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The Seams of Memory
Women Re-Mapping Partition in Graphic Space and Narrative

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This paper seeks to explore how women map and move through graphic space, in three short graphic narratives about the Partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947. Partition was a deeply gendered experience. For many women it entailed moving out of the home and into workspaces; while for some, their bodies became sites of violence, and for the scripting of new national identities and borders. Women remember and imagine Partition through multiple lenses, and the form itself of graphic narrative enables new ways of imagining space – contributing depth and dimension to how Partition is imagined and represented. This form also opens up new "geographies of reading" - the reader is given a unique opportunity to view time and space in conjunction, through the visual plotting, spacing and movement of time through the panels of a graphic narrative. This paper explores how these narrators and the women in these stories, imagine and navigate graphic space, and grapple with the confines of borders, nations, texts and form – using and innovating with the form to subvert dominant historiography.

The Partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, at its core, was an exercise in a reimagining and reordering space. This took the form of the Radcliffe Line, hastily mapped by the British government in their alacrity to leave the country – and the faultlines created by this arbitrary division continue to reverberate with the voices and stories that fell through its cracks. The spaces created and re-imagined by and through the Partition are deeply gendered. For many women, Partition entailed new forms of agency – moving out of the domain of the 'private' and entering and participating actively in public space. However, their role as culture-bearers and reproducers took new forms in the context of the independent nation state. *This Side, That Side, Restorying Partition* is a collection of short graphic narratives bringing together diverse experiences of the Partition of 1947 and its resonance in the contemporary cultural imagination. The volume is a collaborative effort by writers and artists across the 'sides' created by the Partition (Pakistan, India and Bangladesh), and through a sheer multiplicity of styles, media, and narrators and narrative modes, unravels the weave of dominant narratives sufficiently to make visible the elisions and assimilations that went into their making; and visiblises the fault-lines of belonging and exclusion. Looking specifically at three narratives in this collection ('The Taboo', 'Know Directions Home', and 'Water Stories'), this paper will explore how the women of these texts navigate and occupy the graphic and geographical spaces they are placed within: How they read and make space—struggle with the confines of borders, nations, texts and form, to carve out a sense of belonging, or articulate rupture and loss. In identifying these negotiations, it is proposed that the graphic form itself challenges the linearity of history-telling, and opens up the narrative of Partition to the subversion of marginalised voices.

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Visuality enables new forms of metaphor and different ways of imagining space - adding a dimension, as it were, to how Partition itself is imagined. Dittmer writes that "a comic strip is literally a map of time" in that its producers are attempting to "render the passage of time visible through the use of static, sequential images" (2010: 1). As Speigleman suggests, comics "choreograph and shape time" (qtd in Chute 2008: 4), rendering it pliable to memory and experience. The form of the graphic novel thus opens up new possibilities in terms of the "geographies of reading" (Dittmer 2010: 2)-in that the reader is given a unique opportunity to view time and space in conjunction by visualising the progression of time through the progression of panels across a page. Thus, the comic form, or the graphic narrative, engages with time and space in unique ways: that in turn open up immense possibilities for reimagining and remembering Partition: an experience so deeply defined by how time and space are navigated and imagined.

These narratives create a montage of multiple visual artefacts --- maps, blueprints, photographs, scraps of text, stamps --- to layer meaning and subvert conventional readings attached to each of these forms (Dittmer 2010: 11) and through representational self-reflexivity, embrace a transgressive historiographic politics. The inner front and back covers of the book, enclosing the text, are covered with a variety of official stamps; passport and immigration stamps from both sides of the border. This serves to symbolically enclose the text within the official narratives and constructions of space. Borders are created through networks of officialdom, and these stamps become visual markers of officially 'sealed' spatial narratives. These stories, enfolded within this multiplicity of stamps, work in various ways to subvert, contest, or articulate new conceptualisations of space and citizenship-to tease out the history behind acquiring these stamps and markers of crossings and belongings.

The collection is populated with narratives by and about women, who traverse both literal and social borders, in their effort to make meaning of their post-Partition experiences. Women who lived and experienced Partition grappled with gendered violence and new burdens of care work as well as paid labour, and also performed new kinds of cultural labour, as culture bearers and preservers. Thus this paper will engage with the following key tropes: the borders these women cross, the mapping they engage in and are subject to, the memories and weights they carry through these spaces, and the new social and graphic spaces they inhabit and lay claim to. This engagement will be through a focus on narrative form and representation strategies employed by the creators, and the meanings and possibilities for subversive gendered historiographies thus created.

Borders and Narrative Seams

Partition was a historical moment in which the border was literalised—the imaginary was transformed into a physical presence by the act of its being crossed. These stories are deeply concerned with how the trope of the border operates in Partition narratives, and employ diverse strategies to visibilise the multiple borders that Partition created. By making visible and laying claim to the literal act of border-drawing, these narratives and the women in them subvert the very processes and meanings of such demarcations.

One of the most arresting images of the text, also present on the cover of the book, is that of a young girl with pigtails, playing hopscotch across a map of vague and undefined territories. Her game of hopscotch, a game whose premise rests on crossing borders without touching them, is a poignant metaphor for how individuals had to navigate movement and belonging. The image subverts the abstraction of the 'border', giving it material and visible presence, but undercuts this literalisation by exposing its ludicrousness. Carefully poised and arms outstretched to retain balance, the young

girl's game of hopscotch becomes a powerful metaphor for the arbitrariness yet rigidity of imagined lines, and the dangers of crossing them. The drawing of borders is reduced to a child's game; but the crossing is fraught with dangers that parallel those in a child's imagination; magnified into historical and material significance.

The collection deliberately engages not only with disrupting the text of dominant narratives, but also the linear modes in which stories are conventionally told. Thus, very few stories in the collection adhere to conventional linear narratives structured in sequential panels, but subvert linearity and play with the conventional spacing of time that comic books usually undertake. In 'Water Stories', the narrator subverts the norm of consecutive, adjacent, linear panels, by presenting the outline of each panel, or each moment of the narrative, as shaped and dissolved by the water of a river, the Padma river, which is central to the text of the story and the narrative of this family's displacement. As the narrative begins, we read that "In all her father's stories about where he came from, there was water". The river, identified clearly as the overriding force of this narrative, and a truer defining point for this family's identity than religion or the nation, steers just shy of being personified, and is instead embodied into the narrative's very texture, with its waves and currents outlining each narrative panel – and its shape and presence altering and responding to the narrative itself.

This narrative also seeks to make visible the processes of narrative and border formation, only to dissolve them. The narrator's father's reminiscences specifically, so deeply entrenched in the water of the river he left behind, are presented in not conventional rectangular panels but watery puddles – out of which he occasionally reaches a disembodied hand, to dust the ash off his cigarette, thus breaking out of the panel. Most typically, comic strips or graphic narratives are arranged linearly, and are divided into 'panels', with the visual progression of subsequent panels corresponding to the linear progression of time in the narrative. Dittmer describes the 'gutter', the (usually blank, or implied) space between consecutive panels in a graphic narrative/comic space, calling it an "anti-optical void", which he says "becomes important as a topological connection between…two panels" (2010: 9). He emphasises that this space is "the symbolic site of narrative development that must take place in order for the two juxtaposed panels to make sense." (2010: 9) Here, the gutter is literalised, and 'seam' or the metaphorical space between panels that distinguishes and connects them is brought to the attention of the reader, creating a literal narrative pause while the narrator dusts ash off his cigarette before resuming his story. In this pause, by making visible, and subverting, the invisible 'border' or seam in the narrative, the assumptions that go into creating a narrative (personal and national) are undercut. Eventually, both of these narratives are dissolved into the primal power of the waters of a river, which seeks to exact a price for the betrayal of leaving it behind. In this story, the text or verbal narration is also placed in the 'gutter' rather than within the pane, thus further emphasising how the narrative is created and held together, and how fragile is this process.

This, in the context of the story also becomes linked to how borders work—metaphorical delineations, being made visible, and dissolved by the primal force of nature. These graphic narratives are thus deeply aware of how narratives are constructed, and the visual arrangement of this story marks out how the river determines the lives of the protagonists, and thus the way in which the story is told.

Re-drawing Maps

Spaces are produced through the politics of their occupation and representation. Rangan and Kull write,

> Most people, while looking at maps, see them as authoritative representations of territories, political boundaries, and locations of places, resources, and physical features. Some may look closer to examine the details of measurement, the artwork, the aesthetics, or the power brought into representation. But very few people, other than geographers, are likely to look at maps and see them as processes by which worlds are drawn into being (2010: 49).

As Doreen Massey suggests, there is a need to

> …recognize space as the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny… [and to] recognize space as always under construction… perhaps we could imagine space as simultaneity of stories-so-far. (Massey 2005: 9)

Taking forward this understanding of space and geography not as physical coordinates but as constituted by the subjects that inhabit and imagine them; we see that space and the processes of occupying and inhabiting it is a central anxiety for diasporic communities, and the state-drawn map becomes a mode of reifying and erasing.

In 'The Taboo', a story about the author's journey driving through a refugee camp against the advice of officials who brand the area as dangerous, the story again works against the conventions of graphic space and narratives, in that, rather than being presented in consecutive panels denoting an orderly progression of space and time, each page is illustrated as a maze-like map, which the author, the narrative, and also the reader, must zigzag their way through. The circularity of the crowded maze-like visual structures on the page reflects the difficulties the protagonist, Lily, faced in leaving the refugee camp and her husband to start her own business, as well as the difficulties of the author in making her way to and then through Cooper's Camp.

In this visual arrangement, the narrator and the viewer take the same journey through Cooper's Camp, and the information we are given is by people along the way who are themselves residents of the camp. Snippets of their stories are laced into the map – speech bubbles with the words of these people sharing their narratives, as well as the refrain of the 'unhelpful guide' ("this road is unsafe") punctuate and populate the landscape itself. These voices thus become a physical presence on this map, interrupting the shape of the terrain – emphasising how words, people and prejudices, all become a part of the way space is shaped, mapped and *created* by all of these presences.

Re-mapping marginalised spaces entails not a drawing of orderly lines, but of circularity, and a multitude of voices and lived experiences. By presenting the narrative in the form of a series of maps, the writer and the artist give us an insight into how the act of narrating itself becomes an act of re-mapping. If narrating and drawing Cooper's Camp is a way of 'putting it on the map', as it were, so are all of the narratives in the collection; these narratives mark successive generations of men and women reclaiming and re-drawing narratives of displacement, loss, and nation-building.

In 'Know Directions Home?' space is mapped very differently – a disruption of spatial dimensions creates and narrates a rift in the weave of the nation, within which a migrant community claims a place for its story. 'Know Directions Home?' is a story told by Raniben, who does applique work and embroidery, to present the journey of her community, which was displaced from a Pakistani village in 1972, in one of the many seismic tremors of war and communal violence felt across the subcontinent. Hailing from a village which was disputed territory, this group was shunted from one

side to the other until they laid a claim to the land they found themselves on; these women carved out a space and identity for themselves in their new settlement; and tell their stories through the *suf* embroidery – a traditional craft of the community, passed down from their grandparents. The narrative presented to the reader, like a map, is two-dimensional, and is peopled with persons, objects, and places. However, despite the figures being two-dimensional, we see a complete rupture of the logic of two-dimensional representation. Helicopters and airplanes circle in the lower part of the page, while a field is being ploughed at the top corner of the page by four cows, two of them upside down to represent their position behind each other. Pockets or patches of the cloth represent the sequential progress of the narrative. Space is thus being plotted on the one hand in terms of narrative linearity, but also in terms of how physical geographical space is not only seen, but known by the narrator – who has less concern for visual realism, than for presenting a whole and true representation from her own experience and knowledge.

In conceptualising maps as 'processes by which worlds are drawn into being', then, map-making is also a process of constituting subjects. Maps are marked and plotted according to geographical conventions --- they come with their own vocabulary, and keys of symbols, colours and scales that enable reading. These stories thus create different keys and vocabularies, and subvert traditional 'geographies of reading' set up by visual, artistic and historical convention. They plot temporality onto maps, adding a fourth dimension; and also plot people onto maps, defying the notion that space is independent of how and by whom it is inhabited.

The Weight of Refuge and Home

A central trope of many Partition narratives is that of trauma being carried through generations, and how deeply this affects the way women occupy new spaces. In 'Water Stories', the trauma of separation from one's homeland (represented by the river Padma), is passed down to the woman narrator, who is unable to survive the pressures of rebuilding and carrying on. Here, the river engulfs the narrative and the narrator, and determines the shape of the visual text and narrative. The land and the river are physical, visceral presences in this text, as well as metaphors for grief. The narrator's inability to have a child comes to be linked to the pain of separation from the homeland, handed down through generations. For her father, the river becomes tied to the sin he feels he has committed by choosing to leave --- and he suggests to her that the river Padma swallowed his mother and his wife, to exact revenge on him and his family. This haunts the narrator, and she comes to link her own infertility to the river her ancestors left behind. Her return to the river becomes intimately connected to family, inheritance, and the pull of ancestral land --- and the narrative closes with the river overrunning the pages of the text. Being uprooted leads to such a fundamental rupture that the narrator ultimately returns to drown herself in its waters, as her father claimed her grandmother had done. Here, the infertile womb is represented as a tightly wound knot, that only opens when it visually melds into water, and unravels into a spiral that evolves into the top of a wave of the river water. Thus the metaphor of the barren and knotted womb is linked to a primal need for the nourishment of the river, which parallels the need for roots and the homeland that refugee families experience in seeking to continue their family line. The river then, is a concrete as well as metaphorical presence in the text: the turmoil and the violence of the river embodies both how physically such pain is experienced, and how deep and long-lasting is the trauma for women, the bearers of generations and culture.

Lily, our protagonist from Cooper's Camp, shares a different burden, the burden of being a refugee. She has separated from her husband; considered taboo in the conservative area she lives in. However, she says "More than him, it was Cooper's Camp I left... If I had stayed, I would have remained a faceless refugee, disliked, disowned. To me that taboo is greater than the taboo of a single woman. So I decided to cross the road." Lily's burden is not carried from her previous home across a border, but from the sheer weight of living as a refugee, in a place that was shunned by the people living in its vicinity, and which has stagnated, and is now ignored and forgotten. Although Lily is able to escape and fulfill a dream she inherited from her father (owning a garage), she too reaches the brink of despair, and struggles to overcome the weight and stigma of being a refugee. The landscape in the narrative mirrors her struggle, entering and navigating through a broader map of Cooper's Camp, to show us Lily and the narrator driving out of the Camp and up to Lily's garage.

Drawing on New Social Spaces

It has been argued that Partition entailed an opening up of social space for women who moved out into the public sphere because of financial necessity. This radical restructuring of public-private divide significantly affected gender norms and relations. (Datta 2006.p.1) However, refugee women also became a site for the scripting of narratives of the insider and the other. 'The Taboo' is an interesting example of how the graphic form speaks to the opening up of new social spaces that women navigate.

In 'The Taboo', the maze-like narrative structure opens, visually, into the space of the protagonist Lily's garage. Unexpectedly, the garage is placed at the heart of the text, and is not constructed as the 'outside'. The garage is Lily's own space, safer than the home that her husband was able to provide, and its place in the narrative thus becomes a mark of her achievement. Many women when narrating their lives after Partition claim that they would not have had access to public space and workplaces before migration. This story, while charting the hardships of Lily's struggles to support herself, reflects her fight to create a space as a woman in a profession dominated by men, supplanting conventional expectations about gender roles, and reworking the divide between the public and the private.

In their new countries of residence, migrants and refugees must often revalue and reassess their social and cultural skills and identities, as certain cultural skills (such as languages and dialects), may not carry currency in these new spaces. Diasporic groups often actively reorganise their cultural capital to integrate with the culture of the dominant, majority group (Erel 2010). In 'Know Directions Home?', Suf embroidery is used to tell women's stories. This style of embroidery is how the women of the community made a living and forged new community space for themselves, through the setting up of an art and embroidery collective dedicated to preserving their craft. Through this narrative, these women not only succeed in preserving traditional cultural skills but transforming them into a source of value and profit in Independent India, and are now using this very form and skill to tell their story of displacement and exclusion from the project of nation-building. The space of the arts collective enables these women not only to build lives, but also to create narratives that can contest official ones.

Here, the narrative of the individual is deeply entwined with the narrative of the community – though autobiographical, 'we' is the main pronoun. The community is presented a social space for these women that offers support, collectivises their story and suffering, and preserves and memorialises

the culture and story of their community. These two stories thus offer a great deal to narratives of the community, citizenship, and the nation-state through their creative negotiations with form (tangling form to represent the complications and hostilities of new social spaces, as well as ousting and rejecting mainstream representational conventions to triumphantly reinvent ways of telling). These women – the creators and narrators of 'Know Directions Home?' as well as the inhabitants of Cooper's Camp in 'The Taboo', thus traverse new and oppressive social regimes which seek to erase and invisibilise their existence and citizenship from the narrative of the nation, yet are able to struggle to create for themselves safe and home spaces within which their agency and voice are valued and nurtured.

Text, Context, and the Materiality of Stories

The women of these stories, in harnessing diverse and creative strategies for mapping memory and experience onto the page, generate new meanings through representation. Whether challenging the linearity of form and history, or upturning the logic of visual representation, these women assert their voice through creative narrative strategies. There is no single narrative of Partition; and this collection emphasises that Partition as a lived narrative, is constantly being re-written. Ghosh (2013) in the introduction to the volume suggests

> …if one wants to avoid the usual revival of Mass Memory, one has to look beyond those maps lodged in our nervous systems that make nervous headlines on our televisions. To listen to the subsequent generations and the grandchildren and how they have negotiated maps that never got drawn.

This rewriting is undertaken in many of the acts that the collection represents—the telling and retelling of stories in diverse ways and the ways in which the space and places delimited through Partition are navigated and contested.

What the collection also emphasises is the materiality of stories, which in one sense implies that stories are rooted in material experience, yet read in reverse, with the very material form of graphic narratives producing meaning in multiple and complex ways. What emerges thus is what Felman and Laub call the "textualisation of the context"

> …the empirical content needs not just to be known, but to be read. The basic and legitimate demand for contextualisation of the text itself needs to be complemented, simultaneously, by the less familiar and yet necessary work of textualisation of the context (qtd in Chute 2008: 7).

Chute suggests

> Graphic narrative accomplishes this work with its manifest handling of its own artifice, its attention to its seams. Its formal grammar rejects transparency and renders textualisation conspicuous, inscribing the context in its graphic presentation (2008: 7).

This speaks to the importance of narrating --- writing and rewriting --- undertaken by the women of this collection in their unraveling of the skeins of dominant historiography. Thus these stories, through self-reflexivity about narrative practices, and in harnessing the graphic form for unraveling and visibilising the seams of history and memory, make a deeply relevant intervention in the Partition discourse.

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Social Security Measures for Workers of Unorganised Sector in Kerala

Diti Goswami[1]

Kerala has a commendable history in its approach to reaching out to the vulnerable sections using a number of innovative social security measures. One of these is the Welfare Funds Model for informal sector workers. This paper evaluates the present scenario of this Welfare Fund Model in Kerala and its various implications. It also highlights the fact that even though this approach is palpable and can be visualised as an institutional innovation, it has many limitations which need to be solved.

Keywords: social protection, welfare funds, informal sector, Kerala

I

Introduction

A thoughtful insight into the concept of social security reveals that this expression is identical to others like social assistance, safety nets, social protection and social funds. These are recognized and implemented in both developed and developing countries. According to the International Labour Organization,

> A large majority (about 80 per cent) of the global population live in conditions of social insecurity, i.e., they have no access to formal social security beyond the limited possibilities of relying on families, kinship groups or communities to secure their standard of living. Among these 80 per cent, 20 per cent live in abject poverty- the cruelest form of insecurity. (ILO, 2006).

This underlines the significance of the concept of social security (Kannan and Pillai, 2007).

In 1952, ILO elaborated the concept of social security. The description projected nine central contingencies that cause stoppage or considerable diminution of income where social security is to be applied. However, this idea was formulated keeping in mind a developed economy where wage earning workers had full employment with a high degree of industrialization. But in developing countries the official labour market is small.

In the context of developing countries (Dreze and Sen, 1989) gave a broad definition of social security by unfolding two diverse aspects protection and promotion. Protection refers to the "task of preventing a decline in living, standards" while promotion is "the enhancement of general living standards and to the expansion of basic capabilities of the population" (Dreze and Sen, 1989). But in this definition also there might be overlapping regions as protection can have a significant externality effect of promotion. For example immunization is both protective (protecting

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against the spread of diseases) as well as promotional (promoting good health by keeping away certain diseases).

It is obvious that the wants of the people in industrialised countries are entirely dissimilar to those of the necessities of citizens in developing countries. This can be further understood by observing that an employed person is worried about the protection of his income against decline, while an unemployed individual is anxious about securing work and earning some livelihood. Thus given the vastness of the informal sector with enormous and continual poverty in the less developed countries, the perception of social security should encompass the actual condition and should be linked with the proposal of poor quality cutback as a necessary condition for development.

Therefore social security has to be examined from the perspective of development and poverty reduction. As mentioned above the developing countries require a mechanism for income maintenance as well as support in the situation of persistent deprivation. Thus social security may be described as Basic Social Security (BSS) and Contingent Social Security (CSS) (Kannan 2004).

BSS captures the dimension of deficiency in the sense that it aims at those who are not able to have access to the minimum resources for a dignified life in a society. BSS manages human deprivation and vulnerability. BSS directly addresses absolute poverty where poverty can be explained as a failure of entitlements as proposed by (Dreze and Sen (1985). The basic securities are food, housing, health and education. This BSS is fundamental as CSS will not make sense in its absence.

CSS focuses on the dimension of adversities that are major contingencies. Some examples are the hazardous situation arising out of life and work like ill health, injuries, accidents, unemployment, maternity, old age, death of the earning member, and so on. In developing countries there is an urgent need to extend both the BSS and CSS. Extension of CSS is a major challenge in the developing countries as CSS is confined only to the formal labour market. Hence a huge volume of the population in the informal sector faces the problem of meeting the contingencies due to the lack of social security. In a sample survey in Delhi, Johri and Pandey (1972) recognized that the expansion of social protection to this section is not just an extension of the current formal sector schemes to fresh clusters but is connected with the expansion of a diverse set of schemes. This is because the unorganized sector is not uniform and also because of the difficulty in recognizing employers.

This essay will reveal how the provision of CSS is fulfilled in Kerala that empowered and helped the unorganized workers to organize themselves. It tries to provide a portrait of the social protection in the unorganised sector by providing a basic framework for social security in the unorganised sector in Kerala. It provides a picture of the Welfare Fund Model in Kerala and its implications.

Kerala, even with these basic problems, has managed to provide some social security in the unorganized sector as mutualism among the laborers was a predominating characteristic. Mutual assistance was extended in times of need. Such an attitude led to the development and articulation of the institutional forms of collective safety measures for the employees in the informal sector.

II

The Kerala Approach: The Welfare Fund (WF) Model
With regards to Kerala, the fundamental developmental concern was that the fruits of social

development failed to reach the unorganized segment. The real benefits of government expenditure on health and education were bypassing the very poor. In spite of the economically weak condition of the workers, they were politically active and were aware of their rights. This transformed to social tensions through articulation of their demands. Thus the protection of these weaker sections became a political compulsion in the presence of high incidence of casual wage labour with high mobility. Some of the demands raised by the workers were the guarantee of the permanent employer-employee relation, setting of formal training institutions thereby replacing the caste based institution for vocational training.

The concept of WF originated with the creation of a WF for the toddy tappers in 1969. Active participation from both the government and the workers played a major role in the initiation and management of the WFs. The inclusion of employers was a practical proposal in the formation.

The formation of the WFs was a long the the outlines of the workers union nor of the political parties. Stratification and segmentation were the characteristics of the labour relations where in the condition of high unemployment, labour unions pursued the policy of strengthening the segmentation by pulling back on gender and caste reflections. These were mainly done in order to maximize the earnings of the 'insiders' by restricting entry into the labour market. However, trade unions found it difficult to follow such a policy for the unorganised sector.

A fundamental intention of the trade unions was the improvement of the workers in terms of working conditions, earnings and security. Thus they were aiming to transform the vulnerable section to stability in terms of income and employment. From this angle, the trade unions succeeded remarkably in reducing the gap between organised and unorganised sections. However another insider and outsider labour market phenomenon was established in its place where insiders are workers with union membership irrespective of the stability of employment. Subsequently, labour institutions like the Minimum Wage Committees and the Industrial Relations Committees were introduced in the territory of informal sector workers. Nevertheless in terms of the economic viability of addressing the issues of employment and social security, the labour co-operatives failed thus giving rise to the development of WFs.

Labour unions faced difficulties with regard to employment security of workers in coir weaving, cashew processing and various other traditional industries. This led to the formation labour co-operatives or adoption of closed-shop strategies in respect of labour market entry. Some of the successful labour co-operatives were of toddy tappers, bidi workers, handloom weavers and a section of headload workers. Unfortunately, these co-operatives lacked the managerial and organisational capabilities for sustaining in the competitive market. The closed-shop policy caused workers to leave because they were unable to have a union membership and subsequently entry to the labour market. Thus membership in a union became the principle eligibility criterion for social security arrangements like getting pension or being a member in WFs.

The constraint on the wage bargaining process caused the origin of the WFs where at the point when the employers decided to abandon business; the Toddy Tappers WF was established in 1969 with vigorous participation from the government. For the next decade, expansion of the collective care to other section of workers was not emphasised. In 1977 the Kerala Labour WF was formed for workers in small-scale factories, plantations, shops and other co-operative institutions. The 1980s and 1990s witnessed the formation of WFs encompassing a wide range of occupations like the

artisans, clerks, advocates and so on along with the political acceptance (Table 1). This was the result of the spirit of mutualism where individual risks were taken care of by collective contributions (State Planning Board, 1997). Given the political character of workers' mobilization along with the existence of a democratic state, the WF was an institutional innovation.

