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Contents

Women in National Parliaments: An Overview
Sourabh Ghosh 5-11

Implementation of Manual Scavengers Act 2013
in Tamil Nadu: A Micro Analysis
G. Palanithurai & G. George 13-23

Participation of Marginalized Communities in Local Self Governance and
Development Process: A Comparative Study of Araya and Paniya in Kerala
Rajeesh C. S. 25-33

Sexual Harassment at Workplaces in Sivakasi
K. Subramanian 35-45

Decoding Indian Foreign Policy
Priya S. 47-49

A Critique of ‘Hind Swaraj’ and ‘Hindutva’
S Swaroop Sirapangi 51-54
Women in National Parliaments: An Overview

Sourabh Ghosh*

Abstract
Post the ratification of the Beijing Platform for Action, globally, the share of women’s membership in Parliaments doubled between 1995 and 2015. However, the growth in the share of women Parliamentarians across countries has been extremely uneven. As of 2015, only 22 per cent of the countries have achieved the Beijing Platform for Action target of 30 per cent of seats held by women Parliamentarians. Region-wise, the share of women Parliamentarians is highest in the Nordic countries, followed by the Americas and the European countries other than the Nordic countries. In light of the progress in women’s political participation globally, this paper presents a snapshot of participation of women in electoral politics in India. The data presented in this paper clearly demonstrates that Indian electoral politics remains largely exclusionary in terms of participation of women particularly at the national and State levels.

Keywords: Parliament, Democracy, Representation of Women, India

Global Scenario
The mission statement of the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 called for the removal of all “obstacles to women’s active participation in all spheres of public and private life”. The Platform endorsed a target of 30 per cent for women in decision-making, to be accomplished through positive action, public debate, and training and mentoring for women as leaders (IPU 2015). Over a period of 20 years between 1995 and 2015, a number of countries have progressed towards achieving this 30 per cent target, with the world average (of proportion of women in national Parliaments) doubling from 11.3 per cent in 1995 to 22.6 per cent in 2015 (IPU 1995; 2016a). As of 2015, the proportion of women in national Parliaments is more than or equal to 30 per cent in only 42 countries (about 22 per cent) out of 191 countries. The vast majority of 149 countries (about 78 per cent) are still to achieve the 30 per cent target (of women Parliamentarians) with 30 countries (about 16 per cent) having less than 10 per cent of women in national Parliaments.

The top 10 countries in terms of proportion of women Parliamentarians (in both Houses combined) as of 2015, are not necessarily the most economically developed economies of the world. The list is headed by Rwanda where affirmative action has resulted in the proportion of women Parliamentarians going up to 57.5 per cent (see Figure 1). Incidentally, Rwanda is dismally ranked at 163 out of 188 countries in terms of the Human Development Index (HDI) of the United Nations in 2014 (UNDP 2015). Among the Nordic countries, Sweden and Finland feature in the top 10 list at fifth and ninth positions respectively. Sweden follows the Zipper System, whereby every other candidate in the electoral process has to be a woman (Mukherjee 2008).

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Regional Trends in Women’s Presence in National Parliaments

All regions of the world have witnessed significant growth in the proportion of women in national Parliaments between 1995 and 2015. In most regions, this proportion has doubled or tripled over the 20-year period (see Figure 2). The maximum increase in the proportion of women Parliamentarians has taken place in the Americas (by about 15 percentage points) followed by the European countries other than the Nordic countries (by about 14 percentage points).

Figure 2: Region-wise Proportion of Women in National Parliaments (Per Cent) (1995 & 2015)


Women’s representation made significant progress in the Sub-Saharan Africa where the proportion of women Parliamentarians increased by more than 13 percentage points. The change in the proportion
of women Parliamentarians in the Arab States has been similar to that in Sub-Saharan Africa, but from a lower base in 1995. The Nordic countries experienced the lowest increase in the proportion of women Parliamentarians (by about 5 percentage points), but from an already high base of 36.4 per cent in 1995.

Figure 3 gives the regional averages of proportion of women Parliamentarians for 2015 across houses of Parliaments. It is clear from Figure 3 that Nordic countries have the maximum proportion of women Parliamentarians to the tune of 41.1 per cent followed by the Americas (27.2 per cent) and the European countries excluding the Nordic countries (24.3 per cent).

**Figure 3: Region-wise Proportion of Women across Houses of National Parliaments (Per Cent) (2015)**

![Figure 3: Region-wise Proportion of Women across Houses of National Parliaments (Per Cent) (2015)](image)

*Source: IPU (2016a).*

**Women in Politics: The Indian Context**

Indian electoral politics is exclusionary in terms of providing space to women to participate as candidates at the national and State-level elections. This arises from their marginalisation within the party structure and hierarchy (Rai 2011). As a result, women in India are still not well-represented in national and State-level politics as Members of Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies that would require them to be active in the public sphere (Chhibber 2002, Rai 2011).

The scenario in India vis-à-vis presence of women Parliamentarians is worse compared to the global average. Women’s representation in the Lok Sabha (the lower house of the Indian Parliament) since the first general elections in 1952 till the latest round i.e., the 16th round of elections, in 2014 reveals that they continue to be excluded from electoral participation. The proportion of women elected to total elected varies from a low of 3.5 per cent in 1977 to 12 per cent in 2014 (see Figure 4). There was a significant rise in the number of women representatives elected to the 15th Lok Sabha in 2009 as compared to the 14th Lok Sabha in 2004. As a result, for the first time, the proportion of women in Parliament crossed the figure of 10 per cent in the elections to the 15th Lok Sabha in 2009. Although this had important symbolic implications for the future of women’s politics, it did not have much to
do with effective political mobilisation of women in the Lok Sabha elections of 2009 (Deshpande 2009).

**Figure 4: Participation and Performance of Women in Lok Sabha Elections (Per Cent) (1952 to 2014)**

![Graph showing participation and performance of women in Lok Sabha elections from 1952 to 2014](image)

*Source: Statistical Reports of General Election to Lok Sabha (various years).*

The proportion of women elected to the Lok Sabha does not follow a particular trend till the ninth round in 1989. Thereafter, the proportion has been increasing till the latest round of elections with the exception being the 14th round of elections in 2004.

On the other hand, participation of women in the Lok Sabha elections has been very poor. The proportion of women contestants to total contestants has remained below 4 per cent mostly and crossed the 5 per cent mark for the first time in the 12th round of Lok Sabha elections. The latest elections to the 16th Lok Sabha in 2014 witnessed the maximum participation of women (see Figure 4).

The scenario vis-à-vis presence of women in Rajya Sabha i.e., the upper house of the Indian Parliament, is no less grim as compared to the Lok Sabha. Currently, the proportion of women Parliamentarians in Rajya Sabha stands at 11.1 per cent (Rajya Sabha 2016).

As far as contesting elections as candidates and representation in State Legislative Assemblies are concerned, female electoral participation is extremely lopsided vis-à-vis men (Rai 2011). The average proportion of women elected to the State Legislative Assemblies at the all-India level stands at a dismal 8.8 per cent.² Haryana has the maximum representation of women in the Legislative Assembly at 14.4 per cent followed by Rajasthan (14.0 per cent), West Bengal (13.9 per cent), Puducherry (13.3 per cent), and Madhya Pradesh (13 per cent) (see Figure 5).

The proportion of women elected to Legislative Assemblies is greater than or equal to 10 per cent in 9 States only. In 8 States, the proportion of women elected to Legislative Assemblies is less than or equal to 5 per cent. Mizoram and Nagaland do not have any women representative in their respective State Legislative Assemblies.

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2. This is as per data pertaining to Legislative Assembly election cycle prior to 2017.
Figure 5: Share of Women Representatives in State Legislative Assemblies (Per Cent)

Notes: Data for Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Punjab, Goa and Manipur pertain to the previous Legislative Assembly election cycle in 2012. Andhra Pradesh includes Telangana. 
Source: Statistical Reports of General Election to State Legislative Assembly.

Overall, the extent of political representation of women, both at the national and State level, can in no terms be said to be satisfactory. As per the latest estimates, share of women representatives in the Lok Sabha has improved by 1.3 percentage points (see Figure 4) from 10.7 per cent in 2009 (15th round of Lok Sabha elections) to 12 per cent in 2014 (the 16th and latest round of Lok Sabha elections). On the other hand, share of women representatives in Rajya Sabha has dropped by 1.7 percentage points from 12.8 per cent in 2014 (IPU 2016b) to 11.1 per cent in 2016 (Rajya Sabha 2016). At the State-level, share of women representatives in the Legislative Assemblies stands at 8.8 per cent which is lower than the national-level figures.

The national and State-level figures for women’s political representation are poor and in stark contrast to that of the Panchayat level albeit due to the one-third reservation of seats for women as mandated by the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA) (pertaining to Panchayats) and 74th CAA (pertaining to the urban local bodies). Several States, in recent years, have enhanced this provision to 50 per cent for Panchayats. As per latest estimates, the all-India average share of women representatives in Panchayats stands at a healthy 46 per cent (see Figure 6).

Bills to institute reservation of seats for women in the national parliament and State Legislatures have been introduced in every legislative session since 1996 but have made little progress (IPU 2016a). The 81st Constitutional Amendment Bill, also known as the Women’s Reservation Bill (WRB), was introduced in the Parliament in 1996. It draws upon the smooth passage of the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments that form the legislative basis for a decentralisation policy providing reservation of one-third of seats for women in every elected rural and urban local body (Lama-Rewal 2001). These amendments encouraged all major national political parties to commit themselves to extending support for one-third women’s quota to Parliament and all the State Legislatures.

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The latest version of the Bill (108th Constitutional Amendment) was passed by the Rajya Sabha in March 2010. The Bill has lapsed with the dissolution of the 15th Lok Sabha in 2014. As a result, reservation of women in Parliament and State Legislative Assemblies continues to remain a distant reality inspite of the commitment affirmed by all major political parties towards the same (Nanivadekar 2003).

Figure 6: Share of Women Representatives in Political Positions (Per Cent)

Note: Data for State Legislative Assemblies pertain to Legislative Assembly election cycle prior to 2017.

Conclusions
Efforts to elect more women to Parliament, State Legislatures and other political bodies are based on claims that women bring new policy priorities, adopt a different style of interacting with constituents, and change the way politics is done by contributing to a more collaborative and constructive environment within and across parties. Participation of women (and men) in politics enhances the likelihood of responsiveness to the needs of all citizens (IPU 2015).

Reservation for women in political bodies would go a long way in removing impediments that impede their participation in elections and bridging the existing gap in the electoral and political set-ups. The key factors / issues that would enable women to move beyond representation to active participation in the electoral processes and governance need to be addressed on a priority basis. These enablers include more representation of women in political parties, including them in important deliberative bodies, and allotting them key ministerial berths in the government at the central and State levels (Rai 2011). Enhanced participation of women in the political domain would go much beyond protecting their political parity with men, and lead to their overall empowerment.

References


G. Palanithurai* & G. George**

Abstract
This article seeks to investigate into the implementation process of the prohibition of employment as manual scavenger and their rehabilitation act, 2013 in Tamil Nadu through a micro study conducted in one of the backward districts. The article brought to light the ambivalent attitude of the implementation agencies and the poor scientific support system for creating a scientific sanitation system to maintain sanitation and rehabilitation of the manual scavengers. It brought to highlight the seriousness of the issues associated with the implementation process of the act.

Keywords: Manual Scavengers Act 2013, Tamil Nadu, India

Introduction
Sanitation and scavenging in India are inseparable and both are in deplorable conditions. Even after seventy years of democratic governance and implementing plethora of development schemes, neither the conditions of sanitation nor the conditions of the scavengers have been improved as expected by founding fathers and mothers of India. In India 59% of the people used the open space either in the cities or in the villages for defecation. It is an ample proof that our people’s life has not been guided by science (Gita, Ramaswamy, 2005). It causes serious health problems to the people. Reports produced by UNICEF highlighted the enormity and seriousness of the health problems in India. It is a reality that neither the state authorities, nor the civil society and science community responded with the intensity of seriousness expected from them. The above conditions have reflected the insensitivity of the political communities, policy community, bureaucracy, the scientist, the civil society organisations and the media in India.

