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Marxs Theory of Value

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Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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## Some Origins of Singularity of thought and Social Conformity

By Steven J. Gerardi

*New York City College of Technology CUNY, United States*

**Abstract-** Louis Althusser suggested eight forms of ideology which comprise the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA). According to Althusser these ISA's manage hegemony without the need for the state repressive force. This original effort suggests that in the wake of massive historical and social change, two additional ideologies must be added to Althusser concepts; a) the Mass Culture Ideology; and b) "Technological Nihilism". Indeed, both ideologies operate in tandem with each other resulting in the singularity of thought, social conformity, and hegemony.

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# Some Origins of Singularity of thought and Social Conformity

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## I. OVERVIEW OF THE THEORETICAL CONTEXT

This section will provide a brief overview of the major theoretical concepts associated with hegemony beginning with Marx. Marx argued that in advanced capitalist society there are two interdependent components, the Base and Superstructure. The Base is seen as the repressive force of the relations of production (i.e. government, armed forces, police, and court system); the Superstructure encompasses culture, values, and norms. Together they reproduce the means of production and hegemony. Gramsci further suggested that the Superstructure consists of two parts; 1) political society and 2) civil society. Political society consists of the repressive force (i.e. police and military) and in civil society the consent of the people is found manifesting hegemony. Louis Althusser further elaborates the Base/Superstructure issue in his work entitled "The Ideological State Apparatuses" (ISA). In this work Althusser suggested that there are 8 forms of ISA's: 1) religious; 2) educational; 3) family; 4) legal; 5) political; 6) labor unions; 7) mass communication system; and 8) cultural norms.

Althusser suggested that during the pre-capitalist mode-of-production, the church-family were the primary forms of ISA in the reproduction of the means of production. Today however the School-Family ISA has replaced the Church-Family in the reproduction of the relations of production. Essentially, children from every class are placed in school where the curriculum stress the dominate culture, thus the reproduction of social origins and hegemony.

This is evident in Bourdieu and Passeron work on social class as an important indicator of cultural

capital for the school setting (based upon distinctive cultural knowledge that is transmitted by families of each social class to their children) (Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, 1977). Children of the poor/working class inherit substantially different cultural knowledge, skills, norms, styles of dress and linguistic abilities than children of those within the educated middle class (it is estimated that a middle class child learns 25,000 more words than their low SES contemporary), this concept is referred to as "Cultural Reproduction of Class Consciences". At issue within this concept is that gaining cultural knowledge is dependent on the parents' "Human Capital". Human Capital can be seen form of consumption in which individuals through education make investment in themselves ( human capital). Individuals are seen as capitalists making investments in their acquisition of knowledge and skills. The more human capital, the more economically valuable the individual becomes in advanced capitalism.

Furthermore, individuals reared in the dominate culture have high levels of human Capital, and their offspring gain this through cultural reproduction. Thus, cultural reproduction entails three fundamental propositions: 1) parental cultural capital is inherited by children; 2) children's cultural capital is converted into educational credentials; and 3) educational credentials are a major mechanism for upward social mobility in advanced capitalist societies. Lastly, Bourdieu and Passeron suggested that education mirrors capitalism in that it stratifies individuals into status groups. Hence, those with high levels of human capital are easily able to excel based upon their understanding of the cultural codes. Thus, such individuals on average will continue on a track that places these them into high paid prestigious occupations. By contrast, those with little or no understanding of the dominate cultural codes, generally finding themselves in occupations that are significantly less prestigious, therefore commanding less compensation and social status.

This is further evident in Basil Bernstein's (Class, codes and control, 1975) work on language, coding theory, curriculum and the transmission of knowledge as an important interpretation of class, family, school and social status. Bernstein's concept of code is central to his analysis of the transmission of knowledge. Code refers to a "regulative principle which underlies various message systems, especially curriculum and pedagogy". Curriculum, according to Bernstein, is valid

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knowledge. Pedagogy acts as the valid transmission of this knowledge and evaluation is the realization of knowledge taught. Both the curriculum and the transmission of knowledge for Bernstein are based in language. According to Bernstein language interpretation determined by class, and is a function of social differences. Furthermore, various functions of language in a given social context have a profound effect on children's social learning. Bernstein establishes a distinction between language usage of the working class or "public language," and the language use of the middle class which he labels "formal language." Furthermore, public language results in the low SES student statistically failing in school. On the other hand, the middle class student succeeds in school because of formal language.

As was indicated earlier, this original effort suggests that in post modern society two additional ISA must be added to Althusser list, "Mass Culture", and "Technological Nihilism" to complete the movement toward hegemony. In the next sections of this effort these new concept will be made clear.