Table 1: Name of the Welfare Funds(WFs) and year of establishment

Name of the Boards	Abbreviation	Establishment Year
Kerala Diary Farmers WFB	**KDFWFB**	**2005**
Kerala Ration Dealers WTB	**KRDWFB**	**2000**
Kerala Bamboo,Kattuvalli and Pandanus leaf WWFB	**KBKPWWFB**	**2000**
Kerala Beedi and Cigar WWFB	KBCWWFB	1997
Kerala Tailoring WWFB	KTAWWFB	1994
Kerala Traders WWFB	KTWWFB	1992
Kerala State Lottery WWFB	KSLWWFB	1991
Kerala State Anganwadi WWFB	KSAWWFB	1991
Kerala Autorickshaw WWFB	KASKWWFB	1991
Kerala Abkari WWFB	KAWWFB	1990
Kerala Agricultural WWFB	KAGWWFB	1990
Kerala Khadi WWFB	KKWWFB	1990
Kerala Building and other construction WWFB	KBOWWFB	1990
Kerala Cashew WWFB	KCWWFB	1989
Kerala Handloom WWFB	KHWWFB	1989
Kerala Coir WWFB	KCOWWFB	1989
Kerala Automobile Workshop WWFB Scheme	KAUWWF	1986
Kerala Artisans and Skilled WWFB	KASWWFB	1986
Kerala Fishermen's WWFB	KFWWFB	1986
Kerala Motor Transport WWFB	KMTWWFB	1985
Kerala Advocates Clerks WF Committee	KACWFC	1985
Kerala Headload WFB	KHLWFB	1983
Kerala Labour WFB	KLWFB	1977
Kerala WWFBT Toddy	KWWFBT	1969

Source: Kerala Economic Review

Understanding the Welfare Fund Model

The Welfare Fund mechanism is framed following the social protection and insurance provisions made accessible to the employees in the formal sector. Given the inadequate economic and fiscal strength, these Funds envisaged of providing some welfare measures. The features of this WF model are: (Kannan, 2002)

(i) Making sure that the unorganized workers are endowed with some form of social protection which might take the form of social security or insurance or welfare assistance

(ii) A statutory tripartite body is created mostly with equal representation of the workers, employers and the government where the veto powers rests with the government

(iii) The institution is mainly bureaucratic as the chief executive is allotted by the government and the staffs are from the government departments.

(iv) Most of the funds have compulsory involvement and contribution from the employers and workers.

(v) Efforts to maintain bare minimum financial payment by the government.

As labour associations have become important in politics and accordingly to public policy, political agreement in setting up these collective care arrangements are common. Thus emerges the phenomenon of party affiliated trade unions. Legislation on the creation of particular WFs was painless given the political support. Thus legislation of various welfare funds was introduced and the planning mainly consisted in specification of the particulars of the constitution, the characterization of workers, financial involvement by workers, employers and the government, benefits to be given.After the successful legislation regarding a particular WF, a tripartite body consisting of representatives of employers, employees and government is constituted by the executive division of the government.

Representa0.1tion on behalf of the government is carried out by bureaucratic nominations where the nominees' awareness and proficiency is overlooked. Officials from the Labour and Finance Departments are nominees. The Chief Executive officer is generally a senior government servant on deputation from their respective departments.

The most disputed facet of the WFs during legislation is the characterization or clarity of 'worker', to be considered under the particular WF since often workers simultaneously carry out work several jobs and the overlapping character of various welfare funds is the cause of this type of clarity. This can be illustrated in the case of masons or carpenters where they are eligible to join both under the KBOWWFB and the KASWWFB. In this respect great effort is put by the unions to resolve such anomalies. The unions have come out with efficient solutions and through regular involvement; multiplicity of jobs has been checked. Also in this way a closed shop strategy is implemented so as to bring out the monopsonist nature in the labour supply.

According to 2015 data there are about 33 WFs for providing social security assistance to the informal sector. Of these, 16 are under the direct operation of the Labour Department. Around 55.41 lakh members are enrolled in these Welfare Fund Boards of which 24.17 lakh are female. Nearly 56 per cent of the members represent the agricultural and allied activities sector while the rest are engaged in non-agricultural activities.

There is no unique principle relating to financial contributions. A significant portion of resources comes from the interest income which is deposited mainly in the nationalised banks. In the case where the Government is the employer like anganwadi, only the government and the employees contribute. The employer's contribution takes the form of a flat amount or cess charges or a specified percentage of the worker's salary. In the case where direct permanent relationship between the

employee and the employer is not present as in the case of lottery agents, artisans, advocates, the government contributes substantially. In the other case where scarcity of resources is not an issue as in the case of toddy, head load and motor transport workers, the government's contribution is zero. Some of the government's contributions are conditional on the member's contribution like the case of artisans where the government contributes Rs 2 for every Rs 10 contributed by the worker. In the case of lottery workers also 20 percent of the member's contribution is paid by the government.

The basic reasons for the WFs to be formed are for providing support to the unorganized sections in the form of:

• Social security benefits like provident funds, payment on superannuation, pensions and gratuity.

• Social insurance like ex gratia payment in the case of disability or demise, disbursement for treatment.

• Welfare support comprising of pecuniary backing for the purpose of accommodation, edification of kids, and wedding of daughters.

Besides all these an additional help is provided for meeting the funeral costs of the worker. This is mainly done to enhance the dignity of the worker. Given the emphasis on education in Kerala, educational allowances constitute a considerable part.

Coverage Rate of WFs

The efficiency of the WFs can be evaluated in terms of its coverage. It is noteworthy to highlight that the assessment of coverage rate inherit some significant procedural troubles as accurate approximation of the amount of workforce in each professional cluster is not present. However the various WFs have provided certain estimates of the total workers in each occupation. This information is helpful in calculating the coverage ratio. Coverage ratio can be calculated as the ratio of the members enrolled in a particular WF to the estimated total number of workers in that particular occupation. The Figure 1 depicts the average coverage rate of the WFs from 2002 to 2015. Coverage rates are classified into quartiles. High coverage can be defined as those WFs having coverage ratio of more than 75 per cent on an average over time. In the case of medium, the coverage ratio can be defined between 25 to 75 per cent and below 25 per cent can be termed as low coverage ratio.

It must be stated that maximum share goes to high coverage ratio which is very impressive. Some of the WFs where coverage is very poor and fails to show satisfactory results are in the sectors like khadi, autorikshaw. This is mainly because of the lack of resources which make the WFs less attractive.

Elevated estimates of the total number of workers in particular occupations can cause the coverage ratio to be small. The Kerala Labour WF is in a sense of residual where the workers who do not fall under any types of WFs are entitled to this. For headload workers, the WF is covered only in the urban areas whereas the estimates of the total workers are for the state as a whole.

Another debatable issue in the case of WFs is the huge amount of the administrative cost or the establishment cost that calls for some detailed analysis. "Administration is carried out by the government and here the innovative proficiency that was envisaged in the design of these funds is not seen in the administrative sphere" (Kannan, 2002).

Figure 1: Classification of the WFs in terms of coverage
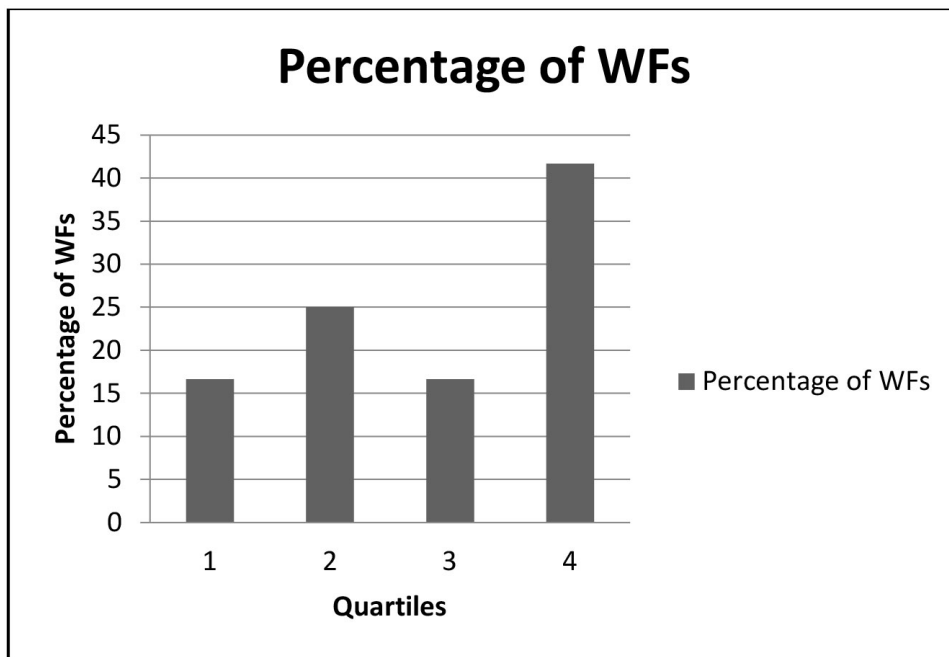
Source- Calculations done by the author from various Welfare Funds

The earnings of the funds are used for administration or establishment purposes. The various types of pecuniary and non-pecuniary benefits of the administrative staffs are paid out of the income of these Funds. The Board of Directors does not have any effectual command over this expenditure. The rule is that the limit on the administration expense should not be more than ten percent of the overall income of the Fund. But hardly any of the WFs adhere to this rule. According to K P Kannan, "Instead of calculating the administrative cost as a percentage of total income, a far more relevant ratio is to express it as a percentage of the total welfare payments – a sort of transaction cost of welfare distribution". In this paper this type of calculation is carried out where the implicit meaning is that, if the administrative costs exceed the welfare distributed then that particular WF can be called as unviable or inefficient. Table 2 shows the transaction costs of welfare distribution during the years 2003-2010. It is evident that administrative costs with respect to welfare benefits given are high on an average in the case of KMWWFB, KKWWFB, KAWWFB, KASWWFB, KSLWFB, KAUWWFB. In the case of Lottery Welfare Boards for all the years administrative costs exceeds welfare distributed (or the percentage in the table exceeds 100). In the case of Kerala Motor Transport WWFB the numbers are ridiculous and it clearly shows how inefficient it can be. Another striking trend is that the administrative costs are more during the starting years and hence the value is high but over the years the cost goes on decreasing. This might be due to the fixed cost that is used in the setting up of establishments during the beginning of the execution process.

Table 2: Name of the Welfare Funds(WFs) and year of establishment

Name of the Board	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005	2004	2003
KWWFBT	10.12	11.77	26.29	8.10	9.14	7.51	6.70	16.90
KMTWWFB	9881	3091.15			4439.12	105.67	129.28	4500.00
KKWWFB	38.86	52.73	92.63	83.53	96.65	117.41	74.07	110.76
KFWWFB	15.02	33.76	11.35	27.76	15.24	21.65	21.76	22.90
KSAWWFB	5.90	11.57	234.19	274.01	265.03	292.77	338.94	468.26
KAWWFB	28.03	22.87	39.81	64.05		37.98	56.76	28.73
KCWWFB	93.50	8.44	10.35	8.26		11.47	11.50	20.18
KAGWWFB	4.14	16.36	15.22	17.51	15.91	28.45	27.33	20.23
KASWWFB	95.62	47.68	47.08	63.47	42.08	50.36	70.28	77.89
KHWWFB	12.21	15.94	16.27	23.39	49.91	11.22	79.47	50.23
KBOWWFB		52.73	9.18	7.58		7.57	10.59	21.88
KCOWWFB	8.26	8.91	8.83	7.71	5.53	12.22	10.54	15.31
KSLWWFB					676.92	895.28	873.24	764.56
KTWWFB	7.26	14.13	6.76	24.54	37.78	70.55	19.03	1128.21
KTAWWFB	36.59	38.96	28.89	35.96	36.57	41.25	40.64	29.37
KBCWWFB	16.00	19.76	39.60	46.46	61.48	146.19	274.12	388.24
KBKPWWFB	5.39	14.72	13.75	78.63	70.82	74.53		
KHLWFB	34.19	29.55	23.85	30.56	22.78	21.91	25.09	24.74
KLWFB	142.20	107.38	130.08	103.78	93.25	92.67	73.13	
KASWWFB	3.24	2.45	5.10	5.71	0.74	3.37	0.52	4.15
KRDWFB	41.25	27.68	13.57	18.88	14.70	23.26	42.54	70.67
KCEPB							4.11	
KACWFC		22.21	18.31	20.71				
KDFWFB	2.49	2.44	2.14	155.48				
KAUWWF	229.17	337.50						

Source: Various Welfare Funds

Thus from this it is evident that these Funds mostly satisfy the interests of the bureaucrats. Ironically, it can be said that a portion of income of the vulnerable informal workers is spend in sustaining the protected governmental workers. In other way it can be understood that the hard earned mandatory savings of the informal sector workers is exhausted in maintaining the earnings of the formal sector government workers. This calls for a serious scrutiny.

Member Worker's Sex Ratio

This particular measure has very important implications in the basic functioning of the WF. It is seen that the Funds where women dominate are those where financial viability is still a persistent issue. On the other hand, the male dominated Funds are successful in capturing most of the welfare benefits. This is because of the lack of importance given in the society to the women issues.

Here sex ratio is defined as the ratio of females by males. If this ratio is greater than one it means that

females are greater than males in that particular WF. . During the the years 2015 to 2002, 60.8 per cent of the WFs were male dominated whereas 39.1 per cent of WFs are female dominated. Provided the impressive sex ratio in Kerala, these numbers are notable. In Figure 2 the points above the 45 degree line shows the WFs that are female dominated and those below the 45 degree line represent male dominated WFs for the year 2015. It is seen that the sectors like tailoring, coir, cashew, khadi, beedi and cigar are mostly female dominated in respect to the number of workers. Sectors such as toddy, headload, motor transport, fishermen, abkari, ration dealers, motor transport are male dominated. This measurement is important in improving the provision of benefits as the female dominated sections should be provided with crèches to look after their children.

Figure 2: Female to male percentages in WFs for 2015
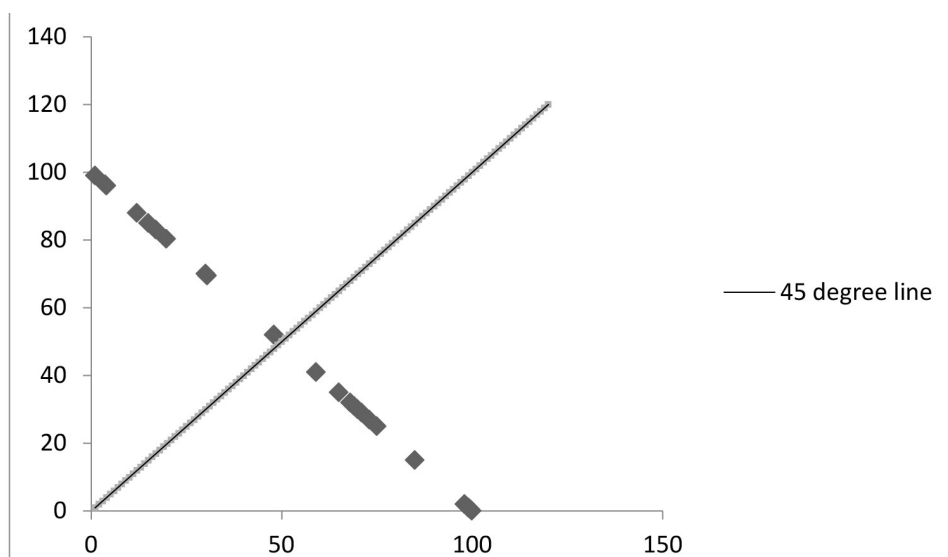
Source- Kerala Economic Review 2016(Volume 1)

Figure 3 and Figure 4 look at the trend of the sex ratio over 14 years (2002-2015) for both the male and the female dominated WFs. The proportion of female in the male dominated WFs are increasing in the recent years. This is noteworthy in terms of gender equality. For most of the WFs, the sex ratio increases from 2007 and has an increasing trend in recent years.

In the case of female dominated WFs, the sex ratios are more or less stable over the years. This is also impressive that signify that in the case of new workers in the Funds, the entrants are mostly female.

Growth of the WFs

In this section the average annual growth rate of the total workers, the total members enrolled, the enrolled male workers, the enrolled female workers, the administrative expenses, the expenses incurred for providing welfare benefits and the total expenditure with respect to time has been calculated for all the WFs. In table 3 Here the log of the dependent variable is regressed over time to get the annual average exponential growth rate. It is seen that roughly a large per cent of the workers are entering the occupation of being a lottery agent, traders, head load, dairy farming,

and autorikshaw. This might be due to the expectation of heavy returns from these activities. On the other hand there is occurring a marginal outflow of workers from the jobs like beedi and cigar making, handloom work, coir producing, khadi. Simultaneously, the enrolled members are also declining in the case of khadi, building and construction, cashew plantation. The decline in the enrolled membership in the case of KLWFB is due to the establishments of different other WFs. This growth of enrolled members will have different implications on the growth rate of enrolled males and females depending upon the type of job. In terms of establishment costs, KMTWWFB, KSAWWFB, KCOWWFB, KASWWFB, KRDEFB have high growth rates. It should be remembered that from here information about the scale is not considered. The high administrative cost is again a worrying issue. There are other funds where it is impressive to see that this expenditure is decreasing over the years like KBOWWFB and KBCWWFB. Increase in the welfare expense is a good signal of allotment of resources to the needy but also calls for the larger issue of financial crisis. Negative growth rate in welfare expenditure is not desirous. The growth rates of total expenditure of all the WFs over the years are positive. Adequate measures should be taken for very high growth rates of total expenditure like in the case of KSAWWFB, KAGWWFB, KBKPWWFB and KSLWWFB.

Figure 3: Sex ratio of male dominated WFs over years (2002-2015)
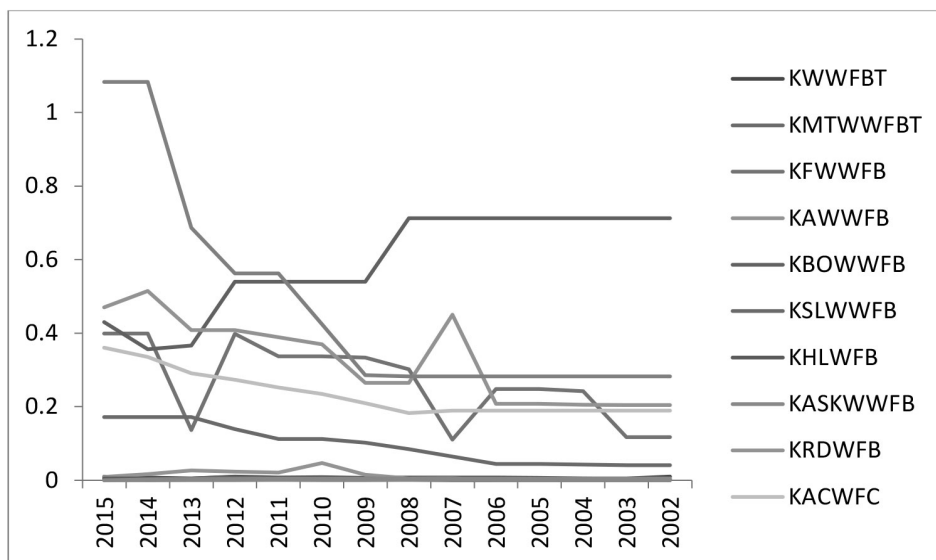
Source: Various Welfare Funds

Table 3: The growth rates (in percentage)

Name of the Board	Growth rate of total workers	Growth rate of members enrolled	Growth rate of enrolled males	Growth rate of enrolled females	Growth rate of administrative expenses	Growth rate of welfare expenses	Growth rate of total expenditure
KWWFBT	-0.82	1.94	1.97	3.52	9.21	5.80	14.34
KMTWWFB	-0.20	18.74	18.73	57.24	20.82	-28.29	22.12
KKWWFB	-0.20	-33.30	-19.14	-28.82	0.76	12.75	7.92
KFWWFB	-0.70	1.56	0.38	6.18	9.62	12.12	15.24
KSAWWFB	3.45	3.98			34.48	91.79	69.09
KAWWFB	5.43	-3.14	3.69	33.98	13.88	18.72	25.93
KCWWFB	0.63	-3.20	1.79	-3.50	10.38	0.46	12.84
KAGWWFB	3.56	2.52		2.46	9.55	27.93	34.46
KASWWFB	6.27	5.60	3.35	-6.4	10.46	10.82	8.53
KHWWFB	-1.90	-0.42	-2.30	-14.7	3.29	24.21	8.36
KBOWWFB	0.51	-23.27			-8.60	-17.10	26.05
KCOWWFB	-2.10	1.17	-1.80	1.73	14.39	21.30	28.82
KSLWWFB	11.75	21.34	20.24	34.25	8.37	5.59	86.11
KTWWFB	12.20	11.56			4.26	56.97	34.61
KTAWWFB	7.10	9.30	-1.5	12.72	10.28	9.99	27.83
KBCWWFB	-3.70	0.85	2.77	-0.2	-12.70	34.49	13.59
KBKPWWFB	1.83	12.99	4.15	18.16	10.44	71.79	51.71
KHLWFB	7.58	1.17	1.15	6.52	11.97	7.65	8.55
KLWFB	-3.60	-5.10			6.56	-3.02	1.58
KASWWFB	0.62	0.90	0.89	0.00	15.12	4.00	20.23
KRDWFB	0.32	0.02	-1.90	6.35	15.75	24.42	11.45
KCEPB	10.43	10.48					
KACWFC	-2.20	-0.40	-2.10	5.40			
KDFWFB	11.20	11.26	5.40	2.90			

Source: Various Welfare Funds

Critical Analysis of WFs

Over the last two decades, the high growth of India's GDP has not been accompanied by expanding social security for the masses. Till now, India does not guarantee a national minimum social security. Only recently in the Right to Food case, the government decided to provide nutrition and employment support through a legal guarantee of MGNREGA. In 2004, the UPA government appointed the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) to enquire into the conditions of the unorganised workers. It discovered that only 8 percent of India's workforce enjoys social security. The growth of the formal sector employment is dismal. The Commission also found that 79 per cent of the unorganised workers survived on an income less than Rs 20 a day which made it evident that the fruits of the growth are bypassing the huge proportion of working population.

Figure 4 Sex ratio of female dominated WFs over years (2002-2015)
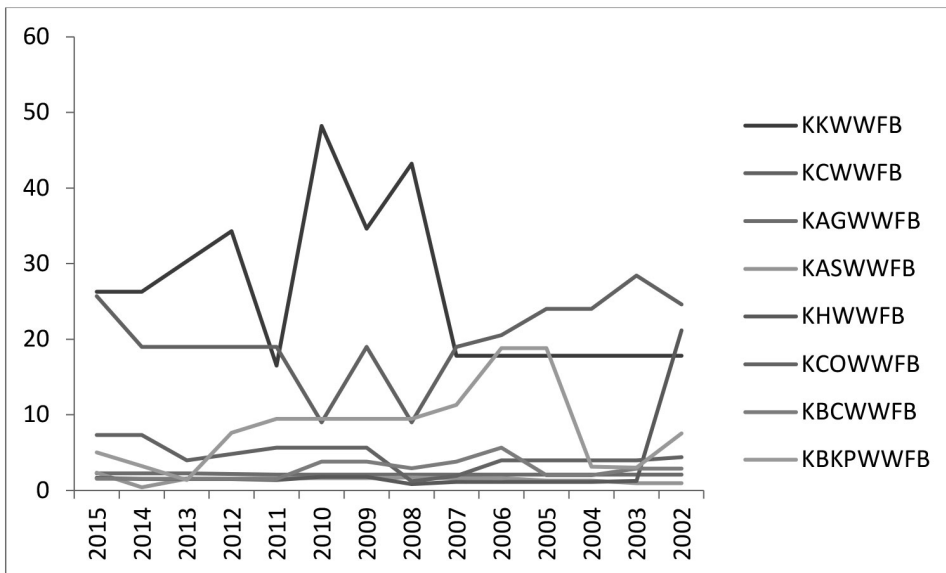
Source: Various Welfare Funds

Given such a background, the functioning of the WFs in ameliorating the hardships of the informal workers is outstanding in one of the states in India.

Kerala should take great pride in being the pioneer in India in initiating social security for the poor and the unorganized.. In terms of the coverage, its performance is quite impressive as it encompasses not only a huge range of population but also serves a good platter of occupations. Kannan (2002) has rightly stated that the ever-increasing demand for WFs for every sub-sector of the informal sector may be viewed as a desperate reaction of the workers for a measure of social security in an unprotected labour market.

This WF model of social security can be viewed as complementary to the basic social security or BSS as mentioned in the first section of the essay. Even though in the minimalist sense these WFs were successful in addressing the problem of insecurity and vulnerability of the unorganized workers. Together with the general and basic social security programmes such as food security, access to school education, and primary health care, the state-assisted social security programmes in Kerala have imparted a sense of dignity and self-esteem to the workers in the informal sector (Harilal, 1986).. The outcome of all these is that the informal sector workers are much better in the present scenario than they were some years back. Along with this the abysmal poverty that is visualized in other parts of India is a rare phenomenon in the state of Kerala.

Moreover, in most of the funds the benefits are paid through the banks which has resulted in the workers developing a banking habit. This is very impressive given the fact that the members are mainly casual labourers with little or no education. Also most of these WFs are self-generating in terms of resources and do not put pressure on the government budget. With the formation of the WFs the workers become more organized and also reduce the clashes between the worker and the employer at the workplace. Realising the strength of this model, it can be replicated in other states also.

Though the WF is a remarkable achievement for the vulnerable sections of the society, there are various limitations. The structural distinctiveness of Kerala such as the meagre income of the agricultural sector and their low productivity, the inadequate per capita income, the non-satisfactory performance of the industry hinder the development and the capacity of social security provision and of the WFs in specific.

