution is not a constitutional error but is a personality error. If sufficient safeguards are fostered as conventions the office of the Governor can play a useful, inevitable and vital role in the constitutional scheme of India. A constitution never operates in a vacuum. It works in the context of a given political system. In the context of the present political system, the office of the Governor is very essential and it cannot be abolished.

## Conclusion

According to the constitution the Governor is appointed by the President of India and he holds office during his pleasure. It seems that the President has been invested with an absolute authority to appoint the Governor and, as such, the state concerned has no role in this matter. Thus it has become a party appointment for all practical purposes and exposes the ruling party at the centre in its true colours. Further, the constitution does not prescribe any qualification for the post. The Governor must be a citizen of India and must have attained thirty five years of age. But that is all. As prof.M.V.Pylee observes: ‘there is hardly any qualifications prescribed for the appointment of the Governor. When a functionary is chosen without any qualifications and his tenure depends upon the whims of his masters, he is sure to be a Yesman. Often the post becomes an asylum for the defeated politicians and superannuated civil servants who could not be accommodated elsewhere, as a reward for their past services. Leaders with nuisance value too are accommodated in the Rajbhavans. But one thing common to all of them has been actively associated with the party in power at the centre. In this context the Supreme Court very pertinently states:

Reputed elder statesmen, able administrators and eminent personalities, with maturity and experience are expected to be appointed as Governors. While some of them may come from a political background, once they are appointed as Governors, they owe their allegiance and loyalty to the constitution, are required to preserve, protect and defend the constitution.

In the final analysis, however, it may be observed that the success or failure of any institution depends more on those who presides over the office. Hence, it is apt to conclude the discussion with an extract from the Constituent Assembly Debates which provides an interesting and relevant perspective on the whole question:

“A Governor can do a great deal of good if he is a good governor and he can do a great deal of mischief if he is a bad governor, in spite of the very little power given to him under the constitution”.

## Notes and References

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4. *Ibid*, P.500-5002
5. *Ibid*, P.494, For a detailed discussion of the topic see Varadhachari (V.K., *Governor in the Indian Constitution*, New Delhi, Heritage, 1983, PP.179-180
6. *Ibid*, P.494
7. *Ibid*,
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9. Seervai (H.M.) *Constitutional Law of India*, IV, Ed, Vol.II, Bombay, N.M.Tripathi, 9193, P.1732
10. See *the Constitution of India*, Articles 361, 299 (2) and 300
11. *Shamshersingh v. State of Punjab*, AIR 1974, S.C. 2192
12. *Ibid*
13. See the Second Proviso to Article 200.
14. *The Sarkaria Commission Report*, P.134 and 177
15. *Ibid*, P.134
16. See *the Constituion of India*, Article 293

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18. See the *Constitution of India*, Article 163(2)
19. Iqbal Narain, *Opcit*, P.182
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25. *Ibid*
26. *Ibid*
27. See Suryaprasad(K), *Opcit*, PP . 48-60
28. See Singh M.P., V.N.Shukla;*s Constitution of India*, Lucknow, Eastern Books, 1994
29. See the *Report of the Committee of Governors*, 1971
30. *Hargovind Pant v.Raghukul Tilak and Ors*, AIR 1979, SC 1109
31. See the *Reports of the Administrative Reforms Commission*, 1969
32. The *Sarkaria Commission Report*, P.120
33. Ibid, See also Sonum Gayatri, "Governor;s Role and Tribal Areas", *EPW*, Vol. XXXXIX No. 51, (2014)
34. *Ibid*, P.121