#### a) *Mass Culture*

This effort will define the mass culture as a commutation technique using simplistic messages with little or no higher order symbolic content, fostering a mass-illusion for need of goods and services which are simply not necessary. Mass Culture and its economic counterpart consumerism, claims to be a democratic force (for it provides individual free choice in the free market system), but in fact it exercise control over all aspects of social life in post modern America( Technological, informational and a Service Mode-of-Production). Indeed, only a few public individuals dictate the public's perceptions of freedom, and individuality. The Mass Culture is mass produced, and therefore culture is a universal mass standardized product. Mass consumption of culture, establishes a mass population (population of people not limited to social background) with a tendency toward being aloof to their social conditions, no matter how precarious their circumstance. Mass consummation and culture by virtue of being mass produced, appeals to a mass population/ audiences. The larger the mass population/ audience watching, listening, reading, the more simplistic the symbolic content must be in order to reach all segments of society, regardless of social origins. Hence, the mass culture communicates simplistic standardized messages, homogenizing the mass audience into a socially/politically passive mass population in which free human spirit is undermined. A case in point is the fashion as a mass perception. In fashion there is an effort to express individuality through dress. However, because it is a fashion trend many dress alike, hence individuality is lost (Gerardi 2006). This mass illusion is based upon a few "mass superstars" (i.e. movie, T.V.

and sports figures) who hold control over the perceptions of freedom and individual autonomy in post modern America.

Illustratively, let us examine Franz Kafka's (1883-1924) *The Metamorphosis*. Gregor Samsa, the protagonist, awakes one morning transformed into a gigantic, hideous multi legged insect. In this perceived temporal state, Gregor must conform to social forces around him by confining himself to his room, only to be seen by his family. He becomes dependent on his family for every necessity of life. He comments: "what an exhausting job I picked on. It's much more irritating work than doing actual business in office. The devil takes it all! "Gregor's metamorphosed state is a volunteristic autonomous decision to reject self in an effort to recapture his individuality. But this rejection implies for him rejecting his individuality, his autonomy, indeed his human form.

Similarly, the conscience volunteristic submission and conformity of individuals can be seen as the product of the external authority of the mass culture. Indeed the Mass culture has striped the individual of free thought and individuality itself. Constant exposure throughout one's life to the continuous demands of the mass culture implies the continuous management of individual free thought. This management is predominating in a post-modern society because it affects all segments of social life. Having an individual opinion of fashion( for example) stands outside the mainstream, hence seen as unreasonable and irrational. Indeed, social conformity has become reasonable and sensible behavior and singularity of thought is rational and reasonable in the post-modern era.

#### b) *Technological Nihilism*

Yet another factor in post modern society contributing to singularity of thought and social conformity is "Technological Nihilism". This original effort defines "Technological Nihilism " as the intrinsic perception of a free creative individual as being insignificant, without purpose, totality free of human existence founded in technological management (of contemporary humanity). The sociological outcome is the inability to perceive ones' economic, social, and political life. "Technological Nihilism" degrades the contemporary free human spirit into the logic of rational technological domination.

Historically human creativity provided the individual freedom of expression, and autonomy. A classic example is Modernism. Modernism was a socially progressive movement which validated free human conscience transformation of nature's raw materials into human creativity. Modernism further required a re-evaluation of material reproduction, philosophy, and all aspects of social life( in the name of social progress). Moreover, technological

advancements historically were originally viewed as a force which freed humanity from the toils of repetitive manual labor, hence liberating humanity.

Although technology has set humanity free from such labor, the dialectal twist is that technology (rooted in the ideology of the technological rationality), has restructured itself into a repressive force morphing into a new normal human identity based in social conformity, and singularity of thought.

To clarify, consider for a moment the image of a youngster seating at a computer attempting to learn new computer software. The software routine demands a new understanding of the technical process which presents itself as obstacles to gaining entry. This individual must conform to the software's demands both in language and behavior. So the youngster turns to the tech support system of the software company where on line the "techies" in effect tell the youngster what to do and how to think in order to gain access to the program. Essentially, it is sensible for that youngster to follow another's directions in order to have use of the software.

However, during this exercise the youngster learns to accept the will of another, which also includes the computer. This volunteristic social behavior becomes even more insidious because the youngster internalizes the directions of another, rejecting his/her free thought and individuality by relying on the will of another.

As the youngster grows into an adult, there is the tacit understanding that the demands of the post-modern era will require consistent technical conditioning. Consequently, there is continues management of autonomous individual thought by the authority of technological nihilism. Furthermore, this management of the autonomous individual is an ongoing process throughout ones' life (Gerardi, 2006). The conscience volunteristic submission and conformity of post-modern humanity to what can be seen as the external authority of the technology has stripped the individual of free thought and individuality itself. Constant exposure throughout one's life to the continuous demands of the technological nihilism implies the continuous management of individual free thought. This management is inescapable because it transcends technology itself, and affects all segments of social life.

## II. CONCLUSION

Mass Culture and Technological Nihilism are unavoidable and inescapable in contemporary post-modern society. The affects of over exposure to these forces are: a) social conformity; b) loss of individual freedoms; c) social totalitarianism; and d) singularity of thought.

As was mentioned earlier a case in point is fashion. In fashion an effort is made to express

individuality through dress. However, as many begin to dress alike and look alike, human individuality is lost and social conformity is the rule (Gerardi, 2006). Furthermore, Technical Nihilism during the rapid and almost anomic technological advancement of post-modern society, the historical concept of individuality is lost and a new form of human identity arises. The conscience volunteristic submission and conformity of humanity to what can be seen as the external authority of technology has striped the individual of free thought and individuality itself. Constant exposure throughout ones' life to the continuous demands of the Technological Nihilism implies the continuous management of individual free thought. This technical management is inescapable in a post-modern society because it transcends technology itself, and affects all segments of social life (Gerardi 2006). A case in point is the youngster analogy mentioned above.