The degree of difference in the benefits received and the amount of contribution is one of the major shortcomings. There are no well confirmed principles regarding payment and the benefits received. The variations occur within a group as well as between groups. Variations between the groups may be due to the discrepancy in the ability to pay across occupations. The government's assistance and that of the employers vary significantly. There is no government's assistance for some of the WFs like motor transport WF, toddy workers WF, Kerala headload workers WF while funds like fishermen's WF, the coir WF and the handloom WF receive a lot of government assistance. However this form of discrimination needs to be explored further and some uniformity is required. Within the WFs also some of the non-wage benefits depend on the number of days of employments and the wages and this leads to inequitable assistance (Pillai, 1996). Thus here the purpose of the WF is negated as the more vulnerable group with less of income is given less support. This happens mostly in the case of headload workers. Most of the benefits are scale neutral. Moreover this difference in payments and benefits calls for an assessment in terms of efficiency criterion (whether there is any need of the government to contribute in respect of the actual collection of contributions) against the equity criterion (difference in the ability to pay).

Serious impediments are faced while collecting assistance from the employers. This has been noticed in the case of headload workers where diffusion of employment has taken place due to the emergence of headload workers WF. Moreover the markets where the employer finds it possible to shift the burden to the customers do not cause any objections. But in the markets where the employer is a price taker or the price elasticity of the demand for the good is very high, serious difficulties is faced in collecting resources from the employers. This point is validated by the example of the agricultural segment where the legislation of the WF is put up at several stages in courts from 1974 onwards. The export sector of fishes also resorted to strike against the levy of 1 per cent of the turnover.

Coverage of workers is another problem. Though the participation in some of the WFs is quiet impressive but still a bulk of workers in the unorganised sector is left out of the welfare boards mainly in the rural areas. This poorer coverage ratio might be the cause of non-statutory status where membership is not compulsory. The non-attractiveness of some of the WFs might be due to the very modest amount of benefits that are provided.

Mobilization of resources and its proper management is also tricky. What concerns most is the inadequate proportion of disbursements. This might also lead the present generations gaining at the expense of the past generations. This might lead the credibility of the WFs to put to question. Wide disparities in the allocation of benefits are present among the Boards. Some of the WFs are successful in accumulating large amount of investments like the Kerala Toddy tappers WF, Kerala Headload WF. Thus a serious scrutiny is required for estimating the investment, the collection and the disbursements in each fund.

The criterion for some of the WFs in respect to the government's contribution and the employer's contribution is tied and conditional to that of the employee's share. This is seen in the case of handloom, advocates, artisans and skilled workers. As the contribution of the employees

are very minimal, the payment done by the employers and the government are also very less which gives rise to the question of solvency. One of the examples in the recent days is the crisis in the Malayalam film industry which was affecting the welfare schemes as the collection of cess has been bunged.

According to a study by National Sample Survey for 2007-08, the inflow of migrants from other states to Kerala is about one million which is more than the outflow to other parts of the country (0.97 million). During the 1980s and the 1990s, migration was limited to the neighbouring states of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka whereas recent trend includes migrants from West Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand. They are engaged in various jobs like construction, agriculture, domestic work, electrical work and so on. The menial and hazardous jobs are mostly allocated to this type of workers along with the difference in wages between the migrant labour and a local labour. However, the functioning of WF in this area is very limited. The exclusion of the migrant workers from the WFs is a major constraint. Recently on the May Day of 2010, a welfare scheme for the migrant workers were initiated by the Kerala Government named 'Inter State Migrant Workers Welfare Scheme'. The implementation of the scheme is through the Kerala Construction Workers WF which already runs the welfare scheme for construction workers. Several weaknesses are present in the scheme including the low enrolment ratio, problem arising from the certification of the employment by the employers along with the exclusion of the casual migrant workers. There is limited support from the trade unions and the political parties.

The cost of administration is enormous. This may be because each and every fund has its own autonomous administrative wing as a result of which there occurs a multiplicity of the total overhead costs. This poses a very basic question as to the need for the functioning of these collective care arrangements. Administration under a single roof (Sankar, 1986) calls for serious scrutiny due to the deviation in interests between the workers and the employers under different WFs. This might also lead the bureaucrats becoming less sensitive to the necessities of the workers. Thus serious assessment about the arrangements in administration is required for proper functioning. Regular checks and performance scrutinizing might be a possible solution. A major hitch is inherited in the system where all the employees performing the administrative works are government employees on deputation. This is the major reason that causes inefficiency in functioning due to lack of permanence and the additional deputation allowances that needs to be given. Another striking feature while going through the study of the WFs is differences in gender and the consequent economic viability of the funds as explained above.

A very crucial issue that needs proper rethinking is the rise of the political patronage. This might result in the collapse of the system and also of the welfare state. As the basis of these WFs is purely occupational, the movement in the labour market is mainly regulated by the unions as membership is crucial for the benefits to avail. As a new entrant can be seen in terms of additional burden, the employers join hands with the existing employees to resist this. This resulted in some of the WFs to possess a section of workers who are 'unregistered' and hence fails to avail the benefits. This is the 'insider-outsider' problem as suggested by K P Kannan.

In spite of the drawbacks, these WFs have provided relief to the vulnerable workers. A study by (Pillai, 1996) of the headload workers WF discovered that the negative effects of employment due to 'adjustment costs' and the consequent shift to the capital intensive technique (Fallon and Lucas 1991) with the expansion of the working hours is absent in the case of headload workers WFs .

These funds also improved the workers livelihood by providing stability and regularity in income along with the habit of savings.

The ever increasing cost of social security and its negative impact on the budgetary position caused the policy makers of mostly the western advanced countries to rethink the need for structural reorientation where the social security consumes a significant proportion of the national income. In the case of developing countries and specifically of India, universalisation of social security to encompass the entire unorganised sector is not a feasible proposition due to resource constraint along with several other problems associated with the unorganised nature. In this regard, the experience of Kerala is worth mentioning.

III

Conclusion

An examination of the current functioning of the welfare boards regarding the assistance and social security reveals that the fund is functioning satisfactorily but requirement of new form of benefits is still needed. It might be the case that the workers themselves might be willing to increase the amount of contribution so that they get little more benefits. Welfare schemes such as allowances for the maintenance of houses should be implemented. Efforts should be made to increase new membership. Because of the voluntary nature each and every worker is not reached. This might be because of the lack of awareness or the unwillingness or financial rigidity. But one point that should be appreciated about most of these welfare boards is that they have been functioning well and have been able to reach the rural workers. Moreover, with the transactions taking place in banks, the lower strata of the society has also been able to develop banking habits which is incredible. The general picture of the Welfare Fund Model in Kerala reflects the accomplishment of workers in a developing country. Though it has various limitations it still provides a path to assuaging the economic and social uncertainty among the workers in the informal sector and can be a guiding star to other developing countries.

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Appendix

Table 1A: Coverage rate of WFs (in percentage)

Name of the Board	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	Average
KWWFBT	93.5	93.5	100	100	74	100	100	100	89.6	91.1	100	100	100	36.5	91.3
KMTWWFB	19.4	99.9	53.3	53.3	47.9	44.4	38.8	23.1	100	5.4	21.4	5.2	19.8		41
KKWWFB	100	100	100	5.8	5.7	6.9	5.2	5.1	3.8	100	100	73.4			50.4
KFWWFB	100	100	100							100	100	61.4	100		94.4
KSAWWFB	93.3	93.3			81.2	81.2	81.2	81.3	81.2	82.8	82.9	83.6	83.6		84.1
KAWWFB	9.8	11.1	66.2	67.5	87.9	84.8		100	100	100	100	100	100	71.3	76.8
KCWWFB	100				97.1	77.4	82.8	77.4	76.8	78.2	88.6	88.6	96.8		86.37
KAGWWFB						96.5	96.5	94.9	92.9	90.4	98.4	100	100		96.2
KASWWFB			100	100	79.7	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	98.1
KHWWFB										50.6	50.4	49.6	48.9	22.6	44.4
KBOWWFB								94.2	98.2	77.2	77.2	77.2	71.4	4.2	71.3
KCOWWFB	100		64.3		55.9	55.9	100	84	50.5	51.4	51.9	50.9		39.2	64
KSLWWFB					24.3	24.3	15.9	6.1		12.4	12.4	12.4	12.2	10.6	14.5
KTWWFB	10.1				58.7	9.6				32.8	37.6	38.8	100		46.2
KTAWWFB	70.4	69.9	72.3	69.9	82.6	58.7	55.4	100	100	100	69.9	55.2	59.9	56.5	72.9
KBCWWFB				46.2	45.4	34.8	34.6	28.2	34.4	37.4	26.1	25.9	22.9	22	32.5
KBKPWWFB		32.5	25	26.5	22.7	22.7	15	13.9	9.6			6.6	4.5	3.6	16.6
KHLWFB	24.1	25.2	25.7	13.3	30.2	26.4	26.8	31.1	28	31.3	28.3	27.9	26.9		26.5
KLWFB					100					96.3	96.3	96.3	100		97.7
KAWWFB							6.6	6.3	6.3	6.3	6.4	6.3			6.3
KRDWFB	87.5	87.9	100	84.9	98.1	96.4	90.7	90.7	92	95.1	95.1	94.7	94.8		92.9
KCEPB			100							100	100	100	100		100
KACWFC	43.7	44.7	37.5	34.1	31.1	30.4	32.6	38.6	36.1						36.5
KAUWWF			8.8	8.8	8.6	8.5	8.4	8.4							8.5

Source: Various Welfare Funds

Table 2A: The member worker's sex ratio

Name of the Baord	2015	2014	2013	2012	2011	2010	2009	2008	2007	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	Male/Female Dominated
KWWFBT	.0073	0.0075	0.0048	0.0097	0.0076	0.0084	0.0069	0.0077			0.0065	0.0047	0.0046	0.01	M
KMTWWFBT	0.01	0.0009	0.0006	0.0006	0.0014	0.0012	0.001	0.0015	0.0003						M
KKWWFB	26.3	26.3		34.3	16.5	48.2	34.6	43.214	17.826						F
KFWWFB	0.3990	0.399	0.1367	0.3981	0.3373	0.3373	0.3336	0.3021	0.1105	0.2482	0.2482	0.2421	0.1176		M
KAWWFB	0.0088	0.0171	0.0271	0.0233	0.0206	0.0468	0.0153	0.0053	0.006						M
KCWWFB	25.6849	19.001			18.999	9.0001	18.999	9.0001	19.001	20.526	24	24	28.4034	24.59	F
KAGWWFB	2.2807	2.2807	2.2807		2.0727										F
KASWWFB	2.3332	0.4286	1.5641	1.5641	1.6316	1.6316	1.6316	1.7027	1.6008	1.613			0.9708	0.961	F
KHWWFB	1.6614				1.3699	1.8181	1.8181	0.8249	1.1118	1.1499	1.1192	1.1088	1.2591	21.16	F
KBOWWFB	0.4304	0.3564	0.3666					0.7127							M
KCOWWFB	7.3331	7.3332	4		5.6667	5.6667	5.6664	1.1995	1.9208	4	3.9761	4	4	4.405	F
KSLWWFB	0.1719	0.172	0.172	0.139	0.1124	0.1124	0.1025	0.0849		0.0444	0.0444	0.0427	0.0411	0.041	M
KTWWFB													0.0012	0.001	M
KTAWWFB						9.4376	4.8463	5.6324	11.664	24.661	2.4669	2.0109	3.2217	3.224	F
KBCWWFB				1.5323	1.5	3.8318	3.8269	2.9314	3.8023	5.6686	2.0302	2.0303	2.8878	2.888	F
KBKPWWFB	5.0262		1.3842	7.6122					11.309	18.823	18.823	3.1459	3.0041	7.558	F
KHLWFB	0.0050	0.0048	0.0046	0.0094	0.0042	0.0052	0.0049	0.0042	0.0046	0.0042	0.0046	0.0047	0.0042	0.002	M
KASKWWFB	0		0.0006	0.0006	0.0006	0.0006	0.0006	0.0006							M
KRDWFB	0.4706	0.5151	0.4084	0.4085	0.389	0.3699	0.2648	0.2648	0.4501	0.2076	0.2076	0.2051	0.2049		M
KCEPB		0.6926	0.6875												M
KACWFC	0.3603	0.3357	0.2909	0.2736	0.2526	0.235	0.2098	0.1825	0.1895						M
KDFWFB	1.0833	1.0833	0.6866	0.5625	0.5625		0.2856	0.2821							M
KAUWWF	0		0.0045	0.0045	0.0046	0.0046									M
KAUWWF			8.8	8.8	8.6	8.5	8.4	8.4							8.5

*Source:*Different Welfare Funds

Contested Times: The Politics of Gandhi Yug

Krupa Shah[1]

This paper examines the early 20th century period known as 'Gandhi Yug' (1915-1945) in Gujarati literature. It revisits and delineates important historical and political events that shaped the ethos of its nationalist times such as the creation of a new public sphere with the arrival of Gandhi from South Africa; the salience of the peasant both in politics and literature; the establishment of the Gujarat Vidyapith in 1920; the first comprehensive dictionary in Gujarati in 1929, and the emergence of the 'folk' as a cultural category. This paper argues that although Gandhian thought was increasingly influential in early 20th century Gujarat, this was a contested age with a multiplicity of voices, competing imaginations and an array of conflicting intellectual positions often homogenised under a label like 'Gandhi Yug'. The paper also examines the question of violent resistance and the competing conceptions of region and nation that shaped the politics of these writers and thinkers. Through these examinations, the paper attempts to complicate the canon of 'Gandhi Yug' and also show that Gandhism itself was assimilated in complex ways, not always uniformly, not always unanimously.

Keywords: Gandhi Yug, Gujarat, Gandhian thoughts, non-violence

In 1915, when Gandhi returned to India after his successful experiments with Satyagraha in South Africa, he chose Ahmedabad as a base for his future political endeavours because of a number of calculations. These calculations were to prove immensely far-sighted not only for situations of financial crisis but also for the success of various Satyagraha movements such as the mill workers' agitation for a wage hike that eventually led to the formation of the first labour union in Ahmedabad, the Majoor Mahajan Sangh in 1918. Moreover, Ahmedabad as a textile hub also became a strategic choice as it bolstered the Swadeshi movement through the semiotic politics of Khadi that became what Peter Gonsalves (2012) has called 'Gandhi's mega symbol of subversion'. Furthermore, Gandhi's love for the mother tongue often pitted against the detrimental effects of colonial training in English, was to become a central motif in his views on nationalism and national training (see Brock 1995). Gandhi stayed in Ahmedabad only for 15 years until the Salt Satyagraha in 1930 when he vowed not to return to his Sabarmati ashram until India gained Independence. Yet, in that short time, he had not only inaugurated a new era that came to be named after him in vernacular histories as Gandhi Yug, but had also started a series of activities such as editing the journals *Navjivan* (Gujarati) and *Young India* (English), the establishment of his Kochrab and the Sabarmati ashrams, the opening of Rashtriya Shalas or national schools in many parts of the country, the establishment of the Gujarat Vidyapith in 1920 and so on, all of which bore tremendous significance to the social and intellectual life of Gujarat in the early twentieth century.

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This paper argues that although Gandhian thought became increasingly influential in the early 20th century Gujarat,[2] this was a contested age with a multiplicity of voices, competing imaginations and an array of conflicting intellectual positions often homogenised under a label like 'Gandhi Yug'. In fact, Gandhian thought itself has been read and reread, interpreted and revisited by generations of scholars so that the man and his ideology, are not always without contradictions, ambiguities and even dissonances. Tridip Suhrud in his article 'Rediscovering Gandhi: New insights from recent books on Gandhi' has observed how the divide between "the religious, spiritual Gandhi and the political one, [...] between Gandhi the Ashramite and Gandhi the Satyagrahi" has come to shape both our academic engagement and our memory of the man. Shiv Visvanathan has also recorded the ironies of Gandhi's life and thought:

> Gandhi was a nationalist who fought the nation-state, an anti-colonialist who wished to redeem the British, a Hindu who happily bypassed the shastras. He was a Congress leader who wanted to preside over the dismantling of the Indian National Congress transforming it into a series of *seva sanghs*" (199).

Lending itself to a wide array of assessments and perspectives, Gandhism has been open to reinterpretation, cooption, and even perhaps reinvention. It becomes important to acknowledge that Gandhian thought in early 20th century Gujarat was, therefore, received and assimilated in equally complex ways, not always uniformly, not always unanimously.

The Age of Gandhi : Perspectives

Many scholars have seen Gandhi's towering influence in the social and political life of Gujarat as shaping the emergence of a new public sphere --- one which saw the integration of political and social reform activities which were, till then, separate and unconnected (Yagnik and Sheth, 2005); the creation of a national imagination, and the rallying of masses around social movements through various symbols[3] such as Khadi and the charkha (the spinning wheel) (Shukla, 1977). In 1936, Gandhi was chosen as the president of the Gujarat Sahitya Parishad, and invited to give a speech by eminent lawyer and novelist K M Munshi. This speech is historically important because of the way that it effectively captures some of the salient questions and issues of the Gandhian public sphere and the way Gandhi issued a call for action to the literary and social elites of his time.

By 1936, Gandhi had already been involved in the establishment of his own university called the Gujarat Vidyapith and had completed the project for a dictionary of standardised Gujarati spellings called Jodnikosh by 1929. After the Dandi march, he had left his Sabarmati Ashram and established a base at a remote and poverty-stricken village Segaon near Wardha and had also been involved in numerous social movements. It is in this context that the speech that he delivers becomes foundational in initiating a range of literary and social changes and stressing on the hitherto marginalised rural population and the stark differences between the worlds of the elite and the lives of the masses. Interestingly, the centrality of the rhetoric of the village and the lot of those on the lower rungs of society enters Gandhi's discussion through the idea of democracy, which he finds limited and inadequate. When does democracy work and when is it not enough? This question acquires salience in the context of the constitution of the Parishad that was drafted largely by K M Munshi and which

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[2] "In Gujarat nobody could possibly escape being influenced by Gandhi during the 1920' s and the 1930's. " (Joshi,3)

[3] "The Hoebers also argue that Gandhi's mode of politics was based on a revitalisation of tradition, 'the use of traditional symbols and language to convey new meanings and to reconstitute social action" (Gandhi: The vii-viii). The concept of 'swaraj' or self-rule came to mean both political and personal independence. Spodek has also shown how Gandhi's political methods were drawn from the risamanu and traditions he grew up seeing in from Saurashtra (363).

found itself challenged by others for precisely the reason that Munshi appeared to have sole right over it. While these critics coaxed Gandhi to make changes in this constitution, Gandhi asserts himself as a democrat and at the same time admits that one must acknowledge upto what extent democracy as a process is effective.

> I am a democrat and in spite of that I tell you that Parishads like these cannot be run on the yardstick of democracy. They may have democratic elements but not the principles of democracy. By the time even the most illiterate of children, women and men learn the meaning of 'democracy', I may not be alive. But those who are, must remember that such institutions cannot be founded on the standard of democracy alone. If they are then there is a chance that it may turn out to be mobocracy. I would especially like to say this to those who tell me to make changes in the constitution in the name of democracy. But this does not mean Munshi has the sole right over the constitution. I have read it and according to me, I can draft the constitution in a language that both an erudite lawyer and a lay person can understand. (pp.445-446, translation mine)

If we were to establish a people's bank, he suggests as an example, what we would need are people who are diligent and conscentious and willing to work for the welfare of the people. The process of a democratic election for these posts may not necessarily ensure this. What is indispensable however, is personal integrity and a moral commitment to the cause. Democracy as a political process fails if the people involved in governance are not morally sound and committed individuals and it is vital institutions such as the Parishad that suffer the most damage as their contributive roles in society are curtailed. At the same time, coercing change in the name of democracy too is not democracy but mobocracy that holds offices and individuals ransom to get their way.

While Gandhi acknowledges Munshi's large contribution in the drafting of the Parishad constitution, he decides that this contribution is not problematic because Munshi alone does not have sole right over it. Each constitution, while it may have its own limitations, carries within it the possibility of change and modification (p 446). Which constitution does not allow changes, he asks. At the same time, he acquiesces to bring about those changes that he sees fit in a straightforward manner so that the constitution may be accessible to both erudite and the lay person. In other words, Munshi's 'undemocratic' drafting of the constitution is justified on account of his integrity even as the constitution as a democratic document itself is inherently open to change. Further, the changes that ought to be made in this constitution are again in the service of a democratisation of language and literature so that both erudite and the lay may understand them. And yet, who is to judge when it is that democracy works and when it doesn't? Who is to judge if Munshi has integrity and who is to further say what changes need to be made? Gandhi himself in this discussion does not take into account his own enormous normative influence. Instead, his call to action to writers urges them to leave their realms of cultivated and classical learning and to write for the poor in a language and voice that they can relate to. In this call, Gandhi himself becomes a representative of the interests and the needs of the poor:

> What is the purpose of literature? Is it for Kasturbhai and Company, for Ambalalbhai or for Sir Chinubhai? They are wealthy and can afford to hire writers and establish libraries. But what about the agricultural labourer? […] Today in Segaon where I stay, there are six hundred people. Among these there may be hardly ten who would be able to read. What do I do there? As the head of the Vidyapith, I have opened a library where books can be issued and read free of cost. But among these ten, all men, hardly one or two would be able to read and understand these books and 75% of them are harijans. […] In such a village, what do I read to them? Should I read Munshi's novels or Sri Krishnalalbhai's 'Krishnacharitra'? Krishnacharitra is a translation that I enjoyed reading very much but such a book will be of no use in the village of Segaon. This is our plight today. If the writers of today don't hear this from me, who will they hear this from? I have not been able to bring a single chid from Segaon here with me. If I pay for his travel, then he will agree to come. But what will he do here?

> Yet, unasked and unelected, I stand here as his representative and convey to you the pain of the village. This is true democracy. I learn this from the people and tell you that if you want true swaraj, you have to come to the village. (448-450)

Lloyd and Lloyd have interpreted Gandhi's widespread influence by drawing from Weber's[4] concept of charismatic leadership that in Gandhi's case was reenacted in the familiar cultural model of the saintly man (5) or " a pilgrim searching for Truth" (Brown, 2011). More importantly, they have suggested that

> Gandhi's earliest experiments in creation of a public sphere tried out organization forms that could be used to attract new constituencies into politics-[...] if the coffee house is the quintessential formation of Anglo-American civil society, the ashram is the special institution of Gandhi's civil society" *(Rudolph and Rudolph, 2003: 391)*

The drawing of new constituencies into politics meant a foregrounding of the common man, the peasant and the socially marginalized. Indeed, in the first issue of *Navjivan*, Gandhi describes his objective to reach

> …the huts of farmers and the homes of weavers. I want to write in their language. I will pray to God that in every house the women read 'Navjivan'[..] No sentence will be written without thought, there will be no useless adjective. In fact, the truth does not need to be adorned by an adjective. The art that one finds in pure reality cannot be found in one sullied by adjectives." (n. pag, trans. author).

Apart from the Ashram as a special institution of Gandhi's civil society, the Gujarat Vidyapith served a monumental role in the cutural life of Gujarat. In the Parishad speech, Gandhi defines its role in the following manner:

> The Vidyapith is not a momentary institution. It will continue as long as we understand the meaning of swaraj. It is not stagnant. But like the Ashram, it is a dynamic institution. It existed in the past, it is here now and it will remain in the future. The Vidyapith has transformed many times and will continue to transform. It does not consist of Gidvani nor Kirpalani nor Kaka but the common man and the peasant. […] It is not for the sophisticated of Ahmedabad. It is not a depot where they arrive and we dress them up for a while and then deliver them back to their parents. The Vidyapith is meant for the shaping of men and women from the village.

Part of the process of this shaping impinges largely in the domain of the linguistic and the literary as mentioned earlier. In fact, the emergence of the folk as a domain in the 1920s and 1930s in the context of Gujarat at least, came at a time when the idea of the 'popular,' 'of the people' or 'of the common man' was a central rhetoric of the times. The coupling of the words *lok* and *varta* to refer to folklore or *lok* and *sahitya* to refer to Folk literature is only an early 20th century phenomenon (Pande, 1963). The village as the authentic centre of human life and of a way of living based on simplicity and self-sufficiency also provided a seamless shift from the folk as cultural repository to the peasant as a powerful political constituency.

Even in the literature of its time, new forays began that saw rural settings, language and characters from the deprived classes and social issues as legitimate subjects of literature for the first time. While questions of untouchability, caste and the empowerment of women appeared for the first time in literature and the political domain, a variety of familiar Gandhian themes such as the dignity of labour, non-violence, abstinence of liquor and so on are dealt with in a set of attitudes that can be called "a paradoxical convergence of articulation and silence" (Nagraj 2006). A landmark story of the period Khemi by writer R. V Pathak was centred on the exploitation and eventual Sanskritization

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[4] Differing with Weber, they have also observed:
"While Weber and contemporary social psychologists associate industriousness and the economising of time and resources with achievement drives rooted in 'Protestant' character, Gandhi came to them through familial and religious socialisation in the Vaishnavite and Jain traditions of Gujarat.' (*Rudolph and Rudolph, 1967b:* 65)

of a Dalit woman. These cultural silences guided by the axiom of 'vani, vichar, achar' or (speech, thought and behaviour) appear most characteristically in the work of Gujarati women writers who manifest the principle of Gandhian non-violence through a genteelness often synonymous with a refusal to engage (Kothari, 2006).