Is 70 years not enough to achieve sanitation by adopting science and technology? A war ravaged country like Ruwanda is able to achieve tremendous success in sanitation, why India is not able to achieve results in sanitation project despite its achievements in economic growth and creating scientific man power. It was the basic work started in the National Building process. M. K. Gandhi had given much thought to it and found out ways and means to tackle it. He gave targets and processes for sanitation work to the constructive workers with the thinking and hope that it would become a massive work to be launched by the Gandhian workers and Congress party workers as the Indian National Congress party claimed the legacy of Gandhi. Still we teach constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi to the students in the classroom while teaching Gandhian thought to the students. Even the Gandhian Institutions and Departments have not moved beyond teaching. On the issues of

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sanitation and liberating manual scavengers, the two builders of modern Indian society M.K.Gandhi and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar differed sharply as on other issues (Bhasha Singh, 2012). M. K. Gandhi wanted to change the condition through mass participation in this task with the hope that the participation of people in sanitation work will bring a total transformation in the thought process of people. Gandhi’s concept of participation is meant for attitudinal and behavioural transformation of the participants. In the absence of scientific management system of sanitation, it is the only way to change the attitude and behaviour of the people through their participation in the sanitation work, cleanliness could be maintained in the society. Hence, Gandhi wanted to attend to the sanitation work immediately and more seriously. That is why he has accorded more importance to sanitation than freedom and liberty.

Since independence, targets have been fixed for construction of toilets and thereby a perception has been created that sanitation issues can be addressed systematically through the construction of toilets by the initiatives of the government. Mere construction of toilets will not solve the problems of sanitation and scavengers. Even today we have the same approach what we had in the past. In “Swatch Bharat Mission” Indian government wants to construct 12 crore toilets in 2019. To achieve the goals of swatch Bharath, construction of toilets is alone not enough. It needs a toilet culture in the society. Solutions can be found out through appropriate science and technology and changing the attitude and behaviour of the people. It requires money, system, approach and change agents. Unfortunately in India the conditions of the manual scavengers have been linked with the issues of caste system (Bezawada Wilson, 2016). Thus, both issues have not received the needed attention and seriousness among the policy community and the scientist even till today. As a result, a microscopic minority involved in the struggle for liberating the manual scavengers from the inhuman and dangerous activities. Since the numerical strength of manual scavengers has not reached the critical mass the issues of the scavengers could not draw the attention of the political class also. Beyond that they are also not conscious about their own living conditions.

The struggle for liberation of manual scavengers is a long history. It’s origin from the caste hierarchy reveals the age old practice of the manual scavenging in India. Practices of manual scavenging vary from state to state and thereby conditions of the manual scavengers also vary across the states. Organisations working for rehabilitation and their intensity of activities vary from state to state. Equally the state government’s response to the demands of these organisations also varies and yet the conditions of the manual scavengers are deplorable (Bhasha Singh, 2012). It warrants the policy community to act fastly to save the name of India from the community of nations. Organizing them for a movement is also not so easy as their struggle for livelihood is intensive and highly complicated. Their standard and quality of life are far below the decent and dignified human life. They live in sub-human living conditions. After prolonged struggle both political and legal the manual scavengers got a relief through a new act called Employment of Manual Scavengers and Dry Latrine Prohibition Act 1993. It is to be noted here that these practices are inconsistent with the right to live with dignity which is an essence of the fundamental rights guaranteed in part III of the Constitution. Their life is always at risk. One cannot argue that the Government of India did nothing for them. it also initiated various measures to transform them (B. N. Srivastava, 1997)

Despite the provisions in the constitution of India, enactment of Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrine (Prohibition) Act 1993, the conditions of them have not been improved (Government of India, 1995) instead their struggle has been intensified because of the tardy approach of the state governments in implementing the act fairly (Vimal Kumar, 2012). The manual scavengers struggle continued along with legal course they adopted to make the state governments to operationalise the new act (Siddaramu, 2013). The system and the process continued in sanitation work as usual without any course correction by indicating the absence of clarity in definition and operationalization (Susan E. Chaplin, 1997). Finally through a legal battle, under the direction of the Supreme Court totally a new act has been enacted in the year 2013 (Government of India, 2013). The prohibition of employment as manual scavengers and their rehabilitation act 2013 was passed in Indian parliament. The new act sets out its objectives clearly. They are: a, identify and eliminate the insanitary latrines and; b, prohibit employment as manual scavengers and hazardous manual cleaning
of sewer and septic tanks. Even after this passage of the act the implementation of the act is weak and one has to seek the remedy only from judiciary for proper implementation. Although arguments have been projected that imprecise definitions without having much clarity in operationalising the provisions of the act by the policy community and bureaucracy, the new act has come with precise definition. It is to be noted here that when the struggle was on, the policy community, bureaucrats and the scientist could have found out an alternative system and process to maintain sanitation scientifically and to liberate the manual scavengers successfully. But the reality reflects the ground zero. Deaths have been reported due to the age old practice of using manual scavengers to clear the blocks in sewerage system. Practice of disowning them also continues because of the new Act. International organisations such as the international labour organisations unequivocally classified the three forms of manual scavenging are in practice in India. They are involved in removal of human excreta from public streets and dry latrine, cleaning septic tanks and cleaning gatters and sewers. The 2011 census data reveal that 180657 households involved in manual scavenging as a profession for their livelihood.

Tamil Nadu is a land of E.V.R. Periyar and known for its pro poor policies and programmes. It is the most fast urbanizing state. In all parameters, it is very near to Kerala in human development indicators. Yet the state has more number of manual scavengers. Equally condition of sanitation is not impressive. Now only momentum has been picked up and village panchayats and municipalities are declared open defecation free areas. It has not reached even 50% of total Tamil Nadu. There are three communities namely Pallars, Parayars and Arunthathiyar involved in inhuman practices of manual scavenging. The struggle to liberate the manual scavengers in Tamil Nadu is intensive and hard despite the Governments pro poor approach. It is to be noted that along with other organisations, the Director Change India organisation through the judiciary is relentless fighting for the cause of manual scavengers till today even for implementation of the act and for the compensation to the victims of manual scavenging. On this above issue the Government of Tamil Nadu has not shown the seriousness as it exhibits on the other issues of the poor. It is a paradox in Tamil Nadu. This riddle prompted us to undertake a study as to what extent the state progressed in rehabilitating the manual scavengers as per the directions of the Supreme Court and the Act. Before moving into the analysis of the process of implementation of the Act, it is necessary to find out the salient features of the Act with a view to look at the Act from the perspective of operationalization.

Salient Features of the Act
The prohibition of employment as manual scavengers and their rehabilitation act, 2013 defines manual scavenging very clearly for the benefit of easy operationalization. The earlier Act, 1993 faced many problems only in operationalization. Manual scavenger means a person engaged or employed on regular or frequent basis by an individual or a local authority or a public or private agency for manually cleaning, carrying, disposing of, or otherwise handling in any manner human excreta in an insanitary latrine or in an open drain or pit into which human excreta from insanitary latrines in disposed of or on a railway track before the excreta fully decomposes and the expression “Manual Scavenging” shall be interpreted accordingly.

The salient features of the Manual Scavengers Act, 2013 as follows:
- No person, local authority or any agency shall construct insanitary latrines, engage or employ a manual scavenger.
- Every person engaged or employed as manual scavenger shall be immediately discharged from doing manual scavenging.
- Every insanitary latrine existing shall be demolished or converted into sanitary latrine.
- No person, local authority or any agency shall engage or employ any person for hazardous cleaning of sewer or septic tank after one year of the date of commencement of the Act.
- For employing manual scavenger and or constructing insanitary latrines – first time imprisonment up to one year and penalty of Rs. 50,000/- or both and for subsequent violation imprisonment up to 2 years and penalty up to Rs. 2,00,000/- or both.
For employing any person for cleaning hazardous cleaning of sewer or septic tank, imprisonment up to two years and fine up to 2,00,000/- or both and for subsequent violation imprisonment up to 3 years and fine up to Rs. 5,00,000/- or both.

Every offense under the Act is cognizable and non-bailable.

Offenses under the Act may be tried summarily.

Executive Magistrate shall trail the offenses as Judicial Magistrate of First Class.

Responsibilities of the local authority

- Every local authority shall carry out the survey of insanitary latrines in their jurisdiction within two months from 6 December, 2013.
- Local authority shall publish the list of insanitary latrines.
- Demolishing such insanitary latrines or convert them in to sanitary latrines within six months from December, 2013.
- Constructing sanitary community latrines as required in nine months from 6 December, 2013.
- To eliminate practice of open defecation, constructing adequate sanitary community latrines within three years from 6th December, 2013.
- Making arrangements for keeping community sanitary latrines hygienic all times.
- Conducting survey for identification of manual scavengers and publishing the list within two months from 6 December, 2013.
- If any person is engaged in manual scavenging, he/she shall file application to concerned local authority. And local authority shall inspect within 15 days of such application and shall include in the list.

Rehabilitation Framework

- Photo identity card to the manual scavengers will be issued.
- Initial cash assistance will be given.
- Scholarship to the children of manual scavengers should be provided.
- Allotment of residential plot with financial assistance for the construction of the house or a ready built house, with framework of relevant scheme should be in place.
- Training in livelihood skill for all the people who are relived from manual scavenging.
- Concessional loan with subsidy for taking up alternative occupation has to be arranged.

Monitoring Mechanism

A monitoring mechanism has been created. At the central level the Minister for Social Justice and empowerment and at the state level the Chief Minister are the chairpersons of the monitoring committees. Vigilance committee will function at district and sub-division level under the chairpersonship of the District Collector and sub-divisional magistrate respectively. By keeping the framework of salient features of the act, an attempt is made to evaluate to what extent the main provisions of the act have been implemented in Tamil Nadu. In the past one decade India saw a “Rights Revolution”. Right to Information, Right to Employment, Right to Education, Forest Rights Act, Right to Food, Right to Protect street vendors and few others have been passed in Indian Parliament. By passing such revolutionary acts in the context of globalization, liberalization and privatization India has drawn the attention of the world to understand the process by which poor are protected from distress and vulnerability in India. Here it is to be seen that all these acts have to be translated into action only by the state and local governments at the ground. Each state is functioning in a distinct socio economic and political culture despite the common framework of governance and administration (Samuel Satyaseelan, 2013). Tamil Nadu is one of the progressive states in India in Industrialization and social development activities. It is a fast urbanizing state. It is a model in evolving pro poor schemes. Despite all progressive indicators, it could not achieve sanitation on par with other indicators of development. It is a riddle for many of the development thinkers and practitioners of development. Against this background an investigation is undertaken in the field.
Objective of the Study

- To analyze the life and livelihood conditions of manual scavengers
- To study the process of implementation of the Act, 2013
- To find out the efforts of the manual scavengers to claim their entitlements

Methodology

The present study is analytical and empirical in nature and data have been collected from the respondents from the field both in rural and urban areas. The primary data have been collected directly from respondents through focus group discussions and face to face interview. The secondary data have been collected from State and Central Governments records. RTI has been used to collect the data from the government departments. The respondents for the study have been drawn from one gram panchayat, one town panchayat, one municipality, and one corporation. Apart from the above respondents are drawn from one public institution and one Railway station. Apart from the above an intensive interaction with the leader of a civil society organisation who involved in the struggle to liberate the manual scavengers from the inhuman activities for the past one and half decades has been carried out. Basically this study is intended to fine tune the tools and the nuances of data collection for a larger study. This study has a limitation that based on the results and conclusions generalization cannot be made. Yet it will indicate the general trend in the process of implementation of the act. The field data have been collected only from one district, Dindigul and it is one of the backward districts of Tamil Nadu in social development indicators.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

RTI Reports

For the details of the manual scavenging, the researchers have filed RTI application in five district of Tamil Nadu, namely Dindigul, Erode, Tirupur, Pudukkottai and Ramanathapuram and got reply. From the reply given to RTI there is no manual scavenger engaged in this profession in all those five districts. The government data show that all the manual scavengers are provided with equipments. Out of the five districts, Pudukkottai district has got only seven manual scavengers but unfortunately the seven manual scavengers are not in the final manual scavengers survey list. Final survey report shows that Pudukkottai district is said to be manual scavenger free district. This kind of confusion persists everywhere in Tamil Nadu.

Government of Tamil Nadu has to constitute a monitoring committee in each district. The District Collector is the head of the committee to monitor the scavengers and the collector has the responsibility to conduct survey properly. But unfortunately the survey of manual scavengers has not been done properly. It has been exposed repeatedly by the media and the civil society organisations involved in rehabilitation of manual scavengers in Tamil Nadu because the committee has not made its survey scientifically and transparently so far. As per the government survey report there is no manual scavenger and manual scavenging. If so there is a question who is looking after sewages and drainages? In the meantime, on the 20th January 2016, the Madras High Court gave a direction to the state government that the survey of the manual scavengers was not properly conducted in Tamil Nadu and hence it directed the government to conduct a fresh survey on manual scavengers in response to the petition filed by a social activist Mr. Paadam Narayanan, Director, Change India as a public interest litigation case on the court. He argued that the last survey is over and it informs that only 452 manual scavengers are in the end list in all over Tamil Nadu. But in reality more number of the manual scavengers are in the state.

