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Articles

Introducing New Books

Introducing New Book

Situating a Legendary Folklore Hero in Mainstream History

J.N. Sinha, *The Raja, the Rebel and the Monk: Fateh Sahi's War Against the East India Company,* Penguin Books, Gurugram, 2025, xlix + 239 pages, Rs. 599/-

Saurav Kumar Rai

In the semi-wild terrain on the borders of Uttar Pradesh (UP) and Bihar the folklore admiring an obscure hero – Fateh Bahadur Sahi – is quite prominent. Historically, Sahi was the ruler of Huseypur in the Saran district of Bihar and was one of the earliest Indian rulers to rise in rebellion against the British soon after they came to power in the aftermath of the Battle of Buxar of 1764. Subsequently, he escaped to the jungles of Gorakhpur in UP and kept waging guerilla war against the English East India Company for nearly three decades. His unique army constituted local people, bandits, destitutes and warrior ascetics. He himself donned the ascetic robe at the twilight of his life. Unfortunately, the mainstream historiography explores little about this charismatic 'raja' (king), the rebel and the monk who rose in revolt against the Company Raj almost a century before 1857. This book by J.N. Sinha fills this significant lacuna in mainstream historiography.

The entire book is divided into six chapters and an 'Introduction' and 'Epilogue'. The 'Introduction' looks at the dementia of mainstream historiography regarding Fateh Sahi and recent attempts to carve out a niche for him in history. In the first chapter, Sinha briefly introduces the geographical terrain and history of the region in which Sahi was active. The second chapter explores the ancestral line of Sahi - from ancient times till eighteenth century. It includes exploration of the origin and spread of 'Bhumihar Brahmins' as well, the caste group with which Sahi was affiliated. This is important as caste and clan relationships played significant role in Sahi's efforts to garner support of the local zamindars in the vicinity.The geo-ethnic legacy that Fateh Sahi inherited, argues Sinha, emboldened him to assert autonomy and defy the diktats of the British (p. 31).

Chapter 3 looks at the actual moment of direct confrontation between 1767-72, which Sinha interestingly terms as 'war of freedom'. In this war of freedom, Fateh Sahi, argues Sinha, heroically emerged as 'the liberator' of the common masses (p. 59). Sahi had already fought against the English East India Company on behalf of the allies at Buxar in 1764. However, he launched direct confrontation against the British in 1767 which was unexpected. Sinha by applying "historian's imagination" gives a graphic description of this confrontation (pp. 52-54) at the end of which Sahi had to retreat into the jungle. Nevertheless, he continued his raids and depredations from the jungle again and again for next three decades which constitutes the fulcrum of the fourth chapter. These raids became so popular that the Fateh saga reached as far as Bengal. Sinha claims that the gutsy raids of Fateh Sahi against the Company rule eventually captured the imagination of Bankim Chandra as well who conceived the story of *Anandmath* out of Sahi's heroics (pp. 118-20).

Gradually, the Company realised that war alone, states Sinha, was not the most effective weapon against an enemy like Fateh Sahi who had long grounding in local soil (p. 128). Hence, they played their much notorious tactic of 'divide and rule' by pitting the cousin line of Fateh Sahi against him. This led to the rise of Tamkuhi (controlled by Fateh Sahi) and Hathwa (controlled by the cousin line of Fateh Sahi) as two competing sites of power thereby breaking apart the centuries-old Huseypur Raj. This British diplomatic move to contain Fateh Sahi has been delineated in Chapter 5 of the book under discussion.

The last chapter talks about the retreat of Fateh Sahi. As he grew old, weakened by familial feud, Fateh Sahi gradually inclined towards spirituality and adapted to the life of a sanyasi. He significantly reduced his raiding activities. His last raid was in Champaran in 1795. Finally, in 1808, he renounced his Raj and the family as well and became an ascetic. He is believed to have gone to Nasik where he eventually died. Thus, came to an end the remarkable journey of Fateh Sahi from a Raja to a rebel to a monk.

This book will interest the readers who love exploring the lesser known, almost 'mythical' heroes of Indian history. The narrative style and language used by Sinha in this book is gripping and holds the readers till the end.

*** *** ***

Bibliometric Insights into Sustainable Tourism: Analyzing Research Trends and Knowledge Gaps

Ginu Philip &
S. Rajendran

Sustainable tourism plays a pivotal role in achieving the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by promoting economic growth, environmental preservation, and social equity. This study describes a bibliometric analysis to examine the evolution, trends and knowledge gaps within the sustainable tourism research landscape from 2003 to 2024. Data extracted from Web of Science database. Key research themes include environmental impact assessment, community engagement, and the integration of technology in sustainable practices. However, the analysis also identifies notable gaps, such as limited studies on the long-term socio-economic impacts of sustainable tourism, regional disparities in research focus, and insufficient interdisciplinary approaches. Additionally, the linkage between sustainable tourism initiatives and specific SDGs, such as Decent work and economic growth (SDG 8) and Responsible consumption and production (SDG 12) and Climate action (SDG 13), remains underexplored. This study highlights the need for future research to address these gaps by fostering interdisciplinary collaborations, enhancing regional studies, and deepening the integration of sustainable tourism with the broader SDG framework.

Keywords: Sustainable tourism, bibliometric analysis, sustainable development goals (SDGs), environmental impact, bibliometric analysis, biblioshiny, VOS viewer

Introduction

In recent decades, sustainable tourism has emerged as a crucial field of study, intersecting environmental, economic, and social dimensions of tourism development. The increasing awareness of tourism's impact on ecosystems and communities has led to a significant shift towards research that promotes sustainable practices (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). Sustainable tourism aims to balance the needs of tourists, host communities, and natural environments, thereby contributing to long-term economic development without compromising cultural and ecological integrity (UNWTO, 2018). As the concept of sustainability becomes integral to tourism policy and practice, understanding the research landscape is essential for identifying influential themes, methodologies, and regional focuses in the field.

Bibliometric analysis offers a powerful tool for systematically examining the evolution and structure of sustainable tourism research. By analyzing patterns in publication data, such as citation counts, co-authorship networks, and keyword co-occurrences, bibliometric methods provide insights into the intellectual structure and dynamics of a research field (Donthu et al., 2021). These insights help scholars and practitioners understand prevailing research themes, track the influence of foundational works, and identify potential gaps in knowledge that warrant further investigation (Zupic & Èater, 2015). With the growing body of literature on sustainable tourism, a bibliometric approach allows for a comprehensive mapping of the discipline's progress and emerging trends.

Despite the expanding literature, sustainable tourism research faces challenges in maintaining coherence across diverse subfields, including ecotourism, community-based tourism, and corporate social responsibility. These subfields often operate within distinct theoretical frameworks and geographical contexts, which can lead to fragmented insights and limited cross-disciplinary integration (Hall, 2019). Identifying and bridging

these divides is essential for fostering a holistic understanding of sustainable tourism. A bibliometric review can facilitate this process by highlighting underrepresented areas and uncovering potential for cross-pollination between closely related themes, thereby contributing to a more unified body of knowledge.

This study seeks to provide a bibliometric analysis of sustainable tourism research, focusing on research trends and knowledge gaps that have emerged over time. Using bibliographic coupling, co-citation, and keyword co-occurrence analysis, this paper aims to visualize the thematic structure of sustainable tourism literature and identify influential publications, journals, and research clusters. By mapping out these elements, the study not only sheds light on the intellectual landscape of sustainable tourism but also offers insights for future research directions that can strengthen the field's contributions to sustainable development (Li et al., 2020). Through this bibliometric approach, we aim to support the ongoing evolution of sustainable tourism as an interdisciplinary and impactful area of study.

RQ1 What are the global research trends in the study of sustainable tourism research trends and global pattern from 2003 to 2024, as revealed by bibliometric analysis?

RQ2 Which themes and topics are most prevalent in the scholarly literature on sustainable tourism and the perspective of bibliometric analysis, and how have these themes evolved over time?

Objectives of the Study

- To analyze global research patterns related to sustainable tourism, covering the period from 2003 to 2024, using bibliometric methods.
- To identify key research clusters and thematic areas within the existing literature onSustainable tourism and global patterns, including emerging trends and gaps in the research.

TITLE-ABS-KEY ("Sustainable Tourism")

Data Extracted from Web of Science Data Base

https://www.webofscience.com/wos/woscc/summary/16ef55b2-5917-4e00-b60a-faacf27f7d3d-0120b82deb/relevance/1

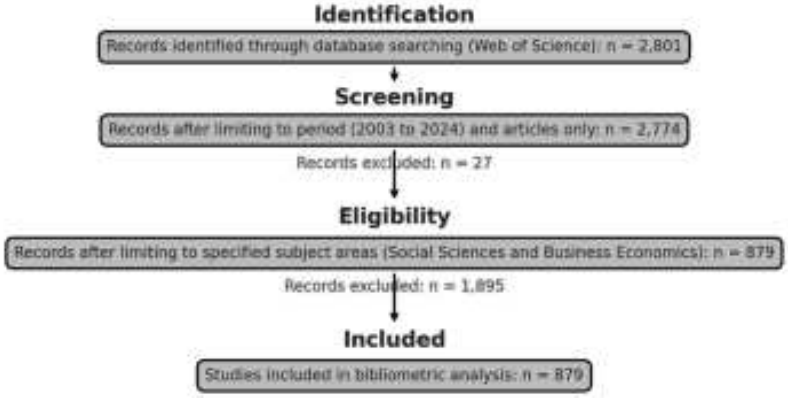
Identification

- Records identified through database searching (Web of Science): n = 2801

Screening

1. Records Limits to Period and Articles Only (2000 to 2024): n = 2774
   Excluded: 27
2. **Records after limiting to specified subject areas:** n = **879**
   Limits to Areas – Social Science and Business Economics
   Excluded: 1895 records

See figure i showing the Prisma Framework:-



(Compiled by Authors)

Methodology

The research methodology for this bibliometric analysis on "Sustainable Tourism" follows a systematic approach based on established bibliometric techniques (Donthu et al., 2021). Data were collected from the Web of Science (WoS) database, using the search term **TITLE-ABS-KEY ("Sustainable Tourism")** to ensure a comprehensive dataset of relevant publications. The initial dataset comprised 2,801 records, which were filtered by publication period (2000-2024) and document type (articles only), resulting in 2,774 records. This temporal filter aligns with trends analysis in bibliometrics to observe the development and focus of research over time (Aria & Cuccurullo, 2017). The data were further limited to specific subject areas, specifically Social Sciences and Business Economics, reducing the dataset to 879 articles relevant to the focus of this study. Exclusion criteria ensured non-relevant subject areas were removed, maintaining data integrity and specificity (Zupic & Èater, 2015). Finally, bibliometric analysis was conducted on the refined dataset using citation analysis and co-citation networks to identify influential publications, authors, and themes in sustainable tourism research. This methodological approach facilitates a structured, replicable, and transparent review of research patterns and intellectual structure within sustainable tourism studies.

Results and Discussion

Performance analysis

See Table 1 : Revealing the first analysis of the summary of the performance :-

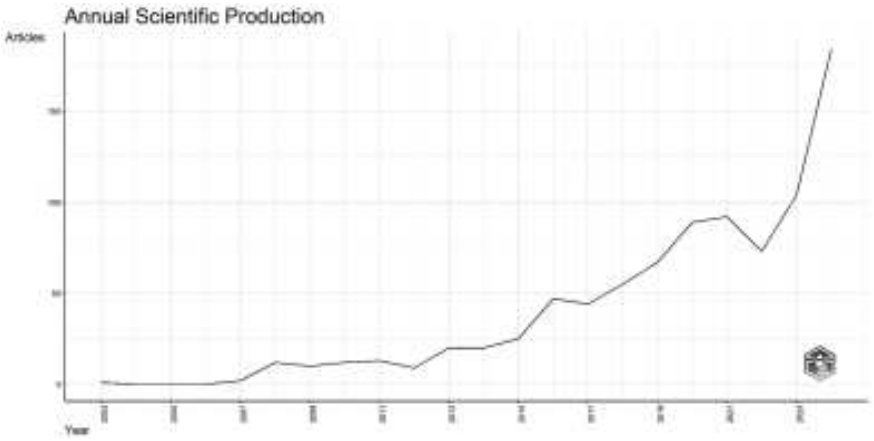
Main Information About Data	
Timespan	2003-2024
Sources (Journals, Books etc)	33
Documents	879
Annual Growth Rate %	28.19
Documents Average Age	4.23
Documents Contents	
Keywords Plus (ID)	1613
Author's Keywords (DE)	3103
Authors	
Authors	2098
Authors of single-authored docs	97
Authors Collaboration	
Single-authored docs	111
Co-Authors per Doc	3
International co-authorship %	38.68
Document Types	
Articles	806
Articles; early access	70
Article; proceedings paper	3

Source: Compiled by Authors (Biblioshiny)

Table 1, describes 879 documents published between 2003 and 2024 across 33 sources, including journals and books. Exhibiting a robust annual growth rate of 28.19%, the field is rapidly expanding. The documents have an average age of 4.23 years, indicating that the collection is relatively recent and reflective of current research trends. Content-wise, the richness is evident with 1,613 Keywords Plus (ID) and 3,103

Author's Keywords (DE), suggesting a wide array of topics and research focuses. A total of 2,098 authors contributed to this body of work, with 97 authors producing single-authored documents. Collaboration is a significant feature, as evidenced by an average of three co-authors per document and an international co-authorship rate of 38.68%. Regarding document types, the majority are articles (806), supplemented by 70 early access articles and 3 proceedings papers, underscoring a strong emphasis on peer-reviewed journal publications.

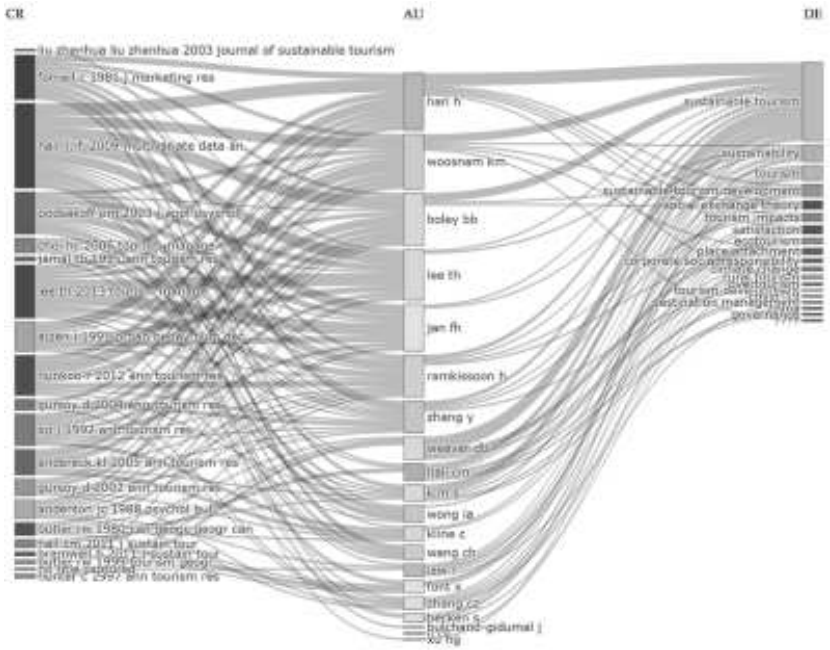
See figure ii : Showing the Annual Scientific Production:-



Source: Compiled by Authors (Biblioshiny)

The annual scientific production from 2003 to 2024 exhibits a pronounced upward trend, highlighting the field's rapid growth over the past two decades. Beginning with a solitary article in 2003 and a brief hiatus with no publications from 2004 to 2006, the research output started to gain traction in 2007 with two articles. This momentum accelerated in 2008 with 12 articles, marking the onset of a steady increase. Subsequent years saw consistent growth, with notable surges in 2016 (47 articles) and 2019 (67 articles). The upward trajectory continued, culminating in 104 articles in 2023. The most significant leap occurred in 2024, where the number of articles soared to 184, nearly doubling the previous year's output. This dramatic escalation underscores a burgeoning interest and intensified research efforts in the field, reflecting its rising prominence and the expanding community of contributors dedicated to advancing knowledge in this area.

See the following figure iii depicting the Three Field plot:-



Source: Compiled by Authors (Biblioshiny)

The Three-Field Plot shown here visualizes relationships among three key elements in a research context: Cited References (CR), Authors (AU), and Keywords or Descriptors (DE). On the left side, we see Cited References (CR) represented with notable papers or sources frequently referenced in the research on sustainable tourism and related fields. These references are linked to authors (AU) in the middle section, illustrating which researchers are building on foundational studies. For example, highly cited works like Liu's 2003 paper on sustainable tourism or Ajzen's 1991 work on behavioral decision-making are central to the field and are connected to multiple authors, reflecting their influence and relevance across various studies.

In the rightmost section, the Descriptors (DE) illustrate the primary research topics or keywords that these authors focus on, such as "sustainable tourism," "sustainability," "tourism impacts," and "social exchange theory." The lines connecting authors to these descriptors indicate the specific topics that each author emphasizes in their research. For instance, authors like Han and Lee are associated with topics related to sustainability and tourism development. This visualization helps highlight both the influential research sources and the thematic focus of prominent authors in the field, illustrating a network of scholarly communication and thematic clustering in sustainable tourism research.

Table II indicating the Most Relevant Sources:-

Sources	Articles
CURRENT ISSUES IN TOURISM	128
JOURNAL OF TRAVEL RESEARCH	77
TOURISM MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVES	74
ASIA PACIFIC JOURNAL OF TOURISM RESEARCH	66
TOURISM GEOGRAPHIES	63
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF TOURISM RESEARCH	60
JOURNAL OF OUTDOOR RECREATION AND TOURISM-RESEARCH PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT	38
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY HOSPITALITY MANAGEMENT	33
JOURNAL OF TRAVEL & TOURISM MARKETING	33
TOURISM ECONOMICS	33

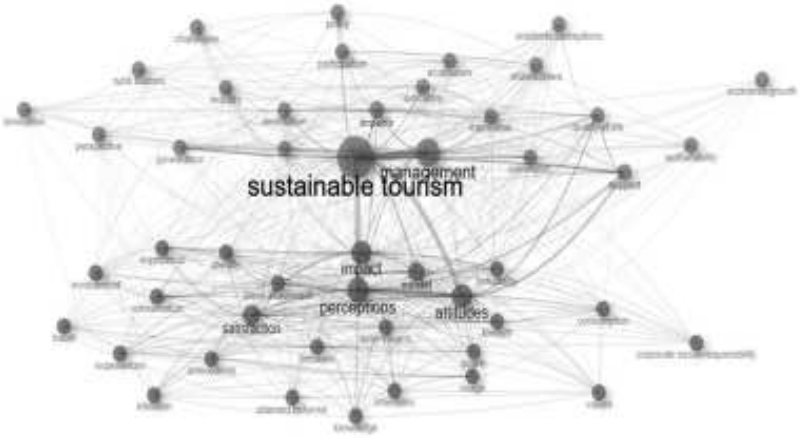
Source: Compiled by Authors (Biblioshiny)

The table titled "Most Relevant Sources" lists the top academic journals contributing to the field of tourism research based on the number of articles published. *Current Issues in Tourism* leads as the most prolific source with 128 articles, indicating its central role in advancing tourism-related discussions and studies. Following it, *Journal of Travel Research* and *Tourism Management Perspectives* have also made substantial contributions, with 77 and 74 articles, respectively, marking them as significant platforms for publishing research in this field. Other notable sources include the *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* (66 articles) and *Tourism Geographies* (63 articles), suggesting a strong regional and spatial focus within tourism studies. Together, these journals reflect a broad scope of research topics, from tourism management and economic impacts to marketing and outdoor recreation, underscoring their importance in shaping contemporary tourism research and policy development.