Yet, Umashankar Joshi, a writer generally associated with the canon of Gandhi Yug[5] also describes the various ideological forces-from socialist realism and ideals to nationalist movements like swadeshi that had an impact early on even before Gandhian thought made its way into the literature of the time:

> Gujarati literature grew inevitably in the atmosphere of the national upsurge during the 1920' s and more particularly during the 1930' s . The guiding spirit was Gandhi. It was, however, not so much G a n d h i a n philosophy as things like nationalism, return to the village, preference for the language of the common man, a surface identification with the masses, that colored the writings of most of the poets. This was reinforced by the newly growing awareness of socialistic ideals during the early 1930 's. [...] it should be borne in mind that the main things in the Gandhian view of life, viz., compassion or love as the dispenser of man's destiny, rarely figured as the dominant theme in Gujarati writings. It could be argued that the Gandhian philosophy has not yet found a vent in Gujarati writing as also in other languages. What is significant is the fact that the phenomenon called Gandhi released the creative energies in the life and letters of Gujarat. By 1930, it was a stupendous tidal wave. (Joshi, 1973: 3-4)

These words clearly describe an age of varied and shifting influences that were equally affected by regional as well as exterior events such as the World Wars and the fall of tzardom in Russia. Furthemore 'a surface identification with the masses' also described many of the attitudes of the Progressive Writers of the time whose work ranged from narratives as varied as Premchand's *Kafan,* depicting abject poverty and Mulk Raj Anand's *Untouchable* (1935) that saw in modern science and technology the solution to traditional social problems. Socialist realism became acceptable to Indian writers in 1930s (Weir 136) and in the case of Gujarat at least it fitted well with the Gandhian vision of life. While Gandhi stood "for an ageless alchemy of love", Marx exposed "a sharp polarisation of interests" both of which clashed in a post-industrial age only to be realigned in the "need for equality and social justice" (Joshi, 1973). Thus it is important to acknowledge the various prisms through which Gandhism was refracted and received even as it interacted and assimilated many of the movements of its times.

The discourses around social change, the democratisation of literature that saw on one hand the responsibility of writers to write for a rural audience and on the other, of the Gandhian agenda of bringing language and literature to the peasant nevertheless saw a lot of ambivalence. For example, while Gandhi stressed the importance of a democratisation of literature and the role of the writers of the day to write for and in the language of the common man, his project of the standardisation of the Gujarati language and its spellings nevertheless favoured a sanskritised register that had huge implications for economic and occupational prospects (Sebastian, 2009). His approaches to caste too were marked by a similar ambivalence. Although Gandhi grossly condemned untouchability as a blot on Hinduism he continued to identify it merely as a religious rather than as a social or an economic issue even as he firmly believed in the varnasharama system of dividing society into different castes. On his views on the social and domestic role of women, several scholars have shown how while some of his social movements saw a huge participation of women in public spaces, traditional hierarchies and patriarchal norms nevertheless remained largely uncontested (see Forbes, 1998).

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[5] Interestingly, Joshi's own admission "I am not a Gandhian nor a Marxist" (6) questions the retrospective politics of canonisation that places him squarely in a Gandhian tradition.

Other Voices: B K Thakore, Munshi and Meghani

If we were to look at other influential voices during this period that shaped the ethos of this time we find a variety of people, from critic B K Thakore and nationalist Kanaiyalal Munshi and even the celebrated folklorist from Kathiawar Jhaverchand Meghani who in their own ways dealt with issues that were pertinent in their own spheres. In response to a letter that the famous Gujarati writer and critic B. K. Thakore wrote to him in English, Gandhi replied lightheartedly:

> I should very much prefer your hybrid Gujarati to your chaste English. Had you written hybrid Gujarati I could have had some fun at the cost of the man of letters that you are and would have gloated over the fact that I would not write such hybrid Gujarati. Besides, the practice of writing in Gujarati, however hybrid, is likely to result in the writing of chaste Gujarati. (159)

This exchange[6] based on the different kinds of Gujarati that Gandhi and Thakore could use is symptomatic of the differences between the two stalwart influences of the early 20th century. Indeed, Umashankar Joshi has remarked: "If Gandhi had enlarged and purified our vision of the social landscape, Thakore had rendered a similar service with respect to poetic and linguistic techniques" (Joshi, 1973: 2-3).

For Gandhi, Gujarati was a project for cultural authenticity and the basis of communitarian and indigenous identity that provided a space outside the colonial machine. Sebastian (2009) has shown how Gandhi's anxiety over the standardisation of spellings in Gujarati eventually led to the first Gujarati dictionary in 1929 (Sebastian 2009: 97).

Thakore, on the other hand, was a dominant poetic influence[7] during the early 1930s and known for his reputation as a robust critic and historian. Although Thakore and Gandhi were born in the same year and were contemporaries, they stood for the values of two very different eras. Thakore was associated with the Pundit Yug, and belonged to a generation of writers who inherited Western education on one hand and learnt to look at their Sanskrit heritage with a sense of lost glory. At the same time, Thakore also stood for a literary tradition that was both rigorously classical and against lyrical sentimentality that characterised the work of another celebrated contemporary poet of the time, Nanalal[8]. Yet, Thakore always remained unassociated with any school of thought and clashed with almost every important thinker, ideologue and writer of the period from Gandhi to K. M. Munshi. He declined Bal Gangadhar Tilak's offer to join him as assistant editor on his popular periodical Maratha because of ideological differences and even though the Indian National Congress had a widespread influence on intellectuals at the time, Thakore never joined it (Panchal, 1998: 12). On the other hand, Thakore's response to the colonial situation was shaped by his university education that led him to challenge claims of colonial superiority by the need to reexamine history from an indigenous perspective. Indeed, in his formative years, Thakore writes that "the study of Indian history ha[d] become an imperious necessity" (qtd in Chandra, 2014: 63). At the same time, Thakore embodies a contradiction often characteristic of many writers of the time negotiating

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[6] In an earlier letter, Gandhi, perhaps in jest, wrote to Thakore: "I see that it will be necessary to agitate for introducing a new section in the Penal Code when we have a Parliament of our own. When two parties know the same lndian language, and one of them writes to the other or talks with him in English, the party so doing will be liable to a minimum of six months' rigorous imprisonment. Let me know what you think of such a section and also, before we gain swaraj, what action should meanwhile be taken against those who commit the offence" (363).

[7] He was well-known for his metrical innovations and introducing the sonnet form in Gujarati.

[8] Sisir Kumar Das reinforces this:
"What was best in the poetic tradition and the critical school in the Dvivedi period in Hindi or the Satyavadi period in Oriya or the Niti period in Nepali Thakore represented that in his person. [...] He almost revolutionised the poetic taste and appeared as a resisting force against the world of emotion and sentiment, tenderness and musicality, platonic love and mysticism that was Nanalal's" (210)

Western modernity and their own traditions. Sirish Panchal has observed:

> He [B. K. Thakore] adopts a revolutionary and an iconoclastic stand in literature and literary criticism. Strangely enough, he finds himself quite comfortable in conforming to age-old traditions of Indian society and Indian family (Panchal, 1998).

While Gandhi stood for a democratisation of language, not without its own politics, Thakore in his capacity as a critic stood as a legitimising authority militating against popular taste and providing literary standards for scholarship, a position often at odds with Gandhism. Further, as a product of colonial education, B. K. Thakore portrays a characteristic ambivalence between admiration for the British and the need to create a rich indigenous tradition. Also, he did not, like K. M. Munshi, agree with Gandhi's methods and came out in stark criticism against the Kheda agitation in the 1920s.

Riho Isaka (2002: 4871) has shown how the idea of Gujarat in the late 19th and early 20th century was a project of contested imaginations and the narration of regional history by Gujarati intellectuals of the time was closely linked to the notion of Gujarati identity that they wished to establish. It is in this context that Kanaiyalal Munshi, an influential writer and nationalist of the 20th century becomes significant. Munshi's historical novels depicting the glorious Solanki period of Gujarat were immensely popular even as they have drawn criticism for portraying the Hindu heritage of Gujarat as its golden era and the Muslim period as a time of cultural decline (ibid 4869). Munshi was a Gujarati nationalist who campaigned for statehood and also coined the term Gujarati *asmita,* or identity. He became known as the founding father of Gujarat[9] and has written numerous literary and historical works. In his *Gujarat and its Literature,* Gandhi remarked in the foreword that the book confined itself to the language understood and spoken by the middle class (v). He further added:

> Munshi has alluded to Parsi-Gujarati. [...]And just as there is Parsi-Gujarati there is also Muslim-Gujarati though on a much humbler scale. [...] no reviewer of Gujarati literature can afford to ignore the existence of works which hundreds, if not thousands, of Parsis and Muslims read [..]" (vi).

Furthermore, although Munshi had initially joined the Indian National Congress and had cordial relations with Gandhi, he eventually resigned citing differences over the question of violent resistance. In his book *Akhand Hindustan* he wrote:

> If war comes to India's frontiers or the British machinery of maintaining order weakens [...] if life, home and shrine and honour of women are threatened by goondaism, organised resistance in self-defence appears to me to be a paramount and inalienable duty, whatever form such resistance may take. (1942b: 262).

Just as his conception of the glorious heritage of Gujarat forged an idea of Gujarat predicated predominantly on Hindu culture, he went on to also put forth his own idea of India, or what he called Akhand Hindustan. This notion of a strong and united India "from Amarnath to Rameswar, from Dwarka to Kalighat" (1942b: 23) was conceived against the movement for Partition and represented a bold position where the use of violence for the sake of unity was inherently justified. While Munshi, is a complex ideologue whose views underwent significant change from the initial years to the later parts of his life where he seemed to gravitate towards the Hindu Right, his influence in the nationalist years provided for many, a counterpoint to Gandhi's politics of non violence.

Another immensely popular writer of the time Jhaverchand Meghani was interrupting the very idea of Gujarat through a perspective of the culturally distinct region of Saurashtra or Kathiawad. Also categorised as a writer of the Gandhi Yug, Meghani is canonised in Gujarati literature as a

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9 Samira Sheikh has questioned Munshi's claim that Gujarat emerged as a culturally cohesive region in the Solanki period (12th century) arguing instead that it was only much later in the 15th century after Zafar Khan declared his sovereignty over Gujarat that this cohesion was achieved (6).

Yugkavi (Poet of the age) or a Rashtriya Shayar (National Poet) and some writers have also called him the People's Poet (Thakar, 2006:119). Meghani, remarks Sisir Das (1991:210), "wrote about the underdog without being a Marxist". The fact that Meghani was simultaneously known as the national poet and the people's poet is significant and ironic. It was Gandhi who gave him the title of 'National Poet' in a move that could be seen today as an appropriation of the regional in the service of the national. On the other hand, Meghani endorsed violent resistance and has remarked on his differences with Gandhi: "I am not his [Gandhi's] follower. I am neither a practitioner of his political ideology nor a devotee of his spiritual ethics" (qtd in Bharat Mehta, 2002).

Meghani's gigantic oeuvre covers literary genres, travelogues, folklore, songs, lullabies, etc., consisting of a staggering body of 88 books in the brief span of the 25 years of literary life. This body of work calls attention to the idea of Gujarat even before the idea of India, pointing to the significance of a regional nationalism in the face of the nationalist movement. Meghani wandered far and wide into regions of Saurashtra collecting folk songs, narratives and repertoires of popular memory. His sources were people from various occupations, castes, gender and class. His pioneering collection of folk stories *Saurashtrani Rasdhar* (1923-27) or A Noble Heritage: A Collection of Short Stories based on the Folklore of *Saurashtra,* depicts the heroic Rajput culture of medieval Saurashtra. In his preface, Meghani describes his collection as an attempt to redress the stereotype of Kathiawad as a land without cultural heritage and barren of literary inspiration (11). *Saurashtrani Rasdhar* is an instance that deconstructs the sense of regional homogeneity of Gujarat as a bounded region where Gujarati is spoken, conferring instead a literary and historical legitimacy to marginalised Kathiawadi usages. It allows for spaces of alterity challenging prescriptions of linguistic and historical modes of being and remembering. It also legitimizes the spoken language in all its unstandardised variety as a valid mode of literature.

Conclusion

I have tried to show here in large brushstrokes that the early 20th century period of Gujarat known as Gandhi Yug was a contested period with competing imaginations over the various sites, of language, ideas of India, the question of violence and the perception of a historical past. There were other sites of contestation, such as the attitudes towards caste and untouchability as well as the question of women's empowerment, that I have not taken up here and belongs to a separate discussion. Further, I have discussed writers perceived primarily to be within a Gandhian canon in order to complicate the label of 'Gandhi Yug' and to show the inherent complexities of the various negotiations or negations of Gandhism. The question of non-Gandhian writers, or those outside the canon as part of another politics of canonisation is not herein addressed. While Gandhian thought was increasingly influential, B. K. Thakore as a stalwart literary influence still represented the values of the earlier Pundit Yug associated with erudite language and eclectic scholarship. On the other hand, the nationalist Munshi struggled to accept Gandhian non-violence as an adequate means of resistance even as his own conception of Gujarati asmita and the glory of Gujarat shaped his imagination of an idea of India as Akhand Hindustan. Jhaverchand Meghani's voluminous work achieved the task of interrupting a homogenous idea of Gujarat by firmly establishing a regional identity for Saurashtra in the literary and historical space and negotiating it within a nationalist imagination. Further, by collecting and compiling the vast repertoires of oral narratives, he also contributed significantly to Gujarati literature bringing a historical perspective from below in a mode and language legitimised for the first time as literature. That each of these writers exerted significant influences in their own ways and

domains during this period shows the complex dynamics of the Gandhi Yug. This complexity also challenges both a retrospective homogeneity of the period and a politics of canonisation through a label like 'Gandhi Yug'.

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Implementation of Janani Suraksha Yojana
Mapping evidence-based policy recommendations from implementation narratives of ASHAs

Kavita Bhatia[1]

This paper reports an exploratory study that presents the implementation experiences of CHWs ASHAs from India in the flagship maternal health programme, the Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY). It attempts to infer evidence based policy recommendations. The study has a purposive sample of 100 ASHAs from Maharashtra, a high performing state (high rate of institutional deliveries). Mixed methods were applied with a participatory approach. A process analysis of the ASHA's experiences lead to evidence based policy recommendations. The paper reports on the findings and discusses their import to policy.

Keywords : Community health workers, maternal health, ASHAs, Janani Suraksha Yojana

There is a plethora of literature available on the performance of Community Health Workers (CHWs), but very little is known about the CHWs' perspectives of the health programme that they implement. Frontline workers are the agents that transform policy into practice .It is important to have their unique insights owing to their hands-on experience with the health programme. Their proximity to the other stakeholders makes it possible for them to reflect unknown realities. Their perspectives can, therefore, form the basis for authentic and impactful evidence-based policy changes.

Maternal health is a core function of all public health services. Recent case studies (USAID 2013, Perry et.al 2017) of global large-scale CHW programmes show that CHWs in several countries are the frontline providers of maternal health care. In countries like India, Rwanda and Zambia, CHWs also facilitate safe deliveries.

India's flagship national maternal health programme is called the Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY). It began in 2006. At the outset, ten states were classified as Low Performing States with a low rate of institutional deliveries, and the rest were classified as High Performing States. JSY integrates cash incentives to pregnant women and CHWs, with antenatal care, institutional delivery in a public/ recognized facility and post-natal services. Incentive payments are conditional to eligibility and institutional delivery (MoHFW,2006). It is implemented in every village, by a CHW, supported by a subcentre at 1000 population level, a Primary Health Centre at 30,000 and a Community Health Centre at 100,000 level. It is now extended to slums supported by maternity hospitals, district hospitals and state hospitals in the urban areas.

A large scale CHW programme called the Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA) programme implements JSY, and other health programmes, at the community level. Starting from 2005, every village (now extending to every slum) in the country has a woman CHW called ASHA, selected,

trained and supervised by the public health services system and paid task-based incentives (NHM Guidelines, 2006). ASHAs are the primary workers that implement the JSY in the community, but there is little evidence of their implementation experiences.

A literature search was carried out in PubMed Central and Google scholar. The search term used was 'Asha AND Janani Suraksha Yojana'. The start and end dates were January 2012 and July 2017. Studies with no mention of ASHAs were eliminated. Studies from Indian journals were included through Google. Weekly reference lists given in 2017 by the Biomed Updater were included under the search term 'Community Health Workers, large scale programmes'. The start date and end dates were August 2014 and July 2017. Only studies on 'CHWs IN maternal health' were included.

This search showed that the earlier studies largely reported the impact of JSY on the beneficiaries and not the ASHAs. The focus of the recommendations too was on increasing the uptake of JSY services, not on the ASHAs. For example, the poor behaviour of hospital staff towards the beneficiaries was identified as a gap, but their behaviour towards the ASHAs is not reported.

A few findings that were relevant to this study were as follows. In India, 301 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births during 2001-03 have reduced to 167 during 2011-13. Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) has declined from 58 deaths per 1000 live births in 2005 to 37 in 2015 (SRS Bulletin 2015). In 2005–06, only 39 per cent of Indian women delivered in a health facility. JSY helped raise institutional delivery to 74 per cent in the first eight years since its implementation. (Sidney et.al., 2017).

On the other hand, in areas where there was underutilization of public facilities for deliveries, the main factor has been the poor quality of care in the facilities. (Sidney et.al.2017, Vellakal et.al., 2017, Silan et.al., 2017). The motivation and support services by ASHAs are a major enabling factor for the pregnant women to avail of JSY services and to increase the uptake of institutional delivery in public health facilities. The cash incentive given to pregnant women has played a lesser role (Chaturvedi et. al., 2017, Mondal et.al., 2017).

There was a paucity of evidence collected directly from the frontline implementers, namely, the ASHAs. This study attempts to address this gap, towards developing a stronger JSY. Brownson (2017) proposes three key domains of evidence-based policy. These are process, content, and outcomes. This study is placed within the domain of process. To the best of the researcher's knowledge there is no earlier study that has conducted such an enquiry.

The Study

This study was conducted on ASHAs in a High Performing State, namely, Maharashtra. The underlying assumption was that the experiences of ASHAs are similar across states, regardless of the uptake of JSY services.

Each ASHA works in her own village. She only meets other ASHAs from her own area at the monthly meetings of the local Primary Health Centre (PHC) or at training sessions. There are no official meetings of ASHAs across districts in the same state. Therefore, the sample was drawn from an unofficial meeting of ASHAs from several districts of Maharashtra, for wider diversity in the sample.

Sampling and Methods

The ASHAs were accessed at one single state level trade union meeting held in Kolhapur city (the name of the trade union and the date is withheld for anonymity). A total of 230 ASHAs who also held

honorary positions as district and block level trade union leaders were present at the meeting. These women were leaders but were practicing ASHAs as well.

All ASHAs go through the same processes while implementing a programme. They all face challenges. Their responses to the challenges might differ depending upon the personality and leadership qualities but their leadership abilities do not exempt them from any challenge in the field. This study is about the ASHA challenges in JSY and the emergent recommendations. Therefore the experiences of these ASHAs, even though they were trade union leaders, were considered as being representative of any ASHA.

The aims of the study and the methodology were explained to all the 230 ASHAs and their informed consent was sought for participation. Of the 230, only a 100 ASHAs consented to participate in the study. Thus this study had a purposive sample of a 100 ASHAs, who were based in a 100 villages of 78 blocks of 14 districts in Maharashtra state.

The study used mixed methods with a participatory approach. It was entirely conducted in the local language Marathi. Since time was limited, the tool of enquiry was a self-answered questionnaire in Marathi. It had multiple choice questions, open questions and scales. All the 100 ASHAs were given the questionnaire simultaneously and thus a sample size of 100 was covered in a single all-day meeting. Unstructured individual and group interviews were also conducted but their purpose was only to iterate the findings from the self-answered questionnaire and not to add to the findings.

The findings that are reported in this study are drawn only from the answers given in the self-answered questionnaire.

Data analysis and findings

The responses of the ASHAs in the self-answered questionnaire, were analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively.

1. Basic Profile: The basic profile of the ASHAs was established by multiple choice questions and reported numerically.

2. Challenges during implementation: Open questions, designed to explore their experiences of JSY, yielded over 350 responses. Almost all the responses were about the challenges faced during implementation. They formed the basis for a large part of the findings. Six Challenges were identified in the following manner:

2.1 All the responses were listed, and read repeatedly, yielding 10 themes.

2.2 A detailed matrix including representative quotes was prepared. This matrix underwent data consolidation and reduction.

2.3 Repeated reading of the detailed matrix and thematic analysis and the continuous process of inference revealed six major challenges faced by ASHAs during implementation of JSY.

2.4 Finally, a matrix of the challenges faced by ASHAs, was prepared for discussion. In this matrix, the six major JSY challenges faced by ASHAs were presented. The matrix also presented recommendations for the six challenges for implementation and policy reforms.

3. ASHAs' perceptions of key JSY processes: Earlier studies and field observations indicated that there are some key processes undertaken during implementation of JSY, Therefore the

ASHAs' perceptions of these key processes were explored by way of three point scales. The emergent data was converted to a single frequency table for discussion.

4. ASHAs' perceptions of safety: Safety emerged as one of the six challenges identified by ASHAs. Apart from this, perceptions of safety were explored both qualitatively and quantitatively. The themes and numbers findings were triangulated in the analysis. Safety perceptions were reported in a table and figures.

Thus the findings include percentages, numerical and text tables, matrices, figures, and quotes. These are reported in a seamless manner in the findings.

Profile of the respondents

Age: The ages of the ASHAs in the sample ranged from 23 years to 50 years.

Place of work: About 84 of the 100 ASHAs reported that they lived and worked in rural areas, while 14 were from tribal areas and 2 did not respond.

Work Experience: More than half the women that are 52 had worked for 5-6 years while 22 had worked for 4-5 years. The rest of the ASHAs (26) had less than 4 years of experience except one who had worked for 8 years.

Psycho-social profile: This was an active and articulate group with leadership qualities and experience, making them very eligible for process documentation. Yet more than half of the ASHAs present, did not participate in an investigation about their own experiences (refer sampling). The ASHAs in the sample were asked why the others did not participate. Their responses revealed uncertainty and insecurity about their post.

"It is okay to speak in a group…if the news goes back then what will happen…it is not a job" (ASHA Worker-Leader)

II

Challenges During the Implementation and Perceptions of Key Processes

ASHAs are given defined tasks in JSY (MoHFW, 2017). However, JSY was seen by the ASHAs as a challenging process of nine months with each pregnant woman. Six major challenges defined by the ASHAs through open questions. These JSY Asha challenges are presented below in the form of themes. The same challenges were reflected in their perceptions of key processes as well, when measured numerically by scales. This numerical data is also presented below as it supports and illustrates the qualitative themes.

JSY Asha Challenge 1: Documentation

Maharashtra is a High Performing state. Incentives are given only to pregnant women who are eligible (Below Poverty Line (BPL)/ Scheduled Caste) and only after documents are submitted. Although the policy guidelines specify that the ASHAs need submit only the pregnant woman's BPL card, in practice, there were many papers.

JSY incentive eligible mothers needed a caste certificate to prove they met the caste eligibility of being from a Scheduled Tribe; an identification card called the Aadhar Card was mandatory for all cash transfers from the government and lastly, proof of a bank account was needed. Address proof in the form of a Ration Card was necessary if the pregnant woman was registered in her marital home but delivered at her natal home.

Matrix 1: Challenges of implementing a maternal health care program for CHWs and the emergent policy recommendations: Ashas in Janani Suraksha Yojana

Challenges	Emergent recommendations	Challenges	Emergent recommendations
Theme one: Documentation 1.1 Too many documents demanded 1.2 Frequent, unpaid travel 1.2 Lack of co-operation from families, officials, ANM (Auxiliary Nurse Midwife). 1.3 Confusions over documents required.	**Changes in guidelines** 1.1 Single window-single paper policy 1.2 Local full time staff handles documentation, not Ashas 1.3 Link Asha identity letter and registration of birth to incentives, not signatures	**Theme four: Decision making** 4.1 The choice of facility for delivery is decided by Ashas, a responsibility she feels is beyond her training and position.	**Changes in guidelines** 4.1 Ashas get the solo power for issuing a referral note to a health facility for delivery.
Theme two: Coverage Pressure 2.1 Difficult to persuade community for delivery in public health facility. 2.2 Out of pocket travel and uncounted efforts for pregnant women who are above JSY criteria. 2.3 Exploitative ANMs	**Changes in guidelines** 2.1 Quality and monitoring systems at PHC/CHC levels. 2.2 Eliminate the role of ANMs for payments to Ashas. 2.3 Create parity for JSY incentives.	**Theme five: Loss of face** Loss of face in the community due to: 5.1 Onward referrals, absence of ambulance, doctors and kits. 5.2 Rude and dismissive behaviour by full time staff.	**Changes in guidelines and implementation** 5.1 A redressal system by toll free line to the CM's office. 5.2 A complain should attract an inquiry of the concerned MO. 5.3 Sensitivity classes for all staff and the community.
Theme three: Transportation 3.1 Ambulance does not turn up 3.2 Arranging alternative transportation stressful 3.3 Out of pocket expenses for travel.	**Changes in implementation** 3.1 Make non arrival of ambulance a punitive action for ambulance driver. 3.2 An advance travel allowance for Ashas.	**Theme six: Safety concerns** 6.1 Unsafe people 6.2 Unsafe behaviors	**Changes in guidelines and implementation** 6.1 Vishakha Act. 6.2 Eliminate the clause of Asha escort for delivery at night.

ASHAs were expected to collect these and other documents from the family, or help them acquire the papers from the concerned officials. In addition, the signature of the Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) had to be acquired by ASHAs after the delivery in a public facility in order to be eligible for their own cash incentive. They felt pressurized because the documentation required repeated visits, at their own expense. The families and officials did not always co- operate in the process, enhancing their difficulties.