Finally the court issues the order to the state government to conduct fresh survey in the state with all seriousness and with commitment. Now the Government of Tamil Nadu filed fresh affidavits stating that it will conduct the survey only after the conduct of local body elections in October, 2016. The fresh survey will be conducted only after February, 2017. In the meanwhile Change India Director, Narayanan filed an affidavit in the High Court of Madras to pay compensation of Rs. 10 Lakhs to the victims of the family who involved in the sewerage cleaning work as per the Supreme Court direction.
The Madras High Court has passed an order the Government of Tamil Nadu to submit a report about the compensation given to the manual scavengers sofar and the steps taken to rehabilitate them. This is the general trend in the process of implementation of the new act in Tamil Nadu.

In this regard, an attempt is made to verify in the field whether the steps indicated and procedures laid down have been followed to enumerate the manual scavengers in Tamil Nadu. An attempt is made to study the conditions of the people who are involved in manual scavenging and for which purposely a few administrative and governance units have been selected. By visiting a gram panchayat, a town panchayat, a municipality, a corporation, a railway station and a public institution, the researcher identified the manual scavengers and interacted with them about their conditions of life and their livelihood. The respondents are drawn from Adipatti village panchayat, Chinnalapatti town panchayat, Odanchattiram municipality, Dindigul Municipal Corporation, Dindigul railway station and Gandhigram institutions.

Data have been collected from all the above mentioned areas from the Dindigul district. The respondents have been contacted and the research team had interaction with them on their life and livelihood conditions with the help of a check list prepared by the authors of the article. While collecting data, the researchers followed two methods. They are face to face interaction with a few respondents. Focus group discussion had been conducted with all the respondents collectively. Finally the data provided in two settings by the respondents have been verified. While interacting with them it is found out that some of the scavengers belong to backward class. It is strange to notice that a few Muslims have been involved in this work. Never in the media had it surfaced in their reporting. It is only poverty pushed them to this job. The below given tables reveal the nature of work they do how they do and what are all the problems they face in the process. They are being given in the following tables:

**Table No. 1: Caste-wise distribution of the respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Scheduled Caste</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Backward Class</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: computed

**Table No 2: The distribution of the respondents based on the type of work they do**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Type of payment wages</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Contract worker</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Daily wages</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Permanent Employee</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: computed
Table 3: Distribution of the respondents based on the reasons for continuing the jobs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Caste Domination</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Official Compulsion</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Don’t know Other Work</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed

Table 4: Distribution of the respondents based on the place of living

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Place of living</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Village Insight</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Village Outer</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Separate Colony</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed

Table 5: Distribution of the respondents based on the hereditary occupation or family occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Hereditary Occupation</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed

Table 6: Distribution of the respondents based on practicing Alcohol

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Alcohol Practice</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>40-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>15</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed

Table 7: Distribution of the respondent based on awareness about their rehabilitation act

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Legal Awareness</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed
Table 8: Distribution of the respondents based on usage of modern equipment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Usage of Modern Equipment</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed

Table 9: Distribution of the respondents based on the discriminatory practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Discrimination</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tea shops</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Temple</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Other Common places</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed

Table 10: Distribution of the respondents based on attending any training programmes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Training</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed

Table 11: Distribution of the respondents based on their name to be enrolled in the manual scavenger’s survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Name in the survey</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Computed

The above given tables are self-explanatory

It is interesting to note that nearly 14% of the respondents belong to backward class and they do scavenging. As they do not have any other skills, they have joined this job and continue this work. They are willing to move out from this work. They do this work not out of love or commitment. They have been drawn to the work only their family socio economic conditions as reported by them. From the above Table No.2 it is inferred that the respondents are performing a number of functions, cleaning the street, cleaning toilets, cleaning drainage and cleaning septic tanks. Scavenging work consists of many tasks and they are to be performed by the same groups. Almost they perform all the works relating to sanitation as multi task workers. Sometimes the work involves serious repercussions from their livelihood perspective and they have not viewed it seriously as their health is at risk. Their perception and understanding of the implications of the work they do on their health are very poor. It is a pity in the 70 years of our governance, administration and development activities, nobody has reached out to them to create awareness of their health and its implications in their lives. Only 3 out of 50 respondents involved in septic tank cleaning. The moment they get a call from any household or a local body or an officer, they venture into action. There is no guarantee for their life and yet they do the job. In this process many have given their life. Never had they got compensation. Yet they continue to do that job. In Tamil Nadu there is no instrument or machine for cleaning the septic tanks.
Even in a city like Chennai manual workers are involved in this task. In the last year flood in Chennai, the Chennai corporation was not able to complete the cleaning work. They also went to Chennai to clean the city. It is a pity that everybody expressed their concern about the flood victims but nobody expressed their concern about the conditions of the scavengers involved in the work. The respondents made it clear that they are not aware of any instrument or equipment to clean sewerage or septic tanks. They have been performing this work without adequate tools and equipment. They get three types of wages for their work. For contract work they get contract wage. They collect wages daily. They also get monthly salary. But nowhere they get pension. While asking for reason to stick to this work, the answers are many. They continue this work as they traditionally do the work and from childhood onwards they have been oriented to do the work and they internalized the work. Many do not have any other skill and hence they continue. Of the respondents sixteen replied that the officials called them to work and hence they do this work. Both the workers and the government have no option to move out from this condition. The governments need scientific equipment to do the job. The workers have no other job other than this work.

Realistically the issue has to be analysed. Before enacting the legislation, the judiciary could have asked about the preparedness of the state to manage sanitation by using machines. Now all have to escape from the eyes of the law. But at the same time sanitation has to be maintained. 96% of the respondents are far away from the settlement of the rural community. They are either outside the main village or they are living in a separate settlement far away from the main village. It is a pity that the scavengers are living in a sub human living conditions. They clean all the human settlements in the villages and towns and they never clean the areas where they live as they have no time nor they have vision or realization that they live in sub human living conditions. Their settlements are far away from the main villages. 70% of them performed these jobs as hereditary. They have not picked up this work on their own but they have been doing it over generations. They have been made to internalize the practices what they do for scavenging. Their problems are brought to the forum of the policy community by civil society organisations.

But neither the policy community nor the political community evinced concern and interest in their problems as their numerical strength is not much to tilt the election results. Yet the manual scavengers have strong political party affiliation as they nurtured emotional attachment with political leaders. But the community has not been sensitised and as a result this problem continues even today. 68% of them admitted that they take alcohol on daily basis which is necessary for doing this work. Intensity varies from individual to individual. There is no difference between men and women. Quantum also vary from individual to individual. Smoking and alcoholism are prevalent among men and women. They consumed alcohol knowing fully well the implications of alcohol in their health. It is a pity that 88% of the respondents are not aware of the new act and the benefits they get out of implementation of the act. 12% of the respondents are aware of the act that they are clueless to whom they have to approach. 68% of the respondents have some equipment’s to perform this duty. It is to be noted here that they are not to protect the people involved in cleaning but to perform the task. They are traditional in nature. Neither the respondents nor the people engaging them in these jobs are conscious and sensitive about the importance of the scavengers. All those who are involved in scavenging felt that they are public institutions as the public are aware of the work done by the respondents. They are given the responsibility of cleaning the temples but they are not allowed inside and in the same way they are asked to clean all public place they are not permitted to sit with other in public functions. They are treated as if they are not in the village or in the town to clean it for the benefit of others. Since untouchability is in practice in Tamil Nadu (G. Palanithurai, 2014). It has intensified the discriminatory practices among the people involved in scavenging mostly the Dalits.

Integrated Analysis
Act has been passed by the Government of India to relieve the manual scavengers from the manual scavenging and to rehabilitate them. But the implementation of the Act lies with the state governments. In the absence of sanitary system supported with science and technology, abolition of manual scavenging is a farce as observed by Mr. Narayanan, Director, Change India, Chennai. Cleaning the villages, towns and cities are in the hands of local bodies assisted by the state
governments. The state governments and the local bodies have no assistance from institutions which builds scientific system for scavenging and maintaining sanitation. It is a pity that in the seventy years of the development activities, we have not developed a robust institutional mechanism to evolve technology enabled sanitation and water supply system either by following the western model or evolving an indigenous model (Dhamma Darshan Nigan, 2014). M.K. Gandhi advocated an indigenous model. Still 56% of the population practice open defecation. Tamil Nadu is a fast urbanizing state and yet it has not achieved even 50% of sanitation through construction of toilets. Even people have not been oriented and sensitised on sanitation and as a result the sanitary conditions are poor both in rural areas and urban cities and towns (Rama Sharma, 1995). Manual scavenging can be abolished through act only when a scientific system is in place for maintaining sanitation. In the absence of the above it is a mere reporting that there is no manual scavenger in Tamil Nadu. But manual scavenging takes place (Government of India, 2016). It is in practice. Civil society organisations have no other go, it has to go to court to exert pressure on the state and local governments. But the state government looks for contribution from the scientific research institutions for creating such a kind of scientific support system for maintaining sanitation (B. Ravichandran, 2011).

From the interaction with the respondents, it is found out that still manual scavenging is going on in rural and urban areas. Conveniently public institutions have handed over the responsibility of maintaining sanitation to the companies. They are not aware of the new act and its implications. Many do not know whether they are paid directly by the institution or through any external agencies. They struggle for their livelihood. The do not have any other skills other this. Even in their areas there is no proper sanitation. They do not have modern equipments to clean the streets and trenches. There is no science and technology based system to manage sanitation both in the rural areas and urban areas. They also face discriminatory practice in the areas where they work. It has been made as a practice to consume alcohol for scavenging work. By doing so, their health conditions are not robust. Railways are no way better.

It is a pity that even at the national level there is no institution to do research on sanitation and support the government to establish a science and technology assisted sanitation system in the country. There is no institutional mechanism to change the mind-set and behaviour of the people with regard to sanitation. In the absence of the above we are looking for solution to sanitation and for manual scavengers. It is always a blame game that will not find solution to the problem. We have 765 universities 39000 colleges and 8000000 students are in higher learning institutions. If they are all involved in outreach activities people in 686 districts will be sensitized and conscientised on sanitation. Massively investment has to be made in higher learning institutions to evolve appropriate technology to maintain sanitation scientifically. At present higher learning institutions have not embarked in massive research in sanitation. Thus sanitation and manual scavenging have to be seen integrally to find out solution for open defecation and abolition of manual scavenging.

**Conclusion**

Government of India has enacted a legislation to prohibit manual scavenging and rehabilitate the manual scavengers. This act has come because of the direction given by the Supreme Court. It is to be understood that the implementation requires series of measures not merely allocating money. It requires scientific equipment, technology, management system, people’s cooperation. Scavenging is linked with sanitation. Unless sanitation is improved the manual scavengers cannot be rehabilitated.

It is natural that the state governments try to escape from the legal framework as law prohibits the employment of manual scavengers for cleaning dry latrine and the places meant for open defecation. But at the same time the government has to discharge the responsibility of maintaining sanitation in the rural and urban areas. In the absence of sanitation behaviour on the part of people and scientific management system to treat the waste scavenging by the scavengers will continue to take place. Further, there are no appropriate tools to be provided to the people who are involved in the job to protect their health and safety of the workers. In this context, one could notice insensitivity on the part of many who involved in management of sanitation. Sanitation work has to be made skill based one
and it has to be entrusted to companies. More machinery could be used for cleaning as in the west. Further, scavenging has to be in a more scientific way. Salary for scavenging and cleaning has to be increased. By doing so, it would attract people from different caste groups. Proper rehabilitation work has to be carried out. Now because of the act, people are engaged in such a work but if they met with fatal death, no one takes responsibility. Everywhere one could see manual scavengers, but in record there is no manual scavenger. People have not been oriented for sanitation. There is no sanitation culture among the people. Government fixed targets and construct toilets. But in the absence of sanitation culture, naturally more number of people has to be involved in maintaining sanitation. In the same way, there is no sensitivity on the part of the people about the conditions of the manual scavengers. While interacting with the respondents, it is found out that there is a confusion in identifying the manual scavengers as most of them do multi tasks. Many do not aware of the act and its implications. They are struggling for their livelihood.

In every village panchayat, one individual among the elected representatives has to be trained in sanitation and water supply. That individual is brand ambassador for sanitation work in the panchayat areas. Since it is a herculean task, achieving clean India through Swachh Bharat scheme, a research institution is need of the hour. It should be a National Institute of Sanitation Science and Technology.

Notes and References
Wilson, Beawada, 2016: Lecture in IIT Madras
Participation of Marginalized Communities in Local Self-Governance and Development Process: A Comparative Study of Araya and Paniya in Kerala

Rajesh C. S.*

Abstract
Panchayati Raj is the foremost institution to promote better living for the whole community which requires active and enthusiastic participation of all. In other words, any community development programmes and schemes cannot be successful without full participation of the people. Panchayati Raj is considered as an agency which stands for economic, social, political development and the discovery of new innovations and solutions to the local problems mixed with welfare and development. Though the political socialisation process among the araya and paniya communities since independence have led to some significant changes in their socio economic life, the achievements they had made till date is not that much positive. This article examines the level and impact of participation of Araya and Paniya communities in local self-governance.