Given below is Figure iv showing Word Cloud:-

Source: Compiled by Authors (Biblioshiny)

The following is Figure v depicting the Co-occurrence Network:-



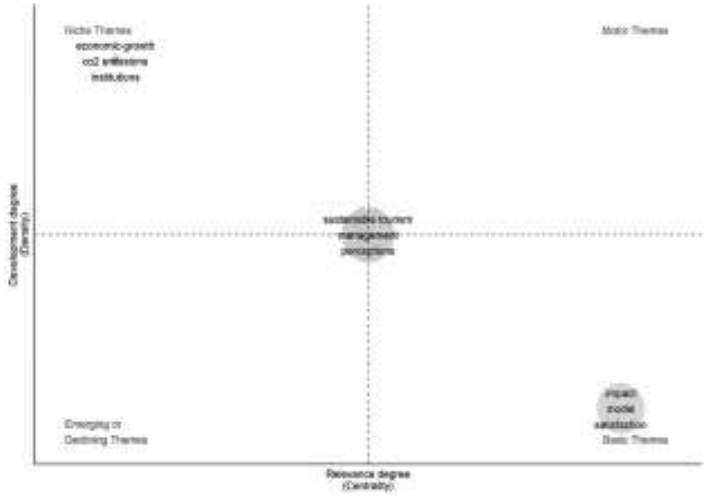
Source: Compiled by Authors (Biblioshiny)

The Co-occurrence Network visualizes the relationships and frequency of terms associated with "sustainable tourism," represented here as the central and largest node. This network is split into two distinct clusters. The blue cluster at the top primarily includes terms related to management, governance, policy, and community, indicating an emphasis on structural, organizational, and policy-oriented aspects of sustainable tourism. Keywords like "management", "support", "rural tourism", "ecotourism" and "quality of life" suggest topics around administrative and strategic factors that support sustainable tourism development.

The red cluster at the bottom includes terms focused on perceptions, attitudes, satisfaction, and impact, which are closely related to the experiences and behaviours of individuals involved in sustainable tourism. Words like "perceptions,""attitudes,""impact," and "satisfaction" are prominent here, suggesting a focus on the psychological and experiential aspects that influence people's engagement with sustainable tourism.

The connecting terms, particularly "impact" and "management," highlight a bridge between the two clusters, suggesting that the management and policy-related aspects in the blue cluster have a direct influence on the perceptual and attitudinal outcomes seen in the red cluster. This network illustrates the interconnected nature of structural and individual factors in the realm of sustainable tourism, where governance and policy drive behaviours and satisfaction, ultimately contributing to the success and acceptance of sustainable tourism practices.

Figure vi depicting the Thematic Map:-



Source: Compiled by Authors (Biblioshiny)

The Thematic Map provides a visual representation of the thematic structure in sustainable tourism, organized across two dimensions: *Relevance degree (Centrality)* on the horizontal axis and *Development degree (Density)* on the vertical axis. The map divide's themes into four quadrants, each representing different thematic types: **Motor Themes**, **Basic Themes**, **Niche Themes**, and **Emerging or Declining Themes**.Bottom of Form

Motor Themes: The upper-right quadrant, typically reserved for highly central and developed themes, is empty in this map, indicating that no themes are both extensively relevant and well-developed in the current context of sustainable tourism. This absence suggests potential areas for growth and development to become influential drivers in the field.

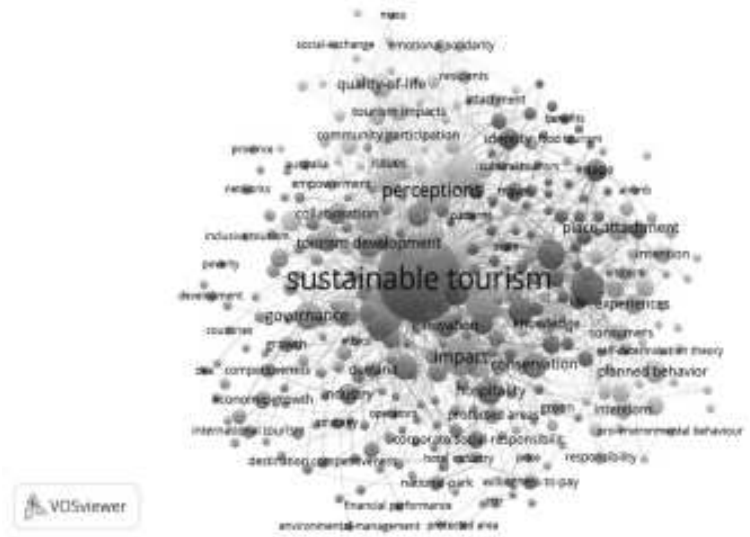
Basic Themes: Located in the lower-right quadrant, Basic Themes are characterized by high centrality but relatively lower density, meaning they are essential but less developed in detail. Here, we find terms such as "impact," "model," and "satisfaction," suggesting these concepts are fundamental to sustainable tourism. They are widely relevant but might require further exploration and development to deepen their contribution to the field.

Niche Themes: In the upper-left quadrant, Niche Themes are well-developed but less central, indicating specialized topics with limited broader relevance. This quadrant contains "economic growth," "CO2 emissions," and "institutions", suggesting these are advanced but peripheral themes within sustainable tourism, possibly important for specific research areas but not central to the primary discourse.

Emerging or Declining Themes: The lower-left quadrant, which typically holds themes with low centrality and density, indicating they are either emerging or declining, is empty. This absence suggests there are currently no prominent emerging or fading themes, perhaps implying a stable thematic structure in sustainable tourism.

Finally, at the center of the map, "sustainable tourism," "management" and "perceptions" serve as connecting themes. These terms are moderately central and developed, acting as a core foundation within the thematic landscape of sustainable tourism. They provide a balanced connection between the specialized and foundational aspects of the field, tying the niche, basic, and potentially motor themes together.

The following figure vii indicates the Co-occurrence of keywords:-



Source: Compiled by Authors (Vosviewer)

This network visualization provides a detailed look at the co-occurrence of keywords in research or discussions surrounding "sustainable tourism." The visualization, created using VOSviewer, displays keywords as nodes, with their size indicating the frequency of their appearance and their proximity and connections representing how often they co-occur in the same context.

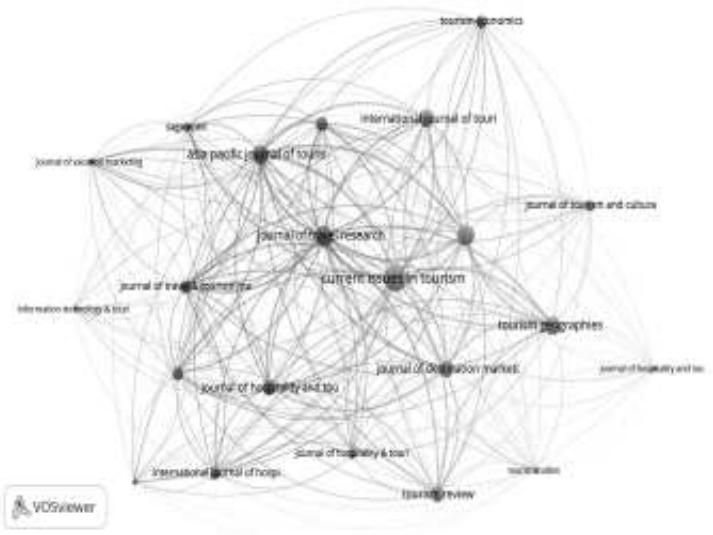
The central node, "sustainable tourism," is the largest, signifying its foundational role and frequent mention in the context of related themes. Surrounding this central theme are clusters of related keywords, each represented by different colors, which signify thematic groupings or clusters within the sustainable tourism discourse.

1. **Governance and Development Cluster (Green)**: Keywords like "governance," "economic growth," "destination competitiveness," and "growth" appear in the green cluster. This grouping focuses on the economic and administrative aspects of sustainable tourism, suggesting that topics related to policy, economic performance, and regional competitiveness are crucial components of the field.
2. **Community and Perceptions Cluster (Yellow)**: The yellow cluster includes terms like "quality of life," "community participation," "perceptions," and "social exchange," highlighting the social aspects of sustainable tourism. This cluster suggests that community involvement, social perceptions, and quality of life are important considerations, emphasizing how sustainable tourism impacts and is perceived by local communities and residents.
3. **Impact and Conservation Cluster (Red)**: The red cluster features keywords such as "impact," "conservation," "identity," and "place attachment". This grouping is associated with the environmental and emotional dimensions of sustainable tourism, suggesting a focus on the impact of tourism on conservation efforts and how individuals and communities emotionally connect with natural and cultural heritage.
4. **Behaviour and Consumer Intentions Cluster (Blue)**: The blue cluster contains keywords like "planned behaviour," "intention," "pro-environmental behaviour" and "consumers." This cluster represents research focused on the behavioural aspect of sustainable tourism, including consumer motivations, intentions to engage in sustainable practices, and the psychological factors driving eco-friendly tourism behaviours.
5. **Corporate Responsibility and Industry Cluster (Purple)**: The purple cluster includes keywords such as "corporate social responsibility," "hotel industry," "willingness to pay," and "financial performance."

This cluster relates to the business and corporate side of sustainable tourism, indicating that industry responsibility, financial considerations, and corporate strategies for sustainability are also integral parts of the discourse.

Overall, this network visualization underscores the multifaceted nature of sustainable tourism, encompassing economic, social, environmental, behavioural, and corporate dimensions. The strong interconnectivity between keywords reflects the interdisciplinary approach necessary to address the complex issues within sustainable tourism. The close connections between governance, community perceptions, conservation, and consumer behaviour suggest a need for coordinated efforts across stakeholders to achieve sustainable tourism goals.

Figure viii given below shows the Network visualization sources:-



Source: Compiled by Authors (Vosviewer)

This network visualization represents a bibliographic coupling of sources within the field of tourism studies, showcasing how different journals are connected based on shared citations. Each node represents a journal, with node size indicating the frequency of coupling (i.e., how often they are cited together with other sources). The color-coded clusters indicate groups of journals that are more closely related in terms of research focus or shared references, reflecting subfields within tourism research.

1. **Central Cluster (Green)**: Journals like *Current Issues in Tourism, Journal of Destination Marketing*, and *Tourism Geographies* are prominent in the green cluster, suggesting that they play a central role in tourism research. These journals focus on broad and diverse topics within tourism, often covering current trends, geographic considerations, and destination management, making them highly relevant and interconnected within the network.

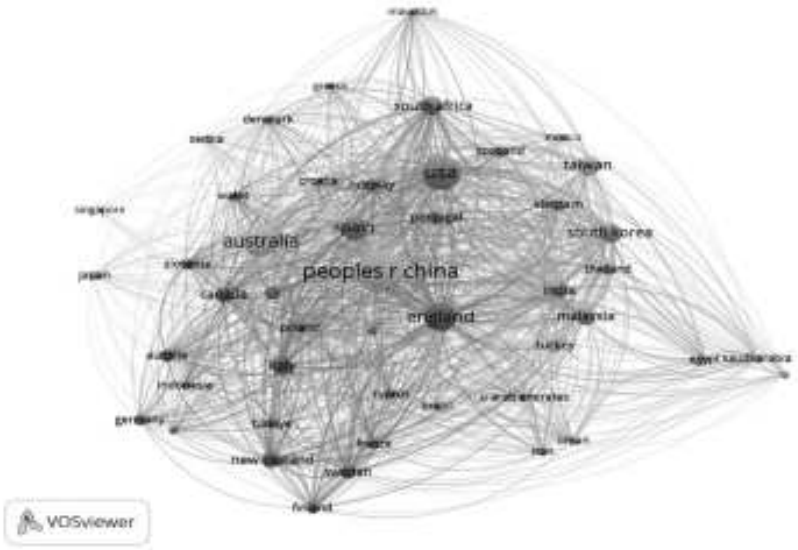
2. **Specialized Cluster (Red)**: The red cluster, including *Journal of Travel Research, Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism*, and *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, appears to focus on hospitality, tourism management, and regional tourism studies, particularly in the Asia-Pacific context. This cluster likely represents a focus on tourism marketing, management, and hospitality, making these journals closely connected due to their similar thematic interests.

3. **Economic-Focused Cluster (Blue)**: In the blue cluster, *Tourism Economics* stands out, indicating a specialization in the economic aspects of tourism. This journal's position shows that while it is less central to the general tourism discourse, it plays an important role in connecting economic research with broader tourism studies. Its specific focus on the financial and economic impacts of tourism makes it somewhat isolated but essential to understanding the economic dimension of the field.

4. **Interdisciplinary and Cultural Cluster (Light Green)**: The presence of journals such as *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* and *Tourist Studies* in a distinct cluster highlights a focus on cultural, sociological, and interdisciplinary studies within tourism. These journals explore the cultural dynamics and humanistic aspects of tourism, contributing a unique perspective to the overall field and forming connections with other areas through shared thematic interests in culture and society.

Overall, this bibliographic coupling network illustrates the thematic diversity within tourism research, with journals connected by their shared citation networks, reflecting common research interests. *Current Issues in Tourism* serves as a central hub within this network, bridging different clusters and reinforcing its role as a comprehensive source for tourism research. This visualization underscores the field's multidisciplinary nature, with areas spanning from economics to cultural studies and destination management.

Table ix below is the network visualization of bibliographic coupling among countries in tourism research:-



Source: Compiled by Authors (Vosviewer)

This network visualization represents bibliographic coupling among countries in tourism research, showcasing how different nations are connected based on shared citation patterns. Each node represents a country, with the node size reflecting the volume of publications or research output. The proximity between nodes indicates the degree of bibliographic coupling (i.e., how often these countries reference the same sources in their research), and color-coded clusters highlight regional or thematic research collaborations and focus areas.

1. **Central Cluster (Yellow/Red)**: Countries such as *China, Australia, England,* and *USA* are prominently connected, showing their central role in tourism research. These countries are key contributors to the field, with high interconnectivity, indicating that research from these regions frequently shares references, themes, and methodologies. China, in particular, is a major hub, demonstrating its strong influence and collaboration with other countries.

2. **European Focus (Red)**: European countries like *Italy, Germany, Austria,* and *Sweden* form a closely linked sub-network. This group signifies strong bibliographic coupling within Europe, likely due to shared cultural, economic, and regional tourism challenges. The collaboration within this cluster indicates a focus on topics relevant to European tourism and hospitality, possibly including issues related to heritage, sustainable tourism, and regional competitiveness.

3. **Asian Cluster (Green)**: Countries like *South Korea, India, Malaysia,* and *Turkey* are part of the green cluster, showing active research collaboration in the Asian region. The shared citation patterns among

these countries suggest a focus on emerging markets, rapid tourism growth, and socio-cultural impacts of tourism within Asia. This cluster highlights the increasing importance of Asian perspectives in tourism research, as these countries address unique regional issues.

4. **Anglophone & Diverse Focus (Blue and Purple)**: The blue and purple clusters include countries such as *South Africa*, *Taiwan*, and *USA*, which share bibliographic links with both global north and south partners. This grouping indicates a focus on diverse issues, including tourism in developing regions, international tourism flows, and unique socio-economic impacts of tourism on various demographics.

5. **Peripheral Connections**: Countries like *Mauritius*, *Saudi Arabia*, *Oman*, and *Cyprus* have fewer connections, indicating more niche or regionally focused research that is less frequently cited in mainstream tourism studies. These nations may focus on specific tourism-related challenges, such as island tourism, cultural heritage, and sustainable practices unique to their geographic or economic contexts.

Overall, this network visualization highlights a globally interconnected field of tourism research, with China, Australia, England, and the USA serving as central nodes in the research landscape. Regional clusters reveal the thematic and geographic focuses within tourism studies, with notable collaboration within Europe, Asia, and Anglophone countries, as well as emerging perspectives from smaller nations that contribute unique insights to the field.

Conclusion

This bibliometric analysis provides a comprehensive overview of the sustainable tourism research landscape, highlighting both established themes and emerging trends. The field of sustainable tourism has shown remarkable growth in recent years, with increasing academic interest in topics such as environmental impact, community involvement, and economic sustainability. The findings from this study emphasize the interdisciplinary nature of sustainable tourism, where environmental, economic, and social dimensions intersect to address the complex challenges of sustainable development. Furthermore, the network and thematic analyses reveal the significant influence of central themes such as governance, impact, and perceptions, underscoring their foundational role in guiding sustainable tourism practices.

Despite the extensive body of research, notable knowledge gaps persist within the sustainable tourism field. Key areas requiring further exploration include the socio-economic implications of sustainable tourism practices, the impacts of digitalization and emerging technologies, and the role of sustainable tourism in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Additionally, while developed regions such as Europe, North America, and parts of Asia are well-represented in the literature, there is a need for more focused research in developing regions. This geographical disparity may limit the generalizability of existing findings and highlights the importance of expanding research efforts to capture a more global perspective on sustainable tourism.

Limitations

This study is limited by the scope of data sources, as the bibliometric analysis primarily relies on the Web of Science database. While this database is comprehensive, incorporating additional databases such as Scopus, PubMed, or Lens could provide a broader and more diverse dataset, potentially yielding a more comprehensive picture of sustainable tourism research. Another limitation is the use of a single search term, “sustainable tourism,” which may exclude related but differently termed studies in the field. Expanding search terms and keywords could capture a wider range of relevant literature, providing a more nuanced understanding of the sustainable tourism research landscape.

Finally, while bibliometric methods offer valuable insights into research trends and themes, they are limited in their ability to analyze the depth and quality of the content within the identified studies. Qualitative

analysis could complement this quantitative approach, offering a richer understanding of the underlying theories, methodologies, and implications within sustainable tourism research. Future studies might could combining bibliometric analysis with content analysis to provide a more holistic perspective on the field's intellectual structure and development.

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The Unequal Path to Education: A Study on Kerala's Scheduled Tribes

Gopakumar K.
& Sashila A.

Even though Kerala has made great progress in the field of education, tribal children in the state lag behind non-tribal students, as shown by a number of indicators, including lower enrolment rates, greater dropout rates, and worse passout rates at different educational levels. Numerous programmes and initiatives have been put in place by the government to advance indigenous community education. They trail well behind the general population and have not yet benefited from these policies and programmes. The main achievement of KMD is the significant progress the state has made in health and education compared to other Indian states. However, the tribal community, which is among the most marginalized groups, has not benefitted from these advancements.

Key words : Literacy rates, educational status, dropout ratio

Introduction

Education stands as the paramount factor in the advancement of a nation. Education aids in reducing the gaps that exist between individuals, socio-economic groups, and geographical areas. It develops human resources, which has a multiplier effect on utilization of all other resources. For tribal people and other underdeveloped groups, education is an important indicator of social and economic advancement (Mitra and Singh, 2008). Kerala is regarded as an educationally forward State compared to other States in India. Even while overall educational development indicators were significantly higher than the national average, there is still a problem with the educational attainment gap between tribal groups and non-SC/ST populations. Education is a vital component in avoiding social exclusion and is a prerequisite for socioeconomic progress, thus it is imperative that we educate the weaker segments of our society, especially the tribal people.

The world's highest concentration of tribal people is found in India after Africa. Tribals constitute 8.61 percent of the total population of the country, numbering 104.28 million and cover about 15 per cent of the country's area. The tribes in India are behind the general population in their education. One of the main forces behind development, education is essential for enhancing social inclusion, quality of life, and human capital. Numerous programmes and initiatives have been put in place by the government to advance indigenous community education. They trail well behind the general population and have not yet benefited from these policies and programmes. Although the Kerala Development Model has generated a lot of discussion and criticism, its greatest benefit is that Kerala has made more progress in the areas of health and education than any other Indian state. The primary disadvantage of the approach, though, is that the tribal community, which is at the bottom of society, is unable to benefit from this accomplishment. Over 90 per cent of tribal people experience serious disparities in their quality of life, educational attainment, good health care and access to better employment opportunities compared to mainstream society. Inequality prevails among the tribal groups in Kerala. However, for many years, improving education has been a significant concern for Kerala's Scheduled Tribe people. Less enrolment in every stage of education, high dropout ratio and low rate of passout percentage are serious issues faced by these people. So in this back ground, the present study aims to analyse the disparities in attaining educational status among scheduled tribes in Kerala.

Objective of the Study

The study aims to analyse the disparities in educational attainment among Scheduled Tribes in Kerala by identifying the factors contributing to these inequalities and assessing their impact on socio-economic mobility. It seeks to explore enrolment patterns, dropout rates, literacy levels, and access to higher education, highlighting structural and socio-economic barriers that hinder educational progress within tribal communities.

Methodology

This study employs a descriptive and analytical approach, utilizing secondary data to quantify the extent of educational disparities faced by Scheduled Tribe (ST) students in Kerala and to identify the underlying factors contributing to these disparities. Data sources include Census reports of Government of India, Economic Reviews published by Government of Kerala, Annual Reports from the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, the Report on the Socio-Economic Status of Scheduled Tribes in Kerala by the Scheduled Tribe Development Department, Government of Kerala, along with various government publications and academic journals.