JSY Asha Challenge 2: Coverage Pressure

The Asha is expected to facilitate maternal health and institutional delivery for every single pregnant woman in the village. The ASHAs said they were pressurized for the coverage of women by Auxilliary Nurse Midwives (ANMs). Other forms of exploitation by the ANMs that were reported were the refusal of travel expenses compensations, and usurping of the credit and incentives for Family Planning coverage after the delivery. These trends were seen in an earlier study as well. (Bhatia, 2014)

There is pressure for the total coverage of JSY on one hand and at times, resistance from the families on the other. However, ASHAs are paid only if the mother too is eligible for an incentive. For all the pregnant women outside the incentive criteria, the ASHAs said they not only completed all the tasks, but also facilitated deliveries without any compensation. In addition there was out of pocket expense for travel if the ambulance did not turn up, a finding seen earlier (Bhatia, 2014) as well.

There was a blasé attitude towards this exploitative practice among the health functionaries. A senior official confirmed

"ASHAs of 24 states (High Performing States) do JSY under the free services department"

The ASHAs were aware but resigned.

"We are from open area, we get nothing" (ASHA Worker)

JSY Asha Challenge 3: Transportation

The ASHA has to reach the PHC with the pregnant woman in time for the institutional delivery. Arranging for transportation is also the responsibility of ASHAs.

There is a helpline to call for an ambulance, but it can be unreliable. Table 1 shows that about half the ASHAs did not get an ambulance always. ASHAs regularly undertook the nerve-racking exercise of looking for alternative transportation, with the woman inching towards delivery time. This could be a three-wheeler, a share-a-seat open jeep, a private vehicle, or a makeshift cot until the nearest vehicle is reached. This happened at odd hours, in distant areas, and in adverse weather, as during the monsoons. The ASHAs also payed out of their pocket for alternative transportation because advance travel allowance was not given.

JSY Asha Challenge four: Decision-making

The JSY guidelines indicate that ASHAs and ANM should identify the health facility for delivery. In practice, most of the ASHAs decided the health facility where the pregnant woman should deliver, alone (Table 1). Frequent upward referrals and the absence of staff (Matrix 1 and Table 1) often nullified their efforts to bring the pregnant woman to the Primary Health Centre (PHC). At other times, they had to opt for a private facility due to the preferences of the family. At all times, the Asha was alone.

ASHAs felt undervalued and unsupported by the full time staff during the decision-making. This heightened their resentment for the perceived non-participation of the ANM. As pointed out by an Asha.

"The decision should be taken by the ANM, and not by us."

ANMs on the other hand, cited their own work pressures to the ASHAs, thus underlining the fact that a clear cut line of authority for referrals was missing in JSY.

JSY Asha Challenge Five: Loss of face

The ASHA lost face in the community when there were delays in replenishing kits, leading to delays to give supplements to pregnant women. Delays or non- appearance of the ambulance; absence of staff and frequent upward referrals led to community dissatisfaction. ASHAs also reported that they were treated dismissively by the full time staff. As shared by many ASHAs, their sense of pride over facilitating the entire JSY process disappeared with such incidents.

Table 1: Ashas' rating of key JSY processes and the emergent policy recommendations

Process	Most of the time No./ (%)	Sometimes No. /(%)	Never/no response No. /(%)	Total responses No./(%)	Emergent policy ecommendations
Instructed to aim for universal JSY coverage at official meetings?	90 (90 %)	8 (8%)	2 (2%)	100 (100%)	Make JSY a universal program with universal Asha incentive coverage
Find it difficult to convince community for institutional delivery?	75 (75%)	2(2%)	23(23%)	100 (100%)	Improve quality control and monitoring of facilities
Took the decision of the choice of health facility for delivery alone?	85 (85%)	11(11%)	4 (4%)	100 (100%)	Give Ashas the solo power to issue a referral letter for delivery in any health facility
Referred to hospital for delivery after bringing the expectant woman to the PHC?	47 (47%)	38 (38%)	11(11%) / 4 (4%)	100 (100%)	Create redressal channels for community/ Ashas
Availability of ambulance service for delivery?	49 (49%)	43 (43%)	6 (6%) / 2 (2%)	100 (100%)	Create redressal channels for community/ Ashas Pay Ashas advance travel allowance

"There is no value for Asha in the hospital... even PHC staff do not treat properly." (ASHA Worker)

JSY Asha Challenge six: Safety during the JSY implementation process

Overcoming shame, reticence and fear due to the privacy of written responses, ASHAs shared safety concerns in the JSY implementation process during the qualitative exploration. However, the major findings emerged in the quantitative exploration.

Only 30 per cent of the total multiple responses of ASHAs reported a feeling of being safe while implementing institutional deliveries (Figure 1.)

"We don't face any difficulties as the patients belong to our own village and due to this we are getting all the support and cooperation from their family members, auto drivers, ambulance drivers." (ASHA Worker)

In a tragic indictment of the JSY process, 70 per cent of the total multiple responses have collectively identified virtually every male figure that they could have possibly encountered as unsafe. These

included relatives of the pregnant woman, drivers, officials, villagers and doctors. (Figure 1). There are other ASHAs who have not been named, indicated by the fact that as many as 9 per cent selected the option tagged as 'others'.

The behaviour that made the ASHAs feel unsafe during JSY implementation

Figure 1: People that make Ashas feel unsafe while facilitating institutional deliveries under Janani Suraksha Yojana
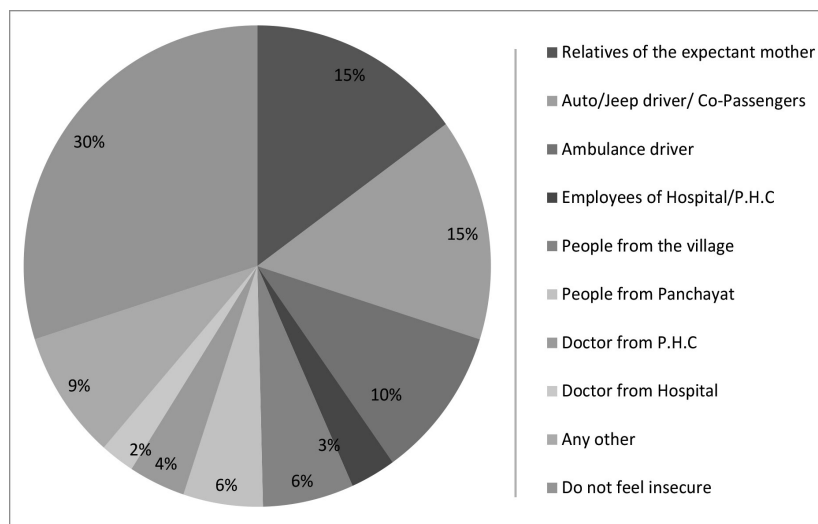
ASHAs' perceptions of safety during implementation of JSY

The people that made ASHAs feel unsafe while facilitating institutional delivery

Physical safety is the first concept that springs to the mind during travel. However, the threat of physical safety was not the only source of insecurity. A thematic analysis of the ASHAs' narrations (Figure two) indicated much more.

Threats to physical safety: There were responses that described the fears during the travel with the pregnant women for delivery. Other responses directly described the persons with whom the ASHAs felt physically unsafe. Ambulance drivers and drivers of private share seat jeeps and three wheelers felt problematic and unsafe. The relatives of the pregnant women were mentioned very often (Figure 1), and the narratives indicated safety threats from within the community (Figure 2).

There is one published case study of sexual harassment of ASHAs by a PHC doctor (Bhatia 2017). And one published case study of the rape of an Asha by community members (Dasgupta et.al. 2017). Both were not in the JSY context. This is the first study that documents safety in JSY, to the author's best knowledge.

Threats to the social reputation: Living in a social milieu that restricts the free movement of women, there were threats to their reputation due to the kind of travel required from the ASHAs. Some ASHAs even established communication with the community, solely on this subject, in order to stem this threat (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Threats to safety experienced by Ashas while facilitating institutional delivery under Janani Suraksha Yojana

Physical Safety

"Drivers are drunk and accommodating more people than the capacity."

"The fathers come with us sometimes. They are drunk and sit too close…"

"Doctors do not behave properly with us"

Social reputation

"Village people think that we are doing something bad whenever we are with the relatives/family members of the patients in the nights."

"There are good and bad thinking people in the village…"

Lack of respect

"We are doing our best but when auto does not come, relatives shout at us."

"Relatives do not give documents, say you must be making good money from our papers."

Threats to self-respect due to lack of respect from the community: Forms of disrespectful behavior from the family members and humiliation by officials, were seen as a safety issue, an interesting dimension to the ASHAs' perceptions of safety.

The findings are contextualized within a gendered, hierarchical and structured health systems services and society. However, things can be different within the same context as seen by the handful of good experiences, when ASHAs were given their due respect and co-operation by all the stakeholders (Text table 1).

Available studies largely mention the ASHAs in the context of the impact of JSY on the community. There is very little evidence of the ASHAs' views and their first hand experiences during service provision. There are a few documented examples of the Asha earning the respect of the community due to her JSY services, including in this study. Difficulties with transportation and expenses have been studied and are well known. Overall there was scant material therefore it was not possible to discuss the findings with reference to earlier studies.

Matrix 2: Good Experiences of Ashas while implementing Janani Suraksha Yojana

Theme one: support from the health system	Theme two: Support from the community	Theme three: satisfaction of providing a service
"We are getting good support when we take the patients. "	"Getting lots of respect and trust from the community but all the same it's a very responsible job."	"As I am Asha worker I am enjoying my work and very happy that I helping poor in spite of not getting payment on time."
"I am taking patients to the sub district hospitals but I am getting payment on time due to strong support from my PHC."	"Many people appreciating family planning treatment done by us by giving some gifts and due respects."	"It's giving inner satisfaction that we are doing good work with lots of hard work."
"Good experience is that the vehicle is available whenever we call."	"Many times people are appreciating Asha for helping pregnant women in her delivery in safely manner."	"I did one safe delivery due to delay in availability of ANM on time, am very satisfied."
	"We are getting money and the case in our name but the same time patients getting 700 rupees and giving blessing."	

III

Conclusions

Changes are needed both in the implementation of JSY and in the guidelines.

1. Changes in JSY Implementation

Some unimplemented mandates in JSY guidelines need to be operationalized:

a. The JSY guidelines stipulate a grievance redressal mechanism but it was not activated. If this clause is operationalized it will ensure community control over the implementation lapses, like delays, absence and frequent upward referrals. A toll free telephone line to the Chief Minister's Office and an enquiry mechanism are recommended.

b. The sexual harassment of women at workplace (prevention, prohibition and redressal) act, 2013 mandates an enquiry committee for sexual harassment at the work place but is not implemented. It should be implemented to give a legal recourse to ASHAs. This has been suggested earlier. (Bhatia, 2017, Dasgupta et.al., 2017).

c. Advance travel allowance and compensation for travel money, is mandated in the guidelines and should always be provided.

1. Changes in the JSY Guidelines

a. Confirming Doke's findings in Maharashtra (Doke et. al., 2015), it is recommended that simplification of the JSY documentation could save ASHAs from immense stress and encourage better usage of public health facilities. The responsibility of documentation could be handed to the local full time workers, namely the Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) or the male Multi-Purpose Worker (MPW), who have an advantage over the Asha in terms of proximity to the offices, education and paid working hours. The CHW Asha will thus be able to better redirect her energies to the programme elements.

b. The ASHAs hold a major responsibility of reaching pregnant women to the health facility for delivery. This should be recognized as a stellar contribution. ASHAs should be given the solo authority for issuing the referral slip for any facility for delivery. This would give them an official sanction and better response from the community besides being a confidence boosting measure.

c. ASHAs travel in unsafe conditions for facilitating institutional deliveries. They should only arrange for transportation and be exempted from escorting pregnant women at night. Provision of mobile phones should be mandated to ease co-ordination and reporting.

d. Relevant upgradation of the training will support the ASHAs in decision-making.

e. The insistence on total coverage is a rights violation, as it makes volunteers like ASHAs accountable to the state. Service improvement, quality control and monitoring of public health facilities are needed to encourage total coverage.

f. CHWs like ASHAs subsidize the state's health budget when they are not compensated. Out of pocket expenses by ASHAs have been mentioned in this study and also recently endorsed in other states (Sarin, 2016). In JSY the out-of-pocket expenses happen due to the gaps in the policy guidelines and the tacit collective agreement among all the stakeholders. It is just

and appropriate to give the same incentive to ASHAs for services given to every pregnant woman irrespective of any criterion. This is applicable in Maharashtra as well as in other High Performing States. Asha payments including travel, should also be freed from the control of the ANMs to avoid power struggles.

g. The loss of face experienced by ASHAs must be addressed with the gravity it deserves. Training sessions on gender sensitivity and the role of CHWs in health care, must be made mandatory for the full time health staff and the community. This has also been suggested earlier.

In sum

The health services system's insistence on the total coverage of JSY on the one hand, and the community's demand for quality services on the other, presents several challenges for the ASHAs. These can be addressed by some practicable changes like Quality control and upgraded public services, simplified documentation, revised Asha incentives, advance travel allowances, implementation of the legal provisions against sexual harassment, and gender and CHW sensitivity training for the staff and the community are recommended. A quantum improvement can happen by ensuring that the full time staff like ANMs work interactively and responsibly, not authoritatively. It is important to listen more closely to the ASHAs for valuable insights into the relevance of JSY and the maternal health policies of the country. Indeed such an attempt would yield rich insights even for other programmes.

Methodological innovations are needed to listen to frontline workers. Process analysis of the first hand experiences of frontline workers can yield rich data and direct changes towards evidence-based policy. The study attempts to present a replicable methodology to do this. Further areas of research could explore the six challenges presented here, and the particularly the safety issues, in greater detail than has been attempted in this study.

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Annexure 1: The tasks of ASHAs under Janani Suraksha Yojana

Identify the pregnant woman and whether from BPL family; Assist the woman to obtain BPL certification if BPL card is not available; Facilitate registration; 4 ANC check-ups and 2 TT injections; Counsel for institutional delivery; Escort the women to the health facility and stay with her till the delivery is complete and woman is discharged; Arrange to immunize the newborn till the age of 10 weeks; Register birth or death of the child or mother; Post- natal visits within 7 days of pregnancy and track mother's health; and Counsel for initiation of breastfeeding within one-hour of delivery and its continuance till 3-6 months. Source: JSY Guidelines.

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Hidden Curriculum and the Need for Critical Pedagogy

Salomi Snehalatha[1]

This paper argues that schools serve as agents in the reproduction of dominant social structures and in this process it is the hidden curriculum, which plays a more significant role than the formal curriculum. The paper also illustrates that learners do have an agency and carve out their own means of dealing with the different kinds of oppression that they come across in classrooms and schools. Given the impact of the hidden curriculum, the paper argues that there is a need for adopting a critical pedagogic approach and using discursive practices in the classroom to equip the learners with the knowledge to understand the various forms in which domination happens and the necessary skills to effectively face the challenges of the hidden curriculum.

A survey conducted in Georgia in 2013 on 754 parents of low and middle-income groups revealed that parents' decisions for selection of a school are related to 'better student discipline' (50.9 per cent), 'better learning environment' (50.8 per cent), 'student safety' (46.8 per cent) and 'individual attention for the child' (39.3 per cent) (Bedrick, 2013). These parameters are also those which school managements project as their USP in building their image. The findings of the survey mentioned above direct our attention to some important aspects that seem to play a critical role in the day-to-day functioning of schools. More than the formal curriculum i.e., courses, syllabus, lessons, learning activities that students participate in, or the knowledge and skills educators are meant to teach to students, what dominates is other aspects such as appropriate ways of behaviour, discipline, obedience, morals, values and most importantly ideas, opinions and perspectives that educational institutions try to develop in the students. Such messages, norms and values, usually not talked about in statements of objectives or goals, are implicitly and effectively taught in classrooms and are referred to collectively as the 'hidden curriculum' (Giroux, 1978). It is these unwritten, unspoken or implicit social and cultural messages that largely determine the development of the child.

Hidden curriculum plays a significant role in shaping students' lives and ways of thinking. For instance, it could be the reason why learners from certain backgrounds and communities prefer to be rather silent in classroom interactions while certain others are very communicative; why students belonging to certain sections are submissive while others are dominating, etc. In order to find the solutions for these issues, it is essential to bring to the forefront agendas underlying knowledge selection and knowledge building in the formal curriculum. The way to do this is to adopt a critical attitude towards the teaching/learning practices and understand how the hidden curriculum operates and impacts students. Taking the lid off the hidden curriculum thus can be done by practicing Critical

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Pedagogy, a philosophy of explicitly stated and discussed by Paulo Freire (1968). It is an approach to teaching that is based on examination and analysis of structures of domination, empowerment of the marginalized and helps one to see through the hidden agendas that determine the academia.

Through this paper it is suggested that teachers need to uncover the interface between the formal curriculum and the hidden agenda underlying the teaching-learning practices in the classroom, the material used, the methods of assessment, within the framework of critical thinking and critical pedagogy. The basis for this suggestion is the assumption that since educational institutions are believed to be the reflections of a society, the discrimination and marginalization in terms of gender, class, caste etc. prevalent in the society are more likely to manifest in the design and implementation of the curriculum as well. In this process, while the voice of the powerful and the dominant finds representation in the classrooms, a large number of learners belonging to varied socio-cultural and economic backgrounds silently wait for their opportunity to be heard. Besides, many issues are taught as normal to the learners and very rarely do learners muster the courage to question these practices. Hence this paper argues that Critical Pedagogy through varied discursive practices can serve as a way to empower learners, and enable them to express their views with regard to issues that affect them and find the connect between the world built for them in the classroom with the real world outside. According to (Baynham, 2006), "what happens in the classroom should end up making a difference outside the classroom" (p. 28).

It is considered essential for educationists and teaching practitioners to wear a critical lens as they are regarded as the next best agents of socialization after parents. For applied linguists and language teachers, critical skills are useful to understand "the ways in which education, regulation, and the study and use of language relate to the realization, maintenance, and reproduction of the distribution of power in society" (Mahboob and Paltridge, 2012). It is possible that what a teacher does in a classroom in the name of imparting curriculum or teaching a concept may contribute to the continuance of inequality or domination of certain vested interests in the world outside. For instance, teachers' day-to-day interaction with pupils, their classroom practices, lessons and activities, their own ideologies etc. may be telling us loudly about certain overt and covert social and cultural relations prevalent in society regarding gender, morals, social class, stereotypes, cultural expectations, politics, etc. It might happen consciously as a stated objective or unconsciously without one's knowledge. Given this background about the enormous weightage that schooling has on learners' ways of thinking, it is apparent that there is a need to understand the role of schools and classrooms in relation to society. The question here is: are schools neutral sites or do they serve as agents of social reproduction?

The paper initially presents the varied perspectives about the role of schools in society; demonstrates how schools carry forward the dominant social structures in the form of hidden curriculum, and concludes pointing to the need for adopting a critical pedagogic approach to effectively face the challenges of the hidden curriculum.

I

School and its Role in Society: Varied Perspectives
A standard view of the classroom would argue that schools and classrooms are far from any kind of social and cultural influences and they provide equal treatment to all the learners without any discrimination. Every individual is a free-willed and free-thinking human being and it is up to him

or her to utilize the opportunities provided equally to all. This stance is a clear development from the earlier notions of individuals as "subjects of autocratic regimes, cogs in a given social order, or beings in eternal obeisance to God" (Pennycook, 2001: 119). The standard view stems from the liberal humanist approach to individualism. According to this, "individuality is something securely possessed within each of us as our unique 'essence'" (Barry, 2011). Our individuality can transcend the environmental influences or forces of society, experience and language. These assumptions have lead to the understanding that it is ultimately the individual who is responsible for his or her progress, as success lies in utilizing the opportunities available equally to one and all. In the educational context, it means that everyone who goes to school can bring about a change in their lives as well as in the society by using available opportunities. This argument sounds optimistic. However, the supporters of this stance happily forget the fact that individuals are anything but free or equal in the structure of a society. In other words, the standard view talks about the way free thinking individuals act in relation to social structure but does not discuss how social structures also profoundly affect the way people think (Pennycook, 2001).

This view of the individual as a reflection of the social structure is put forward by those who take a 'reproductive standpoint' in the alternative conceptions of schooling. Proponents of this view investigate the relationship between the macro and microstructures existing in society. According to Marxist theory from which the reproductive standpoint emerges, human beings are mere pawns within larger class struggles. People live in 'false consciousness' that is produced by ideologies, which are in turn produced by the dominant class. This means that how an individual feels about her existence and how she thinks about it are already determined by dominant ideologies. The concept of free-will is only a myth. Human beings become embodiments of certain habits, dispositions, attitudes and behaviour as a part of the habitus through socialization (Jenkins, 1992, as cited in Pennycook, 2001). In short, what one learns at home is not deviant from practices that are concomitant with the dominant ideologies of the society.

Extending this assumption to the educational context, schools, just like homes, serve as "agents of social reproduction than of social change" (Pennycook, 2001). For instance, cultural and knowledge capital of learners coming from different communities is valued differently in schools because of the popular conceptions about what constitutes knowledge and what does not. These conceptions in turn lead to decisions about what to teach and how to teach. Illustrating this view point, a study on education imparted to Indochinese refugees by Auerbach (1995) revealed that regardless of whether the refugees are skilled enough for higher paying jobs, they were only educated for work as waiters, janitors and other low-paying jobs. With regard to English language education, content was geared more towards specific job-related vocabulary, literacy tasks and competency in functions such as following instructions, making clarifications, etc. This explains that educational institutions and classrooms are agents of social reproduction and function within the matrix of macro social and economic policy. This study also demonstrates that there is something hidden in the curriculum and there are agendas that dictate most decisions in the grand mission of educating people.

However, research points out that though social reproduction may be the inherent goal of educational institutions, this does not happen in a deterministic way or too easily without resistance. The reproduction standpoint allows no understanding of opposition and resistance and of the complex ways in which teachers and students act within the context of schooling. Many studies have shown that learners have an agency and show resistance in different ways to overcome power and

domination. The classic ethnographic study by (Canagarajah, 1993) in the University of Jaffna in Sri Lanka showcased the varied and subtle ways through which students resisted the curriculum imposed upon them. The resistance standpoint was also well demonstrated in Willis' ethnographic study (1977) on working-class students in an urban high school. It was observed that these students were more interested in learning "how to work the system and get out of classes" (Willis, 1977 as cited in Apple, 1980). The students wanted to gain some measure of control over their time and activities in schools. Two things were happening simultaneously in that particular educational context. On one hand the education system was reproducing the dominant ideology that mental labour is more valuable than manual labour. On the other hand, the students were resisting this dominant form of labour by rejecting it and trying to learn skills and values that are required for the workplace. From this, it can be understood that learners carve out their own ways of reacting to the formal curriculum.

Considering the dominant role of macro social structure in imparting curriculum and the power of students' agency in the implementation of the curriculum, it becomes very clear that schools are not just involved in transmission of cognitive skills but have a much greater say in making or breaking dominant ideologies. In order to understand the ways through which reproduction and resistance work in an educational context, it is necessary to enhance our understanding of the role of the hidden curriculum and what actually goes on in classrooms. Such comprehensive and critical outlook gives the teachers and most importantly the students the confidence to do their wee bit to transform the 'patriarchal, homophobic, racist world increasingly governed by the interests of multinational business' (Pennycook, 2001, p. 127).

The next section gives an overview of different perspectives about hidden curriculum and how teachers and learners reproduce and resist the influential forces of such curriculum.

II

Hidden Curriculum: Impact on Learners

The term hidden curriculum seems to be self-explanatory. However, it is more mysterious than 'formal curriculum' and is quite complex to define. The hidden-curriculum concept is based on the belief that students learn lessons in school that may or may not be part of the formal course of study. For example, at school students learn how they should interact with peers, teachers, and adults; how they should perceive different races, groups, or classes of people; or what ideas and behaviours are considered acceptable or unacceptable. According to Giroux (1978), what students learn in school is determined more from the hidden curriculum than the official curriculum. Going by the unofficial reports, 80 per cent of what students remember after schooling is not aspects that are taught as part of the formal curriculum. For instance, most of the things that people remember about their school experiences are related to how a particular teacher motivated or punished learners, how the differential treatment of teachers for boys and girls in the school effected them, etc. These things remain in one's memory more vividly than when and how one has learnt grammar or science concepts. So it can be said that hidden curriculum is 'what schooling does to people', or it is related to the 'non-academic outcomes of schooling'. However, Martin (1976) states that these definitions lead one astray and in fact, they make it appear as if hidden curriculum is tied to schools alone. According to him, hidden curriculum exists wherever there is some kind of formal or informal education. For instance, apprenticeship to craftsmen, internships in hospitals, private music lessons, and summer camps – everywhere there is an underlying hidden curriculum.

The hidden curriculum is described as 'hidden' because it is not a part of the stated mission. In spite of this, the values and lessons reinforced by the hidden curriculum are often the accepted status quo. Lempp and Seale's study, (2004) in medical education revealed that medical students are trained to become traditional stereotypes through learning processes, which are not overtly written in the statement of objectives. The hidden curriculum includes 'loss of idealism', 'adoption of a "ritualized" professional identity', 'emotional neutralization', 'change of ethical integrity', 'acceptance of hierarchy' and the learning of less formal aspects of 'good doctoring'. It was also found that teaching by humiliation was adopted by professors to make the students learn the importance of hierarchy in the education system. The findings of the study reiterate the popular belief that since the practices and messages conveyed through hidden curriculum are acknowledged as status quo, they will remain unchanged though they are unacceptable and undesirable for the progress of the learners and the society. Such practices call for a reform in the educational policies.