Keywords: Local Self-Governance, Marginalized Communities, Araya, Paniya, Kerala, India

Introduction
The active and deliberate participation of people and involvements of officials in the local self-governing bodies have been considered as inevitable in the successful vindication of any development programmes and policies at the community level. Mutual interactions and balanced involvements of both service providers and beneficiaries could bring desired results in the governing system and society. The core intends of delegation, decentralization and devolution of powers to the governing bodies and governed is to promote and sustain the process of development at the community level and make the system more accountable and transparent to the needs of people. The past experiences and experiments on panchayati raj institutions (PRIs) had shown us that the level of involvement on development process by local government bodies and the community are enormously increasing. But at the same time, the involvement of local bodies and participation of people is minimal in areas where marginalized communities are more demographically habituated.

Consequently, it adversely impacted the core concepts of panchayati raj system--community development and people’s participation. On the contrary, the less involvement of local bodies and people in development paradigm makes the system more unaccountable and less transparent. It could be also read with people’s participation in the political process or their affiliation with any political parties. It underlines the fact that development is a two way process: which requires active participation of people and positive involvement of local government bodies. This paper intends to examine the level of participation by Araya (fishing community) and Paniya (tribal community) communities in the development activities. It throws light on the amount of awareness about the rights, duties and privileges that these communities are entitled in the panchayati raj system. In

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addition, this paper carries out an analytical explanation on the initiatives taken by local self-governing bodies in accessing its services to the Araya and Paniya communities.

As per the government records, Araya and Paniya communities have been identified as marginalized communities and belongs to the reserved categories, OEC and ST. A sample of 25 households has been selected for this study from both communities. The study covered a fishing village, Padinjare Vemballur, locates in the coastal area of Thrissur district and a tribal community lives in Mullankolly panchayat of Wayanad district. Interviews with local self-government officials and ward members have been done. The results show that most of the people in Araya community are affiliated with any of the major political parties in the region. It enhances people’s participation in the development process and activities of their concerned administrative wards. But in the case of Paniya community, it is found that most of the members hardly participate in the development activities of their ward and neighborhood. Their political affiliation with any political parties is seemed to be minimal. The occupational natures of both these communities are also determining factors in measuring the level of their participation. This paper ends with a comparative analysis which gives the real picture of level of both these communities participation in their panchayat activitiesand community development.

Objectives of the Study
The major objectives of the study are

- To understand the socio-economic and political background of Araya and Paniya communities in Kerala
- To examine the Araya and Paniya communities basic understanding about panchayat raj system
- To analyse the behaviour of panchayat officers to Araya and Paniya members
- To point out Arayans’ and Paniyas’ level of participation and its outcome in the panchayat activities
- To highlight the presence and role of community based organizations, NGOs and political parties in helping Araya and Paniya members in panchayat matters
- To scrutinize the Araya and Paniya caste members link with political parties and its positive impacts on their dealing with panchayat

Research Methodology and Population of the Study
The present research for the study makes use of a explorative and descriptive method of research through unstructured and structured interview of various stakeholders. In order to represent the overall behavior and responses of both communities, a sample of 25 households have been selected. For this, stratified random sample method has been employed. Population of the study consisted of two groups - people of Araya community lives in the coastal areas of Sree Narayanapuram Panchayat of Thrissur district and people of Paniya community lives in the Padichira region of Mullankolli Panchayat, Wayanad district. A sample of 25 households approximately 225 individuals (126-Paniya and 99-Araya) including male and female have been selected from both regions. Majority of the respondents belong to the age group of 30-45. It is observed that all respondents of the study belong to Hindu religion.

Araya Community: Socio-Economic Background
For decades, Araya community has been untouched by the benefits of constitutional reservations and other affirmative action’s. No doubt, it was recently only this community start depending on panchayat or getting their civic and welfare services done. Though there is considerable improvement in their engagement with panchayat, still deliberate and active participation of members in the formation of area integrative and development plan for their community is missing. In order to understand the real plight of this picture, a sample of 25 households have been selected and interviewed. The 25 household included 99 individuals (52-male and 47 female). They live in the coastal areas of Sree Narayanapuram Panchayat of Thrissur district. Fishing is the main source of income for the araya community members. Apart from fishing, the fishermen also depends on allied activities such as working on the beach, fish distribution on a small scale, fish curing, work in peeling
sheds and fish processing work in the plants. Nearly 12% of the fisherfolk depend on allied activities like marketing/repairing nets, fish vending, processing and other fishery related activities, for their livelihoods.

Although, Kerala boasts of the highest quality of life in the country as measured by human development indicators, the state’s fishing community has largely been left out of the general development experience. For example, the literacy level, educational attainment of fishermen is much lower than that of the general population. Other development related indicators such as lack of income-earning opportunities, poverty and deprivation, insanitary and overcrowded living conditions, lack of access to basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity, poor health conditions amongst men and women, higher infant mortality rates, lower sex ratio and lack of access to health facilities, also show evidence of this neglect and marginalisation of the fisherfolk in the state. An analysis of selected sample shows that all respondents are capable to read and write and few of them are passed SSLC.

The study has made some observation on the nature surveyed fishing village. It has a distinctively different appearance as compared to other villages in Kerala as well as India. It is characterised by a very high density of population along the coast and are made up of a large number of houses clustered together and occupying the coastal fringes of the state. Unlike the rest of Kerala, which gives a clean appearance, the fishing villages are characterised by extremely congested houses and lack of basic facilities.

In general, the houses are hutments or semi-permanent structures made with mud with thatched roofs or tiles, varying according to socio-economic status. The annual income, land ownership and housing facilities are also very low along with a very high level of indebtedness among the fishing community. They always face a shortage of money and live on a day to day basis. Previous studies had shown that they have a high rate of dependence on moneylenders and traders. They spend all their lives managing the burden of debts. This leads to ‘cyclical poverty’ as call it, leading to poverty, low income, poor health and malnutrition.

**Paniya Community: Socio-Economic Background**

The Paniya tribe is numerically the largest tribe in Kerala. Even though Paniyas form the leading tribal community in Wayanad, they are the most backward in every respect. They are the downtrodden group holding very little land and having little amenities of life. To get a clear idea of the socio-economic conditions of the Paniya tribals, a sample of 25 households from the VIth ward of Mullankolly village of Sulthan Bathery taluk, Wayanad district was carried out. The sample families covered 126 members, (male-66 and female-60). Among this, more than 60% belong to the age group of 30-65.

Paniyas give very little importance to education. Most of them are not yet conscious of the benefits of education and consequent economic gains. There is a feeling among the Paniyas that, after education their children will become alienated from their family when they migrate to the towns for taking employment. Moreover, they believe that the educated children are reluctant to take up their traditional occupations. It is found that the problem of illiteracy is acute among the Paniya community. The literacy rate of Paniyas was thirty five percentages. This low literacy is considered to be the root cause of their socio-economic backwardness. It is observed that there are very few beneficiaries of the literacy mission. Few tribal parents are concerned about the schooling of their children. Now-a-days, the drop-out-rate is also high among them.

The social structure of the tribal society in Kerala centres on the family. In most of the tribal communities in Wayanad, Paniya in particular, the women enjoy equal social status with their menfolk. The women are the cornerstone of the social structure of tribal societies of Wayanad. The women shoulder heavy responsibilities like feeding, raising the family and maintaining social relations. When cash economy was introduced, women became the custodian of cash and controller of the household in majority of families.
Paniyas are primarily agricultural labourers but very few families possess land holdings. Now-a-days the economy of Paniyas is well-knit with that of the non-tribal settlers who control their occupational pattern and thereby influencing their economic conditions. Since they are employed for agricultural operations like sowing and harvesting only, they have to remain as unemployed for a period of 3 to 4 months. A Paniya male gets Rs. 85 per day as wage whereas Paniya female gets Rs. 50 as wage. Hard physical works are usually done by male members, example, ploughing, ridge making etc. Light works like weeding, harvesting are done by women. Since the wage rate is very low as compared to that of other areas in Kerala, Paniyas continue to be victims of the vicious circle of poverty. Occupational mobility is considered as a major factor which provides tremendous changes in the socio-economic life of the people. It is observed that ninety percentages of the Paniyas are casual agricultural labourers who depend on low wages and seasonal work. Majority of Paniyas are landless.

Data Analysis and Major Findings

Participation of Marginalized Communities in Local Self Governance and Development Process: The Case of Araya

Since the study intends to examine the level of participation by both communities-Araya and Paniya-in the Panchayat activities and the development of their own, respondents were asked several questions based on six themes: 1) basic understanding 2) level of participation 3) attitude of the panchayat officers 4) role of civil society and community based organizations 5) political affiliation and 6) performance and suggestions. In order to give a vivid picture on the same, some observations have been made and incorporated. Separate interviews with concerned Ward members and officers of Sree Narayanapuram and Mullankolli Panchayat have been conducted to understand their views on the topic.

An interrogation has been made about Araya community members’ basic understandings on questions like what is a Panchayat to them, what are major rights and privileges from a panchayat, responsibilities of a panchayat, source of information panchayat, election procedures and political rights of people in the panchayat election etc. It is noticed that majority of the respondents are well-known with the responsibilities and administrative structure of their panchayat. They are also well informed about their rights and privileges from panchayat. They consider panchayat as an institution which gives them financial support during natural calamities like sea disturbances, storms, boat wreckages etc. At the same time, Araya members lack information about the different procedures in the preparation of their own area and integrative development plan. When asked about the source of information on all panchayat activities, majority of the responses said that they depend on ward member, local political leaders, notice board displayed in some corner of their ward etc. It is observed that majority of the members have basic ideas about the election to panchayat. They also know that 50% of the seats are reserved for women in ward member’s election to panchayat.

Respondents were also responded to several questions like what are the purposes of your Panchayat visits (Civil services, Welfare/development services, other services etc.), their participation in any social welfare programs, their positions in any social welfare programs/Panchayat, are their position in social welfare schemes and panchayat make any difference in the attitude of other family members, are they attending Grama Sabha meetings, any caste, occupational and financial issues prevent them in attending gram a Sabha meetings, their suggestions in Development/Integrated Area Plan etc. As response to the first question, majority of them said they do purposeful visits to their panchayat at least once in two months. Most of the time, they seek panchayat services for getting some legal certificates and paying revenue tax. Nearly 12% said they go to panchayat to know more about the recent welfare schemes, programmes and other assistance. A huge chunk of people in the community are also well informed about all welfare schemes particularly national employment guarantee scheme. Since women are the most number of beneficiaries from this national employment scheme, they are also holding several positions like ADS, CDS etc. In addition, women who are in position of any welfare schemes are enable to enjoy better consideration from the family members which had not there before. It is also same case with other women who are employed in the national employment
guarantee scheme. Despite the fact that there are exceptional cases of women still facing plethora of hardships and struggles, new earnings give them dignity and status in society and family.

On another section, some questions were put to know the behaviour of Panchayat officers to Araya community members, any discrimination or ill treatment from panchayat officers, any patronage by political leaders/officers in providing beneficiary services, incidence of bribing any officers in receiving services etc. It is observed that whenever they visit panchayat offices for any purposes, officers behave in an indifferent way and officers made them to wait for long time to get any replies. Sometimes, members felt that officers behave like an administrator rather than service provider. Based on their caste background and financial backwardness, majority of the araya community members said that they didn’t face any discrimination from panchayat officers. But the low level of educational background made them to feel that they are becoming a subject of tease in front of officers. So, whenever they go to panchayat offices, they either take the company of their school going children or local political leaders with them.

Another observation has been made to understand the role and support of community based organizations, political parties, NGOs and civil society organisations in dealing with panchayat matters. Moreover, study enquires to know that what kinds of support are received by araya community members in dealing with any panchayat service matters. The major questions were asked in this section are role of political parties/NGOs/civil society organizations/activists to help you out in getting services or benefits from Panchayat, does community organizations help in any Panchayat matters, representative from your own community in Grama Panchayath, any incidences of bribing community/civil society/activists in receiving services etc. When asked about any community based organisation’s or NGOs support in dealing with panchayat on any matters, most of them said yes. In the Ward, there is the presence of an Araya community organizations called Dheewara Sabha which stands for the development and welfare of araya people. This organization has been active in the region for long time. At the same time, there is no NGO reported working in the locality. It is noted that Dheewara Sabha’s helps and supports have been given to the community people limited in dealing with the matters of Fisheries department office. It doesn’t mean that Dheewara sabha never extends its helping hand in panchayat affairs. It gives information to the people on any matters of significance in the life of Araya people. Of course, there are number of political parties which always show its readiness to support the people on any panchayat matters but based on the political affiliation of people. It is also observed that the community organization and political parties are active during natural calamities and other times of urgency.