Analysis and Discussion

Demographic features

As of 2011, 36 Scheduled Tribe communities living in Kerala made up 1.45 per cent of the state's total population (Haseena, 2016). Five of these tribes are classified as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) due to their pre-agricultural technology and low literacy rates (Seetha Kakkoth, 2005). Fertility, death, and non-tribal influences are some of the elements that affect these societies' demographic profiles (Seetha Kakkoth, 2004). Despite government initiatives to empower the indigenous tribes in Kerala, there is a notable difference in socioeconomic statistics amongst them (Rajasenan. et al., 2013).Table 1.1 depicts, In Kerala, the ST population is almost 4.85 lakhs, with 50.86 per cent female and 49.14 per cent male (sex ratio: 1035). The decadal growth rate of the ST population in Kerala is 33.1 per cent. The literacy rate of the tribal population in India is 59 per cent, whereas Kerala's literacy rate is significantly higher at 79 per cent, whereas in both India and Kerala, males (68.5 per cent and 80.76 per cent, respectively) have higher literacy rates than women (49.35 per cent and 71.1 per cent, respectively), indicating high gender disparity.

Table 1.1: Demographic Profile of ST population in Kerala

Indicators	Kerala
Total Population	484839
Male Population	2,38,203 (49.14 Per cent)
Female Population	2,46,636 (50.86)
Decadal Growth (Per cent)	33.1
Child Population to the total Population	11.2
Sex Ratio	1035
Literacy Rate (Per cent)	75.81
Literacy – Female (Per cent)	71.1
Literacy – Male (Per cent)	80.76
Literacy Gap (Per cent)	18.2
Literacy gap – Female (Per cent)	15.3
Literacy gap – Male (Per cent)	15.2
Total Graduate	10675 (2.20)

Graduate degree other than technical degree (Per cent)	62.49
Post Graduate degree other than technical degree (Per cent)	17.8
Engineering and technology	8.51
Medicine	4.14
Agriculture and Dairying	0.36
Veterinary	0.24
Others	0.06

Source: Census, 2011

District wise population among STs in Kerala

Kerala shows notable regional differences in population density and demographic distribution throughout its districts, according to the Census of India (2011). The districts of Wayanad, Idukki, Kasaragod, and Palakkad are home to the majority of the population (Haseena, 2016). The ST communities are highly represented in some districts of Kerala, especially in the hilly areas of Wayanad, Kasaragod, and Kannur, as the table illustrates. The significant cultural and historical ties that these groups have with the Western Ghats woods are reflected in this distribution. ST communities in Kerala have flourished in these rich habitats for millennia, creating distinctive lifestyles that are closely linked to the natural world. Their ancient methods of subsistence farming, hunting, gathering forest products, and having a thorough knowledge of medicinal plants all demonstrate their close bond with the forests. These communities were probably able to maintain their cultural history and customs because of the hills' relative seclusion and wealth of resources.

Table 1.2: District wise Population among ST in Kerala

Sl	Districts	Total Population	Percent of STs	Percentage to total population
1	Thiruvananthapuram	26759	5.52	0.81
2	Kollam	10761	2.22	0.41
3	Pathanamthitta	8108	1.67	0.68
4	Alapuzha	6527	1.36	0.31
5	Kottayam	21972	4.53	1.11
6	Idukki	55815	11.51	5.04
7	Ernakulam	16559	3.42	0.50
8	Thrissur	9430	1.94	0.30
9	Palakkad	48972	10.10	1.74
10	Malappuram	22990	4.74	0.56
11	Kozhikkode	15228	3.14	0.49
12	Wayanad	151443	31.24	18.55
13	Kannur	41371	8.53	1.64
14	Kasaragod	48857	10.08	3.75
	Total	484839	100	1.45

Source: Census 2011

In Kerala, the Scheduled Tribe (ST) population is concentrated in particular districts, which reflect historical patterns of settlement and cultural ties. The largest percentage of ST population (31.24 Per cent) is found in Wayanad district, which is tucked away in the Western Ghats mountains. For millennia, tribal communities have sought refuge in this region's dense forests, which provide a rich source of resources and

a space to develop distinctive cultural practices. Other districts along the Western Ghats, Kasaragod and Kannur, also have sizable ST populations (10.08 Per cent and 8.53 Per cent respectively), due to comparable geographical and historical factors. With a long history as a commercial hub and a well-developed urban character, the Thrissur district in central Kerala has the lowest percentage of ST people (0.30 Per cent). Only 1.45 Per cent of Kerala's population is from ST communities overall.

Literacy rates

Despite Kerala's high overall literacy rate, scheduled tribes in the state face significant educational challenges. When compared to the general population, Kerala's scheduled tribes continue to have poor literacy rates (Rajan & Sunitha, 2020). Table 1.3 shows the literacy rate among STs in Kerala has seen a consistent increase over the years, rising from 17.26 Per cent in 1961 to 75.81 Per cent in 2011. This reflects significant progress in educational access and literacy initiatives targeted at tribal communities. Despite progress, a notable literacy gap of 18.10 Per cent persisted in 2011, indicating that STs still lag behind the general population in literacy. This suggests the need for sustained and tailored educational efforts to address the unique socio-economic barriers faced by ST communities, such as geographic isolation and limited access to quality education facilities. The fluctuating literacy gap implies that broader socio-economic factors, including employment, income, and access to educational infrastructure, play a critical role in educational attainment among STs.

Table 1.3: Literacy rate of ST in Kerala

Year	General	ST	Gap
1961	55.08	17.26	37.82
1971	69.75	25.72	44.03
1981	78.85	31.79	47.06
1991	89.81	57.22	32.59
2001	90.92	64.35	26.57
2011	93.91	75.81	18.10

Source: Census Reports (1961-2011)

Gender disparity in literacy rates

The literacy rate among the ST population was notably lower at 75.81 Per cent, with a male literacy rate of 80.76 Per cent and a female literacy rate of 71.08 Per cent. The gender gap in literacy within the ST population is around 9.68 Per cent, more than double that of the general population. While male literacy among STs (80.76 Per cent) is closer to the general male literacy rate (96.02 Per cent), female literacy (71.08Per cent) is substantially lower than the general female literacy rate (91.98 Per cent).

Table 1.4: Gender wise literacy among ST in 2011 census

Category	Total	Male	Female
General	93.91	96.02	91.98
ST	75.81	80.76	71.08

Census, 2011

This suggests that women within ST communities face more barriers in accessing education compared to their male counterparts and to women in the general population. The larger gender gap in literacy among STs (9.68 Per cent) compared to the general population (4 Per cent) highlights on going gender inequality within tribal communities. This could be due to socio-cultural factors, early marriage, economic challenges,

or limited access to educational infrastructure for girls in ST communities. Although ST male literacy is lower than the general male literacy rate, the smaller gap suggests some progress has been made for males within these communities (Mitra & Singh, 2008). However, comprehensive strategies are required to ensure this progress to be inclusive and beneficial to women equally. The data call for inclusive educational policies that not only improve general literacy among STs but also actively address gender disparities. Interventions like scholarships for girls, community awareness programmes on the importance of female education and improved school accessibility could make a significant difference.

District wise disparities in literacy rates in Kerala

The district-wise literacy rates among Scheduled Tribes (ST) in Kerala reveal substantial variations, indicating differences in educational access and socio-economic factors affecting tribal communities across the state. Kottayam leads with a literacy rate of 94.31 Per cent, followed by Thiruvananthapuram at 89.85 Per cent and Pathanamthitta at 88.50 Per cent. The high rates in these regions may also reflect urban influence, better infrastructure, and more accessible government schemes that reach the ST population effectively.

Table 1.5 : Literacy rate among tribes in Kerala

SI.No.	District	Literacy rate
1	Thiruvananthapuram	89.85
2	Kollam	81.87
3	Patahnamthitta	88.50
4	Alapuzha	86.57
5	Kottayam	94.31
6	Idukki	82.70
7	Ernakulam	80.19
8	Thrissur	67.88
9	Palakkad	57.63
10	Malappuram	66.51
11	kozhikode	82.40
12	Wayanad	71.36
13	Kannur	77.26
14	Kasargod	73.14
	Total	74.44

Source: Scheduled Tribe Development Department, 2013

Districts like Idukki (82.70 Per cent), Kozhikode (82.40 Per cent), Kollam (81.87 Per cent), and Ernakulam (80.19 Per cent) show moderate literacy levels, slightly above or around the state average. These districts are likely benefiting from a combination of accessible government schools, local outreach programmes, and some level of economic activity that supports educational engagement among ST communities. Palakkad has the lowest literacy rate at 57.63 Per cent, followed by Malappuram at 66.51 Per cent and Thrissur at 67.88 Per cent.The lower literacy rates in these districts indicate significant barriers to education for ST communities, such as socioeconomic constraints, limited school infrastructure, and possible geographic isolation. These regions may require targeted educational programmes, improved infrastructure, and additional support services, such as transportation and financial aid for ST families. Other districts, such

as Wayanad (71.36 Per cent) and Kasaragod (73.14 Per cent), have literacy rates below the state average of 74.44 Per cent. Wayanad and Kasaragod, known for having substantial tribal populations, reflect the unique challenges faced by tribal communities in these areas, including remoteness and lack of access to consistent educational facilities. The overall state average literacy rate for STs stands at 74.44 Per cent, which is significantly lower than the general literacy rate in Kerala (around 94 Per cent for the total population).

Community wise literacy rates

Scheduled tribes in Kerala continue to have lower levels of literacy and education than the general population, despite the state's high level of human development (Rajan & Sunitha, 2020). When we go through the community wise anlaysis we can see there exist disparities in literacy rates among all the communities in Kerala. The total literacy rate among the listed communities stands at 74.44 Per cent, with male literacy at 78.90 Per cent and female literacy at 70.15 Per cent.There is a consistent gender gap, with male literacy rates being higher than female literacy rates across almost all communities. This gap points to cultural or socio-economic factors that may limit educational access for women within tribal communities. Mala Arayan (Malayarayar) has the highest literacy rate (96.79 Per cent) with minimal gender disparity (97.42 Per cent for males and 96.20 Per cent for females). Other communities with high literacy rates include Kanikkaran (Kanikkar) (90.06 Per cent), Kurumar, Mullakurumar (86.47 Per cent, and Uraly (89.16 Per cent). The Cholanaickan community has the lowest overall literacy rate at 39.63 Per cent, and an unusual trend of higher female literacy (42.55 Per cent) than male literacy (36.90 Per cent).

Table1.6 : Community wise literacy rate

Sl.No.	Communities	Literacy Rate	Male Literacy	Female Literacy
1	Adiyan	66.26	72.27	60.98
2	Aranadan	49.28	56.04	44.35
3	Eravalan	50.38	54.40	46.36
4	Hill Pulaya	65.55	70.14	61.26
5	Irular, Irulan	60.01	65.18	55.00
6	Wayanad Kadar	86.46	88.96	84.39
7	Kanikkaran(kanikkar)	90.06	91.95	88.59
8	Kudiya, Melkudi	79.69	85.13	74.04
9	Kurichiyan	83.82	89.09	78.51
10	Kurumar,Mullakurumar	86.47	92.72	80.30
11	Maha Malasar	43.55	48.48	37.93
12	Mala Arayan, Malayarayar	96.79	97.42	96.20
13	Malai Pandaram	51.73	53.88	52.69
14	Mala Vedan	86.32	88.78	84.05
15	Malasar	50.4	53.38	47.68
16	Malayan	63.23	68.14	59.09
17	Mannan	72.66	78.89	66.76
18	Muthuvan	68.98	75.18	62.84
19	Mudugar	64.15	69.57	59.20
20	Palleyan,Palliyan,Palliyar,Paliyan	78.28	84.55	72.27
21	Paniyan	65.19	70.83	59.96

22	Ulladan	88.45	91.07	86.24
23	Uraly	89.16	91.33	86.98
24	Mala Vettuvan	67.47	71.07	64.05
25	Thachanadan	80.73	84.64	77.13
26	Mavilan	77.74	83.33	72.60
27	Karimpalan	86.15	89.85	82.71
28	Vetta Kuruman	67.56	73.81	61.65
29	Mala Panicker	83.04	84.80	81.49
	Sub Total	75.25	79.89	70.98
	PVTG			
30	Kadar	58.74	62.20	56.09
31	Kattunayakan	59.37	62.35	56.54
32	Koraga	78.35	81.63	75.23
33	Kurumbar	56.36	63.85	48.66
34	Cholanaickan	39.63	36.90	42.55
	Sub Total	60.02	63.27	56.93
	Total	74.44	78.90	70.15

Source: Scheduled tribe Development Department, 2013

The average literacy rate among PVTGs is lower than the overall average, at 60.02 Per cent, with male literacy at 63.27 Per cent and female literacy at 56.93 Per cent. This indicates that PVTGs face additional barriers to education compared to other tribal communities. Other communities with relatively low literacy rates include Maha Malasar (43.55 Per cent) and Aranadan (49.28 Per cent). The literacy gap between males and females is evident in nearly all communities, with certain communities like Kurumbar showing significant disparity (male literacy at 63.85 Per cent and female literacy at 48.66 Per cent). The data reveals a wide range of literacy rates among tribal communities, reflecting disparities in educational access and gender equality. Higher literacy rates among certain communities may indicate better access to resources, while the lower rates in PVTGs underscore the need for targeted educational interventions.

Proportion of ST students in schools

Education is essential for developing human resources, but the choice of educational institutions is equally important, as the quality and outcomes of education largely depend on this choice. Factors influencing school choice for tribal children include household ethnic background, economic status, and family head characteristics (Krishna Nair & Mishra, 2024).From the table 1. 7, high representation suggests that government schools are a key provider of education for ST communities, likely due to free or low-cost tuition, government scholarships, and location accessibility in areas where many ST communities reside.

Table 1.7 : Proportion of ST students in Schools

Management	ST
Government	3.42
Govt. Aided	1.22
Private Un Aided	0.46
State average	1.87

Source: Economic Review, 2023

Government schools have the highest proportion of ST students at 3.42 Per cent, which is significantly above the state average of 1.87 Per cent. Government schools often offer incentives like midday meals and uniforms, making them a more feasible option for families from lower-income backgrounds, which is common in ST communities. Government-aided schools have a much lower proportion of ST students at 1.22 percent, below the state average. The minimal presence of ST students in private schools could be due to higher tuition fees and associated costs that are unaffordable for most ST families. Additionally, private unaided schools are often located in urban or semi-urban areas, making them less accessible for ST students living in remote locations. Efforts to improve ST enrollment in diverse educational institutions could help address inequality and support the educational and socioeconomic upliftment of ST communities.

Pass percentage of ST students in higher secondary examination

Table 1.8: Pass percentage of ST students in higher secondary examination

Year	Students appeared	Students Passed	Pass percentage
2018-2019	5634	3701	65.69
2019-2020	5382	3423	63.60
2020-2021	5378	3532	65.67
2021-2022	5621	3002	53.41
2022-2023	5485	3214	58.60

Source: Economic Review, 2023

The pass percentage among ST students has fluctuated significantly over these years, showing a general decline from 2018-2019 to 2021-2022, followed by a slight increase in 2022-2023. This variability suggests inconsistencies in educational support or other factors affecting ST student performance. The highest pass percentage was in the 2018-2019 academic year, with 65.69 per cent.

The lowest pass percentage was recorded in 2021-2022 at 53.41 percent. This sharp drop may reflect the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, which led to widespread disruptions in schooling and learning loss for marginalized groups, including ST students. In 2022-2023, the pass percentage rose to 58.60 per cent, indicating a partial recovery from the previous year's drop. This increase may be due to targeted post-pandemic educational interventions, though the pass percentage has yet to return to pre-pandemic levels. From 2018-2019 to 2020-2021, pass rates remained relatively stable around 63-65\percent. This period likely reflects consistent academic support and stable conditions, compared to the drop seen during and immediately after the pandemic. The data suggests that ST student performance in higher secondary examinations has been affected by external factors, especially the pandemic, which led to a marked decline in the pass rate. While there has been improvement in the most recent academic year (2022-2023), the pass percentage has not yet returned to pre-pandemic levels. Continued support and targeted interventions - such as academic counselling, supplementary tutoring, and bridging courses - are essential to help ST students regain academic ground and improve their success rates in future exams.

Educational status at graduate and post graduate levels

Higher education plays a crucial role in empowering Scheduled Tribes (STs) in India, improving their standard of living and critical thinking skills (R.S & B. Jayarama Bhat, 2023). While the gross enrollment ratio of STs in higher education has increased over time, it remains significantly lower than that of general categories (R.S & B. Jayarama Bhat, 2023). The educational status of Scheduled Tribe (ST) communities in Kerala at graduate and postgraduate levels highlights substantial disparities in higher education attainment. Mala Arayan (Malayarayar) stands out with a significantly high percentage of graduate and postgraduate individuals at 61.44 Per cent, vastly exceeding all other ST communities.This exceptional rate suggests that the Mala Arayan community has greater access to resources, educational opportunities, or supportive infrastructure that facilitates higher education, setting it apart from most other ST groups. Kurumar

(Mullakurumar) and Ulladan have relatively higher rates of graduates and postgraduates at 6.45 Per cent and 6.33 Per cent, respectively. Kanikkaran (Kanikkar) (4.62 Per cent) and Irular (Irulan) (3.28 Per cent) also show moderate levels of higher educational attainment, although still far behind Mala Arayan. A majority of ST communities, such as Eravalan (0.12 Per cent), Malai Pandaram (0.12 Per cent), Malasar (0.24 Per cent), and Palleyan/Palliyan (0.36 Per cent), show extremely low percentages of graduates and postgraduates. Several of these communities have rates below 1 Per cent, highlighting significant barriers to accessing higher education. This could be due to various factors such as geographic isolation, economic hardship, lack of higher education facilities in proximity, or socio-cultural challenges. The educational status among PVTGs is particularly low, with Kattunayakan and Kurumbar having graduate and postgraduate attainment of only 0.61 Per cent and 0.12 Per cent, respectively. PVTGs typically face more pronounced socioeconomic challenges and geographic isolation, which limit their access to higher education even further.

Table 1.9 : Educational status at graduate and post graduate levels

Sl. No	Communities	Percentage
1	Adiyan	0.36
2	Eravalan	0.12
3	Irular, Irulan	3.28
4	Kanikkaran (kanikkar)	4.62
5	Kurichiyan	3.16
6	Kurumar, Mullakurumar	6.45
7	Mala Arayan, Malayarayar	61.44
8	Malai Pandaram	0.12
9	Mala Vedan	1.46
10	Malasar	0.24
11	Malayan	0.12
12	Mannan	1.58
13	Muthuvan	0.85
14	Mudugar	0.12
45	Palleyan, Palliyan, Palliyar, Paliyan	0.36
16	Ulladan	6.33
17	Uraly	2.55
18	Mavilan	2.68
19	Karimpalan	1.82
20	Vetta Kuruman	0.12
21	Mala Panicker	0.61
	Sub Total	98.39
	PVTG	
22	Kattunayakan	0.61
23	Kurumbar	0.12
	Sub Total	0.73
	Total	100

Source: Scheduled tribe Development Department, 2013

Professionl education (Engineering)

Mala Arayan (Malayarayar) stands out with a remarkably high percentage of engineering students at 54.74 Per cent, which is substantially higher than all other communities. A number of communities, including Kurumar (Mullakurumar), Malayan, Mannan, Uraly, and Kurumbar, each show a representation of only 2.11 Per cent. Other groups, like Karimpalan and Kattunayakan (a PVTG), have even lower representation at 1.05 Per cent. Among the PVTGs, Kattunayakan and Kurumbar communities have minimal representation in engineering education at 1.05 Per cent and 2.11 percent, respectively. This aligns with patterns observed in other educational data, where PVTGs face the greatest challenges in accessing advanced educational opportunities.

Professionl education(Medical)

The data on professional education in the medical field among Scheduled Tribe (ST) communities in Kerala reveals significant disparities in access and participation across different communities. Mala Arayan (Malayarayar) stands out with a dominant 73.85 Per cent representation in medical education, far exceeding all other ST communities (STDD, 2013). This high percentage suggests that the Mala Arayan community has better access to medical education, likely due to socio-economic factors, higher levels of education, or community-specific support and incentives to pursue professional education in medicine. Adiyan (1.54 Per cent), Malayan (1.54Per cent), and Mala Vedan (3.08 Per cent) have much lower representation in medical education.