Training the students for effective citizenship in the larger society constitutes one of the important goals of education. Educational institutions, especially schools take it on themselves, more than families, to train the children in acquiring skills required for specific roles. Teachers primarily take on this didactic function of making students conform to minimal standards of order and diligence (Le Compte, 1978). In a study conducted on four fourth-grade classrooms in Albuquerque, New Mexico, it was observed that 16 per cent of the teachers' statements in the classroom were oriented towards establishing who was boss in the classroom. The hidden curriculum that existed in every classroom was 1) do what the teachers say; 2) live up to the teacher expectations; 3) keep busy; 4) shut up and sit down, and 5) stick to the schedule. An analysis of the findings revealed that students were taught to acquire the skills of obedience and compliance to make them fit well with the labour workforce, physical or mental, at a later date. Bowles and Gintis (1976) observed that the targeted traits in many American schools are punctuality, obedience to authority, perseverance, dependability, deferring gratification, tact, and predictability. An analysis of the teacher's management of the classroom and strategies followed point to the fact that learners are actually being trained as efficient work force. However, these traits in the long run will prevent students from developing a sense of solidarity and community with their peers (Giroux, 1978).

Gender roles are another vital aspect that seems to be vociferously reinforced through hidden curriculum. Booher-Jennings' (2008) qualitative study at an urban upper primary school revealed that educators teach a great deal about motivation and hard work during the process of their preparation for high-stakes testing. It was observed that there was gender disparity in the way teachers went about in counselling the learners. For instance, boys were always targeted for their poor behaviour and attitudes while girls were counselled to improve their self-esteem to pass the test. Gender differentiation becomes very apparent to students at a very young age with the way the division of labour was done in classrooms. For instance, in the organization of a cultural programme or a fair in schools, boys are usually assigned the responsibilities of talking to people and getting things done, while girls are given the tasks of receiving the guests, etc. These findings affirm Dillabough's (2003) observation that schools maintain and transmit gender codes through formal structures and informal practices. These examples show that the hidden curriculum can play a vital role in dictating the terms of social and cultural reproduction in educational spaces.

It is surprising, however, to note that students are aware of some of the aspects of the hidden curriculum and also demonstrate their reaction to it in several ways. The dominant role of hidden curriculum and students' resistance can be understood well in a case study done in the context of tensions

between Quechua communities in Raqaypampa, Cochabamba in Bolivia and its state schools. The conflict brought to light questions concerning the hidden curriculum in rural schools. Researchers Regalsky and Laurie (2007) analysed how teachers exercised their authority by implementing the hidden curriculum over indigenous peasant communities, who at the same time were also struggling for their own space. Teachers who come from the indigenous communities alienated themselves from their place of origin and acquired the identity of a state authority. These teachers resorted to such measures where the children of the peasants would subjugate themselves to the state authority. For instance, teachers call the children from their community members as 'less civilized', 'dirty' and 'ignorant' in front of the other children to develop doubt about the community's struggle for authority in the children's minds. The conflict between the state authority and peasant communities was also imminent in the acceptance of what is true knowledge. The agricultural practices and forms of animal husbandry prevalent in peasant communities were considered backward. Children of peasants also carved their own means to cope with violence and to diminish teachers' authority.

This case study thus proves that "actual curriculum consists of constructed realities realized in particular institutional contexts and distorted by these contexts with social class implications" (Stenhouse, 1975, as cited in Regalsky and Laurie, 2007). Keeping in view the effect of dominant ideologies in moulding students' lives and the various ways in which students' try to demonstrate their resistance, it is argued in the following section that there is a need to create a space for discussing such issues and equip the learners with the ability to think critically and act rationally.

III

Need for Critical Pedagogy

The need of the hour, however, is not just to understand that there is a powerful influence of hidden curriculum in perpetuation of dominant ideologies, but also to develop educational programmes and policies that minimize its negative effects. Giroux (1978) emphasizes that "any pedagogical approach to curriculum and course development in the schools that ignores the existence of the hidden curriculum runs the risk of being incomplete as well as insignificant". Lortie (1975) points out that a severe shortcoming of teachers is their 'subjective, idiosyncratic approach to teaching'. In response to such situations, it is suggested that issues related to hidden curriculum can be used as a vehicle for social criticism, for questioning the problems and discussing how to gain control of it (Martin, 1976). Vallance (1980) agrees with Martin when she says that hidden curriculum can be used as a tool for educational dialogue or for discursive functions. The positive outcomes of employing critical discursive practices can be best illustrated through a study conducted in four classrooms in Hong Kong (Pennycook, 2001). Out of the four classrooms, the students of the section who came from incompatible habitus exhibited a potential for change due to the "creative, discursive agency and efforts of their teacher" (Pennycook, 2001: 409). This shows that different approaches to teaching have different implications for the reproduction or transformation of students' lives.

Identifying and dealing with the resistance and agency of the learners should be a part of the educational process according to Apple (1980). Different studies mentioned above illustrate how educational institutions serve as platforms of interaction between macro (e.g., social and cultural struggles) and micro (e.g., curricular practices) aspects of society. However, these issues can neither be dealt with in a deterministic fashion nor can be tackled too easily (Canagarajah, 1993). Considering the complexities in handling hidden curriculum, Giroux (1988) suggests that there is a need to develop a language of both critique and hope in educational theory.

Critical pedagogy is one such approach which advocates the necessity for 'skilled critical questioning' (Brookfield, 1987 and Pennycook, 2001) for teaching practitioners and learners. It is an umbrella term encompassing all the critical theories and approaches that focus on developing the critical thinking skills necessary to understand, question and challenge inequality and domination. The existence of critical approach to teaching is based on the assumption that one cannot have a laid back stance accepting everything given as standard. Critical pedagogues believe that it is essential to develop in the learners the ability to see through the beliefs and practices that are given as normal in a society either for appreciating and accepting them or for changing them for better.

This goal can be achieved to a certain extent through employing discursive practices where the learners' attention may be drawn to the agendas underlying many practices in education. Students become critically conscious of the actions of the others as well as their own and learn to question them. According to Ira Shor (1992) a student can become critically conscious only when she learns to go beneath the surface meaning. Putting forward a radical view, Kincheloe and McLaren (2007) suggest that students must be made aware that what they are taught and the way they are taught have political agenda. A critical pedagogic approach, in short, is based on the belief that learners are not empty accounts which are to be filled in by the teacher, but individuals with potential to think, reason, understand and critique in a rational manner. By adopting a critical pedagogic approach, students from different sections can be equipped with the knowledge and skills required to effectively encounter the challenges posed by the hidden curriculum.

IV

Conclusion

This paper attempted to elucidate the existence of a hidden curriculum in education and the necessity for adopting critical pedagogy as an approach towards raising critical consciousness of the learners. In Indian education context, there is a certain momentum in the efforts to implement critical pedagogy and make the curriculum equitable. The National Curriculum Framework (2005) has highlighted the need for alternative pedagogies in congruence with its emphasis on the utilization of local contexts i.e., social, cultural, economic and political backgrounds of the students for knowledge selection and knowledge building. For instance, Mishra (2014) points out that the text books developed post 2005 are much more inclusive in terms of class and gender. Similarly JNTU has started a course on Gender Sensitization to raise students' awareness about gender issues and other dimensions of inequality in the modern world such as caste, class, regional and religious affiliations. In a paper that upholds the necessity of Critical Pedagogy in Indian schooling, Ramesh (2007) vehemently argues that the 'the nama, rupa and guna of schooling in India has for centuries remained a reflection of the dominant culture' (p. 11) and it is time to bring a change in the 'culture of silence' imposed on the learners belonging to marginalized sections in the classroom. A qualitative study conducted by Mehta and Pandya (2015) regarding the relevance of Paulo Freire's theory to Indian educational context reveals the student-teachers' perspectives towards the need for social change. The participants' lived experiences emphasize the oppression prevalent in the Indian society; the need for social change, and the necessity for a critical pedagogical approach in the classroom.

Work at the research and curricular levels point at the fact that a lot of thinking is going on in this area and this is expected to have a positive impact on the lives of everyone involved in the teaching

learning process, especially those from marginalized sections, and make them actively participate in the globalized world of today.

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Replacing Welfare Provisioning with Cash Transfer
Evaluation from the Perspective of Redistribution

Sourindra Mohan Ghosh[1] and Imrana Qadeer[2]

The proposition that direct cash transfer should replace the welfare model of subsidized goods and services because it is a more effective social protection strategy lacks merit. This paper argues that by switching to cash transfer, a section of the beneficiaries of the current system, especially those who depend on it the most, would be the worse-off. It is, the authors argue, a less-efficient system of redistribution compared to a need- based welfare regime of subsidised goods and services. Further, in a country that has a high level of absolute impoverishment, subsidised goods and services, which provide need-based social protection have to be further promoted.

In recent times, a section of the academia and activists has been arguing that cash transfer is a more effective strategy to fight poverty and should replace the existing welfare model of subsidized goods and services. The proposition is apparently simple, which makes this all the more attractive: equally distribute the amount of money that is currently spent on welfare programmes and subsidies to everybody directly. The main benefits counted in its favour are (a) it would reduce the leakages that welfare programmes currently suffer from that prevent the benefits from reaching the needy, and (b) the recipient will have the choice to use the money according to their priorities rather than the state dictating their choice (Svedberg, 2012; Jhavbala, 2016). Such benefits are supplemented to other macro-economic effects of cash transfers – that cash would have a 'multiplier effect' boosting economic growth, it would reduce social in-equalities, etc. (Standing, 2012).

Even the *Economic Survey (ES)* joined the debate with a dedicated chapter on the subject, calling such cash transfers as a 'basic income' which a government pays to all its citizens without any conditions attached (GoI, 2017a). The *ES* sees it as a basic right of citizens, a "minimum income which they can count on, and which provides the necessary material foundation for a life with access to basic goods and a life of dignity" (GoI, pp. 173). But is this a new idea, which is a "compelling paradigm shift in thinking about both social justice and a productive economy"as the advocates of cash transfer claim it to be?

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Cash Transfers: A Diverse Concept

We find that the idea of the state providing an unconditional income to all its citizens dates way back to the 18th century, elaborated in Thomas Paine's *Agrarian Justice* (Paine, 1795). In this seminal work he argues that "condition of every person born into the world, after a state of civilization commences, ought not to be worse than if he had been born before that period" (Paine, 1795). As landed property had dispossessed many of the proprietors of land in its natural state, he proposed that the land owners should pay a fraction of their value of land[3] to the state to be distributed equally to every citizen. More than two centuries later, we hear an echo of Paine's proposal in leftist economist Yanis Varoufakis'(2016) suggestion that a percentage of capital stock (shares) should be put into a Commons Capital Depository and the dividends from it should be universally distributed. These models of cash transfers do not advocate any concomitant cuts in government's existing social protection/welfare expenditures funded by general taxation that act as a corrective for the iniquitous income *flow*. Rather, they try to address a deeper structural inequality, i.e. inequality of ownership of productive assets/capital stock which they want to 'tax'. In this sense, these models of cash transfers transcends the welfare state, it does not replace it. We will term these as 'cash transfers in addition' models.

In contrast, there is another set of ideas where cash transfers necessarily replace state welfare provisions reducing government expenditures. Milton Friedman, one of earliest advocates of this model, envisions it as a negative income tax replacing all welfare programmes which he thought are inefficient and wasteful (Friedman, 1968). Murray's advocacy of cash transfer comes from a conservative political point of view. In his perception, in addition to reducing what he considers social 'problems' induced by the welfare state, such as deteriorating traditions of work,[4] weakening neighbourliness,[5] etc., cash transfer would give state less power to control people's lives than the welfare regime (Murray, n.d.). We can call this as the 'replacement model' – one that replaces welfare provisions – of cash transfer.

It is amply clear from this account that these are two vastly dissimilar perspectives on cash transfers. Implementation of one variety would draw flak from the advocates of the other. In India today, the 'replacement model' has attracted support from certain official policymakers as well as non-governmental advocates, with very few talking about the 'cash transfers in addition' alternative.

While there can be no argument against a progressive redistribution (i.e. from the rich to the poor) through cash transfer in general, a *shift* in redistributive strategy to replace public provisioning by cash transfers (or call it a basic income) is a different matter altogether that requires a thorough debate. In the following sections, we will critically examine the existing arguments and evidence to understand whether a system of cash transfer that replaces public provisioning is a better strategy for 'welfarist' interventions.

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[3] Paine considered the total value of land as the sum total of its value in its natural state and the improvements that the land owner makes onto it. In his view land holders can't have ownership rights on that fraction of the value which is accrued from its natural state. This he suggested to be distributed universally.

[4] Contemporary and historical review of literature both from US and Britain that traces the patterns of labour productivity in different sectors finds it closely associated with work conditions, inadequate wage increases or otherwise, low levels of human capital more due to state failures rather than traditions of work (Tomlinson, 2007).

[5] The critiques of this view consider deteriorating 'neighbourliness' or 'communitarianism' as a result of competitiveness that capitalism enforces upon individuals for their basic needs and livelihood, which under 'free-market' are individuals' responsibility rather than a social guarantee (Navarro, 2002). Murray's advocacy for less welfare measures is actually contradictory to his wish for greater 'neighbourliness' or 'communitarianism'.

Redistributive justice requires that we talk not only of fairness and equity in access and availability of goods and services but also of objective reality. The existing inequality demands that, those whose needs are greatest, are given priority. So, there is an important question that needs to be answered: how efficient is cash transfer, i.e. can a given public outlay through cash transfers achieve the same level of access to goods and services through welfare interventions and avoid wastage? We will examine this through empirical experiences of public health care services and public distribution system (PDS) in India.

Health Care Provisions

Let us consider health expenditures of the households where members had to be hospitalized and were treated in public health facilities. We assume that in absence of subsidized public health facilities, the rural-urban and state-specific median expenditure of treatment for a particular type of ailment in private hospitals incurred by individuals to be the probable expenditure.[6] Keeping in mind that mean values might be influenced by outliers, we used the median. This method is used by others as well (Dreze and Khera, 2013). We have calculated the household's 'potential extra expenditure' (PEE) for the last year from NSS 2014 data, as the difference between probable expenditure if they were to go to private health care and the expenditure they actually incurred for treatment in a public facility. This is adjusted for a standard five-member household size. Our objective is to find out whether cash transfers made out of government health expenditures will be sufficient to compensate the PEE. In Graph 1, we have plotted distribution (density) of households by their PEE (at 2014 current price). PEE varies for different households. The distribution is so skewed that the 25th percentile household has a PEE of Rs. 5,300 annually while for the 90th percentile it's as high as Rs. 30,300.

If a universal transfer were to be made from the total health budget of 2013-14 (centre and states combined), it would have been no more than Rs. 4500 per household which is pretty little to adequately compensate every households (for their PEE on hospitalisations) which is clear from Graph 1. In such a scenario, more than 75 per cent of households – whose PEE is more than Rs. 4,500 – will go under- compensated. This is while considering only the households' hospitalization expenditures; adding to it the costs for out-patient services would further inflate the estimates of PEE. Under-compensation in this manner will harm the poor more (since they use the public health care services more) than the richer households (Table 1), and their health care expenditures are higher relative to their incomes.

Table 1: Percentage of households with hospitalisation cases using public health care services by MPCE - 2014

MPCE Quintiles	Percent
Poorest quintile	65.52
2nd poorest	60.07
Middle	54.11
2nd richest	44.05
Richest quintile	36.58
Total	49.38

Source: NSSO 2014

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[6] We are not considering the strong possibility that dismantling public healthcare services might increase private healthcare charges from their existing levels.

Graph1 : Distribution of household with hospitalisation by prtential extra expenditure (adjusted)
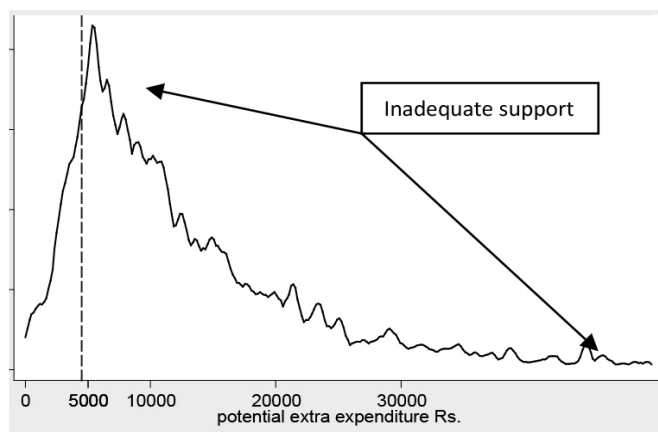
Source: NSSO 2014

Public Distribution System

Similarly by dismantling PDS, the (annual) maximum amount of money that could be disbursed universally from the Central Food Subsidy of 2011-12 (Rs. 72822 crore) was roughly Rs. 600 per capita. Instead of universal disbursal, when calculated only for food grains purchasers from PDS (number of food grain purchasers from PDS estimated by authors from NSS Consumer Expenditure Survey, 2011-12), the transfer amounts to Rs. 1300 per capita. In Graph 2, we have plotted the cumulative distribution of households who buy food grains from PDS by their annual per capita PEE[7] (at 2011-12 current prices). It shows that roughly 22 per cent households would incur per capita PEE of more than Rs. 1300 and they will be under compensated by transfers of such magnitude. For that year, to adequately compensate nearly all households (more than 95 per cent) required transfer of around Rs. 2200 per capita.

Moreover, the data also show a great deal of variation in the percentage of under-compensated households (i.e. PEE >Rs. 1300) among *total* households – which indicates the adverse impact of such cash transfers for overall population – across states. Among the major states, it is quite high for Jammu & Kashmir (31 per cent), Tamil Nadu (25 per cent), Chhattisgarh (23 per cent) and Orissa (21 per cent), followed by Himachal Pradesh and Kerala (over 15 per cent in both) where impact is substantial (Graph 3). This indicates that for states where PDS is functioning better or has improved over the years (see Khera, 2011), the adverse impact of cash transfer will be relatively higher. Those who are adversely affected will be more likely to be from the poorer households as their quantity of food grain purchase from PDS as well as food budget share[8] in it is higher compared to their richer counterparts (Graph 4).

There are five addtional caveats that we should bear in mind while we compare the available money for cash transfer with PEE. Firstly, there will be administrative and other overahead costs of cash transfers. So the full government allocation that goes into a welfare scheme will not be available for transfers upon the scheme's abolition. Secondly, any leakages in cash transfers will further reduce

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[7] The cumulative distribution plots the proportion of households at or below a certain level of PEE for all values of PEE.

[8] More than absolute quantities, the relative importance of PDS on food is actually much higher in poorer households.

the actual transfered amount. Thirdly, if a targetted scheme is replaced by a targetted cash transfer, then the very problems of targetting itself will persist. On the other hand, universalising the transfer will spread the resources too thin. Fourthly, dismantling a scheme might affect market prices and hence, will change the estimates of the PEE.[9] Fifthly, PEE sould not be viewed as the full measure of benefit of a welfare scheme. It only measures consumer benefit whereas there are provider/producer benefits as well (eg. public health care personnels' salary, farmers' income from sale to PDS, etc.).

Graph 2: Cumulative distribution of PDS households by Potential Extra Expenditure* (Rs.)
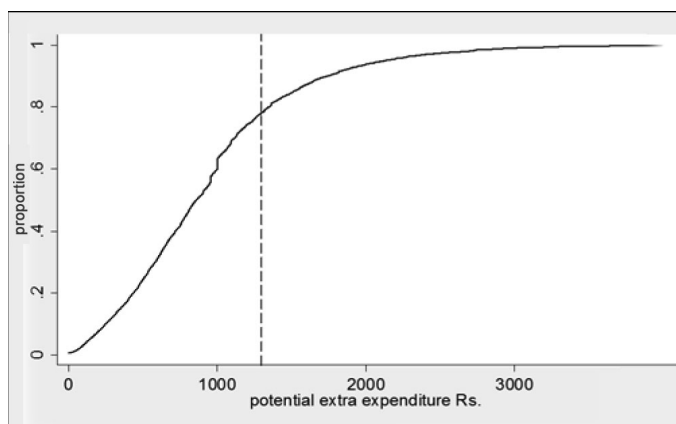
Source: Author's calculation using NSS 68th round unit data

Graph 3 : Under-compensated households by states (2011-12) as percentage of total households
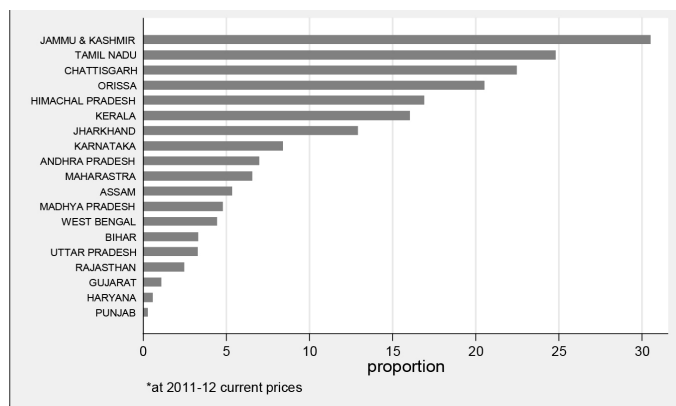
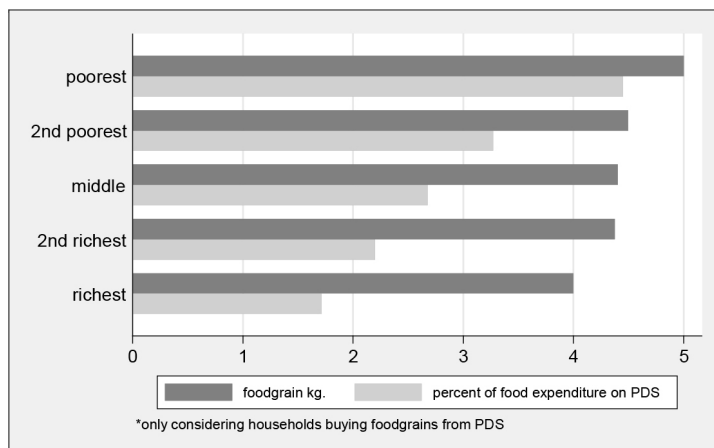*Source:* Author's calculation using NSS 68th round unit data

Advantage of Provisioning

The distinct advantage of public provision of goods and services over universal cash transfer is its priority for the needy. Public health care is availed by those who require affordable health services; those who cannot afford higher priced foodgrains from the market buy from PDS shops despite the

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[9]   There is a debate over the effect of PDS on food prices, some theoretically arguing that it drives up market prices (Basu, 2011). Empirical evidence on the other hand shows that reduction in food subsidy increases market prices of food (Ramaswami and Balakrishnan, 2002).

poor quality of goods and the difficulty in accessing them, the unemployed opt for MGNREGS wage for hard manual labour, and so on. In effect, public provisioning of goods and services, financed by pooling resources through progressive direct taxation, mitigates individual risks during a private crisis (illness, job-loss, etc.). In the presence of high economic inequality, welfare measures should not be based only on equal entitlement but be amenable to positive discrimination as well. Experiences from around the world have shown that the poor utilise universal public welfare measures relatively more than the not so poor, because their need for these services is higher, as for instance, in the National Health Services of UK (Collins and Klein, 1980 and O'Donnell and Propper, 1991). Table 1, shows that for hospitalisation services in India, the relative use of public health care facilities by the poorest quintile is almost double that of the richest quintile. If cash replaces subsidised goods and services, the only way to ensure that the neediest do not end up under-supported is to fix the per-household cash transfer amount at the level of households with the highest PEE. This would require a massive expansion of public outlay; otherwise such a cash transfer system will only worsen the situation of those with the highest PEE compared to the subsidized goods and services regime. According to Rawls' 'difference principle' of justice, any redistribution is less just if it worsens the condition of the least advantaged (Altham, 1973). In our scenario, those with the highest PEE (the least advantaged in this case) are left with a worse outcome if cash transfers are insufficient, and hence it is less just. Friedman even in his defence of cash transfers as replacement of welfare programmes, airs a similar concern:

Graph 4 : Foodgrain from PDS - quantity and expenditure median monthly per capita values by MPCE quintiles*

Source: Author's calculation using NSS 68th round unit data

> (T)hese [welfare] programs…more or less incidentally…do help some people who are disadvantaged. Can we in good conscience mount a political attack on them unless we can provide an alternative way to achieve their good results? (Friedman, 1968)

We believe his conscience would have been troubled had he seen the good results of public health care system or PDS for the least advantaged getting threatened by cash transfers of this nature.

Does Cash Transfer Have Corrective Mechanism?

As we see above, the degree of justice in a system of cash transfer that replaces subsidized goods and services would inherently depend upon the amount of money transferred. Therefore, a related question that arises is whether the 'unjust' situation created by the replacement of welfare provisioning by cash transfers ('replacement model') will have mechanisms to rectify itself to a more just situation (i.e. increase in cash entitlement)? When a system to provide subsidized goods and services deviates from its pledge, it ignites public protest, academic criticisms and causes potential electoral reverses. It does impact in improving public provisioning, even if in limited ways, as seen in the case of PDS. Such rectification is possible as the existing entitlements for provisioning of goods and services have been clearly spelt out. A cash transfer system that starts from inadequate cash entitlement (PEE greater than household's cash entitlement) has less possibility of rectification as entitlements of material goods and services are not defined at all in this monetized (cash transfer) system. In addition, the state's responsibility to ensure a minimum level of food, health care, education, or wage-for-work is shifted to the people in the name of giving them greater choice. In reality, all that people will have in terms of choice is managing their needs the best they can from a meagre state grant. To draw from our case in Graph 1, we would not understand the need to push up the amount of cash transfer without defining the underlying material (health) entitlement, which remains unmet for many households at Rs. 4,500 level. Or the predicament of those households who need more than Rs. 1300 per capita to compensate for food grains that they presently purchase through the PDS (Graph 2). Such inadequate amounts of cash will not fulfil food or health requirements, but without a defined material entitlement have little chance of correction. This is perhaps the reason why some of the cash transfer schemes in India failed to translate into material entities as desired, as for example, the partial cash support to targeted rural households to construct houses under Indira Awas Yojana, as for many households, the cash amount they received was insufficient for the stated purpose (Shah, 2008).