One of the core objectives of this study is to know the affiliation of araya community members with any political parties and its level of impacts on their participation in panchayat activities. It also carries out how their political affiliation helps them in gaining confidence to deal with panchayat matters. It’s a fact that politically well-informed people irrespective of their caste and educational background would always get mobility in reaching out their rights and privileges. Considering the fact that political information and political affiliation are different in its connotations and practical aspects, both are essential to gain rights and privileges which are embodied in the panchayati raj system. Pertaining to this question, study shows that 92% of the total respondents are affiliated with one political party or another. When asked whether it would help in dealing with panchayat matters and life, most of them said yes. It capacitates them to raise more demands and raise their voice effectively related with any developmental and welfare schemes and programmes. It is because of their political affiliation, their involvement in the preparation of Area Integrative Development Plan is high. The respondents added that their political affiliation makes their demands related with infrastructural development of their region more effective. They continuously engage with panchayat on any matters and sometimes even the Ward member are pressurized to work more effectively. The community members force the concerned ward member to inform them about all welfare and development programs and schemes of the panchayat on regular basis.
Participation of Marginalized Communities in Local Self Governance and Development Process: The Case of Paniya

This section of the study intends to examine the level of participation of Paniya community in the Panchayat activities and the development of their own. Like the first section, respondents were asked several questions based on six themes: 1) basic understanding 2) level of participation 3) attitude of the panchayat officers 4) role of civil society and community based organizations 5) political affiliation and 6) performance and suggestions. Historically, Paniyas are one of the marginalized communities in the state. Even after the 68 years of Indian Independence, the reservation status, welfare policies, programmes, schemes and scheduled tribe packages didn’t bring expected changes in their life. Based on this assumption, this study carries out an enquiry into their level of participation in the panchayat activities. In order to give a vivid picture on the same, some observations have been made and incorporated. Separate interviews with concerned Ward member and officers of Mullankolli Panchayat have been conducted to understand their views on the topic.

An analysis has done on Paniya community members’ basic understandings on questions like what is a Panchayat to them, what are major rights and privileges from a panchayat, responsibilities of a panchayat, source of information panchayat, election procedures and political rights of people in the panchayat election etc. It is noticed that majority of the respondents are un-known with the responsibilities and administrative structure of their panchayat. They are also not well-informed about their rights and privileges from the panchayat. It is also observed that they consider panchayat as an institution of elite people where they couldn’t able to find their own community members. Though a very few know that panchayat stands to formulate and execute development and welfare policies for all, but it remains an exception. At the same time, Paniyas lack information about the different procedures in the preparation of their own area and integrative development plan. Their level of participation in any meetings and discussions related with area plans, welfare schemes etc is abysmal. When asked about the source of information on all panchayat activities, majority of the responses said that they depend on their community leaders. Apart from that, majority of the members lack basic ideas about the panchayati election and even they do not acquire knowledge about the actual meaning of right to vote. Nearly 22% know that 50% of the seats are reserved for women in ward member’s election to panchayat.

On response to several questions like what are the purposes of your Panchayat visits (Civil services, Welfare/development services, other services etc.), their participation in any social welfare programs, their positions in any social welfare programs/Panchayat, are their position in social welfare schemes and panchayat make any difference in the attitude of other family members, are they attending Grama Sabha meetings, any caste, occupational and financial issues prevent them in attending gram sabha meetings, their suggestions in Development/Integrated Area Plan etc. As response to the first question, majority of the respondents said they go to their panchayat for civic services. Most of the time, they seek panchayat services in order to get some legal certificates and paying revenue tax. Nearly 2% said they go to panchayat to know more about the recent welfare schemes, programmes and other assistance. When asked about the National Employment Guarantee Scheme, majority of them said they are aware of it but lacks information on daily wages, the way it works and institutional structure. Paniya women are pre-occupied with other local works, their representation in the national employment guarantee scheme is abysmal. Majority of the women are part of self helps groups but not holding any positions. At the same time, paniya tribal social system gives women much consideration on any family matters. But when it comes in the case of their engagement with panchayat and social welfare schemes, the percentage of their activism remains low.

On another section, some questions were put to know the behaviour of Panchayat officers with Paniyas, any discrimination or ill treatment from panchayat officers, any patronage by political leaders/officers in providing beneficiary services, incidence of bribing any officers in receiving services etc. The study shows that paniyas are totally disappointed whenever they visit panchayat offices for any purposes. They added that sometimes they get confused the name of one certificate with another. When they ask for clarifications on any matters, officers behave in an indifferent way and officers made them to wait for long time to get any replies. It made them feel that panchayat is an
institution of elites or administrators where they do not have any consideration. Based on their caste background and financial backwardness, majority of the paniya community members said that they didn’t face any discrimination from panchayat officers.

Some of the previous studies pointed out that the presence of community organizations and NGOs are high in areas where marginalized communities are habituated. It’s a fact that these organizations have been doing tremendous jobs for them. In order to understand the role and support of community based organizations, political parties, NGOs and civil society organisations in helping the paniyas in dealing with panchayat matters, another enquire has been done. In addition to that, study enquires more to know what kinds of support are received by paniya community members in dealing with any panchayat service matters. The major questions were asked in this section are role of political parties/NGOs/civil society organizations/activists to help you out in getting services or benefits from Panchayat, does community organizations help in any Panchayat matters, representative from your own community in Grama Panchayath, any incidences of bribing community/civil society/activists in receiving services etc.

When asked about any community based organisation’s or NGOs support in dealing with panchayat on any matters, most of them said yes. In the Ward, Gothra Maha sabha and Pattika Varga Samiti are active which basically stands for the overall development and welfare of paniya people. This organization has been active in the region for long time. But these organizations confined to certain areas of tribal life including land issues, community related issues etc. Paniya members expressed that these organizations support on panchayat matters limited to a few occasions. At the same time, there are two NGOs working in the locality. They function with a purpose to develop saving culture among the tribal’s and empower them through education. In the case of political parties, two-three political parties are active in the region but affiliation of paniyas with any of these political parties are considerably low.

As discussed in the first section, one of the core objectives of this study is to know the affiliation of paniya community members with any political parties and its level of impacts on their participation in panchayat activities. It also carries out how their political affiliation helps them in gaining confidence to deal with panchayat matters. As responses to these questions, study shows that nearly 22% of the total respondents from paniya community are affiliated with one political party or another. The study again proves that these politically affiliated members joined political parties by the influence of their community heads. When asked whether it would help in dealing with panchayat matters and life, most of them said NO. The reason behind this is that their political linkages neither capacitate them to be critical towards social injustice and surroundings nor it helps them to raise more demands and raise their voice effectively related with any developmental and welfare schemes and programmes of panchayat. All these made Paniyas involvement in the preparation of Area Integrative Development Plan of panchayat remains low. Majority’s political disconnection and lack of social activism have been failing them to nurture a ward member or political representative from their own community.

**Conclusion**
The Panchayati Raj is the foremost institution to promote better living for the whole community which requires active and enthusiastic participation of all. In other words, any community development programmes and schemes cannot be successful without full participation of the people. Panchayati Raj is considered as an agency which stands for economic, social, political development and the discovery of new innovations and solutions to the local problems related with welfare and development. Though the political socialisation process among the araya and paniya communities since independence have led some significant changes in their socio economic life, the achievements they had made till date is not that much positive.

As already discussed in the previous sections, the araya and paniya communities lag in several fields of their socio economic and political life. But based on the objectives of this study, it found that the involvement and participation of araya community in the panchayat matters is comparatively high than paniya community. It is assumed that the geographical locations of both these communities
would also play a huge role in evolving their socio economic and political understandings. Since the social mobility and social interaction of araya community members with others has been marked better, it has positive impacts on their engagement with panchayat. They also got benefitted from the deep rooted cultural and political movements which had started early in their locality. Compared to araya community, paniyas are habituated in a geographically land locked areas. These areas were characterized by the migration of non-tribals and intruded into their lands. Such movements and settlements of non-tribals made the paniya to always live in seclusion. Consequently, it restricts them to be part of any social welfare and development schemes or programs introduced by state, district and panchayats.

With regard to the political affiliation of community members and its impacts on their participation in the panchayat matters, the araya community stands in bit advanced positions. As explained earlier, majority of the respondents from araya community are active members of one political party or another. It shows that in the last three panchayat elections, they have elected ward members from their own community only. It gives them an opportunity to list their demands in front of panchayat through the ward member. The supports of ward members for the community members in getting things done from panchayat are highly appreciated. But in the case of paniya community, numerously very less number of members is joined with any of the political parties. In one way or other, it prevents their interaction and mobility with other non-tribals and involvements in panchayat activities. It has been so long since they last elected their own community members in the ward election.

Paniyas do vote regularly and majority of them are aware that it is their right to vote. The Paniyas generally show less interest in contesting elections and the study finds that a less number of them regularly attend Grama Sabha meetings. Paniya women are not generally attracted to politics due to their backwardness in all respects. It is observed that even the non-tribal women in these areas are reluctant to enter politics or take up leadership owing to their conservative outlook. As a result, tribal women participation is very low in local level administrative bodies like panchayat council, village council etc. It was observed the Paniyas were not aware of the incentives provided by the various agencies like Krishi Bhavan, Blocks, and the like. Hence, the government and the voluntary organisations should provide them better employment opportunities, training, life skill development sessions and financial support for a better future.

Despite the fact that there are several areas to be discussed and unsolved yet, number of affirmative actions taken by central and state governments for these groups in local governance has resulted in social identities and political awareness among them and created an urge to become part of the mainstream political, economic and social life. The political space has given to marginalized sections has dealt a blow to the asymmetrical social structure at the local level and given greater space for their participation and involvement in decision making at local.

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Sexual Harassment at Workplaces in Sivakasi

K. Subramanian*

Abstract
Globalization has thrown open huge employment opportunities for women in almost all sectors. Though their status has improved to a greater extent, they have to face many issues and challenges in their work life. Sexual harassment is one among the issues they face in their day-to-day life. Women have become victims of sexual harassment as they are considered the weaker sex. It is a peril experienced at the workplace, which could lessen the excellence of work among the employees, threaten the self-esteem of the victims, question the gender parity and stimulate various other related problems of sexual harassment in the organization. Proper knowledge and training must be given to the employees against sexual harassment.

Keywords: violence against women, women workers, correlation, learning awareness.

I laugh, I love. I hope, I try, I hurt, I need, I fear, I cry and I know you do the same things too, so we’re really not that different, me and you. –Anonymous

Introduction
Women are vulnerable to victimization like facing verbal, physical, emotional or sexual abuses at work place. According to the Super Court definition, “sexual harassment is any unwelcome sexuality determined behaviour, such as Physical contact, a demand or request for sexual favours, sexually coloured remarks, showing pornography, any other physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct of a sexual nature”.

Sexual harassment affects all women in some form or the other. Sexual harassment at work is an extension of violence in everyday life and is discriminatory, exploitative, thriving in atmosphere of threat, terror and reprisal. Respondents said that women do not complain fearing loss of reputation, loss of job, consequent hostile work environment and fear of retaliation in public places. The chairpersons said that “only 1 per cent of the cases are reported”. One respondent felt it was advisable for women to sort out problems on their own. This respondent commented, “If a woman faces a problem, she complains the whole issue becomes very serious. The harassment may not stop and she may find it difficult to continue working in a hostile work environment.” Most women themselves fail to recognize sexual harassment and treat it as trivial and routine. Such has been the internal coping mechanism. Ignoring offensive behaviour or denying its existence is the most common ways women deal with sexual harassment. Though it is mandatory to establish complaint cell or committee or grievance redressal mechanism in work place wherever women are employed as per the guidelines issued by the Apex Court of India in Visaka’s case in 1997, many organizations are yet to constitute such complaint mechanism. This condition also influences women’s reporting behaviour. Sexual harassment is used to remind women of their vulnerability and subjugated status. Sexual harassment is

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all about expression of male power over women that sustain patriarchal relations. In a society where violence against women, both subtle and direct, is borne out of the patriarchal values operating in society, they force women’s conformity to gendered roles. These patriarchal values and attitudes of both men and women pose the greatest challenge in resolution and prevention of sexual harassment.