Dropout rate among scheduled tribes in Kerala

Kerala's scheduled tribes have a high dropout rate, particularly in the border regions (Manoj et al., 2019). Despite government initiatives and laws, Kerala's scheduled tribes continue to have a high dropout rate (M Asha 2020). The dropout rate among Scheduled Tribe (ST) students in Kerala remains a significant concern, especially in regions like Wayanad and Attappady. Over the past decade, about 19,000 ST students out of 139,916 total dropouts were from tribal communities. In Wayanad, the dropout rate among tribal students has been alarmingly high, often surpassing 60 Per cent of the total dropouts in the region (The new Indian Express, 2022).

Table 1.10: Dropout ratio among ST students in Kerala (2022-23 Provisional)

Nature of School	Dropout ratio
Govt. School	0.53
Private Aided	0.47
Private Un- Aided	0.00
Total ST	0.50

Source: Economic Review, 2023

The dropout ratio is marginally higher in government schools compared to private aided schools. This suggests that government-run institutions might face more challenges in retaining students, particularly from disadvantaged communities like Scheduled Tribes. Factors such as larger class sizes, resource constraints, and sometimes less tailored support for tribal students could contribute to this disparity (The new Indian Express, 2022). The dropout rate of 0.00 Per cent in private unaided schools is striking and suggests that these schools may be highly effective at retaining ST students. However, this could also be influenced by the nature of private unaided schools, which are fewer in number and may cater to more affluent or specific student demographics, making them less representative of the general tribal population (Haseena, 2014).

Table 1.11: District wise dropout ratio among students in Kerala- 2023-24

District	Enrolment	Dropout rate
Thiruvananthapuram	2550	0.00
Kollam	914	0.44
Pathanamthitta	919	0.87
Alappuzha	459	0.00
Kottayam	2002	0.75
Idukki	6375	0.69
Ernakulam	1510	1.39
Thrissur	1256	0.56
Palakkad	7544	0.41
Malappuram	2956	0.27
Kozhikode	1608	0.31
Wayanad	25393	1.08
Kannur	5997	0.62
Kasargod	10598	0.12
State Average	70081	0.67

Economic Review, 2024, Govt.of Kerala

Table presents information on the enrolment and dropout rates of Scheduled Tribe (ST) students across various districts in Kerala. The data provided include the percentage of ST students and total students enrolled, as well as dropout rates, for each district. Thiruvananthapuram and Alappuzha recorded a 0.00 Per Cent dropout rate, while Kasaragod (0.12 Per Cent) and Malappuram (0.27 Per Cent) also exhibited significantly low rates. In contrast, Ernakulam (1.39 Per Cent) had the highest dropout rate, followed by Wayanad (1.08 Per Cent), Pathanamthitta (0.87 Per Cent), and Kottayam (0.75 Per Cent). Districts like Idukki (0.69 Per Cent), Thrissur (0.56 Per Cent), Kannur (0.62 Per Cent), and Palakkad (0.41 Per Cent) reflected moderate dropout percentages. The statewide average dropout rate of 0.67 Per Cent suggests Kerala's strong educational system, though disparities exist. Higher dropout rates in Wayanad and Idukki, which have significant tribal populations, indicate possible socio-economic challenges affecting education, while urbanized districts such as Thiruvananthapuram and Alappuzha report better retention. These variations highlight the need for targeted interventions in high-dropout districts, particularly Ernakulam, Wayanad, and Idukki, through scholarships, transportation support, and community engagement. Strengthening school infrastructure, hostel facilities, and economic support for tribal students is crucial, and replicating best practices from districts with minimal dropouts can further enhance student retention across the state.

A community-wise analysis of dropout rates among Scheduled Tribe students in Kerala reveals that the Paniya community has the highest dropout rate at 30.84 Per cent**.** Among the 10 tribal communities, including Paniyan, Kurichian, Mavilan, Malavettuvan, Irular, and Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs), a total of 22,429 students have dropped out, which constitutes 67.18Per cent of the total dropouts in the state (STDD, 2013). This underscores the disproportionate impact of educational attrition on these communities, highlighting the urgent need for targeted interventions to address the underlying causes and reduce the dropout rates among these marginalized groups.

Conclusion

Educational disparities among Scheduled Tribes (STs) in Kerala highlight significant inequalities in access

to quality education, which persists despite the state's overall strong educational infrastructure. While Kerala has made substantial progress in education, ST communities continue to face considerable challenges that hinder their academic and professional advancement. Geographical isolation, poverty, limited access to infrastructure, and cultural barriers exacerbate their inability to access higher and professional education. Many of these communities struggle to attend schools and colleges in distant urban centers, and financial constraints often prevent them from continuing education beyond primary and secondary levels. To address these disparities, targeted interventions are crucial. Expanding financial aid, increasing scholarships, improving educational infrastructure, and implementing community-specific programmes can help bridge the gap. Additionally, fostering an inclusive educational system that offers academic support, career counselling, and preparatory programmes will enhance opportunities for ST students in higher education. Reduction of these disparities requires a concerted effort from the government, educational institutions and civil society to ensure that all ST communities have equal access to quality education, paving the way for their greater social and economic integration.

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Introducing New Book

Trajectory of Kerala's Development: C. Achutha Menon: Political Biography

Pradeep Kumar. K.G., ***Keralavikasanathinte Nalvazhikal (Mal),***
C.Achutha Menon: Rashtriya Jeevacharithram
(Trajectory of Kerala's Development : C.Achutha Menon: Politicaal Biography),
Sujilee Publications Kollam, 177 Pages , Rs. 280

N.Shanmughom Pillai

This book is mainly on C.Achutha Menon, his eventful political life and his developmental initiatives. But it also an authentic account of the Communist Party of India (CPI) through its memorable stages including the historic split of 1964 and thereafter. The book stands apart as the author has his political leanings towards CPI(M) which has tenaciously tried to put Achutha Menon and his seminal contributions to governance and development of Kerala in the dark. Thus the book turns out to be a dispassionate study on Achutha Menon and his political life. The book spans across 22 chapters.

C.Achutha Menon has played a pivotal role in the transformation of Kerala by bringing in land reforms and other institutions in health and education. As Finance Minister and later as Chief Minister he laid the foundations of modern Kerala. But it is painful that the infrastructure laid by Menon could not be carried forward by the successive governments. Even though metro rail and new airports could be setup the subsequent governments have done very little towards the development of industry and agriculture.

Coming as he did from a middle class family his childhood, school and college days were days of penury and indigence. He could not afford more than one shirt and dhoti a year, not to speak of an umbrella. The only comfort which his family could celebrate was his career as a bright student securing gold medals in his school days as well as in LLB Exam.

The author observes that CPI(M) ignored Achutha Menon's contributions in the field of governance and development as he could successfully implement many pro people programmes during his tenure. Pioneering legislations were enacted by his government. As a consequence the CPI(M) remained in opposition for long 7 years. It is to be noted that CPI(M) could never come to power in Kerala since 1967 except with the support of CPI.

C.Achutha Menon had proved that the united front is not an arrangement for surrendering the principles and individuality of constituent parties, but is an association of political formation aimed at development based on an agreed common minimum programme.

The CPI was formed on 26th December 1925; but the first party congress could be held only in 1943 (May-June) at Bombay as the party was under ban till 1942 when only it was lifted. The Cochin state committee of the party under the stewardship of Menon had raised the demand for united Kerala from 1945 onwards. On conclusion of World War II in 1945 there was a naval revolt at Bombay and historic Punnapra Vayalar struggle on 24th August 1946. Peasant agitations broke out at Kavumbai and Karivelloor.

The book also deals with confusion in the CPI on Indian Independence, the B.T.Ranative thesis,

agitations against Nehru Government, the Palium agitation (December 1947) for freedom of path way and Pariyaram peasant struggle against forced eviction.

The second party congress at Culcutta in 1948 accepted the Ranadive thesis, which advocated overthrow of Nehru government through violent struggles. According to Achutha Menon the decision could take the party 50 years backwards. In his writings he never quoted Marx or Lenin, so he had not been rated as a party ideologue. When he was in underground a prize of Rs 500/- was fixed for him as reward while gold rate at that time was Rs.75/- per sovereign. The States of Kochi and Travancore were integrated on 1st July 1949. As he was in underground he could not swear in as Municipal Councillor; also he could come to know of the demise of his father only after one month.

The violent agitations and police atrocity estranged people from the party. Party membership was reduced to 12,000 at the all India level. At that stage C.Rajeswara Rao and others argued for a peaceful line abandoning armed struggle on Chinese and Telangana model. The party Central Committee in 1950 removed Ranadive and made Rajeswara Rao the general secretary.

In 1954 KSRTC workers started a struggle for wage revision etc under the leadership of T.V.Thomas and K.V.Surendranath. As the Government of Pattom Thanu Pillai did not call the leaders for a negotiation, party took over the struggle which was followed by violence and police repression. The Punnapra Vayalar and Transport struggles and the brutal suppression by the police had triggered a massive wave of sympathy for the party. This is said to be the political catalyst for the formation of the first Communist Ministry through ballot paper in 1957.

During and after World War II food shortage was acute. In order to address the food crisis, CPI made effective interventions. In 1955 Achutha Menon published his 'Kissan Hand Book' which stands out as a unique and unparalleled in-depth study on farming and peasants even after 70 years. On 1st November 1956 United Kerala was formed.

Meanwhile the 20th Soviet Party Congress disowned Joseph Stalin and his policies and advocated a new line suitable to each country. K.Damodaran and C.H Kanaran advanced the line of National Democracy aligning with patriotic Congress men. In June 1956 the Kerala party approved a document 'Agenda for building new Kerala' drafted by Achutha Menon who was also elected as the first state secretary. In September 1956, he prepared another comprehensive document titled 'Kerala State - Issues and Prospects' covering natural resources, forest produce, hydel projects, fish wealth, resource mobilisation, taxes and financial sources etc. It was also a critic of the first and second Five Year Plans for Kerala. No political party had ever prepared such a document. The only exception was a study conducted by Shastra Sahithya Parishad on 'Kerala's wealth' several years later. Also EMS conducted a Kerala Study Congress which ended up as a seminar which was never followed up.

The Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956 had sparked off sharp protest worldwide. This prompted Achutha Menon to step down. But he was turned back from the attempt.

In the 1957 general election to Kerala Assembly the party together with 18 independents won 65 seats as against the magic number of 64. In the Lok Sabha election also that followed out of 18 seats the party secured 9 seats and CPI independent 1 seat while the Congress secured 6 seats and the League and PSP secured 1 each. The new ministry came to power on 6th April 1957. The government started several revolutionary legislations which included Agrarian Relations Bill and the Education Bill. But these two bills sparked off violent agitations from the vested interests led by the Congress, the church, the mosque, the NSS and the SNDP. The violent agitations called *Vimochanasamaram* culminated in the dismissal of the State Government on 31st July 1959.

The unfinished work of the 1957 ministry was fulfilled by Achutha Menon himself as Chief Minister of Kerala during 1969 to 1977. During his tenure he laid the foundation of modern Kerala introducing highschools and primary health centres in all panchayats and founding 53 innovative institutions in education, health, agriculture, industry, social welfare, research, science and technology etc. It was for Achutha Menon to revise the Mullaperiyar agreement on 29th May 1970 with retrospective effect from 1954 at the instance of the Supreme Court. There also he made his mark by adding conditions in favour of Kerala like a lease rent of Rs.30 per acre of the land of the dam and around, compensation @ Rs. 12 per KW for electricity generated from the Mullaperiyar water and the right to fishing in the dam. The agreement was to be revised once in 30 years.

Whether in power or not he lived among the people leading a simple life. The author concludes that C.Achutha Menon stands out as the most efficient Chief Minister which Kerala has seen to this day. But he also remains an unsung hero. The author is critical of the efforts of the CPI(M) to ignore the contributions of the legendary leader. The book though mainly on Achutha Menon, occasionally makes a little peep into the developments in Soviet Communist Party and all India Communist Party. The book is worth reading.

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Achievement of Sustainable Development Goals in India

Jerry Alwin

This article presents the targets of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and their achievements in India based on the UN evaluation of SDGs. The overall performance of 17 SDGs are classified into four viz, decreasing, stagnating, moderately improving, and maintaining achievement. Among 17 SDGs, the items viz. no poverty; and responsible consumption and production are evaluated as maintaining achievement. In nine items viz. good health and well-being; quality of education; gender equality; clean water and sanitation; affordable and clean energy; decent work and economic growth; industry, innovation, and infrastructure; life below water; and partnership for the goals, the overall performance is rated as moderately improving. In four items viz. zero hunger; sustainable cities and communities; climate action; and peace, justice and strong institutions, the achievement is rated as stagnating. In the other two items viz. reduced inequalities; and life on land, the achievement is evaluated as decreasing. Based on overall performance, India's overall score of SDGs is 63.4. India is ranked 112th among 166 countries in the world regarding achieving SDGs.

Keywords: SDGs, quality education, gender equality, climate action

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were adopted by the United Nations in 2015 as a universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure that by 2030 all people enjoy peace and prosperity. The 17 SDGs are integrated, they recognize that action in one area will affect outcomes in others, and that development must balance social, economic and environmental sustainability. This development framework addresses a variety of core issues such as environmental sustainability, poverty and economic distress, gender equalities, human rights, effective governance based on rule of law etc. Though numerous development strategies were put forward by individual scholars, United Nations agencies and private organisations, this is the most comprehensive one which aims to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all people in the world. Almost all countries in the world have committed to achieve SDG goals. This article presents the 17 SDGs targets and their achievements in India.

Data and Method of Evaluations of SDGs

Using the SDG indicators, UN has evaluated development achievements of India and other countries in its sustainable development report 2023. The evaluation of SDGs of India is based on 17 SDGs having about 98 indicators. The procedure for calculating the SDG Index comprises three steps: (i) establish performance thresholds and censor extreme values from the distribution of each indicator; (ii) rescale the data to ensure comparability across indicators (normalization); (iii) aggregate the indicators within and across SDGs.

Four classification of SDG trends are the following. (1) Decreasing: Decreasing score, i.e. country moves in the wrong direction. (2) Stagnating: Score remains stagnant or increases at a rate below 50% of the growth rate needed to achieve the SDG by 2030. Also denotes scores that currently exceed the target but have decreased since 2015. (3) Moderately improving: Score increases at a rate above 50% of the required growth rate but below the rate needed to achieve the SDG by 2030. (4) On track or Maintaining SDG achievement: Score increases at the rate needed to achieve the SDG by 2030 or performance has already exceeded SDG achievement threshold.

Performance of SDGs of India, 2023

Here we attempt a review of the overall performance of SDGs of India during the year 2023 based on available data. The performance of SDGs is assessed by Sustainable Development Solutions Network, a global initiative for the United Nations. Among the 17 SDGs only in two items viz. no poverty and responsible consumption and production, the country recorded maintaining achievement (MA) (Table 1). Out of the 17 SDGs India recorded moderately improving (MI) performance in 9 items. In four items such as zero hunger; sustainable cities and communities; climate action and peace, justice and strong institutions, the achievement is rated as stagnating (S). In other two items viz. reduced inequalities; and life on land, the achievement is in decreasing score (D). Based on overall performance, India's overall score of SDGs is 63.4. India is ranked 112th among 166 countries in the world with regard to achievement of SDG goals.

Table1: Overall Performance of India, 2023

SDG	Indicators	SDG trends
1	No poverty	MA
2	Zero hunger	S
3	Good health and well-being	MI
4	Quality education	MI
5	Gender equality	MI
6	Clean water and sanitation	MI
7	Affordable and clean energy	MI
8	Decent work and economic growth	MI
9	Industry, innovation and infrastructure	MI
10	Reduced inequalities	D
11	Sustainable cities and communities	S
12	Responsible consumption and production	MA
13	Climate action	S
14	Life below water	MI
15	Life on land	D
16	Peace, justice and strong institutions	S
17	Partnerships for the goals	MI
	Country Ranking	112*
	Country's Score	63.4

Source: Available at,https://dashboards.sdgindex.org/accessed on November 29, 2023
*Note:S - Stagnating; MA - MaintainingAchievement; MI - Moderately Improving; D - Decreasing, *Out of 166 countries*

Objectives of SDGs and Achievements

Goal 1: No poverty

The major goal targets of the SDGs are the following: (1) By 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women, and children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions. (2) Implement nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors, and by 2030 achieve substantial coverage of the poor and the vulnerable. (3) Have equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to basic services, ownership and control over land and other forms of property, inheritance,

natural resources, appropriate new technology, and financial services, including microfinance, for all by 2030. (4) Reduce their exposure and vulnerability to climate - related extreme events and other economic, social, and environmental shocks and disasters by 2030. (5) To provide adequate and predictable means for developing countries, in particular the least developed countries, to implement programmes and policies to end poverty in all its dimensions. (6) Create sound policy frameworks at the national, regional, and international levels, based on pro–poor and gender - sensitive development strategies, to support accelerated investment in poverty eradication actions. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as maintaining achievement (MA).

Goal 2: Zero hunger

The major goal targets are the following: (1) By 2030, end all forms of malnutrition and address the nutritional needs of adolescent girls, pregnant and lactating women, and older persons. (2) By 2030, double the agricultural productivity and incomes of small–scale food producers, in particular women, indigenous peoples, family farmers, pastoralists, and fishers, including through secure and equal access to land. (3) Implement resilient agricultural practices that increase productivity and production, help maintain ecosystems, and strengthen capacity for adaptation to climate change, extreme weather, drought, flooding, and other disasters by 2030. (4) Increase investment, including through enhanced international cooperation, in rural infrastructure, agricultural research and extension services, technology development, and plant and livestock gene banks. (5) Correct and prevent trade restrictions and distortions in world agricultural markets, including through the parallel elimination of all forms of agricultural export subsidies and all export measures. (6) Adopt measures to ensure the proper functioning of food commodity markets in order to help limit extreme food price volatility. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as stagnating (S).

Goal 3: Good health and well–being

The major goal targets of the SDGs are the following: (1) By 2030, reduce the global maternal mortality ratio to less than 70 per 100,000 live births and end preventable deaths of newborns and children under 5 years of age. (2) By 2030, end the epidemics of AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, and neglected tropical diseases and combat hepatitis, waterborne diseases, and other communicable diseases. (3) By 2020, halve the number of global deaths and injuries from road traffic accidents. (4) By 2030, ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health–care services, including family planning, information, and education. (5) Achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to quality essential health - care services, and access to safe, effective, quality, and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all. (6) By 2030, substantially reduce the number of deaths and illnesses from hazardous chemicals and air, water, and soil pollution and contamination. (7) Support the research and development of vaccines and medicines for communicable and non-communicable diseases and provide access to affordable essential medicines and vaccines. (8) Substantially increase health financing and the recruitment, development, training, and retention of the health workforce in developing countries, especially in least - developed countries and small island developing states. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as moderately improving (MI).

Goal 4: Quality education

The major goal targets are the following: (1) By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable, and quality primary and secondary education. (2) By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care, and preprimary education. (3) By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational, and tertiary education, including university. (4) By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs, and entrepreneurship. (5) By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training, with special reference to vulnerable groups of people. (6) By 2030, ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy. (7) By 2030,

ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development and to promote sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, the promotion of a culture of peace and non–violence, etc.
(8) By 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers through teacher training in developing countries, especially the least developed countries and small island developing states. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as moderately improving (MI).

Goal 5: Gender equality

The major goal targets are the following: (1) End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere. (2) Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation. (3) Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child labor, early and forced marriage, and female genital mutilation. (4) Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure, and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate. (5) Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision–making in political, economic, and public life. (6) Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights. (7) Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as moderately improving (MI).