Maintaining Entitlements Over Time

Another concern is that, whether cash transfers will be able to maintain the beginning levels of entitlement amid rising prices. The best way to achieve this is indexing the cash transfer to price indices regularly. But even that is fraught with many difficulties. How the alteration of subsidy disbursement by shifting to a cash transfer system affects prices, will become a critical aspect of price indexation (Kishore et al., 2013). And even price indexations are known to have considerable time lags, which in the face of volatile and rising prices erodes the real value of cash and people have to bear with reduced entitlements during the lag period (Ghosh, 2011).

But even in an ideal world scenario – one where there is reasonable price information, altering subsidies do not sky-rocket the prices and indexing has negligible time lag – use of price indices for the purpose has at least two distinct problems. The first one is that indexing through price indices does not necessarily maintain entitlements, or levels of purchase/consumption. Food consumption, or calorie intake, is the best example of it. At poverty line expenditures – which are indexed with consumer price indices – calorie intakes have declined over time (Patnaik, 2013) even for those with intakes much less than the minimum requirements (Qadeer et al., 2016) or those whose average calorie requirement has in fact increased, viz. the poorer sections in urban areas (Eli and Li, 2015) with no clear evidence of improvement in quality of diets. This is the reason why we do not stop merely at indexing by price indices while demanding yearly salary hikes or increase in budgetary allocations for welfare schemes.

The second problem is that price rise affects individuals/families even in the same economic strata in very different ways. The price indices do not capture these variations in the effect of price rise among different individuals/households but at best show average inflation, generally for specific sections of the population. But even different segments of the population, let alone individuals/households, have different expenditure priorities, represented by the variations in their share of expenditure on different items. Hence, an increased set of prices for different items will affect each one differently. For example, all other prices remaining the same, a rise in prices of healthcare services will affect those that have highest share of expenditure in health the most. Price indices based on average expenditure shares will not capture their plight fully. Simply increasing the amount of cash through indexation based on price indices will not fully cover for inflation for the most affected, which leads us to the problem of distributive justice as discussed earlier.

A proposed mechanism to bypass the problem of price indexation is to fix it as a certain percentage of the GDP (Ray, 2016; GoI, 2017a). But this still is a compromise to the long standing struggle of increasing the share of government welfare spending in GDP. India's rank in social protection expenditure as percentage of GDP is one of the lowest among its Asian counterparts (Terry and Handayani, 2013).

Cash Transfer: Experiences So Far

A cash transfer is at least as good as a subsidised goods and services welfare regime only if it provides the same quantum of protection. Our discussion till now shows that to ensure that none is under-compensated everyone has to receive a transfer that is large enough to cover the requirements of the most disadvantaged of the lot. Additionally, these transfer amounts would require frequent large up-scaling, something in the style of a Pay Commission, to ensure that the most disadvantaged do not fall outside the protective umbrella due to inflation. These are the conditions that determined the outcomes of micro-experiments on cash transfers on ground. The experiments were successful where:

(a) The transfers were fairly large: as in a 2011 UNDP-Government of Delhi experiment where BPL households barred from PDS were compensated with Rs. 1000 monthly in cash (SEWA Bharat, 2012) which, for a five-member family comes to Rs. 2400 per head annually. This is quite close to our estimate (Rs. 2200) of what should be the adequate compensation for dismantling PDS which we presented earlier from 2011-12 data. This compensation amount given in the experiment is 85 per cent higher than the amount that can be distributed per head to PDS households from central food subsidy of 2011-12.

(b) Cash did not replace any existing social welfare programme as in the 2011-12 UNICEF-SEWA experiment conducted in Madhya Pradesh (SEWA Bharat and UNICEF, 2014). This particular experiment also increased the cash transfer amount after a year by 50 per cent to compensate for inflation, which clearly shows necessity of frequent large upward revision of cash transfers. On the other hand, two prominent experiments to replace PDS with cash transfer that did not have these characteristics – the Delhi Annashree Yojana and a similar one in Puducherry – faced many obstacles and were discontinued. In the international scenario as well, successful cash transfer schemes echo this feature. The succesful (conditional) cash transfer programme Bolsa Familia (or 'Family Grant') of Brazil was introduced as an addition to a well funded public education and healthcare system (Ghosh, 2011; pp.68). The contrast to this is the experience of Iran, where the system of subsidised

provisioning of food, health and other utilities which existed since 1980, was replaced with cash trasfer in 2010 against popular will,in the government's bid to reducewelfare expenditures (Nikou and Glenn, 2010). It resulted in accelerating inflation and the rapid erosion of the real value of the cash transfers (Tabatabai, 2012).

'Basic Income' of the Economic Survey

In the light of the above discussion, the ES's proposal of replacing welfare schemes with cash transfer appears to be quite alarming as far as the interest of the poor is concerned. The biggest problem lies in the determination of the quantum of 'basic income' and the proposed mode of financing it. The determination of cash amount is done in two stages. First it defines 'basic income' as one that takes even the poorest person above the official poverty line of 2011-12, which was consumption expenditure of Rs. 30 per capita per day. There is enormous debate on whether this paltry amount is indeed sufficient for "necessary material foundation for a life with access to basic goods and a life of dignity" (ibid). In the second step, the 'basic income' calculated for 2011-12 is upscaled for 2016-17 using price indices and adjusting for real GDP growth rate assuming real income growth equals to that of real per capita GDP, which came to just Rs. 18 per person per day for 2016-17.

By this methodology, an individual's 'basic income' would not increase even at the rate of inflation which will erode its real value over time. It would also mean that, other things remaining the same, the higher the real GDP growth the lower would be an individual's 'basic income'. Hence, an individual's 'basic income' share in GDP would fall over time, as the rate of growth of her basic income (which is even less than the inflation rate) is less than the rate of growth of nominal GDP (which is inflation plus real GDP growth rate). The government's total expenditure on 'basic income' for the entire population (or for a certain percentage of the population) would then fall as a share of GDP, given that the per person fall is not offset by very high population growth.

What is even more problematic is its proposal to finance this 'basic income' by dismantling major welfare schemes such as the PDS, MGNREGS and various other subsidies.This has threemajor issues. Firstly, the ES doesn't even stick to its own meagre standard of 'basic income' whose calculation is based on the current economy that has these welfare schemes/subsidies in place. Dismantling these would increase the cost of living of the poor and accordingly the 'basic income' level, even by ES's standard, would require a raise. Secondly, as we had discussed earlier, for many poor families the cash in return of dismatling existing welfare schemes will not be even compensatory (adequately compensating PEE), let alone provide additional gains.The decision to give Rs. 18 in cash per day to a poor person while taking away all other major welfare provisions will be grossly inadequate for "necessary material foundation for a life with access to basic goods and a life of dignity" (ibid). The meagre transfer would not give much choice to the recipients; from such fixed small amount of cash, it will be impossible for the poor to manage their economic crises such as, unemployment, catastrophic health expenditure of private care, food crisis etc. which only a need based welfare system can handle - much more efficiently and within limited resources.Thirdly, since ES proposes to replace all welfare expenditures by such cash transfer, this proposed methodology would result in ever-reducing government expenditures (as a percentage of GDP) which undermines the progressive redistributive role of the state.

Concluding Remarks

From macro-economic perspective, crucial for the success of a cash transfer programme is its ability

to have a positive 'multiplier effect'. This in fact is often pointed out as one of its strengths to garner support for it. It can even strengthen public welfare services through increased demand for the same (Standing, 2012). However, these economically expansionary characteristics have little common ground with the version of cash transfer that calls for concomitant withdrawal of other welfare programmes.In a country like ours which not only have high economic inequality but also high level of absolute impoverishment, positive discrimination is a necessity; we need a welfare system that universally provides social protection, benefitting different segments of the population according to their need; because granting everybody a uniform cash transfer that covers the neediest would be too high an amount and an inefficient way of using public resources.Instead of strengthening the institutions and systems to efficiently allocate public resources, the proponents of cash transfer unfortunately seek an escape route in a system which as a stand alone methodof redistribution is evidently less efficient.

Our analysis uncovers the fact that cash transfer replacing welfare provisioning is yet another onslaught on public social protection by stifling state's spending. The need of the hour is to provide more resources to public welfare programmes; this could be done through increasing direct taxes of the rich, pooling contributory funds for public services that people anyway pay to costlier private providers (like Canada's income- contributory fund for universal social health insurance). In India, it is the proportion of indirect taxes (which the rich and the poor pay alike) that is increasing while that of direct taxes (which are proportionately higher for individuals with higher earnings) is going down. At the same time huge concessions are being provided to the corporate sector at the expense of tax revenue, estimated to be around Rs 83,492crore for the year 2016-17 (GoI, 2017b). Additional resources can even be raised from a 'tax' on capital stock, if we agree in principle that common people have equal rights on productive assets (as argued by Paine (1795) and Varoufakis (2016)). It is, however, important to recognise that the redistributive welfare interventions' ability to correct economic inequality is only partial. Poverty is not just the lack of money/cash, as the proponents of cash transfers in India simplistically view it to be. The most important causes of poverty are structural such as un-remunerative incomes, volatile prices, lack of employment, unequal ownership of productive assets. etc. Recognising these is vital to uplift the marginalised.

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Loanword Adaptation Across Time
Evidence from Midnapuri Dialect of Bangla

Moumita Singha[1]

The aim of this paper is to analyze in some detail the linguistic behaviour of Indo-Aryan and English loanwords found in Bengali and Midnapuri Bengali. Reported here is a comparative study of these borrowed words known as loan words, and the original words, in terms of the structural and phonological differences,and the variations in syllabic structures, etc discussed in the framework of Generative Phonology. Bangla has borrowed a number of words from languages like Arabic, Assamese, Sanskrit and Hindi as also from English and from almost all the semantic fields and the words are further drawn into Midnapuri phonology. In order to fit the loanwords into their phonological system, all the loanwords have undergone various phonological changes so that the words can be nativized. The paper also compares old loanwords used in the Bangla society around 1930, as available in a very old Bangla-English dictionary, with the present generation and finds that a number of old loanwords have been replaced by new Bangla native words.

Keywords: loanwords, borrowing, adaptation, phonological system

The lexical items from English borrowed or used in Bengali[2] can be termed as 'loan items' or 'loan words'. The First Dictionary of Linguistics & Phonetics (1980) defines 'loan' as:

> ….a linguistic unit (usually a lexical item) which has come to be used in a language or dialect other than the one where it originated. (It is understood that the phoneme that is borrowed is loan phoneme and the word that is borrowed is the loan word.

The essential point concerning the use of a loan-word, i.e. 'the change of context' has been more elaborately discussed in the definition of a loan-word given by B.L. Whorf (1947):

> A loan-word may be defined as a word that at some time was first used in context with other words of a given language, having never before been used in context with these words, for the reason that the user had heard and understood its meaning in a different language in which it was in context with words of that language.

The following data are collected from Standard Bengali speakers (5) from EFL University, Hyderabad and Midnapuri speakers (4) from Harma village of Midnapur District, West Bengal. The source of loan data in English, Sanskrit, Hindi, Assamese, Arabic, Portuguese are given at the end (references section).

English Loanwords

Indian English is linguistically a projection language i.e, a language in which speech patterns of a familiar language are projected into an unfamiliar linguistic environment. It follows then, that the

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[2] Bengali and Bangla are used interchangeably throughout the text.

English words uttered by Bengalis are influenced by Bengali speech patterns and that the phonology of Bengali assigns a different linguistic characteristic to the English words in the context of Bengali. The linguistic behaviour of English words borrowed into Bangla undergoes changes at different levels as illustrated below:

Segmental Level

NE (native English)	SB (Standard-Bangla)	Loan(Midnapuri Bangla)	Orthography
/ɵin/	/t̪ʰin/	/t̪ʰi:n/	'thin'
/ðis/	/d̪iS/	/d̪i:s/	'this'
/dʒʌg/	/dʒag/	/dʒɔg/	'jug'
/pɛə/	/pear/	/pijar/	'pair'

The examples given above, illustrate some of the phonemic changes observable in loan words. They illustrate a few consonantal and vowel non consonantal sequences that have undergone change.

Phonological Level

NE (native English)	SB (Standard-Bangla)	LOAN (Midnapuri Bangla)	Orthography
/pʌs/	/paS/	/pa:s/	'puss'
/əridʒinəl/	/ɒridʒinal/	/orizinal/	'original'
/idiət/	/idiet/	/idijet/	'idiot'
/puə/	/puor/	/pu:jor/	'poor'

The above examples indicate the phonological changes the loan words undergo owing to the syllable structure constraints imposed on them by Bengali.

Morphological Level

At the morphological level, the loan words take inflectional and derivational suffixes. In Loan-Bengali (Midnapuri) mixed compounds are also common. The following examples illustrate the changes taking place at the morphological level.

Inflections

Loan Noun+ Suffix (MB)	Standard Bangla	Stem	Mechanism
/ba:s-gula/ (ba:s+gula)	/ba:ʃ-gulo/	bus	Pluralisation
/mada:m-ra/ (mada:m+ra)	/mædam-ra/	madam	Pluralisation
/bɔkso-ta/ (bɔkso+ta)	/bɔkʃ-ta/	box	Definitive

[In Standard Bangla (SB) it is /bɔkʃ/ whereas in Midnapuri (MB) /ʃ/ changes to /s/ and /o/ synthesis occur finally]

/ki-gaca/ (ki:+gaca)	/ki-gacha/	key	Pluralisation(collective)

Derivations

Adjectivalization

Loan Adjective+ Bengali adj suffix	Gloss
/La:ki: hɔba:/(become) [Standard Bengali (SB) uses /hɔwa:/]	'being lucky'
/bɔri:ŋ byapar/ (matter) [SB uses bori:ŋ]	'boring thing'

Verbalization

Loan Verb+ Bengali Auxiliary verb	Gloss
/se:l kɔra/(do) [SB uses /ʃe:l-kora/]	'to sell'

Compounding

Loan Noun+ Bengali Noun	Gloss
/ba:s-calɔk/ [SB uses /ba:ʃ-calok/]	'Bus Driver'
/mi:k-sobdʒi [SB uses /mikʃ- ʃobdʒi/]	'mixed vegetable'

The word /mi:k-sobdʒi/ is a compound where the word refers to the culinary dish, 'mixed vegetable' which is a common menu/cuisine (made of a mixture of many vegetables) on any occasion. In Midnapuri, people use /mi:k-sobdʒi/ quite frequently. The second word /sobdʒi/ in the compound has /s/ in the onset position which assimilates with the coda /k/ [of /mi:k/] of the first word of the compound. /s/ is dropped from the loan word /miks/ 'mix' for ease of articulation, else in /miks-sobdʒi/ 'ss' gemination might lead to tension in articulation.

Types of Loans
According to the degree of adaptation, assimilation and integration of Loan Word into the system of the borrowing language, two types of loans emerge.
> (a) Loan shifts
> (b) Loan words

Loan shifts
Loan shift has been defined as *(See Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* 1972)
….the borrowing of a word or phrase from another language with a simultaneous modification of its phonological shape, so that it is taken for a native one.

This definition is found to be inadequate in the sense that it considers phonology as the only criterion for determining a borrowed word as loan shift. Semantic criterion is also as important to classify an item as 'loan shift'. For example, the stem of the word 'mætʃaka:r' is still recognizable as the English verb 'massacre' meaning 'to kill' or 'to defeat', but semantically the word has undergone a drastic shift to mean 'confusion' or 'haphazard'. Another example, the stem of the word 'aʃɔlto:' is still recognizable as the English verb 'assault' meaning 'attack', but semantically the word has undergone a drastic shift to mean 'insult' or 'demoralize'. Furthermore, the word always occurs as a derivation with the addition of the Bengali adverbial suffix 'o:'. Similarly, the word 'militari' in the compound word 'military hotel' has come to mean 'non-vegetarian' though phonologically it has not undergone complete modification to be called a 'shift'. Hence, the words 'assault' and 'military' may be called semantic loan shifts. English loan shifts in Midnapuri Bengali are instances of early borrowing. Early borrowings were less in number and had greater value of usability then, as they filled in the gaps that existed in the Bangla lexicon. Perhaps, these attributes were conducive to the nativization of those words. They have got so firmly knit into Standard Bangla that the uninformed Midnapuri native speaker is often not aware of their English origin. Examples:

Loan Shifts (Midnapuri 'MB')	Standard Bangla (SB)	Gloss
/ujil/	/uil/	'will'
/phɔrom/	/fɔrm/	'form'
/eskelanti/	/ekʃilent/	'excellent'
/aintʃesto/	/pɔket/	pocket'
/a:pis/	/a:piʃ/ or /ɔfiʃ/	'office'

This reveals that the above English words have been bengalicized to such an extent that they are easily mistaken for Bangla words. At the phonemic level, it may be observed that English segments have been replaced by Bangla segments. It is natural to assume that there will be resistance to borrowing foreign segments. For instance, the English segments [ʒ] & [θ] are never found in Bangla speech. At the morphemic level, the suffixes –i, -o, occurring sequence finally in the words /eskelanti/, /aintʃesto/ in MB and /ekʃilent/, /pɔket/ in SB respectively, are the Bangla endings added to English words to bengalicize them. Also in the word 'office' SB usage is always the post alveolar /ʃ/ be it pronounced both ways as /ɔfiʃ/ or /a:piʃ/ but in Midnapuri (MB) it is always an alveolar /s/ and hence /a:pis/.

The observations as have been made suggest specific processes which have operated obligatorily on loan shifts to integrate them completely into the phonological system of the receiving language-Midnapuri Bengali, to nativize these lexical items.

Loan words

Loan words, on the other hand, are borrowed words in Bengali, which have started (but have not yet finished) their adaptation and assimilation. Loan words have entered Bengali and further to Midnapuri Bengali as a result of strengthening of the contact between English and Bengali owing to various reasons. They preserve certain phonemic and phonological features of the English Language and they represent a phonetic compromise of some degree. The words /mætʃaka:r/ (massacre), /asɔlto:/ (aasault), and /meletari/ (military) come under the category of phonological loan words in Midnapuri, since these word are phonologically Bengalicized unlike the manner of loan shifts like 'eskelanti' from 'eksələnt'(excellent) and 'a:pis' from 'ɔfis' (office) where the segments or phonemes are almost changed. A distinction is observed between loan shifts and loan words in the preservation of some English element in the latter, while in the former no English element can said to be present.

Different categories of English loan words found in Bangla literature

It is well known that the loan-words that are incorporated into a language are subject to phonetic and morphological modifications. The sounds of these words are often changed so that they may fit the native phonetic habits. The words, too, undergo changes under certain circumstances, and are used with native morphological elements. Sometimes, new expressions are used in the language just by translating the foreign words and expressions literally. Taking all these modifying factors into consideration, the English loan-words used in Bangla Literature may be placed under the following categories.

Assimilated loan words

The English loan-words which have been used in Bangla context and nativized to Bengali morphophonemics can be placed under this head. Thus, the English word, 'feel' /fi:l/, is retained in Bangla pronunciation as [fi:l] and in Midnapuri as /phi:l/ , i.e., the English labio-dental voiceless fricative /f/ is retained in Standard Bangla and replaced by the Midnapuri Bangla voiceless aspirated plosive [ph].

SB	Midnapuri	Phonological change
/fi:l/	/phi:l/	/f/→ /pʰ/ 'De-spirantization'
		(Fricative changes to aspirated plosive)

Hybrid words

These compound words are a combination of two different words belonging to two different languages. These words are formed in the following ways:

a. By derivation, i.e. by taking an existing root (formant) of English, and combining with prefixes of Bangla. As for example, the Bangla word /pion-giri/ 'profession of a peon', is a hybrid word, because the Bangla suffix '–giri' (to act like one/to be one of the profession) is added to the English word 'peon' /piːən/. In Midnapuri it is pronounced as /pijaːn-giri/ , i.e, /j/ glide insertion and /a/ vowel substitution occur.

b. By composition, i.e. putting together one word of English and another of Bangla (or bengalicized one). As for example, the Bangla word /relgaɽi/ 'train' is formed by compounding the Bangla (bengalicized) word /gaɽi/ 'carriage' with the English word /reil/ 'rail' and pronounced as /rælgaːɽi/ in Midnapuri.

Imperfect assimilation

The sounds and forms of the English words are sometimes altered due to imperfect assimilation of the words by the Bangla speakers. The words thus formed 'are pure and simple interpretations of misunderstood forms in terms of known forms.' This phenomenon of deforming words by people in general or 'folk' is called 'folk etymology'. In Bangla, the English word 'arm-chair', has been changed to /araːmkeḍaraː/ 'the chair on which one can sit comfortably', in this way. The English word 'arm' changed to /araːm/ 'comfort' in Bangla, and the English word 'chair' was translated to /keḍaraː/ 'chair' in Bangla.

Clipped words

These words are formed by omitting certain sounds, or letters, or syllables from the original words, e.g. /bajik/ in Midnapuri ; /baik/ in Standard Bangla 'bike' (bicycle) or /phɔto/ 'photo' in Midnapuri ; /foto/ in Standard Bangla (photograph), etc.

Unchanged English loan words

There are some English loan words which have been used in Bangla literature without any modification or change, e.g. /kæp/ 'cap', /bænk/ 'bank', etc. in this connection Sukumar Sen remarks that the English loan words which were adopted into Bangla after the 19th century have undergone very little changes and it is not difficult to recognize them as English words.

Loan translation

In 'loan-translation', the separate constituents of the foreign words are literally translated into the native words of the borrowing language. Thus, many terms and expressions used in Bangla literature are mere literal translation of their English counterparts, e.g. /maṭribʰaːʃa/ (SB); /maṭirivaːsa/ (MB) 'mother-tongue', /bʰalobaʃa ɔnḍʰo/ (SB); /valobaːsa: ɔnḍʰɔ/ (MB) 'love is blind', etc.

Perso-Arabic Loan Words

Reportedly, it was the Hindu poet Bharat Chandra in his poem
Mansingha Kàvya,, 1752 who coined the term dobhaʃi Bangla 'dual language' (Haq 1957:174) for a register using many Perso-Arabic loanwords. Some dobhashi literature was written in the nasta≠liq script, or in Bengali written from right to left. Haq argues that dobhaʃi reflects the 19th century Wahhabi movement in southern Bengal. Abdul Mannan, who wrote the definitive treatment of

dobhaʃi literature in 1966, sees its origins in earlier Mughal patronage of Bengali. The first work on record "which has preserved evidence of the influence of the language of Muslim rulers [on Bengali] is the Mɔn savijɔy of Bipradàs Piplài", a Brahmin (ca. 1495 C.E., Mannan 1966:59). Bharat Chandra wrote the following (from Onnɔdamɔngɔl):

//Na rɔbe prɔʃad gun/ na hɔbe rɔʃal/
Ot eb o kohi bhaʃa/ yaboni miʃʃal//
In Midnapuri Bangla (MB),
//Na rɔbe pɔsa:d gu:n/ na hɔbe rɔsal/
ɔt æb o kohi va:sa/ yabɔni missal//

Translated, this reads, 'Persian, Arabic, Hindustani lack grace and poetic quality, I have chosen, therefore the mixed language of the Muslims'.

Phonology and Grammatical Categories o Loan Words
Sanskrit loan words
Tatsama words are directly borrowed from Sanskrit and they retained their original Sanskrit form. E.g., /grām/ [gram] 'village', /kabi/ [kobi] 'poet' etc. (Kar, 2009).

Sanskrit loan	Bangla Pronounciation	Midnapur Pronounciation	Gloss
'skhələnə'	/ʃkhɔlon/	/khɔlɔn/	'slip'
'mrʈju'	/mriʈʈu/	/miʈʈu:/	'death'
'spəʃtə'	/spɔʃto/	/pɔsto:/	'clear'
'əmruʈə'	/ɔmri/	/omrit/	'nectar/ambrosia'
'snanəh'	/ʃnan/	/tʃa:n/	'bath'
'praʈəh'	/praʈo/	/peraʈ/	'early'
'hr̩dəjə'	/hriɖɔe/	/hirɖɔj/	'heart'
'brahmhənə'	/bramhon/	/bamu:n/	'brahmin'
Hindi loan			
'gula:b'	/gola:p/	/gɔlap/	'rose'
'məsala'	/mɔʃla/	/mɔsla/	'spices'
Assamese loan			
'ha:n'	/hãʃ/	/ hãs/	'swan'
'mem'	/mem/	/mæm/	'a European lady'
Portuguese loan			
'prego'	/perek/	/pirekh/	'metal nails'
'sanona'	/nona/	/nuna/	'salty'

Claims and Discussion
Source of Borrowing
We start from the assumption that loan words are borrowed into Midnapuri Bangla from Standard Bangla, which is borrowed from Bengali English (henceforth BE). BE is a variety of Indian English spoken in West Bengal that is borrowed from English spoken in Bengal. Like the other Indian varieties of English, BE is a 'derived dialect'. Most Bengali learners of English learn English from other Bengali English speakers and this has been prevalent for several generations. Thus Bengali English, particularly in its Phonology, is not Native English (NE) passed on to succeeding generations, but is a variety of English derived from NE in the peculiar circumstances of formal, second language learning. It is in this sense that we call BE a 'derived dialect' of English.

It is this Bangla dialect of English that has been adopted as an optional medium of instruction as well as a compulsory subject in West Bengal. A large number of English words channelled their way through BE into Bengali as the two languages have come into contact. The process of borrowing still continues and appears to progress since an 'extensive bilingual situation' prevails in the state among the educated. We must, therefore, assume that BE and not NE is the source of borrowing. It is quite logical to assume so, on the grounds that in the process of borrowing English words, a Bengali speaker normally does not have access to Native English speech.

Influence of English spelling on the segmental phonology of loan words
BE is phonologically different from NE, though the Bangla as well as the Native learner of English is exposed to the same spelling representation. The difference in the surface representation in BE is due to the fact that unlike the native speaker, the BE speaker is not exposed to NE speech at any time. A NE segment does not get realized all the time as a particular BE segment in BE, because the rules in BE, for the realization of orthographic representation as various BE segments are different from those of NE.