Statement of the Problem
In our nation, the religious and social conditions and the structure of society are most disadvantages to women. Men dominate women from birth to death. Globally, most employed women come from poor families and generally from rural communities. Family poverty forces women into the workplace. A second factor contributing to the labour situation is family debt. Women’s earnings have a positive correlation with children’s health, nutrition levels and education. Increase in women’s income translate more directly into better health and nutrition for children. The rise of female participation in unorganized sector is due to the compulsion for family background. So easy to assess the employer, women employees preferring low wages than men. Mostly women workers are appointed in printing industry, match factory and fireworks in Sivakasi. Working women have faced many problems and suffered a lot. Sexual harassment is serious hazardous faced by working women. No job security for women worker’s is there in industries. Sexual attempt on the employees by the managers, supervisors, colleagues, out siders, labour officers etc., utilize their power in a wrong way. Working women at workplace faced so many problems like physical and mental exertion, tension and strain, lesser attention towards child care, and husband. Women workers health status is day-by-day dangerous position. On account of these factors, an attempt has been made by the researcher to study “Impact of sexual harassment on women at workplace in Sivakasi”. It would during out their problems and solutions.

Rationale of Study
Sivakasi is one of the industrially developed areas in Virudhunagar District. Sivakasi is popularly known as Mini-Japan, possesses multifarious industries like Fireworks, Match Factories, Offset Presses which provide employment opportunities to a large mass of people. More than 75,000 workers are engaged in matches, fireworks, printing and allied industries in Sivakasi. These industries not only employ men workers but also it employs a vast amount of women workers. Being the women workers are cheaper and more responsible, the employers employ more of women workers than male workers. Since both of them are working in same places for a longer period, there is chances for sexual harassment. In developed countries, the women are having awareness and they come forward to make complaints about work place sexual harassment. But in developing countries like India, we should take some measures to create awareness regarding this serious problem. Sexual harassment of women workers will lead to the decrease in work participation of women. Due to this, the national income and economic growth rate will fall down. Hence, the sexual harassment of women worker based study is very important in the modern world. So, the present study analyses the nature of sexual harassment, the factors influencing sexual harassment and the measures to prevent sexual harassment in the work place in general and in the study area in particular.

Objectives of the Study
The objectives of the present study are:
- To examine the type and level of sexual harassment against women workers in the study area.
- To find out the factors influencing sexual harassment against women workers in work place.
- To suggest measures to control sexual harassment against women workers.

Hypothesis
On the basis of the above objectives of the study, the following hypothesis has been framed.
- There is a significant positive association between the age of victims and age of harasser.

Period of Study
The present study covers a period of one year i.e., from August 2014 to July 2015.
Source of Data
The present study is based on primary data as well as secondary data.

Primary Data
To reduce the non-sampling errors, utmost care has been in the present study. In the present study, the researches has paid much attention to reduce the response error. The purpose and need for the study are explained to the respondents to gain the confidence and to make them furnish the required information. Personal interviews and unbiased observations are the most suitable methods to establish a good rapport with the respondents to collect necessary data. For this, pre-tested interview schedule has been used. Information collected through the direct field enquires from the respondents forms the database for the study.

Secondary Data
The secondary data relevant to the present study have been collected from Government Records, Records of Taluk and District Offices, Research Articles, Reports, Magazines, Journals and Websites.

Sampling Design
Sivakasi Block consists of 54 villages. Out of this, five villages have been selected by applying Systematic Sampling Technique. Sixty respondents are selected from each village. Thus a total of 300 respondents are interviewed.

Tools of Analysis
For the analysis of data and testing the hypothesis, the following statistical tools are applied.

Correlation Coefficient
To determine the degree of relationship between two or more variables, the correlation analysis is used. The framework of analysis is as follows:

$$r = \frac{\sum XY}{N \sigma X \sigma Y}$$

where,
$$x = (X - X)$$
$$y = (Y - Y)$$
$$\sigma x = \text{Standard Deviation of Series } X$$
$$\sigma y = \text{Standard Deviation of Series } Y$$
$$N = \text{Number of pairs of observation}$$
$$r = \text{Correlation Co-efficient}$$

Averages and Percentages
To analyze the socio-economic conditions of women workers, the problems of sexual harassment of women workers in the workplace, averages and percentages are sued and the results are represented with tables and diagrams also.

Physical Harassment
Sexual harassment against women in work places is classified into physical harassment, psychological harassment, verbal and non-verbal and others. Physical harassment consists of touching, brushing the women's body, giving kisses or trying to give kiss, sexually assaulted, raped, bad looking, giving sexual signals etc. The researcher has identified and classified the different forms of physical harassment among the sample respondents and the same is depicted in Table 1. It is apparent form Table 1 that bad look, sexual suggestive signals are very common in work place. Because, out of 300 respondents studied, 296 respondents reported that there is bad looking and sexual signals are made by the male workers in the work place. One hundred twenty one respondents are of the opinion that, there is prevalence of pinching and touching against the body of the women worker. Brushing against the body (especially chest and back portion of women) is witnessed among 95 respondents. Attempted for kissing and sexually assaulted, raped and unwanted intercourse is reported by 50 and 30 sample
respondents respectively. It is evident from this table that, the women workers in the study area are physically harassed at work place.

**Table 1: Physical Harassment against Sample Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Physical Harassment</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pinching and Touching</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Brushing against the Women's Body</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Attempted for Kissing</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Harassed, Raped, Sexually Assaulted or Unwanted Intercourse</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bad look, Sexual Suggestive Signals</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated on the basis of Survey data

**Psychological Harassment**

Psychological harassment is one of the types of sexual harassment. If any type of activity which disturbs the psychological feelings of the person also treated as harassment. Table 2 clearly explains the different types of psychological harassment against women at work place in the study area.

**Table 2: Psychological Harassment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Psychological Harassment</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Stress, Guilt, Anger &amp; fear</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Shame / Humiliations &amp; powerless</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Depression / Anxiety</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Confusion</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Low Self-image</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Leaned Helplessness</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated on the basis of Survey data

From Table 2, it is visible that 282 respondents are of the opinion that due to inhuman activities leads to stress, guilt, anger and fear. Further 170, 177, 241, 219, 255 respondents are informed that psychological harassment is in the nature of shame or humiliations and powerless, depression/anxiety, confusion (they are not in a position to take correct decisions), low self-image and learned helplessness respectively. In general women are psychologically inferior when compared to men and this type of harassment leads to wrong decisions and their life is questionable.
**Verbal Harassment**

Verbal teasing is very common in the workplace according to the opinions of the sample respondents in the study area. Verbal teasing / verbal harassment includes sexual remarks about the body structure and clothing, insulting sound, humour jokes, stories about sex in general, comment about their personal life and phone calls or sending massages. The researcher presented the different types of verbal harassment taken at workplace in the study area in Table 3.

**Table 3: Verbal Harassment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Verbal Harassment</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Addressing a Professional in a Belittling/ Demeaning</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sexual Remarks about Clothing / Body Structure</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Insulting Sound</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Humour, Jokes, Stories about sex in General</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Comment about their Personal Life</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Phone Calls or Sending Massage</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated on the basis of Survey data

It is noticeable from Table 3 that humour jokes, stories about sex, sexual remarks about clothing and body structure and insulting sounds are common and frequently happened in the workplace. About 300, 295 and 285 sample respondents informed that humour jokes and stories related to sex, sexual remarks about clothing / body structure, insulting sound respectively are quite common at the workplace. Two hundred and seventy four respondents pointed out that the personal life of the worker or worker's family members will be commented. One hundred and fifty four respondents are of the opinion that unwanted phone calls and massages are sent by the male workers to the women workers.

**Non-Verbal Harassment**

Table 4 clearly point out the non-verbal harassment against women workers at workplace in the study area. Non-verbal sexual harassment includes giving sexual letters / love letters, leering, making obscene gestures, display of sexual photographs / cartoons and unnecessary works of pictures at bathrooms and toilets. It is obvious from Table 4 that 264 respondents are of the opinion that displaying sexual photos or cartoons or sometimes the picture showing sexual organs of male or female are displayed in front of the female workers in the workplace. Unnecessary words written on the walls or doors of both rooms and toilets and also pictures explaining sexual intercourse are drawn in the both rooms and toilets used by women workers are also witnessed from the opinion of 260 respondents. Two hundred and twenty two respondents' perception is towards giving love letters or letters consisting of sexual words. Leering and making obscene gestures are witnessed by 158 and 130 respondents respectively.
Table 4: Non-Verbal Harassment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Non-Verbal Harassment</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sexual letter</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Leering (e.g. staring at specific part of the body)</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Making obscene gestures</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Display photographs / cartoons</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Unnecessary words at bathroom and toilet</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated on the basis of Survey data

Other Type of Harassment
Apart from physical, psychological, verbal and non-verbal harassments some other type of harassments are also happening at work place in the study area and the same is clearly pointed out in Table 5.

Table 5: Other Type of Harassment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Other Harassment</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Forcing Women to Work an Unsociable Hours</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Loss of Reputation</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Increase Vulnerability of Further Exploitation / Abuse</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sent them Inappropriate Gifts</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Revenge</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated on the basis of Survey data

From Table 5, it is apparent that, regarding other types of harassment at work place according to the sample respondents' perception are, forcing women workers to do work an unsociable hours, loss of reputation, increase vulnerability of further exploitation or abuse, sent them inappropriate gifts and revenge are 222, 192, 246, 206 and 144 respondents respectively.

Age-Wise Classification of Victims
The researcher analysed which age group of the women workers are the victims of sexual harassment at work place in the study area and the same is shown in Table 6.
Table 6: Classification of Victims on the Basis of Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Age Group of Victims</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Below 20 years</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>48.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>20 — 30 years</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>34.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>30 — 40 years</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Above 40 years</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated on the basis of Survey data

From Table 6 it is transferring that out of 300 respondents studied, 146 respondents (48.67 per cent) are in the age group of below 20 years. One hundred and four respondents (34.67 per cent) are between the age group of 20 and 30 years. Thirty Six and Fourteen respondents (12 per cent and 4.67 per cent) are between 30 and 40 years and above 40 years respectively. It is evident from the, table that about 50 per cent of the victims are below 20 years of age and most of them are unmarried girls. If these group of women are affected more by sexual harassment means, it will affect their marriage life and the society will not give any respect to the victims and their family. Further, this will lead to make suicide either the victim alone or the entire family. This should be controlled and removed by efficient steps by both the owners of the firm and the government.

**Correlation Analysis**

H₀: There is a significant positive association between the age of victims and the age of harasser.

The result of the correlation between the age of the victims and the age of harasser is 0.89 at one per cent level of significance. Thus, it means that there is a significant positive association between the age of the victims and the harasser. Hence, one can accept the null hypothesis (Ho).

**Persons Involved in Sexual Harassment**

Table 7 clearly picturised the persons who are involved in work place sexual harassment against women. From the top level workers to the low level workers are involved in this type of inhuman practices at work place.

Table 7: Persons Involved in Sexual Harassment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Persons Involved in Sexual Harassment</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Co-workers</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>48.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Supervisors</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>22.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>16.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated on the basis of Survey data
The persons who involved sexual harassment in work place are classified by the researcher into co-workers, supervisors, managers and owners. It is understood from Table 7 that out of 300 sample respondents interviewed, 146 (48.67 per cent) informed that the co-workers are mostly involved in this type of harassment. The reason behind this is both the workers are working together more number of hours and most of them are from the same village or nearby villages. Sixty Eight (22.67 per cent) respondents reported that the supervisors involved into this type of inhuman practices. Forty Eight respondents (16 per cent) are of the opinion that the managers involved in sexual harassment. Further, it is very pity that owners of the firms themselves involved in work place harassment. This was informed by 38 respondents (12.67 per cent). The supervisors, managers and owners are the higher level authorities who provide protection to the workers working under them. If they themselves involved in these practices means it is not a healthy condition to the economy. It should be controlled. In overall, the co-workers mostly involved in workplace sexual harassment against women in the study area.

Marital Status of the Harasser
The researcher examined the opinion about the marital status of the harasser from the sample respondents in the study area and is presented in Table 8

Table 8: Martial Status of the Harasser

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>46.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>53.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated on the basis of Survey data

From Table 8 it is evident that out of 300 respondents 160 respondents (53.33 per cent) of the opinion that most of them are unmarried persons and they either don't know about the future impact or they are imprudent about the problem or action taken against them. One hundred and forty (46.67 per cent) respondents remarked that the married people even the age old people also involved in such type of activities in the work place. It is concluded from this table that, mostly unmarried workers are involved in workplace sexual harassment in the study area.