Goal 6: Clean water and sanitation

The major goal targets are the following: (1) By 2030, achieve universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water for all. (2) By 2030, achieve access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all and end open defecation, paying special attention to the needs of women and girls and those in vulnerable situations.
(3) By 2030, improve water quality by reducing pollution, halving the proportion of untreated wastewater, and substantially increasing recycling and safe reuse globally. (4) By 2030, substantially increase water–use efficiency across all sectors to address water scarcity and substantially reduce the number of people suffering from water scarcity. (5) By 2030, implement integrated water resources management at all levels. (6) By 2020, protect and restore water - related ecosystems, including mountains, forests, wetlands, rivers, aquifers, and lakes. (7) Promote water - and sanitation - related activities and programmes, including water harvesting, desalination, water efficiency, wastewater treatment, recycling, and reuse technologies, in developing countries with international cooperation. (8) Support and strengthen the participation of local communities in improving water and sanitation management. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as moderately improving (MI).

Goal 7: Affordable and clean energy

The major goal targets are the following: (1) By 2030, ensure universal access to affordable, reliable, and modern energy services. (2) By 2030, increase substantially the share of renewable energy in the global energy mix. (3) By 2030, double the global rate of improvement in energy efficiency. (4) By 2030, enhance international cooperation to facilitate access to clean energy research and technology, including renewable energy, energy efficiency, and advanced and cleaner fossil - fuel technology, and promote investment in energy infrastructure and clean energy technology. (5) By 2030, expand infrastructure and upgrade technology for supplying modern and sustainable energy services for all in developing countries, in particular the least developed countries, small island developing states, and land - locked developing countries. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as moderately improving (MI).

Goal 8: Decent work and economic growth

The major goal targets of the SDGs are the following: (1) Sustain per capita economic growth in

accordance with national circumstances and at least 7 percent growth per year in the least developed countries. (2) By 2030, achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value. (3) By 2020, substantially reduce the proportion of youth not in employment, education, or training. (4) Take immediate and effective measures to eradicate forced labor, end modern slavery and human trafficking, and eliminate child labor. (5) Protect labor rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers. (6) By 2030, devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products. (7) Strengthen the capacity of domestic financial institutions to encourage and expand access to banking, insurance, and financial services for all. (8) By 2020, develop and operationalize a global strategy for youth employment. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as moderately improving (MI).

Goal 9: Industry, innovation, and infrastructure

The major goal targets are the following: (1) Develop quality, reliable, sustainable, and resilient infrastructure, including regional and transborder infrastructure. (2) Promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and, by 2030, significantly raise industry's share of employment and gross domestic product. (3) Increase the access of small–scale industrial and other enterprises to financial services, including affordable credit, and their integration into value chains and markets. (4) By 2030, upgrade infrastructure and retrofit industries to make them sustainable, with increased resource–use efficiency and greater adoption of clean and environmentally sound technologies and industrial processes. (5) Enhance scientific research and upgrade the technological capabilities of industrial sectors in all countries, in particular developing countries, by 2030. (6) Facilitate sustainable and resilient infrastructure development in developing countries through enhanced financial, technological, and technical support to African countries, least–developed countries, landlocked developing countries, and small island developing states. (7) Support domestic technology development, research, and innovation in developing countries. (8) Significantly increase access to information and communications technology and strive to provide universal and affordable access to the Internet in least–developed countries by 2020. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as moderately improving (MI).

Goal 10: Reduced inequalities

The major goal targets are the following: (1) By 2030, progressively achieve and sustain income growth for the bottom 40 percent of the population at a rate higher than the national average. (2) By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic, and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion, or economic or other status. (3) Ensure equal opportunity and reduce inequalities of income, including by eliminating discriminatory laws, policies, and practices. (4) Adopt policies, especially fiscal, wage, and social protection policies, and progressively achieve greater equality. (5) Improve the regulation and monitoring of global financial markets and institutions. (6) Ensure enhanced representation and voice for developing countries in decision–making in global international economic and financial institutions. (7) Facilitate orderly, safe, regular, and responsible migration and mobility of people through well - managed migration policies. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as decreasing (D).

Goal 11: Sustainable cities and communities

The major goal targets are the following: (1) By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe, and affordable housing and basic services, and upgrade slums. (2) By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible, and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport. (3) By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated, and sustainable human settlement planning. (4) By 2030, reduce the adverse per capita environmental impact of cities, including by paying special attention to air quality and waste management. (5) By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive, and accessible green and public spaces. (6) Support positive economic, social, and environmental links between urban, peri-urban, and rural areas. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as stagnating (S).

Goal 12: Responsible consumption and production

The major goal targets are the following: (1) Implement the 10 - year framework of programmes on sustainable consumption and production. (2) By 2030, achieve sustainable management and efficient use of natural resources. (3) By 2030, halve per capita global food waste at the retail and consumer levels and reduce food losses along production and supply chains. (4) By 2020, achieve the environmentally sound management of chemicals and all wastes throughout their life cycle, in accordance with agreed-upon international frameworks. (5) By 2030, substantially reduce waste generation through prevention, reduction, recycling, and reuse. (6) Encourage companies, especially large and transnational companies, to adopt sustainable practices. (7) Promote public procurement practices that are sustainable. (8) Ensure that people everywhere have the relevant information and awareness for sustainable development and lifestyles in harmony with nature. (9) Support developing countries to strengthen their scientific and technological capacity to move towards more sustainable patterns of consumption and production. (10) Develop and implement tools to monitor sustainable development impacts for sustainable tourism. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as maintaining achievement (MA).

Goal 13: Climate action

The major goal targets are the following: (1) Strengthen resilience and adaptive capacity for climate-related hazards and natural disasters in all countries. (2) Integrate climate change measures into national policies, strategies, and planning. (3) Improve education, awareness - raising, and human and institutional capacity on climate change mitigation, adaptation, impact reduction, and early warning. (4) Implement the commitment undertaken by developed–country parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change to a goal of mobilizing jointly $100 billion annually by 2020 from all sources. (5) Promote mechanisms for raising capacity for effective climate change–related planning and management in least - developed countries and small island developing states, including focusing on women, youth, and local and marginalized communities. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as stagnating (S).

Goal 14: Life below water

The major goal targets are the following: (1) By 2025, prevent and significantly reduce marine pollution of all kinds, in particular from land–based activities, including marine debris and nutrient pollution. (2) By 2020, sustainably manage and protect marine and coastal ecosystems to avoid significant adverse impacts. (3) Minimize and address the impacts of ocean acidification, including through enhanced scientific cooperation at all levels. (4) By 2020, effectively regulate harvesting and end overfishing, illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing, and destructive fishing practices, and implement science–based management plans. (5) By 2020, conserve at least 10 percent of coastal and marine areas, consistent with national and international law and based on the best available scientific information. (6) By 2020, prohibit certain forms of fisheries subsidies that contribute to overcapacity and overfishing and eliminate subsidies that contribute to illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing. (7) By 2030, increase the economic benefits to small island developing states and least developed countries from the sustainable use of marine resources. (8) Increase scientific knowledge, develop research capacity, and transfer marine technology, taking into account the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission criteria and guidelines. (9) Provide access for small–scale artisanal fishermen to marine resources and markets. (10) Enhance the conservation and sustainable use of oceans and their resources by implementing international law as reflected in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as moderately improving (MI).

Goal 15: Life on land

The major goal targets are the following: (1) By 2020, ensure the conservation, restoration, and sustainable use of terrestrial and inland freshwater ecosystems and their services, in particular forests, wetlands,

mountains, and drylands. (2) By 2020, promote the implementation of sustainable management of all types of forests, halt deforestation, restore degraded forests, etc. (3) By 2030, combat desertification, restore degraded land and soil, and strive to achieve a land degradation–neutral world. (4) By 2030, ensure the conservation of mountain ecosystems. (5) Take urgent and significant action to reduce the degradation of natural habitats and halt the loss of biodiversity. (6) Promote fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilization of genetic resources. (7) Take urgent action to end poaching and trafficking of protected species of flora and fauna. (8) By 2020, integrate ecosystem and biodiversity values into national and local planning, development processes, poverty reduction strategies, and accounts. (9) Mobilize and significantly increase financial resources from all sources to conserve and sustainably use biodiversity and ecosystems. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as decreasing (D).

Goal 16: Peace, justice, and strong institutions

The major goal targets are the following: (1) Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere. (2) End abuse, exploitation, trafficking, and all forms of violence against and torture of children. (3) Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all. (4) By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets, and combat all forms of organized crime. (5) Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms. (6) Develop effective, accountable, and transparent institutions at all levels. (7) Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory, and representative decision–making at all levels. (8) Broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance. (9) By 2030, provide legal identity for all, including birth registration. (10) Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms in accordance with national legislation and international agreements. (11) Strengthen relevant national institutions to prevent violence and combat terrorism and crime. (12) Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as stagnating (S).

Goal 17: Partnerships for the goals

The goal targets are the following: (1) Developed countries must fully implement their official development assistance commitments to achieve the target of 0.7 percent of official development assistance (ODA) or GNI for developing countries and 0.15 to 0.20 percent of ODA or GNI for least developed countries. (2) Mobilize additional financial resources for developing countries from multiple sources. (3) Assist developing countries in attaining long - term debt sustainability through coordinated policies and addressing the external debt of highly indebted poor countries to reduce debt distress. (4) Adopt and implement investment promotion regimes for least–developed countries. (5) Enhance North - South, South - South, and triangular regional and international cooperation on and access to science, technology, and innovation and enhance knowledge sharing on mutually agreed terms. (6) Promote the development, transfer, dissemination, and diffusion of environmentally sound technologies to developing countries on favorable terms. (7) Promote a universal, rules - based, open, non-discriminatory, and equitable multilateral trading system under the World Trade Organization. (8) Realize timely implementation of duty - free and quota - free market access on a lasting basis for all least - developed countries. (9) Enhance policy coherence for sustainable development and implement policies for poverty eradication and sustainable development. The overall performance of this indicator is evaluated as moderately improving (MI).

Conclusion

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are comprehensive development framework which addresses a variety of core issues of lives and livelihood of people, including environmental sustainability, poverty and economic distress, gender inequalities, human rights, effective governance based on rule of law etc. Using the SDG indicators, UN has evaluated development achievements of India and other countries. The evaluation of SDGs of India is based on 17 SDGs having about 98 indicators. Based on overall performance, India's

overall score of SDGs is worked out as 63.4. India is ranked as 112th among 166 countries in the world with regard to achievement of SDG goals.

This evaluation of SDGs gives a realistic picture about development issues, achievements, problems, constraints etc. It also gives India's position in comparison with other countries in the world. It highlights the ground realities India is facing with respect to poverty and hunger; good health and well beings; employment and labour conditions; industry and infrastructure; education and research; sustainable cities and communities; climate and environment; and peace justice and strong institutions.

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Trans border GIs : The Case Study of Pisco from an IPR Perspective

Raju Narayana Swamy

Geographical Indication (GI) is a category of intellectual property rights with collective ownership. It is a sign used on goods that have a specific geographical origin and possess qualities, reputation or characteristics that are essentially attributable to that place of origin. Cross-border GI protection requires maintenance of an appropriate balance between national sovereignty-based policy considerations and a non-discriminatory approach with regard to foreign right holders. It also needs amendment of the domestic legislation and a more uniform, consistent and flexible enforcement system. We have miles to go towards such a framework which can only be achieved through shared understanding between neighbouring countries, mutual consultation and consensus to enable maximum protection for GIs across borders.

Keywords : Geographical indication, the madrid agreement, WIPO draft treaty, TRIPS, swakopmund protocol

Geographical Indication: The Concept

Geographical Indication (GI) is a category of intellectual property rights with collective ownership. It is a sign used on goods that have a specific geographical origin and possess qualities, reputation or characteristics that are essentially attributable to that place of origin.[1] The special characteristics, quality or reputation may be due to natural factors (raw material, soil, regional climate, temperature, moisture etc) or the method of manufacture or preparation of the product (such as traditional production methods) or other human factors (such as concentration of similar businesses in the same region). The existence of a GI registration on a product is meant to enable producers within a collective group to capture a premium for their products by also preventing members of the group from arbitrarily changing the product quality.[2]

Classic examples in this regard include Kancheepuram Silk Saree, Pochampally Ikat, Darjeeling Tea, Balaramapuram Handloom and Aranmula Kannadi [3]

Different definitions of geographical indication

Unlike other categories of intellectual property rights such as patents or trademarks where there is a general definition accepted worldwide, in the case of geographical indication there is no unique definition or single terminology. This is because of the diverse ways in which the protection of GI has evolved under national laws. The following are the conventional definitions which can be found in literature:-

a. Definition in the TRIPS Agreement

Article 22(1) of the WTO Agreement of Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights concluded as part of the Uruguay Round trade negotiations, defines geographical indications as

> "Indications which identify a good as originating in the territory of a Member, or a region or locality in that territory, where a given quality, reputation or other characteristic of the good is essentially attributable to its geographical origin."

b. Definition as per European Commission Regulation on the Protection of Geographical Indications,

Designations of Origin and Certificates of Specific Character for Agricultural Products and foodstuffs (Council Regulation 2081/92 of 14th July 1992)

For the purposes of this regulation, geographical indication is defined as

"...being the name of a region, a specific place or, in exceptional cases, a country, used to describe an agricultural product or foodstuff:

- originating in that region, specific place or country and

- which possesses a specific quality, reputation or other characteristics attributable to that geographical origin.... the geographical link must occur in at least one of the stages of production and/or processing and/or preparation of which takes place in the defined geographical area."

c. Definition as per North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

For the purposes of this Agreement, geographical indication means "any indication that identifies a good as originating in the territory of a Party, or a region or locality in that territory, where a particular quality, reputation or other characteristic of the good is essentially attributable to its geographical origin."

d. Definition as per the Geographical Indications of goods (Registration and Protection) Act 1999 of India

Section 2(e) of the Act reads as:

" 'Geographical indication', in relation to goods, means an indication which identifies such goods as agricultural goods, natural goods or manufactured goods as originating, or manufactured in the territory of a country, or a region or locality in that territory, where a given quality, reputation or other characteristic of such goods is essentially attributable to its geographical origin and in case where such goods are manufactured goods one of the activities of either the production or of processing or preparation of the goods concerned taken place in such territory, region or locality as the case may be".

Trademarks Vs GIs

Both trademarks and GIs are distinctive symbols. Moreover both differentiate some products from others.

However, trademarks differentiate products made by different producers unlike GIs which differentiate one group of products from others that do not come from the region it protects. To put it a bit differently, while GIs differentiate goods originating from a particular place, trademarks differentiate products (goods and services) originating from a particular person or business unit such as a company. This property of GI makes it a collective mark.

Another difference is that trademarks arise from the creative genius of man while GIs are not created - they are there in nature.

A third difference is that unlike the case of trademark, social recognition must already be there before the idea and need for their protection arise[4]. Further, it is possible to assign or license a trademark to another person, irrespective of his geographical location. On the other hand, a GI can only be assigned or licensed to a person based in the specific geographical area signified by the GI and who can produce goods in conformity with the standards represented by the particular GI

Table 1 : Difference between GI and Trademark

GI	Trademark
1. Product centric	Products and services
2. Dependency on territory is high	Territory is not a factor
3. Focuses on quality as primary criteria	The distinctive nature of the products and graphical representations is given primary importance
4. Registration is two fold, one to the registered proprietor, second to the authorized user for dissemination of the product	Registered once by the owner of the trademark to an individual
5. Collective body is given the right of application	Individual application based right
6. The nature of application makes it a collective right	The nature of application makes it an individual right
7. The right is non-transferable in nature	The right is non-transferable in nature
8. Sale, Assignment, License (wholly, partial) is not possible to a person	Sale, Assignment, License are allowed irrespective of geographical location and depends on the owner
9. Registration is not compulsory. However without registration no action for infringement can be initiated	Registration is optional and depends on usage, providing with defense of passing off
10. Registered users are responsible and keep a tab on any infringement / counterfeit products during exporting	Global recognition makes it easier to use by unauthorized user and difficult to track. It makes easier to deliver infringing copies to potential end users and also falls in pubic domain.

Rights Provided by GI

A geographical indication right enables those who have the right to use the indication to prevent its use by a third party whose product does not conform to the applicable standards. For example in the jurisdictions wherein the Darjeeling GI is protected, producers of Darjeeling tea can exclude the use of the term 'Darjeeling' for tea not grown in their tea gardens or not produced according to the standards set out in the code of practice for the GI.

In fact, GIs backed up by solid business management can bring with them

a. more added value to the product

b. competitive advantage

c. a strengthened brand

d. increased export opportunities.

The rights to GI are enforced by the application of national legislation, typically in a court of law. The right to take action could vest with a competent authority, the public prosecutor or any interested party- a natural person or a legal entity. The sanctions provided for in national legislation could be civil (injunctions, actions for damages etc), criminal or administrative.

International Regime of Geographical Indications

The journey of GIs from indications of source to appellations of origin and finally to geographical indications is the result of various international instruments. The conventions, treaties and agreements relevant in this context are:-

1. Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property 1883
2. The Madrid Agreement for the Repression of False or Deceptive Indications of Source on Goods of 1891 and the Madrid Agreement Concerning the International Registration of Marks of 1891.
3. The Stresa Cheese Convention of 1951
4. Lisbon Agreement for the Protection of Appellations of Origin and their International Registration (1958)
5. Protocol Relating to the Madrid Agreement Concerning the International Registration of Marks which also provides for the International Registration of Certification Marks 1989.
6. a. The unsuccessful WIPO Draft Treaty on the protection of geographical indications

   b. The unsuccessful WIPO Model Law on geographical indications.
7. The Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS)

TRIPS and GIs

The structure of section 3 of the TRIPS Agreement encompasses five main categories of issues- (a) definition and scope of a GI (b) minimum standards and common protection provided for GI corresponding to all kinds of products (c) additional protection for GI for wines and spirits (d) exceptions to the protection of GI and (e) negotiation and review of section 3 on GI.

Article 22 of the TRIPs Agreement provides a definition of GIs. Article 22.2 provides that WTO members "shall provide the legal means for interested parties to prevent

a. The use of any means in the designation or presentation of a good that indicates or suggests that the good in question originates in a geographical area other than the true place of origin in a manner which misleads the public as to the geographical origin of the good.

b. any use which constitutes an act of unfair competition…".

Thus the use of a GI which does not mislead the public as to its true origin is not an infringement of the TRIPS Agreement. This is one of the key differences between the TRIPS protection given to all goods and the special protection given to wines and spirits. In fact, Art. 23 & 24 provide broader protection for GIs for wines and spirits than for other products. Special mention must be made here of the TRIPS requirement of home protection (Art. 24.9) which categorically states that

"there shall be no obligation under this Agreement to protect GIs which are not or cease to be protected in their country of origin or which have fallen into disuse in that country".

It is worth mentioning here that the TRIPS-mandated GI regime suffers from some inherent limitations including the extended protection for only selected GIs and difficulties of obtaining protection in foreign jurisdictions[5].

Cross Border GIs

Cross Border GI (also called trans-border GI) has been defined as "a GI which originates from an area that covers regions, territory or locality of two or more countries where a given quality, reputation or other characteristic of the good is essentially attributable to its geographical origin extending over those

countries[6]". Though the majority of GIs are essentially located within the territory of a state, there are also a number of GI products across the world that have originated from the territory of two or more countries. A classic instance is Basmati rice- a product originating from both India and Pakistan. There are other examples too-for instance Irish Whiskey and Ouzo. The latter, it needs to be mentioned here, comes from both Greece and Cyprus. Needless to say, the recognition and enforcement of shared GIs across borders should claim more attention due to its economic attractions in a multilateral trading system.

TRIPS and Cross-Border GIs

TRIPS does not explicitly prohibit the protection of cross-border GIs. But it remains silent as to the way out for the determination of the precise geographical origin of a GI where two or more countries have competing claims. In such a situation, member countries may depend on historical and geographical evidence, objective legal requirements and shared cultural understandings to substantiate their claims over GIs across borders[7]. Further, except for a few legislative provisions in the EU to protect cross border GIs which provide for transborder GI registration for agricultural products, foodstuffs and wines (but not for spirits), international practices in this regard are quite heterogeneous. Classic examples of first EU legislations are Regulation 1151/12 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 21st November 2012 on Quality Schemes for Agricultural Products and Foodstuffs as well as Regulation 479/2008 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 29th April 2008 on the Common Organization of the Market in Wine. In the EU case several groups within different territories may lodge a joint application within the EU centralized system.