Spelling-sound correspondence
The following examples might serve well to demonstrate the realization of the English orthographic 'a' as [æ:] in most cases:

Standard Bangla	Midnapuri Bangla	English Spelling
/ʃæmpel/	/sæ:mpul/	'sample'
/plænt/	/pelæ:nt/	'plant'
/dænʃ/	/dæns/	'dance'
/næʃti/	/ næ:sti/	'nasty'

Orthographic 'a' is realized as /æ:/ in these words. Such a realization in a sizeable number of words speaks or the application of the spelling rule:
'a' --→ [æ:] / _ C[+nasal/+fricative]

Again in other words, the orthographic 'a' is realized as /e:/.
Eg: Message, passage, manager, table, delicate, collegiate, village, taste, waste,

Standard Bangla	Midnpuri Bangla	English Spelling
/meʃedʒ/	/mese:dʒ/	'message'
/tebil/	/te:bu:l/	'table'

'a' --→ 'e:'/ _ [+plosives/+affricates]

Again, in other words, the orthographic 'a' is realized as 'ea'. Examples:

Stnadard Bangla	Midnapuri Bangla	English Spelling
/tʃear/	/tʃijar/	'chair'
/pear/	/pijar/	'pair'
/fear/	/phijar/	'fair'
/mear/	/mijar/	'mare'
/rear/	/rijar/	'rare'
/kear/	/kijar/	'care'

1. 'a' --→ [ea]/ _ 'ir' (SB), a' --→ [ija]/ _ 'ir' (MB)
2. 'a' ---→ [ea]/ _ 're' (SB), a' ---→ [ija]/ _ 're' (MB)

We have restricted the data considered so far to instances of different realisations of 'a' in English spelling. The rules given are illustrative of the spelling rules deeply ingrained in BE speakers' minds and govern their pronunciation. The systematic realisation of orthographic 'a' as various BE phonemes in specific environments indicates that English spelling governs the distribution of BE segments in BE. By positing English segments as UR for BE, it is possible to predict the occurrence of a BE segment in loan words.

Loan segments

The following are the segments that have been borrowed into Bengali through loan words. The borrowing process is known as 'Phonemic Importation' (Filiporic, 1972, p.149).

Vowel segments [æ:]" The NE segment [æ] has been lengthened to represent various orthographic symbols as given above.

Consonantal segments: [f] and [z] segments are replaced by /ph/ and /dʒ/ segments in Midnapuri Bangla as they don't have indigenous stock.

The NE (Native English) segments that have been borrowed into Bengali through loan words are the consonants [f] and [z]. The consonant segments [f] and [z] have definite symbols to represent them in English orthography. Especially significant is the fact that [z] is pronounced as [z] only when it is represented in spelling as 'z' and not elsewhere. The borrowed segments [æ:], [f] and [z] do not have nearest equivalents in Midnapuri Bengali. The NE segment [æ] is different from [e] in being [+low] and from [a] in being [-back]. The segment [f] cannot be trans-phonemized as any Bengali segment. For instance, its homorganic [v] is a voiced segment. Further it is a frictionless continuant, whereas [f] is a fricative. The segment [z] also cannot be trans-phonemized as any other segment in Bengali. The segment [s] is its voiceless counterpart, but nowhere do we find in Bengali loan phonology, a voiced segment being trans-phonemized as a voiceless segment if the orthography indicates a distinction.

It has been generally assumed that foreign segments are borrowed if they happen to fill in the slot left unfilled in the phonemic inventory of the borrowing language. It may be so when borrowing takes place in a 'close contact situation' in which the speakers of two languages come into social contact. In a second language learning situation, we may say, that gaps in the phonemic inventory get filled in when evidence for the presence of a sound is found in spelling. This is how language contact happens in due course of time due to which Midnapuri Bangla borrowed from Standard Bangla, Sanskrit, Hindi, Assamese, Arabic, English, etc., and adapted itself into its Midnapuri Bangla morphology, phonology through trans-phonemization, phonetic-phonemic importation and loan word adaptation.

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Research Ethics and English in India

Nandana Dutta[1]

This essay is an attempt to think about ethics issues in research firstly, as about good practices in the discipline and then, drawing on these to evolve a specific research ethics for English in India. To that end it examines the prevailing scene of research ethics that has become normative and explores what might constitute specific ethics issues for researchers in English as it is studied and produced in India.

Ethics codes for research and for research publication from the biosciences, medicine and the social sciences have generally been used as models for those disciplines where such ethics has not yet been articulated. While many of the points raised in ethics guidelines in these areas (enshrined in ethics policies of institutions from around the world) appear to be irrelevant for the humanities disciplines, going back to the core questions from which such ethics has evolved might offer a possible roadmap for the humanities. As the points made in many of the Guidelines referred to below will suggest, ethical issues are founded on relationships among the three key epistemological points of subjects, objects and modes of study. So, going back to these points would perhaps enable humanities disciplines like English/English in India to evolve specific ethical guidelines instead of trying to adapt those of other disciplines.

The need for ethics guidelines for Research and Research Publication has become crucial for Indian higher education because of several recent developments with regard to the evaluation of academic performance of college and university teachers. The Academic Performance Index (API) – part of the assessment structure evolved by the UGC for appointment and promotion of faculty, and calculated annually – has forced research on everyone, irrespective of aptitude, ability and interest. And the huge body of new and aspiring 'researchers' has resulted in journals with no clear ethics policies, but armed with the easily procured ISSN nos., and with claims about peer review and "international" status. The problem seems to be most acute in the Humanities (perceived to offer soft subject options) and causes include inflation of marks at every level and a lack of employment-oriented alternative education opportunities; the consequent entry into higher education of thousands of students who then go on unthinkingly into MPhil and PhD research; large number of universities running PhD programmes; and an absence of training for research guides. For instance my own University of Guwahati till very recently made no mention of an ethics policy for research. In its 2016 Regulations (2016) (which came into effect in 2017) there is a list of dos and dont's in

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which the issue of plagiarism is predominant. Other universities are not significantly different in this regard with very few of them displaying any clear instructions on ethical issues for researchers. Jadavpur University repeats one sentence in both its MPhil and PhD Regulations of 2017: "The Executive Council of the University shall evolve a mechanism, using well developed software and gadgets to detect plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty" (Web 3, 12).

The UGC's recent guidelines (UGC 2017a) (The UGC Research Development and Innovation Programs Implementation Guidelines 2017, Web 22) are in the areas of

1. Data acquisition, management, sharing, and ownership

2. Supervisor/trainee responsibilities

3. Publication practices and responsible authorship

4. Peer review

5. Research collaboration

6. Research involving human subjects

7. Research involving animals

8. Research misconduct

9. Conflict of interest and commitment
   (UGC, 2017)).

Out of the nine items listed, only Research Misconduct is elaborated as including "deliberate fabrication, falsification, or plagiarism in proposing, performing, or reviewing research, or in reporting research results, and harmful activities" (22). This reveals a view of institutional responsibility that is more about policing than of teaching good research practices. Following the general Guidelines, the UGC Draft (2017b) Guidelines (September 2017) on academic integrity and prevention of plagiarism mandates incorporation of 'principles of academic integrity' into UG and PG curricula, MPhil and PhD coursework and Orientation and Refresher courses (Web 4).

However, guidelines for research maintained on their websites by premier international universities and key areas hyperlinked to legislations, ethics committees, and other modes of ensuring integrity suggest that research ethics is firstly about inculcating good research practices.

This essay makes an attempt to think about ethics issues and research ethics issues as firstly about good practices in the discipline and then drawing on these to evolve a specific research ethics for English in India. To that end it examines the prevailing scene of research ethics that has become normative and tries to see what might constitute specific ethics issues for researchers in English as it is studied and produced in India.

Research Ethics

The 'University of Cambridge Policy on the Ethics of Research Involving Human Participants and Personal Data' (University of Cambridge, 2016) links the University's vision for promoting good research with its ethical commitments. The Policy 'foster[s] a research culture' that adheres to 'relevant legislation governing the protection of the dignity, rights, safety and privacy of those involved in research;' 'provide clear and easily accessible guidance on best ethical practice and regulatory requirements'; '*offer support and training to staff and students* and any others . . . to

maintain awareness and high ethical standards'; 'maintain an ethical review process'; 'maintain an oversight of the policies and practices of Department, Faculty, School or equivalent-level Ethics Committees and to take appropriate action where there is evidence that the University's policy is not being followed' (Web np. Emphases added). Punitive measures are mentioned only in the event of failure.

The Policy document contains not just the items that constitute ethical research but also lays out the 'Ethical Review Process' and the role of the University Research Ethics Committee as a referral body in cases of doubt. It directs all researchers having access to university premises and facilities to familiarize themselves with the Policy. While laying out general guidelines, the Policy states that subject specific guidance should be received from the relevant Department or School. The Policy is reviewed every three years (Web np).

Where ethics concerns are expressed in India, these are in relation to research in medicine and biosciences (see Thatte and Marathe 2017 for a survey of the scene) while social science research ethics concerns too seem to be mostly in the domain of public health and individual psychology.

However, the draft code published in an issue of the *Economic and Political Weekly* widens the area of concerns. Borrowed from 'The Code of Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans' (1997) evolved by the Tri-Council Working Group of Canada it pointed out that, "While research is not the monopoly of any group or of only those who are recognised as professionals, every researcher must acquire *adequate knowledge and ability,* and should have *commitment to do research"* (*EPW* 2000: 988, emphases added). On accountability and responsibility it said: "The conduct of research must be fair, honest and transparent. The researchers are accountable to the research community and the society' (988). *"Framing of research questions and agendas should be issue/subject specific and sensitive to the culture or community being studied"* (988, emphases added). "Peer review should be an essential part of every research endeavour or initiative, and should be sought at various stages of research. Any research or peer review in which a conflict of interest could arise as a result of a personal or vested interest, should be disclosed prior to undertaking it" (988). "Researchers should report their findings accurately and truthfully. There should be no fabrication, falsification, plagiarism or other practices at any stage of the research" (988-989). *"Every researcher has a duty to protect historical records and to preserve materials studied"* (989 emphases added). Instead of assuming research ethics as necessary only when a piece of research is to be published or sent up for a degree, this code clearly demands an education that includes training in certain preliminary good practices.

Tejal Barai in a report on the discussions at the national Ethics Meeting on this 'Draft Code' writes of the expansion of areas of research in the social sciences from "studies of peasant movements, agrarian uprisings, industrial sociology, urban sociology in the 1970s (sic) to issues such as medical sociology in the 1980's (sic) (Rao, 1982), and studies on sexuality and reproductive health in the 1990's (sic)' which are both 'complex' and 'more invasive" (Barai Web np). Methods of 'interviews', 'case histories' and 'focus group discussions' (Barai Web np) are invasive because they involve the private lives of human participants.

Ethics in Research Publications

Ethical concerns in research publication have become particularly crucial in the face of the UGC's efforts to link published research to promotions in higher education institutions through

the numerically determined Academic Performance Index (2010). In the wake of this process of evaluation (under Category III of the API Form) a spate of bad papers have been published in dubious journals that came into existence almost overnight, complete with ISSN nos. and tall claims about peer review and about being 'international' journals (Recent articles in the 'Let Teachers Teach' series in *The Wire* [August 1, 4, 7, 2017] while commenting on the newly inducted MHRD Minister Prakash Javadekar's expressed intentions to do away with mandatory research requirements for college teachers, recount these developments. The ministerial intervention is yet to happen). In the first of these articles, Pushkar (2017a and 2017b) argues that "the research requirement in the API for college teachers is a travesty. All that it achieved was a proliferation of bad journals for college teachers to publish in." (Web np). While one cannot but agree with this view narrowing down the problem to college teachers alone is itself short sighted because it assumes that by virtue of being in the university a person is able to do good research. Given recruitment methods there is no guarantee that a newly inducted faculty member in a university would have an aptitude for research (even though s/he has a PhD).

In the face of the mounting problem of quality vs quantity and the numerical evaluation becoming predominant, the UGC started its fire fighting measures: it asked universities and other research institutions under it to compile lists of acceptable journals for every discipline which it then collated and put up on its website; insisted on a plagiarism check being done on all dissertations using the Urkund software (made available to all research supervisors) before they were to be certified as ready for submission; and made it mandatory for all PhD dissertations to be institutionally uploaded onto the Inflibnet site.

The sequence of these developments is interesting. The UGC first created the problem by unthinkingly insisting that a PhD and subsequently, continuous research, was necessary for all, irrespective of where they worked; by making the PhD a substitute for NET as a qualifying criterion for applicants in teaching jobs; by insisting on conference attendance and published papers on a regular annual basis without at the same time setting up mechanisms for establishing journal or article quality.

This cart-before-the-horse approach of the UGC – insisting on research for everybody and then when widespread plagiarism was discovered, trying to fight it with policing the dissertation and mandating journal legitimacy with the easily procurable ISSN number – has been responsible for the sudden proliferation of bad research in India (especially in the Humanities). This is perhaps the reason why ethics in research is institutionally perceived as being primarily about refraining from plagiarism. As the codes of ethical research formulated and displayed prominently on the websites of many respected universities show, there are several other key aspects to good and honest research..

'Guidelines on Good Research Practice' of Cambridge University includes 'Dissemination and Publication of Research' where peer review, acknowledgment of funding, the specific 'contributions of formal collaborators and all others who directly assist or indirectly support the research', the 'appropriate form' for publication of research results', dissemination 'in a responsible manner, in such a way that results are not overstated or hyped' all find mention (2014: 7-8). Other universities around the world make similar points – and nearly all of these are available in the Code of Publication Ethics (COPE).

The 1999 COPE 'Guidelines on Good Publication Practice' (regularly revised and updated, with the latest in 2014) asserts that 'authors must take public responsibility for the content of their paper'

acknowledge all 'contributions to the conception, design, analysis and writing of the study' but not credit in case 'there is no task that can be reasonably attributed to an individual', and advises 'reading of the target journal's "Advice to Authors"' (44). On Plagiarism it says: "Plagiarism ranges from the unreferenced use of others' published and unpublished ideas, including research grant applications to submission under "new" authorship of a complete paper, sometimes in a different language . . . . it applies to print and electronic versions'. To avoid this it suggests: "All sources should be disclosed, and if large amounts of other people's written or illustrative material is to be used, permission must be sought" (45). On misconduct in publication it says: "The general principle confirming misconduct is intention to cause others to regard as true that which is not true" (46). ELSEVIER identifies the responsibilities of publishers, editors, authors and peer reviewers (Web 2017) while the journal *Research Integrity and Peer Review regularly* addresses issues of ethical research (as example see Bouter et al 2016).

Journals advise potential authors in areas like simultaneous submission of same paper, process of peer review, assurances of communication to the author of editorial decisions and proper acknowledgment of sources for which a sample is usually provided and frequently also suggest jargon free writing style. While such guidelines are generally sufficient to ensure that a research communication adhere to certain commonly acknowledged codes of research conduct, in India, the persistence of papers that are badly written, poorly referenced and frequently carrying material from dubious online sources suggests that there is failure at a deeper level that cannot be addressed merely by the existence of such guidelines. The excellent paper by an Indian researcher in the Humanities is not the norm, the poor one is, suggesting that good practices in each discipline have to be acquired and these, in order to be effective, must become second nature to the disciplinary practitioner. Beyond scrupulous referencing and acknowledgment, a much wider sense of the ethical, which would imply both inwardness with the discipline's core values and self-regulation, seems to be in order.

And yet, as the tentative nature of what follows will demonstrate, this is not easy to do because the humanities rarely deals in human subjects directly (despite the expansion into cultural studies, issues of memory and representation of trauma and distress) making ethical concerns less tangible and more difficult to evolve in discipline specific ways.

Research Ethics in the Humanities

The NESH Guidelines (2016) and the SATORI Project (2015) both aim to formulate ethics of research for the Humanities. The SATORI Project borrows the idea of 'innovation' from medicine and the sciences to speak of innovation in the humanities as consisting of the following: 'creating new theories and methods', 'comparing databases of cultural heritage and preparing exhibitions,' 'advocate democratic ideas and criticise discriminatory ideologies' by using 'publically (sic) influential critical theory', 'new currents in performing and visual arts that have a wider cultural impact on society', 'developing pedagogical models', 'applied linguistics, e.g. in translation, computer science' (Satori 4). This method of deriving ethics questions for one kind of discipline from completely different ones is useful only up to a point. As Robert Dingwall declares in a somewhat irate essay: "All HSS research is based on the same methods that ordinary people use in their everyday life: observing other people, asking them questions, reading documents or looking at pictures" (2008: 3). And 'ethics and literature' is (and always has been) an area of considerable interest while 'responsibility' and 'irresponsibility' (with regard to from, narrative, self-knowledge, allusion, dissent etc) are shown as key issues for English (Jernigan et al, 2009), so that having

to work from a position of lack with reference to research ethic guidelines is a serious challenge especially when the fundamental difference from other disciplines remains in the nature of the objects of study.

The English Department at the University of Washington, appearing to be exercised by the Satori emphasis on 'innovation', declares that 'new knowledge' is created 'by examining texts and other cultural artifacts' and further that 'the products of research are predominantly intellectual and intangible, with the results contributing to an academic discipline and also informing other disciplines, a process which often effects individual or social change over time' (Web np). Ethical issues are obviously expected to evolve from within the realm of intangibility and in the growth of the discipline.

The disconnect between proposals for Humanities ethics and the ground situation becomes particularly evident in the peculiar conditions in which research in English takes place in India. The development of the discipline, the quality of teaching, the large number of colleges and universities all ensure superficiality. With topics as broad and undefined as 'women characters' in novels or plays, 'critical studies' or simply 'a study of select works' of authors, 'mind and art' and in recent years the ubiquitous theme of 'identity' which is studied for every conceivable community, region and author (titles of dissertations awarded PhD degrees by Gauhati and Dibrugarh universities), English as researched in India offers ample rationale for suggesting that more than institutional gestures and punitive measures, a comprehensive overhauling is in order. Evident in these titles is the inability to evolve a research subject or problem that is in keeping with the developments in the discipline; the related inability to lay out a roadmap or plan for the research that is in keeping with the needs of the initiatory problem; and basic uncertainty about methodologies. Such inadequate engagement with developments in the discipline is compounded by lack of decent libraries in colleges where many researchers work as teachers, teaching hours that leave no time for rigorous research and the existence of poor quality Notes and help books in the market that defines the culture of study in the first place.

The proliferation of research of this kind stems from the conditions in which English in India is studied and taught and the predominance of individual research. As conference papers and articles in some of the newly sprung journals show, two kinds of essays are usually passed off as research – those where the author examines a single text in the light of a conference theme; and secondly, those where the writer ignores the status of the field and critiques a text as if in a sealed isolation chamber. Once such publication occurs it acts as encouragement to the writer to write more of the same, present them at conferences and publish them in similar journals (many of which are in the UGC's approved list). This happens primarily because there is no systematic training in the writing of research papers or in the formulation of a research problem or thesis, no culture of self or peer evaluation and superficial and piecemeal study of the subject and area compelled by the manner in which the discipline has developed in India. Such essays when they do refer to other work only succeed in revealing the superficial culture of study (the cut and paste from Google method) which encourages a quick look at what is most easily available and conceptually friendly – a lack of rigor that also produces bad research.

An interesting way to think about these problems might emerge from Patricia Leavy's work on *Fiction as Research Practice* (2013) and which involves actually writing fiction, based on interviews 'with women about their relationships, body image and identity struggles,' helping to 'develop

empathy, develop emotional responses and ultimately engage in self reflection' (Web np). The use of fiction for social research points to the kind of understanding with which an author creates a literary work that represents character in various situations that call for sympathy and attention, and a researcher approaches the text. Leavy says of fiction-based research that it is a way to study 'topics that can be difficult to approach' (2013: 20). Fiction is more reader-friendly than academic research in dealing with such topics, and as one of the reviewers of this book writes, it makes for 'deeper understanding of experiences' and 'creates an opportunity for the writer to simulate the environment, sights, sounds, and smells of reality virtually, which captivates the reader's imagination. The writer is able to create new knowledge for the reader . . . .' (Kalu, 2013: 130). In this kind of work 'the process of writing can be the research act' (Kalu, 2013: 131). Leavy's work points to the wide referentiality of literature, and the intimacy that it facilitates between the reader and those 'difficult topics' by a process of embodiment in character of the feelings, sufferings and courageous acts that come out of the situations of crisis. The work of the writer and of the reader as critic are embedded in the practical achievements of the process, even as the method of working backwards from fiction offers an insight into what transpires in the literary work.

Margaret Atwood, playfully imagining why a writer writes, makes a long two-page list which includes the following:

> Because I knew I had to keep writing or else I would die. Because to write is to take risks, and it is only by taking risks that we know we are alive . . . . To paint a portrait of society and its ills. To express the unexpressed life of the masses. To name the hitherto unnamed. To defend the human spirit, and human integrity and honor . . . . To search for understanding of the reader and myself. . . . To defend a minority group or oppressed class. To speak for those who cannot speak for themselves. To expose appalling wrongs or atrocities. To record the times through which I have lived. To bear witness to horrifying events that I have survived. To speak for the dead. To celebrate life in all its complexity. . . . To allow for the possibility of hope and redemption. To give back something of what has been given to me (xx-xxii).

This list I believe sums up many of the ethical issues with which a writer begins and that evolves as she might research the area – attending to herself, her objects of study which are very often life forms in states of crisis and representing these to draw the attention of a readership. The researcher, in her turn, studies the way a particular area (as literary studies has expanded into many new domains of experience) is understood and depicted by the author, the accuracy of depiction but beyond that the larger truths understood from such depiction – and writes about them, pointing out what is possible to read into a literary text, how well and with what empathy and insight an author has plumbed a human condition. In depicting how characters treat one another, how the living body is depicted etc. the author is already in an ethical realm. When the researcher draws attention to these ethically conscious representations of the Other by the author she too is engaging in an ethical act. Taking note of the ethical aspects of writing and reading are among the important elements that researchers in the literary disciplines consider and should consider. The expansion of literary disciplines to include many areas of social, historical, political, anthropological, ecological research and writing, the ideological role played by literature (often by reflection, sometimes more directly when ideas from literature create public opinion, and, most often, serving as the site where what happens in a time is represented, critiqued and valued), suggests that ethical issues are situated at the heart of the discipline. Take the immensely influential work on the horrific events of the 20th and 21st centuries – the Holocaust and genocides like Nellie in Assam and in Myanmar, Partition in India, displacement of populations all over the world, ecological disasters, the Bhopal Gas Tragedy, terrorist attacks, human rights violations at Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib to name only some – that

is a challenge to the researcher. It would be ethically dubious if a researcher into literature produced in these situations were to separate the events from the characters or the language or some other depiction from the event which occasioned it, if it were even possible. As one researcher/critic writes of such literature, it 'rationalizes in and through its wide variety of narrative what it means to be human' (Nayar xi). To write of the human/humane, and aberrations from, and extensions of what it means to be human and other forms of life (as the ecological enjoins this further ethical behaviour upon us) - these place us in the ethical.

A researcher who wishes to examine one material element (say food or houses or attire) in a novel set against or about a horrific event, would find it difficult to critically write about it in isolation. Perhaps what we are looking at here is something like 'going with the author' – which is one of the ethical issues at stake in the case of a literary text. This might open up further if we think of 'English Studies in India' as a subset of the main discipline involving the basic epistemological questions. So here we would have texts produced in India and challenging the researcher with both over familiarity and strangeness (given India's hugely diverse literary traditions that act as backdrop to the English productions); as well as texts produced in the English speaking world where strangeness would demand a special empathy even as this empathy would prepare the ground for reading from one's location but also being open and sensitive to the work.

Why writers write and what they write about emerges in different ways from the two explorations cited above – by Leavy and Atwood – but they point to a common element: fictional representations help in the understanding of difficult and sometimes controversial topics and of people caught in the midst of critical situations. The ethical is imperative for the writer who represents people, place, state of mind etc. with empathy, who selects the most evocative situations and the most appropriate characters (the objective viewpoint that allows for the most comprehensive representation does not obstruct empathy which is the start of a process of understanding), perhaps to 'expose appalling wrongs and atrocities'. As Leavy reports from her research, the experiment of writing novels based on interviews of real life situations, demonstrates something of what the writer does and the ethical work in representing the sufferings and emotions of the characters through actual conversations on feelings in such situations.

Taking cues from such considerations the researcher in literature/English literature notes (and should note) the relationships between authors and readers; and the way a researcher may do violence to a text by deliberate misinterpretation, and through incomplete information on that which exercises a writer and compels a literary work. If the researcher is taking an interdisciplinary approach, this would mean being receptive to how another discipline approaches its objects of study/ its Others, i.e. working responsibly by learning how that other discipline works. As literature is about representation, and narratives, and individual stories and anecdotes that qualify and subvert the universal and the general, for the researcher it would mean the responsibility to frame and highlight/prevent the silencing of the individual, the tangential, the discomfiting and the controversial. In general it would mean openness/ attentiveness/ receptiveness to author and text and reader and everything that is drawn into the field of research by the needs of these relationships.

With English in India, the range of texts used, the languages in which they might have been written and the distinct socio-economic and cultural contexts in which texts are produced such attentiveness would also extend to questions of accurate representation and translation of texts to which readers of journals predominantly in English would not have access.

So while the researcher in the Humanities in common with those in the Social Sciences, Medicine and Biosciences, is enjoined to follow certain common guidelines on citations and references, on multiple submissions, and acknowledgment of contributions, follow copyright laws and generally adhere to accepted international ethical practices where publication is concerned, the really vital site for acquiring an ethical sense is in the particular culture of the discipline itself. It is here that research ethics has evolved. For ethical research practice to emerge in English it is perhaps as necessary to take note of what the discipline studies today and in a given location, as it is to acknowledge its object of study, the literary text, and all that it represents, and demands/expects of the researcher/critic.

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