Reasons behind Sexual Harassment
The researcher identified and analysed the reasons behind the work place sexual harassment in the study area and the same is given Table 9. The researchers identified the reasons behind the sexual harassment in the work place. The reasons are body structure of the women worker, dressing sense; admit the comment at the first instance, no moral support and financial help. From Table 9 it is evident that body structure and dressing sense are the most influencing factor of sexual harassment at workplace. Out of 200 respondents interviewed, 101 (33.67 per cent) and 95 (31.67 per cent) of informed that the physical structure of the women and the way in which they are dressing respectively place major reasons for sexual harassment. In general these two factors naturally tempt the male gender to do something against female gender. Hence, it is in the hands of the women only to protect themselves against the work place harassments. They should change themselves according to the nature and conditions of the work place. Further, 47 respondents (15.67 per cent) are of the opinion that the women who admit the sexual comments at the first instance are affected by sexual harassments. Another 22 (7.33 per cent) and 35 (11.67 per cent) respondent's view point is that, no moral support and doing some financial help to the women workers are also the reasons behind the work place sexual harassment.
Table 9: Reasons behind Sexual Harassment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Reason for Sexual Harassment</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Body structure</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>33.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dressing sense</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>31.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Admit the comment at the first instance</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>15.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>No moral support</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Financial help</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>300</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated on the basis of Survey data

The researchers identified the reasons behind the sexual harassment in the work place. The reasons are body structure of the women worker, dressing sense; admit the comment at the first instance, no moral support and financial help. From Table 9 it is evident that body structure and dressing sense are the most influencing factor of sexual harassment at workplace. Out of 200 respondents interviewed, 101 (33.67 per cent) and 95 (31.67 per cent) of informed that the physical structure of the women and the way in which they are dressing respectively place major reasons for sexual harassment. In general these two factors naturally tempt the male gender to do something against female gender. Hence, it is in the hands of the women only to protect themselves against the work place harassments. They should change themselves according to the nature and conditions of the work place. Further, 47 respondents (15.67 per cent) are of the opinion that the women who admit the sexual comments at the first instance are affected by sexual harassments. Another 22 (7.33 per cent) and 35 (11.67 per cent) respondent's view point is that, no moral support and doing some financial help to the women workers are also the reasons behind the work place sexual harassment.

Time of Harassment

The researcher analyzed the time at which the chance for different types of sexual harassments involved at work place in the study area and the same is depicted in Table 10.

Table 10: Time of Harassment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Time of Harassment</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Working Time</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>54.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rest Time</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>15.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Travelling Time</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>18.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>After Working Time</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>300</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated on the basis of Survey data
From Table 10 it inferred that out of 300 respondents enquired, 164 respondents (54.67 per cent) are of the opinion that the sexual chatting started even at the working time itself. The sexual chatting leads to sexual harassment. Forty six respondents (15.33 per cent) are in favour of rest time. During rest hours i.e., lunch hour, the workers are scattered and the male workers utilized this time for involving sexual harassment. Another 56 respondents (18.67 per cent) pointed out that travelling time (i.e., both the gender are travelled in the same bus) make way for this type of harassment. The remaining 34 respondents’ (11.33 per cent) perception is that after working hours and before leaving to home from the work place there is a chance for involving sexual harassment activities in the study area.

Pattern of Complaints against Sexual Harassment
Table 11 depicts to whom the sexually harassed women make complaint first in the study area.

**TABLE 11: Pattern of Complaints against Sexual Harassment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Women Workers to Whom Inform First about Sexual Harassment</th>
<th>No. of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Friends &amp; Relatives</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>22.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Co-workers</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>53.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Supervisors / Managers</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>14.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Owners</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>300</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated on the basis of Survey data

From Table 11, it is clear that the sexually harassed persons make complaint first to the co-worker who is working with them and who are very close by relatives or by friendship. Out of 200 respondents, 160 respondents (53.33 per cent) informed that they make complaint first to the co-workers. Sixty six respondents (22 per cent) revealed their opinion that they make complaint to their friends and relatives who are not working with them. They are all in the villages. Forty four (14.67 per cent) and 30 respondents (10 per cent) pointed out that, they made a complaint against sexual harassment at work place with the supervisors or managers and owners respectively.

Policy Recommendations
Based on the findings of the study, the following suggestions are provided and recommended to eradicate sexual harassment of women workers at the work place.

- To avoid sexual harassment at work place first of all we should provide education to both men and women in general and sexual education in particular.
- Awareness programmes in schools from the upper-primary levels and above should be organized so that female students gain confidence to report cases of sexual harassment. This issue should be dealt with sensitively in the school curriculum, so that female students and teachers gain confidence about reporting cases.
- The owners of the firm should take this problem in a serious manner and take efficient steps to avoid this problem. The owners of the firm should take decisions on an unbiased manner whoever may be involved in this type of activities and punish them severely by law.
- Dressing code should be introduced in each and every industrial unit and the dresses should be provided by the employer to the employees.
- The employer should appoint women supervisor in addition to the male supervisor where both men and women workers are working together.
- Training sessions at work places will help in providing information to employees not only to their legal obligations to deal with sexual harassment but also for complying with these obligations.
- Strict laws should be enacted by the Government against sexual harassment and should be implemented in full-fledged manner. The owners of firm those who are not taking care of this problem should be punished and the industrial license should be cancelled.
- The attitudes of male workers must be changed. The female workers are not office accessories. People need to see female workers not as women but as sisters, colleagues and workers.
- Code of conduct should be introduced for both men and women in factories and this should be followed very effectively.
- Developing awareness and support among female staff at different levels through information campaigns, meetings and discussions.
- Both trade unions and companies should do more to prevent harassment, by adopting internal procedures for reporting incidents.
- Like trade unions, a women's association should be started in each and every industrial unit to look after the inhuman practices of sexual harassment against women at work place.

Conclusion
Sexual harassment is faced by women as well as men in organizations. The offender need not necessarily be in a low cadre job but can also be holding a post at the higher level, sexual harassment takes place to those who are submissive in nature, because the harasser obviously knows that the victim won’t voice out his/her dissent and the harasser can go on with his harassing ways. Though the deviant behaviour like sexual harassment takes place, many organizations want to look past it because they don’t want the credibility of the organization to go down. By their silence, the organization encourages the harasser. The victim and the family are the main sufferers and so is the organization because the organization would lose a competent and loyal employee due its silence. Hitherto, it is the responsibility of the organization to preamble policies in the organization which would check sexual harassment and help the employees work in a productive and peaceful environment. Policies which are introduced must be checked often and the needed changes should be made and updated accordingly. This would help in the growth of the organization. Sexual harassment can be checked or stopped if measures against harassing behaviour is initiated and maintained in every organization and every employee of the organization is aware of the policies present against such behaviour.

References
Decoding Indian Foreign Policy

Priya S.*

Abstract
This article reviews a recent book titled ‘Choices: Inside the Making of India’s Foreign Policy’ by Shivshanker Menon. The book offers a glimpse of the Indian diplomatic endeavours reflecting elements of history, legacy, negotiating skills, geo-strategic dynamics, and critical policy decisions entwined in a compact narrative. The author has provided a diplomatic testimonial as a serving envoy on key foreign policy initiatives, which primarily served national interest. Being a diplomat with a keen academic inclination, he has drawn analytical conclusions from the negotiations and final outcomes. The author has interpreted the contemporary foreign policy through the diplomatic choices arrived during the course of five different episodes. Though the book claims to have upheld ‘strategically bold’ and ‘tactically cautious’ policy measures, it can be inferred from the discussion that as a diplomat, Mr Menon has advocated a risk averse and at times what can be referred as a conservative foreign policy stand.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, India, China, South Asia

‘Choices: Inside the Making of India’s Foreign Policy’
by Shivshankar Menon
Penguin Random House India, New Delhi, 2016;
Pp. 243, Rs. 599/-

The book under review offers glimpses of the Indian diplomatic endeavours reflecting elements of history, legacy, negotiating skills, geo-strategic dynamics, and critical policy decisions entwined in a compact narrative. The author has provided a diplomatic testimonial as a serving envoy on key foreign policy initiatives, which primarily served national interest. Being a diplomat with a keen academic inclination, he has drawn analytical conclusions from the negotiations and final outcomes. The author has interpreted the contemporary foreign policy through the diplomatic choices arrived during the course of five different episodes. Though the book claims to have upheld ‘strategically bold’ and ‘tactically cautious’ policy measures, it can be inferred from the discussion that as a diplomat, Mr Menon has advocated a risk averse and at times what can be referred as a conservative foreign policy stand.

The first chapter titled ‘Pacifying the Border-The 1993 Border Peace and Tranquility Agreement with China’ has reflected on the relation with China and outlined the history of border dispute. The chapter has begun with an interesting anecdote on the journey of the author as a diplomat. He ventured into Foreign Service as a field study option to explore China to integrate inputs into his doctoral thesis. The chapter takes through the diplomatic efforts to find legal solutions on border issues with China in the nineties. The author has narrated the political and diplomatic efforts for creating a conducive environment, both within in the country and across the negotiating table. The chapter has thrown light on the legacy of Jawaharlal Nehru’s policy towards China as well as on the nuances of leadership qualities of the then Prime Minister P.V Narasimha Rao. The author has quoted a candid conversation with Foreign Secretary Jyotindra Nath Dixit in early nineties on the diplomatic possibilities of finding a peaceful relationship with China. Mr.Menon’s experience and expertise landed him in the External Affairs Ministry as a Joint Secretary dealing with North and East Asia. Mr. Menon had the responsibility to engage in productive negotiations with Chinese officials to reach an

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amicable solution to the border dispute. The book has provided key insights in to the cartographic manipulation exhibited by Chinese officials from time-to-time and exemplary restrain rendered by the Indian side. It has also provided policy prescriptions for a bolder foreign policy initiative by delinking history and settling for a legally valid ‘status quo’ with a long-term objective of peaceful and stable relation with the neighbour.

The second chapter titled, ‘Natural Partners: The Civil Nuclear Initiative with the US’ has provided an in-depth analysis of the difficulties in traversing through an unprecedented policy terrain. The chapter has mainly three elements, the political commitment and domestic pressures, secondly, the diplomatic efforts, technicalities and language of the texts, and thirdly, the global response to the initiative. It navigates the readers through the laborious efforts of the political and diplomatic machine to reach the Civil Nuclear Initiatives with the US. The author has highlighted the credibility and political risk taken by the leaders, Dr. Manmohan Singh and President George W. Bush to initiate the bold strategic partnership. He has painstakingly analysed the colossal efforts on both sides to amend the laws to treat India like a Nuclear Weapon State (NWS) for the purpose of civilian nuclear commerce. It included three and half years of intense and complex political, diplomatic and technical efforts to accomplish the partnership. The clauses and its dimensions are analysed to give the reader clarity on the possible interpretation of the text in the future. Mr. Menon has acknowledged the capacity issues faced by Indian diplomatic team in completing the marathon process of significant magnitude. As a diplomatic achievement in his tenure, the author believes that the agreement had set arguably higher standards and expectations from the India-US relationship.

The third Chapter, Restrain or Riposte? The Mumbai Attack and Cross-Border Terrorism from Pakistan has discussed the policy choices reviewed by the Indian administration against Pakistan after the terror strikes in Mumbai in 2008. The chapter has not offered critical inputs in to the existing debate on Indo-Pak relations. The chapter has analysed the shared history, weighed the conventional war options with the sponsor state of cross border terrorism and the response of the US in the existing geo-political scenario. The commando–style attack by a handful of terrorists of Lakshar-e-Taiba (LeT) persisted for three days under full glare of global media questioned the competency of our security and intelligence agencies. Hence the government and bureaucrats had to pacify the public sentiments by concrete action. The author had assessed the implications of both retaliation and restrain in his capacity as the Foreign Secretary. The chapter has attempted to explain the diplomatic, theoretical and practical manifestations of covert and overt actions against the terror outfits and the sponsor state. It has highlighted the importance of covert options of bringing international community together and isolating the sponsor state.

Though the operational and diplomatic options in dealing with cross-border terrorism have been discussed in academic discourse before, it is interesting to revisit the policy options during the Mumbai terror episode particularly in the context of the recent ‘surgical strikes’ by the present government. As a policy option, the military combat followed by the Israeli military troop against non-state actors is thoroughly analysed in the Indian context. The author has concluded that any controlled application of military will not lead to deterrence by the terror organisations like the Lakshar-e-Taiba (LeT). Hence he has categorically disapproved the military option as it can possibly incur added burden of costs and risk the progress of economy. Another interesting aspect discussed is the limited co-operation extended by the US owing to their geo-political and strategic priorities in Afghanistan. The author had advised the Indian diplomats “not to shy away” from addressing the Balochistan reference which was initially found in the Sharm-el-sheikh Joint statement. This can be scrutinised in the broader context of Balochistan remark made by the current Prime Minister of India. The author has made a candid point on the possibility of continued “intractable conflict” with Pakistan owing to political factors and restrictive foreign policy options. Since an international consensus of a humanitarian and borderless world is a distant utopian dream, it will be rational to analyse factors objectively in the national interest.

The fourth chapter has explored the history and politics in Srilanka through the rise and fall of Liberation of Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE). The military force in a close door combat of thirty-month
has ambushed the twenty six year old civil war, which lead to extensive civilian causalities. The chapter has explored the Tamil history and rise of separatism in Srilanka. India has been cautious about the policy options in Srilanka since the suicide attack on Rajiv Gandhi. The peace-keeping mission and the foreign policy options of India are reviewed in the chapter. The diplomatic efforts of India were concentrated to ensure a safe corridor for the civilians. The author has concluded that preventing the resurgence of separatist groups will be critical to the future of the island and peace in this part of the sub-continent.