Mention must also be made here of Art 24.1 of the Swakopmund Protocol on the Protection of Traditional Knowledge and Expressions of Folklore within the Framework of the ARIPO (African Regional Intellectual Property Organization) adopted by the Diplomatic Conference at Swakopmund (Namibia) which read as follows: "Eligible foreign holders of traditional knowledge and expressions of folklore shall enjoy benefits of protection to the same level as holders of traditional knowledge and expressions of folklore who are the nationals of the country of protection". This Article can no doubt be extended to trans-border GI protection.

The manner in which WOOLMARK is protected can also be a leading light in this regard. The said mark is a certification mark collectively shared by the Wool Boards of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Uruguay. These respective Boards have set up a common Secretariat called the International Wool Secretariat which in turn has established a company called IWS Nominee Company Ltd which is responsible for protection of the WOOLMARK name and logo against all acts of infringement. Nevertheless, while drawing lessons from this example, one must not forget the basic and fundamental differences between a private right (certification mark) and the public element (rights of a GI).

The Geneva Act of the Lisbon Agreement on Appellations of Origin and GIs which was adopted in 2015 extends the Lisbon system of appellations of origin to GIs and such protection extends further over transborder geographical areas of origin. Article 5.4 of the Act lays down the procedure for joint application in the case of a trans-border geographical area. This paves the way for a single registration of cross-border GI. But it is only a humble beginning.

Pisco

Pisco is a grape brandy geographically and culturally embedded in the identity of Chile and Peru. It is made exclusively using the varieties of "Pisqueras Grapes" and is an alcoholic beverage made with no additives-sugar, water or any other elements strange to the grape itself. Pisco comes from the Quechua word Pisqu that means bird.[8]

The rivalry over the ownership of the product and its GI has confronted both nations since their very independence. It is mainly grounded on political claims rather than practical reasons. The latest debates have been located in India and Thailand. In the Indian context, Peru sought a GI tag in India for Pisco

brandy while Chile opposed the move saying that they also sell the same product with the same name. The GI Registry Office in India passed an order renaming the GI as 'Peruvian Pisco' in order to end the conflict among the countries and the confusion among people regarding the product. However, Peru filed an appeal against the order before the IPAB (Intellectual Property Appellate Board) as they wanted the tag as 'Pisco' only. The IPAB after hearing the case ruled that the application filed by the Embassy of Peru for GI tag for 'Pisco' is eligible for registration without any prefix or suffix. The IPAB while making its decision noted that the word 'Pisco' is undoubtedly a denomination of origin exclusively from Peru and it cannot be compared under any circumstance with the Chilean liquor and that there cannot be any confusion or deception among the consumers.

The IPAB also mentioned that there are 22 countries where Pisco has been given sole registration to Peru. In certain countries Peru has been given registration of Pisco with a condition that even Chile can also register Pisco as a result of the Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) signed by these countries with Chile. IPAB observed that FTAs were political arrangements having no account of the historical, geographical or cultural aspects of Peru. Further IPAB agreed with Peru's claim that Chile has renamed a region called ' La Union' to 'Pisco Elqui" with malafide intention solely to establish a link between geography and Chilean liquor. IPAB also disagreed with the argument that due to Chile's occupation of Peru, there was an extension of Pisco region geographically from Peru to Chile. Subsequent to this decision, the GI Registry gave Peru registration to the tag 'Pisco'. The matter got worse with 'Chilean Pisco' getting registered as a GI in 2022. In fact, the GI application of Chilean Pisco was advertised in the GI journal in November 2022 and since there was no opposition to it within the stipulated time, it was deemed registered as a GI from the date of application (viz) 3rd June 2020 for a period of three years.

In this connection, it is worth mentioning that many regimes including USA and European Union have granted simultaneous registration to both the countries. In fact suggestions are galore that IPAB while delivering its decision should have noted the practice around the world and must have taken an approach which could have lessened the complexity of the situation. The decision of granting registration of 'Peruvian Pisco' was probably more logical than IPAB rejecting it.

It has to be kept in mind that in future, Peru could file an objection to the granting of 'Chilean Pisco' in India especially since the IPAB has already given a decision in their favour for registering the word 'Pisco' without any prefix or suffix. In case such an objection comes from Peru, the questions that arise are:-

a. What will be India's stand?

b. Will India allow only 'Pisco from Peru' to use the GI tag or will it grant simultaneous registration to both the countries?

Regarding Thailand, litigation over the IPRs of the grape brandy began in 2007. In September 2019, the CFIIPIT (Court of First Instance on Intellectual Property and International Trade) ruled in favour of Chile regarding the use of the DO (Denomination of Origin) of Pisco. Since initially the Thailandese Registry of Industrial Property had recognized exclusive rights to Peru, the decision of the CFIIPIT meant that both countries could legally sell and merchandise their product within the local market, as long as the name of the country of origin was expressly mentioned with the word Pisco. Peru appealed against the decision and on the 8th of April 2021, the Court of Appeals of Thailand ruled in favour of Chile, accepting the arguments of the Chilean local producers association, confirming the registration of the DO Pisco Chile.

Chile has offered Peru several times a joint solution for the use of the GI of Pisco. Unfortunately historically Peru has been reluctant to accept the offer. Heavily based on old nationalist resentments, Peru considers Pisco to be a national emblem not to be shared-or rather surrendered- to Chile. Yet scholars have suggested that the GI should actually be shared because producers of the two countries contributed to the

origin and consolidation of this product. Put it a bit differently, the two countries have co-ownerships rights since they are co-founders. Perhaps a joint exploitation with a homonymous indication would represent a right effort from a legal political, technical and social perspective.

Conclusion

Cross-border GI protection requires maintenance of an appropriate balance between national sovereignty-based policy considerations and a non-discriminatory approach with regard to foreign right holders. It also needs amendment of the domestic legislation and a more uniform, consistent and flexible enforcement system. We have miles to go towards such a framework which can only be achieved through shared understanding between neighbouring countries, mutual consultation and consensus to enable maximum protection for GIs across borders. To put it a bit differently, we have to tide over the legal vacuum in trans-border GI protection through bilateral, plurilateral or regional arrangements, nay inter-governmental bodies or joint commissions which can only be arrived at through political initiatives accompanied by the administrative will to execute. Till then, cross-border GI protection will at best remain to be a premise on paper.

Notes

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Exploring the Role of Residents' Associations in Crisis Management: Insights from Maradu, Ernakulam

Reshmi H. Fernandez &
Surya Aravindakshan

This paper explores the critical role of Residents' Associations in crisis management during the Covid-19 pandemic, with a specific focus on Maradu in Ernakulam district, Kerala. As a vital community-based organization, these associations significantly contributed to local pandemic response efforts, collaborating effectively with state authorities. The study examines how the state engaged these residents' groups in combating the Covid-19 crisis, identifying both their contributions and limitations. By analyzing their involvement, this paper emphasizes the importance of integrating grassroots organizations into local governance during emergencies. The findings highlight how such collaborations can enhance community resilience and improve public health response strategies. Ultimately, this research aims to provide insights for future crisis preparedness, advocating for the sustained involvement of Residents' Associations in public health initiatives. The lessons drawn from their experiences during the pandemic underscore the necessity of fostering strong community engagement in times of crisis to ensure effective management and support.

Key words : Citizen participation, LSGIs, pandemic, residents' associations, urban governance

The SARS-CoV-2 pandemic continues to challenge global health systems, with ongoing mutations and the emergence of new variants complicating efforts to control the virus. In response, the World Health Organization (WHO) has called on nations to enhance surveillance, strengthen public health measures, and increase vaccination efforts. Effectively addressing this crisis requires collaborative action from both state and non-state actors to minimize transmission, morbidity, and mortality. Initially, many countries, regardless of their development status, lacked established policies to confront the unprecedented challenges posed by the virus. This uncertainty surrounding transmission, precautions, and treatment necessitated urgent and innovative action plans, which were refined as the WHO provided timely guidelines. Nations began to craft targeted responses based on their specific needs. In India, local self-government institutions (LSGIs) were given a crucial role in implementing strategies to combat the virus. As constitutional bodies with a strong track record in delivering social security and public services, LSGIs enhance accessibility and responsiveness, making them essential players in crisis management. Moreover, they offer a greater chance of accessibility to the public than the distant bureaucratic institutions (Anwesha Dutta & Harry W. Fischer 2020). This paper explores the critical role of Residents' Associations within this framework, highlighting their contributions to effective local responses during the pandemic.

Local Self-Government Institutions (LSGIs) have effectively carried forward their mandate with substantial support from numerous civil society organizations operating across the country. The involvement of these organizations is crucial for achieving developmental goals, as they facilitate public interaction and mobilization while providing platforms for participation in local economic, social, and political activities. Acting as intermediaries between citizens and local governments, civil society organizations possess a deep understanding of local contexts, enabling them to address specific needs efficiently and in a timely manner. Their ability to mobilize local resources and stakeholders enhances grassroots monitoring and allows for proactive resolution of unforeseen challenges. Furthermore, these organizations are formed voluntarily, fostering closer ties with the community. As Robert D. Putnam (1993) emphasizes, effective decentralization

hinges on robust relationships between government and non-government organizations, alongside a strong foundation of social capital.

Among these civil society organizations, Residents' Associations play a significant role, particularly in urban areas. As cities gain prominence in economic and developmental contexts, the rise of such associations has been notable. Initially emerging in metropolitan centers, Residents' Associations have now become commonplace in suburban and even rural settings, solidifying their status as formal civil society entities. These associations arise from public engagement and the cultivation of associational life among residents, uniting individuals to advocate for improved living conditions, uphold rights, and foster civic responsibility.

Urban areas, particularly in India, have been identified as especially vulnerable to pandemics due to factors such as high population density, informal employment structures, and inadequate health services (Mishra S.V., Amiya Gayen, and Haque 2020). A report by UN-Habitat (2020) indicates that over 95% of total Covid-19 cases are concentrated in urban environments. In this context, the role of LSGIs is critical in combating the virus, and Residents' Associations serve as dependable support mechanism for local authorities.

This paper argues for the essential role of Residents' Associations in local governance, particularly in coordinating responses to the pandemic. Focusing on the Maradu region in Ernakulam district, Kerala, the study examines how the State engaged these groups in addressing the pandemic, highlighting their contributions and limitations. Through this analysis, the paper underscores the need to strengthen such associations in supporting local administration during crises.

Residents' Associations in Kerala

In Kerala, Residents' Associations emerged as a significant form of civil society organization during the late 1970s and early 1980s, coinciding with an influx of people settling in urban areas and leaving their native places. This migration created a social void that prompted residents to establish institutions for community interaction, idea sharing and mutual support. The first Residents' Association in Kerala, the Jawahar Nagar Welfare Association, was founded in 1964 in Thiruvananthapuram, followed by other early associations such as the Giri Nagar Housing Society and the Changampuzha Nagar Residents Association in Cochin, and the Sastri Nagar Residents Association in Thiruvananthapuram (Reji J. R., 2017).

The successful initiatives of these early groups encouraged residents in surrounding areas to organize similar associations. The enactment of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act in 1993, the adoption of the Kerala Municipality Act in 1994, and the introduction of the People's Plan Campaign (PPC) in 1996 opened new avenues for civil society groups and community-based organizations to engage in governance. Consequently, the scope and influence of Residents' Associations expanded significantly. Additionally, rapid technological advancements and increasing urbanization post-2000 dramatically transformed urban lifestyles, further motivating the formation of these associations, which began to proliferate beyond urban centers into suburban and rural areas.

Initially, Residents' Associations primarily focused on cultural activities and provided members with a space for social interaction. However, as urban migration intensified, issues such as inadequate road conditions, water scarcity, poor waste management, insufficient street lighting, and housing deficiencies prompted these associations to evolve into advocacy forums. Transitioning from mere social gatherings, Residents' Associations have become instrumental in addressing residents' grievances with local authorities.

Today, these associations actively participate in various integrated development programmes, encompassing public hygiene initiatives, social upliftment activities, water supply efforts, traffic congestion mitigation, recreational programmes, education, healthcare, microfinance, agriculture, and environmental protection. They serve as vital channels for information dissemination, public motivation, and advocacy, facilitating communication between citizens and government. Additionally, Residents' Associations are involved in the implementation and monitoring of development programmes, mobilizing local citizens and resources for effective community engagement.

The Role of Residents' Associations in Covid-19 Response in Maradu

This case study examines the 43 Residents' Associations in Maradu, Ernakulam. Due to the absence of a comprehensive database from the Maradu Municipality regarding these associations across its thirty three wards, the researcher gathered information through consultations with ward councillors and representatives from collective organizations, such as the Federation of Residents Associations Maradu (FORAM), Maradu Urban Residents Association (MURA), and Nettoor Meghala Residents' Association. The subsequent table (Tab. 1) lists the forty three Residents' Associations included in this study. A structured questionnaire was developed, and data were collected via telephonic interviews with the office bearers of each association.

Table. 1 : Details of the Sample taken for the study

Sl.No.	Name of the Residents' Association	Wards included
1	Nettoor North Residents' Association (NNRA)	1
2	Ashraya Residents' Association Nettoor North (ARANN)	1
3	Thannal Residents' Association (TRA)	1
4	Kannadikaadu Residents' Association(KKRA)	2
5	Tripthi Lane Residents' Association(TLRA)	5
6	Thuruthy Temple Road Residents' Association (TTRRA)	5
7	Keerthi Nagar Residents' Association(KNRA)	5,6
8	Koppandisery Road Residents' Welfare Association(KRRWA)	5,6
9	Sasthri Nagar Residents' Association (SNRA)	5,6,10,11,12
10	Thuruthy Vaikuthussery Road Residents' Association (TVRRA)	5,10
11	Kattithara Road Poura Samithi	6,7,9
12	Priyadarshini Housing Colony	11
13	Kairali Nagar Residents' Association(KNRA)	11,12
14	Jayanthi Road Residents' Association(JRRA)	11,12
15	Vikram Sarabhai Road Residents' Association (VSRRA)	11, Corporation Division 54
16	Society Road Residents' Association (SRRA)	13
17	Metro Nagar Residents' Association (MNRA)	14
18	Pandavath Nagar Residents' Welfare Association (PNRWA)	13,14,17
19	Kundanoor South Residents' Association (KSRA)	16
20	Karuna Residents' Association(KRA)	17
21	Fr. George Vakayil Road Residents' Association	16,17,21
22	Kottaram Road Residents' Association	18
23	EMS Road Residents' Association	18,19
24	Rajiv Gandhi Residents' Association	19
25	Oruma Residents' Association	19,20
26	Sannidhi Road Residents' Association	21
27	Kettezhuthu Kadavu Residents' Association	21
28	Panorama Nagar Residents' Association	21
29	Mosque Road Residents' Association	20,21,22
30	Sree Narayana Road Residents' Association	21,22
31	Pulari Residents' Association	24

32	Nettoor South Residents' Association	24
33	Rainbow Residents' Association	26
34	Priyadarshini Residents' Association	26
35	Dhanya Residents' Association	27
36	Metro Residents' Association	27
37	Karuna Residents' Association	28
38	Swantahanam Thekeppattupuraykkal Residents' Association (STPRA)	28,29
39	Mahatma Welfare Residents' Association	29
40	Samanya Road Welfare Association	29
41	Ambalakadavu Theeradhesha Road Residents' Association (ATRA)	29,30
42	Nettoor Central Residents' Association	32
43	Mythri Residents' Welfare Association	32,33

A. Overview of the Profiles of the Residents' Associations

The general profile of each of the forty three Residents' Associations within the Maradu Municipality was analyzed. This assessment focused on several key dimensions, including the number of members in each association, the duration of their operation and their registration status.

Of the forty three Residents' Associations analyzed, twenty one (48.84%) have between 101 and 199 households, while eight (18.60%) exceed 200 members. Six associations (13.95%) have 30-50 members and four each fall within the 51-80 and 81-100 member categories. None have fewer than thirty members.

In Maradu, five Residents' Associations (11.63%) have been operational for over twenty years, while three associations (6.98%) have tenure of less than five years. The remaining associations fall within the five to twenty-year range, with sixteen associations (37.21%) functioning for more than ten years.

In Kerala, Residents' Associations are registered in accordance with the Travancore-Cochin Literary, Scientific and Charitable Societies Registration Act of 1955, in regions other than erstwhile Malabar. Analysis of the sample reveals that the majority (88.37%) of Residents' Associations are registered under the Act, while five associations (11.63%) operate without formal registration.

B. Initiatives to Enhance the Physical, Mental, and Social Well-being of Members

Before analyzing the Covid-related activities undertaken by the Residents' Associations in the Maradu region, it is essential to examine their pre-pandemic functions.

Individuals join these associations with the expectation of collaboratively addressing their concerns and enhancing their welfare. According to Mano et al. (2003), these community-based organizations engage in activities that promote the physical, mental, and social well-being of members, foster intellectual and emotional growth, and contribute to local infrastructure and social development. This framework is utilized in the current study.

Table 2 : Activities for Promoting Physical Well-being

Activities	No. of RA's which conduct activities	%
Medical camps of various specialization	26	60.47
Health awareness classes and campaigns	31	72.09
Immunization programmes	0	0
Yoga and meditation programmes	4	9.30
Health club	0	0

Among the forty three Residents' Associations surveyed, twenty six (60.47%) have organized medical camps covering various specializations, including blood group detection, early cancer detection, kidney stone symptom identification, cataract screenings, diabetes detection, and comprehensive health check-ups. Additionally, thirty one associations (72.09%) have implemented health awareness programmes and classes for their members. Notably, none of the associations facilitated immunization programmes. Four associations (9.30%) have initiated yoga and meditation programmes to promote physical well-being; however, these associations lack dedicated facilities and conduct activities at the residences of willing members. Furthermore, none of the associations has established a Health Club.

Table 3 : Activities for Promoting Intellectual Well-being

Activities	No. of RA's which conduct activities	%
Awards to toppers of exams	33	76.74
Distribution of study kit	37	86.05
Honouring the achievers	16	37.21
Coaching classes	6	13.95
Free tuition classes	3	6.98
Vocational Training	1	2.33
Scholarship for meritorious students	2	4.65
Educational loan	0	0
Sponsorship of education	1	2.33

The data presented in Table 3 indicates that a significant majority of Residents' Associations are actively engaged in initiatives aimed at fostering the intellectual well-being of their members. A total of thirty seven associations (86.05%) distributed study kits to school and college students, with the kits typically including items such as books, stationery, bags, umbrellas, lunch boxes, and water bottles. Additionally, thirty three associations (76.74%) awarded prizes to top-performing students in schools, colleges and public examinations, with some associations offering cash prizes as well. Furthermore, sixteen associations (37.21%) recognized achievers in various fields. Six associations (13.95%) organized coaching classes for competitive examinations, while three (6.98%) provided free tuition for their members. Notably, only one association offered vocational training in areas such as dressmaking and food processing, and Pulari Residents' Association sponsored the educational needs of underprivileged members. However, none of the associations provided educational loans to support their members.

Table 4 : Activities for Promoting Emotional Well-being

Name of programme / activity	No. of RA's which conduct activities	%
Mediation for interpersonal and familial issues	36	83.72
Organizing sessions and talks	38	88.37
Activities for Geriatric care	12	27.91
Activities for Adolescents	17	39.53
Activities for Women	5	11.63
Trips	7	16.28

Table 4 illustrates the various programmes and activities organized by Residents' Associations to address the emotional needs of their members. A substantial thirty eight associations (88.37%) reported conducting motivational classes and counselling sessions aimed at providing emotional support. Furthermore, thirty six associations (83.72%) facilitated mediation for interpersonal and familial issues among members. Additionally, twelve associations (27.91%) implemented programmes focused on geriatric care, which included honoring

elderly members on special occasions and establishing "Vayomithram" clubs to enhance their social engagement. Programmes aimed at adolescents were conducted by seventeen associations (39.53%), while five associations (11.63%) initiated activities specifically designed for women, including the formation of "Vanitha Wings." Collectively, these initiatives underscore the commitment of Residents' Associations to fostering emotional well-being within their communities.