The fifth chapter has analysed the affirmative policy stand of *No First Use of Nuclear Weapons* where India has pledged not to initiate but only retaliate in defense and simultaneously advocated nuclear disarmament. The chapter explains the geo-political and strategic reasons of India’s elation to Nuclear Weapon State (NWS). The author has outlined the nuclear doctrine of Pakistan, China and the US and has argued that Indian nuclear weapons are meant to prevent nuclear coercion and blackmail. The Indo-China and Indo-Pak deterrence are crucially linked and is critical to peace and security order in Asia. The security concerns can be effectively handled by building institutional capacity to control any possible escalation if deterrence fails. The dynamics of maritime nuclear security particularly positioning of nuclear weapons in the sea as well as the geographical challenges of monitoring in the vast Indian Ocean is reviewed in detail. There is also emphasize on the economic benefits of evading a nuclear arms race with the ‘credible minimum deterrence’ policy followed by India.

The final chapter has encapsulated the behaviour of sovereign states and the foreign policy constraints in specific circumstances. It has put forward an aspirational argument about India being a ‘great power’, which is a debatable hypothesis at this juncture in the realm of foreign policy.

The book does not attempt to eulogize the decisions in which the author himself was actively or passively involved. As a seasoned diplomat he has outlined the importance of creating a calculus of national interest with a mini-max strategy, which is significant in foreign policy. He has mentioned in passing the few blemishes in the Indian diplomatic community at the negotiating table but has not stressed on the ways to address those aspects. The book has criticized the inability of the political class to segregate the strategic choices from the domestic political interests. Constant engagement with key allies as well as caution in tactics would be the key policy advices from the book. The book captures the essence of Indian foreign policy dynamics through the lens of policy practitioner.
A Critique of ‘Hind Swaraj’ and ‘Hindutva’

S. Swaroop Sirapangi*

Abstract
This article reviews the last book written by U R Anantamurthy titled ‘Hindutva or Hind Swaraj’. Rather than being an academic research work, it is more of a well-considered essay or propaganda material against the right-wing political hegemony unleashed by Bharatiya Janata Party and personified by Narendra Modi. The reviewer has looked at the whole book with open mind so as to present intent of the author in an unbiased manner.

Keywords: Hindutva, Hind Swaraj, India

Hindutva or Hind Swaraj
by U.R. Anantamurthy,
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Pp. xxii + 122, Rs 350/

Political Prologue
‘Hindutva or Hind Swaraj’ is a ‘self-political manifesto’ against the rise of political Hindutva elements in the guise of Narendra Modi, who became the Prime Minister of India on behalf of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) led National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government after the 2014 general Parliamentary election, i.e. Lok Sabha. The author U R Anantamurthy compared ‘two political manifestos’ of Gandhi and Damodar Veer Savarkar: ‘Hind Swaraj’ and ‘Hindutva’ respectively. Thus, the present volume is an outcome of the deliberation upon these ‘political manifestos’. Ananthamurthy, one of the highly distinguished literary personalities from South India composed this short, precise manifesto based on his political conviction. The author expressed his deep agony over the crisis of liberal secular democracy in India, which got a threat, in the author’s view, due to the rise of Narendra Modi to the position of Prime Ministerial candidature range, within the right wing BJP.

In fact, there were many persons and sections in India who expressed deep agony, fear and concern over the elevation of Narendra Modi’s candidature to the Prime Minister of India, since 2012 or so, in view of the scheduled 2014 Lok Sabha elections. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the shadow backbone organization of BJP took active interest in ensuring that Narendra Modi gets elevated to the position of Prime Minister of India for the 2014 election much ahead. There was also a section of silent opposition within BJP when this decision was brought to the forefront. One of the prime BJP leader who opposed this move and step was Lal Krishna Advani (L K Advani), a towering personality of BJP, who was believed (or hoping) to be the Prime Ministerial candidate till then. L K Advani took objection to this move of RSS, and as a protest gesture he resigned to all the party positions in 2013. L K Advani had a strong bloc of followers within BJP. So, the move of Advani was a significant one. But, in due course of time Advani withdrew his resignation and kept silent (albeit, in

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a diplomatic manner). Thus, this indicates that there was a kind of opposition to Narendra Modi’s elevation to the position of Prime Minister for 2014 election within BJP. But, BJP and RSS were successful enough in ensuring smooth transition in BJP in favor of Narendra Modi’s candidacy and leadership.

**Narendra Modi as a Modified ‘Hindutva’ Variant**

Surprisingly within BJP, Narendra Modi emerged as a hard-core Hindutva person. This made the ranks and files of the RSS and BJP to believe and project within the BJP and in the Indian political class that Narendra Modi would be the suitable person to lead the Indian nation as a true nationalist, by citing the glorious development path of Gujarat under his esteemed Chief Ministerial position. As a result of romanticized glorification of Gujarat model of development under the leadership of Narendra Modi by the Hindutva forces and media; a pro atmosphere in favor of Narendra Modi’s candidature as Prime Minister of India was created across India before 2014 general election.

Narendra Modi had been having long association with RSS and BJP for long and he was able to emerge systematically in these two organizations over the years. One of the most politically recognized and cherished peak of Narendra Modi in his professional political career was occupying the position of Chief Minister of Gujarat. During the 2002 Godhra communal clashes Narendra Modi was at the peak of the State of affair in Gujarat as Chief Minister. It was highly reported, accused, proved on some grounds that Narendra Modi was one among the prime people behind the communal violence in 2002, in which Muslims were massacred en-mass at many places across Gujarat. The large scale violation of human rights against Muslims attracted the attention of the whole world and brought a kind of negative impression to Narendra Modi from certain quarters like liberals, human rights organizations and activists, media, etc.

Until 2002 Gujarat violence; only L K Advani was seen as a hard-core Hindutva person within BJP. But, due to the range and nature of 2002 communal violence against Muslims in Gujarat, this hard-core Hindutva title in BJP was rechristened on Narendra Modi. Thus, Narendra Modi was able to capture the position of L K Advani in two senses; as a hard-core Hindutva icon and as a potential Prime Ministerial candidate.

Since 2002 onwards due to communal violence in Gujarat, Narendra Modi had become a controversial personality, albeit in two contrasting positions (just like L K Advani): category one was in favor of his potential active leadership and another category stood drastically against his leadership, etc. These two sections can be categorically recognized as ‘pro Hindutva’ and ‘anti Hindutva’.

The present author Anantamurthy belongs to the second category of ‘anti Hindutva’ section. And, same time the author, in the present volume expressed his deep agony over the rise of Narendra Modi on the Indian political scene as potential Prime Ministerial candidate on behalf of the Hindutva forces.

**Visualizing Renewed Threat to the Indian Secular Democratic Tradition**

The two consecutive electoral set-backs to the BJP during 2004 and 2009 general Lok Sabha elections made RSS to revamp the leadership of BJP. As a result, a political wave in favor of Narendra Modi was created across the country, since 2012-2013 onwards in view of the 2014 general election to the Lok Sabha. From this point onwards, a new wave of pro and anti Narendra Modi sections started to express their views once again.

The present volume by Anantamurthy is one such deliberation against the rise of Narendra Modi in the Indian political discourse, whose candidature, in the author’s view, is a kind of serious threat to the foundations of the liberal secular democratic traditions. In fact, the author Ananthamurthy expressed a kind of self panic that he would not be interested to live in India, which would be ruled by Narendra Modi. Right wing sections verbally attacked him for this statement and gone to the range of suggesting him to leave to neighboring Pakistan, branding him as an anti-national. Ironically, within a few months after the victory of Narendra Modi as Prime Minister of India, the author Ananthamurthy passed away!!
The present volume is a kind of self manifesto based on the author’s ideological political convictions, which got published in the present version posthumously. The prime version of this volume was produced in his native language Kannada. The present English version was translated by Keerti Ramachandra along with Vivek Shanbhag. One of the unique features in the present version is a lucid ‘forward’ composed by Shiv Visvanathan. Shiv Visvanathan not only presented a lucid introduction to the author Anantamurthy’s present work, but attempted to reorient ‘why and how’ Anantamurthy envisaged this manifesto.

The author chose the style of aphorism to make his point clear to the readers, in the initial pages. Many suitable aphorisms were presented by the author to substantiate his arguments. The translators were good enough in discharging their task to the best of professional recognition. The author’s writing style had some implied senses and meanings, which should be filled by the readers, based on the narration presented by the author till then. This is a kind of literary style, which he used in this Manifesto, presented in prose format. Though, this is a political writing, the author, as a literary personality used literary characters from various novels, scriptures, etc to make his point simple and clear in a concise manner for denouncing Hindu fundamentalist elements in the Indian political discourse and highlighted the need for liberal secular perspective to adopt.

‘Hind Swaraj or Hindutva’: An unusual Comparison

The author attempted to project and/or re-builds the image of Gandhi’s political relevance in the Indian political society, which got a huge threat in the form of Narendra Modi. From Gandhi’s ‘anarchist’ political ideological convictions he brought-out some key essential elements which can safeguard the Indian nation’s liberal secular democratic foundations.

Anantamurthy was silent towards the Indian electoral political process without providing any analysis. But, in terms of ideological political convictions he expressed deep sorrow over the lack of unity among liberal-left and identity movements in countering the rise of Hindu extremist fundamental forces like Narendra Modi. He even expressed lack of faith on INC in a few concise words over its failure in protecting the liberal secular democratic foundations, and observed INC as a weaker variant for Savarkar’s political manifesto.

This volume attempts to shift in political ideological terms from Gandhi and Damodar Veer Savarkar to Narendra Modi. The author attempted to compare the two nationalist ideas of Gandhi and Savarkar. The author extensively compared Gandhi’s treatise (manifesto) ‘Hind Swaraj’ with Savarkar’s treatise ‘Essentials of Hindutva’, primarily. But, it should be understood that there was no direct reference to Savarkar’s ‘Hindutva’, always. Savarkar’s ideological convictions were highlighted by the author and went on to curtail such fundamental thinking as dangerous to humanity and nation building; while comparing with Gandhian path of ideological convictions, which would be very relevant for building a non-violent secular India.

In certain political terms this is an interesting comparison, if one visualizes from certain vantage point, like; in the Indian political intellectual discourse Gandhi is considered as an ‘anarchist’, and Savarkar was seen as a ‘fascist’ or ‘communalist’ or ‘cultural nationalist’, etc. Thus, the author was brining two unusual political ideological thinkers to the forefront to present a new political manifesto based on his self conviction, which got inclined towards Gandhian path.

Gandhi’s ‘Hind Swaraj’ and Savarkar’s writings on ‘Hindutva’ are mostly denounced by the liberal and left intellectuals. In-addition to this, Gandhi’s ideas were not followed seriously even by his own political platform INC!! And, increasingly Gandhi was shown in symbolic co-option mode by the Hindutva elements like BJP, etc.

Anantamurthy visualized Gandhi as a person, who was inclined towards transformation based on ‘non-violence’. But same time perceived Savarkar as a ‘violent variant’ for achieving transformation, as he showed lack of proper tolerance for ‘diversity’ in the Indian cultural society. Also Anantamurthy observed that Gandhi felt that ‘no religion in the world is perfect’, but Savarkar stood
for ‘superiority of Hindus’. Ultimately, Anantamurthy favored Gandhi’s way of ‘all religions should survive with equal respect’. Thus, he denounced superior complexity of the Hindu fundamental forces like Savarkar, Narendra Modi, etc.

At last, the author concluded that the best solution to the present political crisis in India would be adopting Gandhi’s mode of ‘Sarvodaya’, against the Narendra Modi’s perceived ‘corporate model of development’. The author was critical towards the romanticized Gujarat model of development, which was projected as a solution to the rest of India ahead of the 2014 Lok Sabha election.

**Conclusion**

The present volume is a serious deliberation and contribution in the Indian political ideological literature from ‘nationalistic’ perspective; as two strands of nationalistic ideas of Gandhi and Savarkar, in relation to the present rise of Narendra Modi is dealt with. The uniqueness of this volume lies at comparing two kinds of manifestos of Gandhi and Savarkar, i.e. ‘Hind Swaraj’ and ‘Hindutva’ and produced an alternative manifesto in the present format, which tilted towards Gandhian path of ‘Sarvodaya’, against cultural, religious and development oriented Hindu fundamental forces triumph in the form of Narendra Modi.

**End Notes**

i By ‘Political Manifestos’, here in this context, it should be understood that the author is just comparing the writings of both Gandhi and Savarkar. But, he was going beyond their specific writings, if required, and was trying to compare their actions also.