Table 5 : Activities for Promotion of Creative Well-being of the Members

Name of programme / activity	No. of RA's which conduct activities	%
Classes for Dance, Music, painting etc.	3	6.98
Cultural programmes on special occasions	40	93.02
Recreation facilities	1	2.33
Promotion of literary talents	5	11.63
Library set-up	3	6.98

Table 5 outlines the initiatives undertaken by Residents' Associations in Maradu to enhance the creative well-being of their members. While a significant majority, forty out of forty three associations (93.02%), actively invests in cultural programmes for special occasions-such as Annual Day, Onam and New Year-there is limited engagement in other creative pursuits. Only the Sasthri Nagar Residents' Association has established a dedicated space for indoor recreational activities, demonstrating a commitment to fostering community engagement despite not owning a building. Furthermore, three associations (6.98%) have organized classes in disciplines such as music, dance, painting, and craftwork. Five associations have focused on promoting literary talents by facilitating discussions and competitions, including elocution and essay writing. Notably, the Kottaram Road Residents' Association annually publishes a magazine showcasing members' creativity, while some others have produced souvenirs commemorating their activities. Additionally, three associations (6.98%) have set up libraries for their members. The Kettezhuthu Kadavu Residents' Association which possesses its own facility has initiated the development of a library on-site. In contrast, the other two associations have organized collections of books to facilitate circulation among their members.

Table 6 : Activities for the Infrastructural Development of the Locality

Name of programme / activity	No. of RA's which conduct activities	%
Road construction/maintenance	14	32.56
Drinking water facilities (new and repair works)	18	41.87
Facilitation for electrification to new areas and houses/maintenance	26	60.47
Drainage facility (Construction and facilitation)	21	48.83
Measures for solid waste disposal	29	67.44
Public park, play ground etc	2	4.65
Installation of CCTV surveillance	3	6.98
Cleaning drives	38	88.37
Anti- mosquito drives	31	72.09
Anti-snail drives	5	11.63
Planting saplings, gardening related activities	33	76.74
Promotion of household agriculture	28	65.12

Residents' Associations play a crucial role in advocating for infrastructural improvements within localities, often functioning as pressure groups to engage local authorities. An analysis of the Maradu region reveals that a majority of these associations are actively involved in various infrastructural initiatives.

Specifically, 88.37% conduct regular cleaning drives, reflecting significant community engagement, while 72.09% implement measures to combat mosquito infestations. Additionally, 76.74% have initiated tree-planting activities, and 67.44% have developed solid waste management strategies, including sponsorship of bio-bins and waste collection coordination.

Essential services have also been a focus, with 41.87% advocating for improved drinking water facilities, 60.47% addressing electrical supply issues, and 48.83% targeting drainage improvements. Notably, three associations (6.98%) have installed CCTV surveillance systems, enhancing local security.

Beyond infrastructural efforts, these associations have shown responsiveness during crises, such as organizing relief for flood victims by establishing camps and providing essential supplies. They have also addressed socio-economic challenges by creating funds for medical emergencies, facilitating financial support for marriages, and initiating savings schemes. Through petitions, rallies, and legal actions, these groups effectively represent their members' interests, underscoring their integral role in community welfare and governance.

C. Activities Implemented for Mitigating the Spread of COVID-19

The emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic significantly impacted the operational capacity of Residents' Associations, yet it simultaneously presented new opportunities for these groups to enhance community service. Although these associations are non-statutory entities, State authorities assigned them various roles during the pandemic, accompanied by specific guidelines for their operations (DDMA 2020; GOI 2020; Atal Bihari Vajpayee Institute of Good Governance and Policy Analysis 2020).

Table 7 categorizes the activities undertaken by the Residents' Associations in the Maradu region to combat the spread of COVID-19. It is important to note that out of the 43 associations initially considered, four were inactive during the pandemic period and are thus excluded from this analysis. This evaluation highlights the critical engagement of the remaining associations in addressing the challenges posed by the pandemic, emphasizing their role in community health and welfare.

Table 7 : Activities Conducted for Combating Covid-19

Sl. No.	Types of Activity	No. of RA's which conduct activities	%
1	Information dissemination to members on Covid	39	100
2	Quarantine observation	35	89.74
3	Helping the infected (in terms of providing them with food, medicines, other essentials & ambulance facilities)	31	79.49
4	Providing quarantine facilities	3	7.69
5	Disinfecting/Facilitating disinfection of the infected houses and surroundings	33	84.62
6	Distribution of Immunity boosters	29	74.36
7	Distribution of Covid essentials such as masks, sanitisers or hand washes	16	41.03
8	Setting up of sanitisers kiosks at junctions	3	7.69
9	Helping/Facilitating Covid vaccine registration for members	39	100
10	Sponsoring vaccines to the needy	12	30.77
11	Provided kits to all members	20	51.28
12	Provided kits to the needy members	37	94.87
13	Financial aid to the needy members	17	43.59

14	Attended the needs of the migrant labourers who live in their locality	4	10.26
15	Activities in coordination with Ward Councillor	35	89.74
16	Activities performed together with *Asha worker*	39	100
17	Involved in activities of RRT, *Jagratha Samithi*	35	89.74
18	Activities together with *Janamythri* Police	36	92.31
19	Involved in the activities of community kitchen (Cash/kind/physically)	11	28.21
20	Organising webinars for the members	4	10.26
20	Conduct of online trainings on music, dancing etc	3	7.69
21	Online conduct of cultural activities	5	12.82
22	Counseling to the needy	39	100
23	Bringing out Publications	2	5.13

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the thirty-nine active Residents' Associations in the Maradu region emerged as pivotal actors in community health and safety. Despite the limitations imposed by the pandemic, these associations capitalized on their roles as information disseminators, ensuring that their members remained informed about safety protocols and governmental guidelines. Utilizing WhatsApp groups, all associations effectively communicated vital information regarding preventive measures, local conditions, and the needs of affected individuals. This approach facilitated timely updates, allowing members to stay abreast of the evolving situation.

In addition to information dissemination, the associations played a crucial role in facilitating COVID-19 vaccine registrations. Recognizing the technological barriers faced by certain demographics, such as the elderly and less literate individuals, the Kettezhuthu Kadavu Residents' Association established a permanent Help Desk, supported by local cable networks providing free Wi-Fi. This initiative enabled members to register for vaccines through the COWIN portal and facilitated access to vaccination services provided by the Maradu Municipality. Notably, twelve of the associations (30.77%) sponsored vaccines for economically disadvantaged members, while twenty-nine (74.36%) distributed immunity boosters, including homeopathic and Ayurvedic medicines.

Collaboration with local Asha workers, who acted as crucial links between families and the health department, further enhanced the associations' impact. These workers maintained lists of COVID-positive patients, facilitated vaccine registration and monitored quarantine compliance. The reciprocal relationship between Asha workers and Residents' Associations fostered a coordinated response to the pandemic. In recognition of their significant contributions, several associations organized events to honour Asha workers and volunteers involved in the cremation of COVID-19 victims.

Despite these collaborative efforts, it is noteworthy that only thirty-five associations (89.74%) reported engaging in activities co-ordinated with their ward councillors. Some associations expressed reluctance to engage in local politics, citing past experiences of exclusion from committees such as the Rapid Response Team (RRT) and Jagratha Samithi. Several members voiced concerns regarding a lack of acknowledgment from councillors for their pandemic-related efforts, attributing this to political biases. This sentiment was compounded by fears that the active involvement of Residents' Associations in welfare activities could undermine the political capital of local councillors in forthcoming elections.

In the early stages of the pandemic, many residents faced challenges in accessing essential COVID-19 supplies such as masks and sanitizers. In response, sixteen associations (41.03%) participated in the State government-led SMS campaign to distribute these items to their members, incurring associated expenses to

raise awareness about the importance of preventive measures. Additionally, three associations (7.69%) established sanitizer kiosks in strategic locations to facilitate access to hygiene products.

The Residents' Associations were also entrusted with quarantine observation responsibilities, as outlined in State guidelines. While thirty-five associations (89.74%) reported fulfilling this role, four associations faced opposition from their members and subsequently ceased their efforts. Some associations reported incidents of quarantine violations and sought police intervention to address these issues. Furthermore, a significant majority (92.31%) collaborated with Janamythri Police, who organized meetings to guide associations on effectively managing COVID-19-related challenges, including quarantine enforcement and travel pass issuance.

In terms of support for COVID-positive individuals and their families, thirty-one associations (79.49%) reported offering essential items and ambulance services to those in need. This required substantial financial resources and commitment from members, which may explain why eight associations could not fully engage in these support efforts. However, all thirty-nine associations maintained communication with affected members, providing counseling and moral support, often through telephone outreach.

To further assist their members during the pandemic, twenty associations (51.28%) distributed essential kits, including vegetables, stationery and fruits, while thirty-seven (94.87%) provided these kits to vulnerable members unable to work due to pandemic-related restrictions. Seventeen associations (43.59%) extended financial assistance to support members facing medical emergencies or financial hardships.

As individuals tested positive or were required to quarantine, the government directed vacant buildings to serve as isolation centers. Three associations (7.69%) offered such facilities, demonstrating the community support necessary to address the fear of infection among members.

Disinfection of residences occupied by COVID-positive individuals was another critical task undertaken by the associations. Thirty-three associations (84.62%) either conducted disinfection efforts or facilitated these processes through local authorities or volunteer groups. This initiative was complemented by ongoing cleaning activities traditionally performed by the associations, illustrating their commitment to maintaining community hygiene.

The establishment of Community Kitchens emerged as a distinctive feature of Kerala's pandemic response, with the Maradu Municipality spearheading food distribution initiatives. Eleven Residents' Associations (28.21%) participated in these efforts by providing financial support, supplying materials or actively engaging in the preparation and distribution of meals. Additionally, four associations (10.26%) addressed the specific needs of migrant laborers residing in the area, recognizing the diverse food requirements of this population.

Online training sessions constituted another innovative response by some associations, with four (10.26%) organizing webinars focused on pandemic-related education. This initiative aimed to enhance awareness of COVID-19 while also addressing broader topics such as music, dance, and painting. Five associations (12.82%) hosted cultural programmes during festivals like Onam and New Year, demonstrating their commitment to the intellectual and cultural well-being of their members.

Moreover, various associations undertook initiatives that addressed pandemic-related challenges in unique ways. For instance, the Kottaram Road Residents' Association provided essential items to the local cemetery for the cremation of COVID-19 victims, and some members participated in the cremation process itself, reflecting a profound sense of community responsibility.

Conclusion

Human beings are inherently social, and Residents' Associations epitomize this communal instinct by addressing shared interests and challenges. This research highlights the multifaceted roles these associations

undertook during both routine times and the COVID-19 crisis, revealing certain limitations that, if addressed, could enhance their efficacy in future challenges.

Key observations include a general enthusiasm among members to register and sustain their associations, albeit with some individuals disengaged. The absence of a standardized operational framework hinders uniformity in function, while the presence of elder office bearers - often appointed in recognition rather than capability-can impede effective crisis management. Financial constraints further exacerbate operational challenges, compounded by the lack of statutory powers that undermines the associations' credibility with local authorities. Additionally, local political dynamics both support and obstruct association activities, creating further complications.

Moreover, geographic overlaps among resident groups across multiple wards present logistical hurdles. The municipality's apparent neglect of these associations during non-crisis periods is concerning. It is imperative for municipal authorities to actively engage with and support Residents' Associations, empowering them to play vital roles in developmental initiatives within their communities. Enhanced collaboration could foster resilience and capacity within these grassroots organizations, ultimately benefiting the broader community.

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State and Community in the Thinking of K.N. Raj*

Suraj Jacob

K.N. Raj influenced how developing economies are understood and served in important policymaking roles. His intellectual contributions lie in his wide, interdisciplinary, and contextual approach to the economy and to public policy. His grounded understanding of Indian realities embedded the economy in society and institutions. His view of economic growth emphasised employment in agriculture while creating sustainable pathways into the industrial sector. He emphasised education, health, and social security well before the mainstream. He also traced the effect of governing classes on a society's orientation to inclusive growth and advocated bold structural change through land reforms and decentralisation. Through these interests, Raj touched a remarkably broad set of issues in the study and practice of development. This paper draws on his work to identify his approach to policy and governance, as well as the value he placed on community.

Keywords : Garibi hatao, populist programmes, kerala model of development, dual track approach, land reforms

Among the many scholars who made sense of the postcolonial Indian economy and contributed to policymaking, K.N. Raj has a special place. His account drew on history, institutions, politics, and economic theory to consider how economic growth - erstwhile concentrated in enclaves - could be inclusive. He made fundamental contributions to our understanding of employment and underemployment; technology in development; agriculture-industry interlinkages; linkages between land, credit, and labour markets; and the importance of (what later came to be called) 'human development' through education, health, and social security.

Raj was influential not only as a researcher and teacher, but also as an institution-builder and policymaker. After postgraduate study culminating in a PhD from the London School of Economics in 1947, Raj was at the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and the Planning Commission. At the former institution Raj led the first calculation of India's balance of payments accounts and at the latter institution he played a role in writing the first five-year plan - both while in his 20s. He spent his 30s and 40s mostly at the Delhi School of Economics where he produced important economic and policy studies, built a renowned research programme, and attracted illustrious scholars. In his late 40s, he decided to leave that career behind and move to Kerala to establish the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) in Trivandrum. Jain (2010) pays tribute to his character attribute of 'letting go' of spaces of power. At the CDS he built up another renowned research programme that attracted scholars from across the country and beyond.

Although Raj is remembered as an eminent economist and institution-builder, he also made substantial contributions to policy and governance - starting in his mid-20s itself with pioneering work at the RBI and in the process of national planning. At the same time, Raj also emphasised strength of community - an interest out of keeping with mainstream economics, and one which could sit at odds with the emphasis on the state. This paper draws on his work to identify his approach to policy and governance, as well as the value he placed on community.

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Governance

In the context of public affairs, governance can be conceived as 'the exercise of public authority in the regulation and facilitation of social life and the life of the individual' (B. Jacob and Jacob 2021, 30). Here, 'public authority'consists primarily of the government in its different forms, but it also includes other actors who exercise public authority. Governance has both a structural-organisational aspect as well as a process aspect of how authority is exercised, and both are discernible in Raj's approach to governance regimes in India (Raj 1964, 1973b). Raj (1973b) explores governance regimes through the concept of intermediate classes, among his 'most original and provocative contributions' (Mody 2006, 12) and an instance of 'confronting, not avoiding, difficult issues' (Krishnamurty 2007, 265). He developed the idea from Michael Kalecki's work published in English in 1967 (Raj 1973b, footnote 1). However, recognising the salience of the question of the nature of the state, he had been thinking separately along similar lines even prior to encountering Kalecki's formulation and written about it earlier (Raj 1964).

Less than two months after Nehru's death, Raj (1964) sketches out a nuanced picture of class forces and governance in the first decade and half of postcolonial India. In his view, Nehru's government had faced a fundamental political and policy dilemma. On the one hand, given the considerable distance between the dispossessed and the economic elite in rural and urban India, the threat of violent struggle and revolution could not be ruled out, especially with the recent example of the Chinese revolution. On the other hand, the divisions in India were not simply along class lines (landlords, capitalists, peasants, and labourers) as economic categories were highly intersected by divisions of religion and caste. According to Raj, in this situation Nehru sensed that revolutionary violence may bring chaos and a weakening of the polity - and even outside intervention - rather than progress. Nehru's 'sense and understanding of history was too deep … to believe that the possibility of a violent revolution could be averted by moral or political postures' and that 'peaceful transition from backwardness required a more positive approach, above all one which minimized the scope for and speed of, polarization of conflicting forces' (Raj 1964, 1232). He notes perceptively (Raj 1964, 1232): 'The alternative was to promote greater social mobility through more rapid economic development and in the process create new relations and interests which would transcend the old…'

Further, notes Raj, Nehru was aware of the class situation of his own Congress party on which fell the governance of the country in the difficult postcolonial period. For Nehru, the Congress represented the petit bourgeoisie more than big business or the proletariat. This was a class that is 'nearer in its economic status to the proletariat than to 'big business'' and therefore 'prepared to champion the cause of the former against the latter', but having a stake in the system of private property and 'therefore conservative in its attitude to programmes and policies which involve such direct confrontation' (Raj 1964, 1231)**.** The class possessed some vitality to use its voice for the cause of the 'propertyless masses', and the hope was that the objectives of parliamentary democracy and socialism could be achieved if 'the *petit bourgeoisie* could be encouraged to assume the leadership of the numerically large and economically destitute classes against the small strata of large, propertied interests' (Raj 1964, 1231). He sees many policies of the Nehru's government consistent with the interests of the petit bourgeoisie: regulation of large and modern industries, public sector expansion, hostility to foreign private capital, and promotion of cooperatives (Raj 1964, 1231–32). But it turns out that the petit bourgeoisie had 'more vocal power than vitality in the handling of vital problems' (Raj 1964, 1233). Raj goes on to briefly sketch out how the class character of state and society ended up in determining the course of agriculture and industry, in many ways counter to the objectives of corresponding public policies. It also led to policy incoherence, for it was 'inconsistent or opportunistic to hunt with the hounds, advocating the need for technological change, and simultaneously run with the hares, openly declaring support for "the man behind the loom"' (Raj 1956a, 420)**.**

Raj returns to these themes later when he engages with Kalecki's concept of intermediate classes (Raj 1973c). With feudal classes on the wane, intermediate classes were a set of heterogeneous groups in the middle - small businesses, large and middle peasantry, public sector employees, and the lower middle classes

- between big business and the economically disenfranchised. The concept was intended to understand which economic groups influence the state and state action shaping economic realities. Raj recognises the need to modify conventional Marxian notions of capitalist control in the context of India. Joan Robinson (1976, 11) appreciates this, further noting that although some Marxists objected to Raj's argument, he was merely 'attempting to use Marx's own method of analysis on problems that have come up since his day.'[1]

As an important influence on the state, the intermediate classes stood as a halfway house between socialism and big business-led capitalism. Raj asks what makes the lower-middle class and rich peasantry (the main constituents of Kalecki's intermediate classes) support state capitalism: 'it is partly the fear of displacement in case of unfettered private capitalist development and partly the new opportunities that might be opened out for them by state capitalism' (Raj 1973c, 1192). The influence of the intermediate classes pressures the state 'to follow price policies which in effect subsidise one segment or the other of the ruling class and its main allies' (Raj 1973c, 1192). Further, since rich peasants are also a constituent of the intermediate classes, they pressure the state 'to secure as high a price as possible for their marketed surpluses' (Raj 1973c, 1192).

Thus, although the constituents of the intermediate classes have conflicting interests, they end up making demands on the state that seriously constrain autonomous action by the state - and, in particular, make it difficult for the state to extract resources for investment and growth since intermediate regimes find it difficult to tax either agriculture or industry (Raj 1973c, 1192). State spending is disproportionately focused on the middle with spraying of unproductive subsidies. Economic inclusiveness increases to a small degree to the organised industrial working class and to the very disadvantaged. This explains, for instance, the main subsidised infrastructure services and subsidised education benefiting the middle classes - while anti-poverty programmes were also launched. Mody (2006, 13) usefully notes one implication: 'an abhorrence of inflation, a contrast, for example, to several Latin American countries where political elites dominated and were able to protect themselves from the severe bouts of inflation those countries experienced.' However, the bulk of the small peasantry, the landless, and the unemployed do not gain much from the intermediate regime as they do not strong political representation. Nevertheless, the intermediate regime held India together despite fissiparous tendencies (Bardhan 1993; Kannan 2011; McCartney and Harriss-White 2000; Mody 2006; Vaidyanathan 2007). According to Vaidyanathan (2007, 3096), 'the extent to which the unravelling of the Indian experience corresponds to Raj's analysis and prognosis is remarkable.'

Policy

Mody (2006, 11-12) writes that 'while history, structure, and long-term institutions were crucial to his analysis, a case could be made … [that] Raj's more salient contribution was his opening up of a dialogue and debate on the political influences on Indian economic policy-making.' For instance, in his analysis of the fifth five-year plan that was to start in 1974, Raj insists that it should have better fitted 'the existing structure of social and political power' and that the real question of growth was a political rather than technical one (Raj 1973a, 311). Indeed, five months later Raj published his thesis on politics and intermediate classes in the same journal. The early 1970s was a time of considerable political ferment, with opposition to prime minister Indira Gandhi's abrupt left populist moves eventually culminating in sustained resistance that provoked the Emergency. According to Reddy (2010, 4), Raj acutely felt how policymaking was overwhelmed by politics: 'The late 1960s and early 1970s were when his disillusionment with planning set in. Indira Gandhi's 'Garibi Hatao' programme sought to use slogans to cover up for the failures of planning. Traditional tools of economics seemed incapable of understanding the Indian economy…' While his humanist vision may have made him sympathetic to the left populism of the early 1970s, Raj was wary and critical of the potential economic unsustainability and political authoritarianism lurking behind them (Kannan 2011). Quoting from Raj (1977), Kannan (2011, 383) writes:

He was … critical of such populist programmes which failed to focus on the fundamental structural

and institutional problems especially facing rural India. But he went further, by exhorting the politicians who criticized the programme to go beyond it for a meaningful 'transformation in power relations and in economic organisation in the countryside'.

Political scientist Theodore Lowi proposed a four-fold classification of policies based on the nature of coercion and targeting involved (Lowi 1966, 1972). It has been critiqued but the broad classification is still useful and has been influential in understanding policy (Howlett 2009; Smith 2002). Among individually targeted policies, 'distributive policies' have weak sanctioning and 'regulatory policies' have strong sanctioning. Among general (non-targeted) policies, 'constituent policies' have weak sanctioning and 'redistributive policies' have strong sanctioning. The policy work of most economists tends to be restricted to distributive policies (public expenditure and programmes regarding food, health, education, skilling, social security, and so on) or regulatory policies (labour regulations, foreign exchange controls, and so on). Remarkably, Raj's work spans all four types of policy, as elaborated below.

Raj's work on distributive policies is exemplified by the landmark study titled *Poverty, Unemployment and Development Policy: A Case Study with Reference to Kerala* (UN-CDS 1975). This was primarily through the efforts of Raj and others at the CDS (Bagchi 2014; Kannan 2011) and received international attention.[2] The term 'Kerala model of development' later came out of the development discourse associated with the report. Kannan (2011, 379)notes that 'Raj's idea was to demonstrate the possibility and the feasibility of human development (without of course using this now fashionable terminology) without waiting to attain high levels of income.' Amartya Sen (1993, 3) underlines the importance of Raj 'drawing attention to the far-reaching importance of studying Kerala's economic experience in reducing mortality rates and raising life expectancy … despite Kerala's low per capita income.' The following is an extract from the report(UN-CDS 1975, 153–54):[3]

> The fact that Kerala is a relatively poor state in India when judged by conventional norms such as per capita income; that the average per capita availability of food is lower in Kerala than in most parts of India; but that nevertheless it has been possible for the state to make fairly impressive advances in the spheres of health and education, and hence bring about improvements that have made a perceptible difference to the quality of life - as also to the acquisition of attitudes and skills that could help to accelerate development at the next stage - has certainly some lessons for similar societies seeking social and economic advance.

Since Raj was active as scholar and policymaker from the start of India's planning era, he naturally engaged considerably with regulatory policies. As chair of the Committee on Steel Control set up in 1963, Raj had favoured decontrol based on his grounded theory orientation.[4] Unlike the anti-licence-raj brigade, though, he was far from being a market fundamentalist. Raj (1968, 1001)noted that the committee's report was 'often referred to as having set the fashion for "decontrol" … but what has not perhaps been emphasised is that the system of regulation it proposed for handling normal shortages in the case of steel was based on the device of a dual market (one subject to administrative controls and the other allowed to operate freely with buffer stock operations to regulate it).' A similar 'dual track' approach was followed later in China with great success (Lau, Qian, and Roland 2000). Indeed, Raj's general approach to regulatory policy was an eminently sensible and balanced one. After the experience of several years of planning and regulation, his remarks regarding the fourth five-year plan seem pertinent even today, for Raj (1968, 1001) broaches the

> … larger question of what is to be the approach to the distribution of strategically important resources like foodgrains, steel and foreign exchange when they are in short supply. Once the answer was simply in terms of "integrated controls", but it has now been given up … This in itself is probably to be welcomed, for the detailed administrative decision-making on a comprehensive scale implicit in the earlier thinking on this subject was indeed self-defeating … That administrative controls should be reduced "to the minimum" is not saying much … unless some- thing is said also about the kind of controls needed.

Raj's policy interests did not stop at distributive and regulatory policies. He was deeply interested in redistributive policies - and the one dearest to his heart was land reforms (Kannan 2011). Early on, in his Cairo lectures Raj (1957, 8) had observed that rural household economic wellbeing would depend on land reform policies along with household industry policies. When exploring the issue of growth and agricultural productivity through inter-country comparison, Raj (1970) notes that Taiwan's impressive growth was preceded by land reforms while Mexico's growth occurred through a modern sector in a dualist system where the large traditional sector saw little transformation - an institutional argument that also points to spatial inequality. However, analogous to the previous discussion of Raj's concern over regulatory policies going rogue, he was concerned about the feasibility of implementing land reforms: 'The institutional impediments in the way are still so powerful that one has to be a very considerable optimist to believe that, without an almost revolutionary change in the balance of social and economic forces, any considerable progress can be made…'(Raj 1975, 12). Later, writing with Michael Tharakan, he observed that land reforms in Kerala did not significantly reduce inequality in land ownership as middle and upper castes and classes benefited along with many landless households (Raj and Tharakan 1983).[5] Thus, concludes Vaidyanathan (2010, 77),

> He was an ardent advocate and supporter of redistributive land reform as necessary for reducing social and economic inequality. But over time his position changed, not perhaps due to a dilution of his belief in its importance, but with knowledge of the experience of its implementation.

Raj also thought considerably about Lowi's fourth policy type, constituent policies. They 'set the rules for policymaking—they are procedural' (Nicholson 2002, 165). The best example of this from Raj's work is his interest in decentralisation. His practice of it in his leadership role at the Delhi School of Economics is recounted by Krishnamurty (2010, 69): 'In contrast to the existing system where decision-making was centralised and internal consultation procedures were not explicitly laid down, he adopted a scheme of decentralisation. He decentralised functions to committees and individuals who would be expected to deal independently with matters assigned to them …' Further, Raj's decision to leave Delhi and move to Trivandrum and set up a research institute (the CDS) there, also spoke to his instinct for decentralisation (Reddy 2010). From the perspective of governance and policy, he took seriously the point that local governments should not merely implement interventions planned elsewhere but be 'active instruments for decentralised planning' (Raj 1971, 1611). He was drawn to the possibility of decentralised governance both for ideological-humanist reasons and because of his innate acceptance of context for socio-economic and policy analysis - that is, given India's size and diversity, any 'planning strategy adopted at the national level has therefore to be itself built on a detailed assessment of the development needs and potentialities in different parts of the country' (Raj 1971, 1611). Decentralisation was part of the vision of strengthening inclusive development. For instance, he suggests that local governments initially focus on 'a few types of activity which would help to strengthen the land and capital base for agriculture and small and medium-scale industry; make fuller use of unemployed and under-employed labour; and indirectly encourage methods of domestic resource mobilisation which would be less iniquitous…' (Raj 1971, 1614). Nevertheless, he was clear-eyed in the failures of implementation of panchayati raj (Raj 1971, 1609–10):

> This does not appear to have been accompanied by efforts to determine the appropriate allocation of functions and responsibilities at each level, the administrative machinery and the fiscal and other instruments to be made available for the purpose, and how precisely the development planning work at the District level could be most effectively fitted into the planning at the higher levels (more particularly at the State level). … It is also evident that, though mobilisation of local resources and programme planning have been stated to be important functions of the Panchayati Raj institutions, they have not by and large been given the means to carry them out; and that, within the framework erected, they are no more than local bodies to which the responsibility for expenditure for certain purposes has been delegated by the State Governments.

More generally, Raj's approach eschewed the mainstream approach that dichotomises policy formulation

and implementation, divides them into 'decisions' and 'actions' respectively, and privileges formulation and decisions over implementation (Hupe and Hill 2016). We have already seen that Raj had little patience with high theory abstractions. He brought a similar pragmatist philosophy to his policy work. There is a 'sacred account' of policy separating policy formulation and implementation with the latter viewed as merely applying instructions (Colebatch and Hoppe 2018). Raj would have rejected this. His comparison of Indian and Chinese planning is instructive. Although the Indian Plan was technically superior 'as a model built on detailed statistics and carefully worked out input-output ratios', the Chinese Plan was far better at operationalising - 'as a programme of action, it [the Indian Plan] does not have the claws and the teeth for coming to grips with the problems which it will necessarily have to face' (Raj 1956b, 702).

Raj was forthright about the lack of realism in planning. He noted, for instance, that the first version of the fourth FYP (1966) targeted industrial growth of 10 percent, later revised up to 12 percent (1969) - and although actual growth was only 3.5 percent in 1965-70 and under 3 percent in 1970-74, the draft fifth FYP released in end-1973 nevertheless targeted 8 percent using estimation techniques that had clearly proved to be unrealistic in the past (Raj 1976, 223). At a time in which policymaking became synonymous with planning, Raj's analysis always integrated a sense of feasible implementation (Kannan 2011, 370).

Many of the insights above regarding implementation failure continue to hold today despite the enactment of the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments. Further, Raj is critical of the centralisation of centre-state relations - which is another dimension of implementation, in this case of India's federal framework. Raj (1971, 1612) notes that planning and financing from the national government are such as to have 'left little scope for flexibility or initiative at the State level.' He further feels that 'States should have, within the framework of national planning, greater scope for framing development programmes appropriate to their particular conditions and for exercising initiative in mobilising resources for the purpose' (Raj 1971, 1614).

While the literature on the realities of Indian policy processes at the national level is limited, it is even more the case at the state level. At the national level there was a Planning Commission and several domain-specific advisory agencies and thinktanks - but this was not the case at the state level although several key development domains were in the State list in India's federal system. What Raj observed in this regard has not changed by too much today, a half century later (Raj 1971, 1611):

> In most States, planning has so far amounted to little more than putting together schemes formulated by the different Departments of a State Government on the basis of directives received from the Ministries at the Centre or from the Planning Commission. Even where some kind of a long-term development programme has been framed very little work has been done by way of relating the proposals to the specific problems facing the State. In fact these efforts have been usually more in the nature of a public relations activity to support general demands for more financial assistance from the Central Government rather than serious exercises undertaken to formulate concrete and meaningful programmes of development suited to the resource endowments and requirements of the States concerned.

Social institutions and communities

In his famous mid-1970s article on industrial stagnation, Raj devotes a striking amount of space to agriculture as it was crucial for the wellbeing of those who live lives of economic precarity (Raj 1976). In Raj's vision, the process of transition from agriculture should be gradual and should involve strong consideration of the wellbeing of both those involved in agriculture as well as rural artisans (Mody 2006). In his contribution to the first five-year plan, Raj imagined meaningful development in a broad sense (rather than the narrow sense of marketized value) within existing institutional and social realities. By contrast, the second plan tried to create a new sector with a narrower economic goal somewhat unattached institutionally to existing realities (Kannan 2011). This was despite its principal author, P. C. Mahalanobis, having spent decades with Tagore and his vision for rural reconstruction in Sriniketan (Ganguly 2022) - which, ironically,

seem closer to how Raj saw it. Raj (1957, 6-7) recognises that rural social organisation is different and is carefully of casually upsetting it in the name of modernity, unlike other modernising thinkers and policymakers of the time:

> The problem really arises from the fact that the basis and character of division of labour, as well as the values attached to work, leisure, and idleness, differ with forms of social organisation, which in turn are related to the course and stages of economic development. … the transition from a social organisation built around the joint family and the village, which gave each individual his allotted task and share of output according to established codes, to one in which the security offered by both these is absent, and each individual and household is compelled to compete with others in an exchange economy of much larger dimensions.

Similarly, unlike many economists today but even in the decades in which he was active, Raj could see value in land outside of the narrow efficiency logic of factor-of-production. He noted that 'even a toe-hold of land means a great deal to those who are seriously handicapped because they have none' (Raj 1975, 11). Even a small patch of land could 'provide some kind of insurance to families who are otherwise wholly dependent on finding adequate wage employment in the labour market and who form really the hard core of rural poverty and distress' (Raj 1975, 12). He goes on to place value on small holdings for vegetable gardening, animal husbandry, 'and the support that could be given to them if they organize themselves as co-operatives' (Raj 1975, 12) - this last point clearly going well beyond the confines of value in economic logic.[6] Raj would have agreed with James C. Scott's point that 'techne' - activities with a single, clear quantitatively measurable goal - is inappropriate for rural life (Scott 2008):

> Issues of farming life and community, family needs, long-term soil structure, ecological diversity, and sustainability are either difficult to incorporate or excluded altogether. Formulas of efficiency, production functions, and rational action are specifiable only when the ends sought are simple, sharply defined, and hence measurable.

A key part of Raj's early work on employment was the idea of households and villages operating on social norms of economic behaviour quite different from that of individualised market logic of conventional economics - and how the slow entry of markets changes economic behaviour and produces open unemployment (Krishnamurty 2007) and the creation of wage-seeking urban migrants as well as landless agricultural labour. Raj (1957, 8) notes: 'The people uprooted in these ways have either migrated to the towns in search of employment or joined the ranks of a new class, the landless agricultural labour, also in search of work at a wage.' He notes in the Cairo lectures (Raj 1957, 7):

> the transition from a social organisation built around the joint family and the village, which gave each individual his allotted task and share of output according to established codes, to one in which the security offered by both these is absent, and each individual and household is compelled to compete with others in an exchange economy of much larger dimensions. The problem of employment, in this transition, manifests itself in the shape of human beings who, having drifted away from their old moorings, offer their labour for a wage in the open market…

But what affected this change from old moorings or social institutional transition? Here, Raj (1957, 8) invokes still broader institutional processes connected with governance and technology:

> … the rights to individual property recognised by the British legal system, which facilitated the break-up of joint families; the emergence of a market for land, also traceable to these property rights, which led to the gradual dispossession of small peasant proprietors; and technological changes, which caused the displacement of labour from traditional occupations.

Raj (1957, 13-14) remarks on the many regional variations in the breakdown in the old social organisation and consequent economic trajectories:

> … in south and central India, the old system of individual holdings was allowed to remain; in the north-east and in certain other areas of the north, the land passed in the hands of a new class not directly engaged in cultivation; and in other areas of the north, particularly in the north-west, the old communal holdings survived upto and even beyond the taking over of the administration by the British. These differences in the rights over land have had a fairly obvious influence not only on the subsequent evolution of land holdings but on the emergence and growth of a class, offering its labour for a wage in the open market, among whom unemployment exists today on a larger scale than in any other strata of society. Since the mortgaging of land for credit, as well as the transfer of land in case of default, were both easier when individuals enjoyed the rights of private property, the dispossession of small holders took place at a faster rate in the areas where individual holdings were predominant than in areas where the cultivators were merely tenants-at-will or where the system of communal ownership still survived. … In the Punjab, which is in the north-west, agricultural labour families account for less than 10 per cent of the total rural families, whereas in south and central India, they form 40 per cent and more of the total rural population.

Although Raj was no romantic of the traditional peasant economy, his understanding of rural institutions and economy produced a realistic perspective that was different from the Lewis model-type modernisation instincts of others. He was concerned 'to create such conditions that the latent surplus of labour is transformed into actual supply in the labour markets, is consistent with the rate of absorption' (Raj 1957, 8). He argued that for labour supply in markets to increase through pull factors (rather than distress-driven push factors), real incomes of rural household would need to increase. But more importantly, he argued, was the extent to which 'the older units of social organisation' could hold together - and this would depend on land reform policies and household industry policies (Raj 1957, 8). Without such policies, the weakening of traditional social organisation would lead to push factors for rural households that merely produce unemployment. Krishnamurty (2007, 274) emphasises the importance of this argument:

> This is certainly an extremely important finding. … The growing problem in many countries of youth unemployment, often accompanied by armed conflict, is just one reflection of this trend. By emphasizing the importance of growth in agriculture and household industries in regulating the outflow from surplus labour into the openly unemployed, Raj drew attention to the need to develop agriculture and expand (or at least arrest the decline of) household industries. He raised the issue of having programmes that bring work to people at their existing locations, as opposed to the more common approach of people going to where the work is.

From the vantage of today, Raj's argument from almost three-quarters of a century ago is striking and perspicacious. It is an argument that would greatly decentre the economy and perhaps partly dismantle the economic pyramid of space-based and class-based inequalities. Following through, Raj's argument also breathes a new life and meaning to the notion of local community, which stands hollowed out in many parts of India today. In the Cairo lectures, he uses contextual economic logic to point to important productive *in situ* investments like 'digging a well, raising a fence, or building a cattle shed' that can strengthen the household economy (Raj 1957, 21). The range of potential investments increases, he notes, when the relevant social unit is the village (Raj 1957, 21): 'Some of the surplus labour in the unit is then used directly (as has always been the custom in India) for building up various social overheads which the community considers necessary, such as the construction of village tanks, irrigation drains, school buildings, etc.' Indeed, Raj (1957, 21) goes on to note boldly - and ironically, given how much the second five-year plan went in the opposite direction at the very time he was delivering these Cairo lectures - that such 'small investment schemes within the household and the village' constituted 'hidden investment potential.' There are interesting echoes with NREGA and its initial emphasis on local community projects with local labour. More generally, Raj's argument is consistent with commons-oriented constructive work in the Gandhian tradition (Bilgrami 2021). Here, we see Raj's realist institutional approach and economic analysis in confluence with his decentred humanist vision.

To conclude, K. N. Raj influenced how developing economies are understood and served in important policymaking roles. His intellectual contributions lie in his wide, interdisciplinary, and contextual approach to the economy and to public policy. This is consistent with Pranab Bardhan's observation that he has not encountered anyone with as wide and profound a grasp of the Indian economy.[7] His grounded understanding of Indian realities embedded the economy in society and institutions. His view of economic growth emphasised employment in agriculture while creating sustainable pathways into the industrial sector. He emphasised education, health, and social security well before the mainstream. He also traced the effect of governing classes on a society's orientation to inclusive growth and advocated bold structural change through land reforms and decentralisation. Through these interests, Raj touched a remarkably broad set of issues in the study and practice of development. Raj was a thinker and doer who was exposed to western training and influence but who nevertheless proceeded to a grounded understanding of the Indian economy that theorised from Indian realities and that embedded the economy in society, politics, and institutions. This paper has thrown light on aspects of Raj's thinking that have received less attention, but which nevertheless were integral to his work as an economist - namely, governance, policy, and community. Unfortunately, much of economics today eschews understanding of state and community and is concerned with narrower, technical issues. The paper is a reminder of the importance of understanding intricacies of governance and community in efforts to understand development and wellbeing.

Notes

1. Communist leader and theorist EMS Namboodiripad (1973) disagreed with Raj's contention that the concept of intermediate regimes applied to India: 'It was the bourgeoisie, headed by big business and in alliance with the feudals, that got into the seats of power. The lower middle classes and rich peasantry were, at that time, the camp followers of the bourgeoisie and the landlords and were therefore under the illusion of sharing power.' Other views besides the intermediate regime have also been put forward for India - for a review, see Gupta (2013). A later formulation by Bardhan (1999 [1984]) is cited widely. Bardhan argues that the bureaucracy and salaried professionals, along with industrial capitalists and the agrarian rich, form the 'dominant proprietary classes' that determine the state's resource allocation. Bardhan (1993) agrees with much of Raj's analysis but differs with him on the place of capitalists in the class model.
2. However, according to Bagchi (2014), despite the clear importance of the UN-CDS report of 1975, it was later ignored when the UNDP promoted its *Human Development Report*s (*HDR*s) from 1990. Bagchi emphasises the 'cause-finding' structural analysis of the UN-CDS study - for instance, the importance of the public distribution system and universal free schooling. He also notes that the study points to development inequalities created by 'a possible differential advantage enjoyed by those belonging to the higher strata of society'. According to Bagchi, such structural features were 'not recognized by conventional economists commenting on Indian economic development', nor were they recognised adequately in the *HDR*s.
3. Kannan (2011) provides a fuller discussion of Raj and the report.
4. S. Jacob (2024) discusses Raj's grounded theory approach.
5. Sivanandan (1992) explores this point at length.
6. Patnaik (2007, 100) also comments on Raj's argument of 'a subjective value attached to land even when it fetched no rent,' though he emphasises the implications of this on economic logic (namely, that such land preference would restrict productive investment and hinder full employment (Patnaik 2007, 102, 104).
7. Remarks at the K N Raj Centennial Celebrations, Centre for Development Studies (CDS), Thiruvananthapuram, 20-22 October 2024.

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