Moreover, being critical in an era which demands social conformity is irrational. Having an individual opinion which stands outside the mainstream is unreasonable. Social Conformity has become reasonable and sensible behavior in the post-modern technical era. This social conformity is analogous to Star Trek's "Borg". The "Borg" is a race of quasi- human beings in which the "collective" seeks one purpose, the pursuit of mechanical perfection of the human race through technical assimilation. This assimilation enhances the control of the "hive" or Borg society as a social collective. Analogous to the Borg "hive" concept in post modern society is singularity of thought, social conformity, loss of individuality, and ultimately freedom fostering the "collective" and hegemony.

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## “No Good Story To Tell”-Informal Settlements Still as Big as 1994. A Case of Midvaal Municipality in Sedibeng District

By Takunda J Chirau

*Rhodes University-Department of Sociology, South Africa*

**Abstract-** The apartheid regime kept the black majority in the informal settlements where they endured the most agonizing brunt of urban underdevelopment. Democratic government of South Africa today continues to shape, reshape and reinforce this underdevelopment albeit in new forms. This paper examines the vulnerability of residents of informal settlement in Midvaal Municipality pursued through a case study of Sicelo Shiceka, an informal settlement. The empirical findings of this study unpacked that informal settlements are largely vulnerable to lack of water, ablation, HIV/AIDS, crime and violence, xenophobia and unemployment amongst others. In response to some the vulnerabilities such as lack of income, informal residents have adopted a range of livelihood strategies including commercialization of sex, domestic work and so on. The study concludes that the vulnerability and lived experiences of residents points to poverty. These findings are projected through in-depth interviews which are a technique of qualitative methodology. Theoratically, the paper is informed by the social sustainability and sustainable livelihood approach.

**Keywords:** *informal, informal settlements, sustainability, livelihood, vulnerability.*

**GJHSS-C Classification :** *FOR Code: 370199*



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**Keywords:** *informal, informal settlements, sustainability, livelihood, vulnerability.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Post apartheid South Africa is confronted by a number of challenges, informal settlement is no exception of the challenges currently facing the government. The government in 2004 pledged with all confidence to eradicate informal settlements by the year 2014 [1]. Generally speaking the opposite have happened, informal settlements burgeoning and remaining eyesores in cities, towns and metropolitans. Informal settlements vary ranging from slums, favelas (Brazil), aashwa'i (Egypt) and ciudades perdidas (Spanish, "lost cities") and mukhukhu (South Africa) [2]. These consist of non-conventional housing built without compliance of legal building modus operandi. For that reason, [3] purports that informal settlements as 'a rule' (not in classical sense) are built at the edge of cities where land is cheap and neglected.

Informal settlements are characterized mainly by poor urban dwellers therefore their shelters shacks are built with salvaged materials (including but not limited to wood and iron sheets). In furtherance, most of these lacks infrastructure including electricity, piped

water, toilets and so on. Informal settlements act as a haven of contagious disease and HIV/AIDS is likely to be rife as a result of dwellers relying on commercial sex as a livelihood. Without doubt many governments in sub Saharan Africa including South Africa has failed to cope with the ever increasing urbanization rate. The actuality is that informal settlements in South Africa are here to stay as poor urban dwellers solve their housing problems.

There is a discernible link between housing and environmental conditions in informal settlements which reproduce poverty, vulnerability, social stress and informality. Caincross et al [4] argues that "linking basic services such as water to health is viewed as a false separation as these services are intimately related to housing". In general, it is a housing issue if dwellers contract diarrhea and typhoid through pathogens from fecal matter. It is important to debunk from the notion of seeing housing problems as not married to low income housing. Informal settlement eradication is one of the priorities set by the government in deracialising household delivery and the zoning system created by the apartheid regime [5]. Legislations, such as the Housing White Paper of 1994, Constitution of 1996, Housing Act of 1997, BNG of 2004 are a true reflection of governments move towards providing housing, enacted largely to redress apartheid inequalities. Nonetheless, as a result cities are experiencing high population growth, densities and congestion. Obliteration of informal settlements and relocation represent a critical challenge to the government, these include site improvement charges, bureaucracy and of paramount importance is the political corruption divorcing the majority from not 'only' getting adequate but safe housing [6]. It is against this background that this paper seeks to examine the vulnerability of informal settlement residents in Midvaal Municipality through pursuing a case study of Sicelo Shiceka an informal settlement near Meyerton. This paper is important for a number of reasons it fills the empirical gap on informal settlement based studies and generates fresh literature on informal settlements. This is significant given that South Africa is one of the middle income countries but inequality continue to shape, reshape and at most reinforced twenty years after advent of democracy.

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## II. UNDERSTANDING HOUSING, INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Reconstruction Development Programme met its demise before actually reaching all the well deserving beneficiaries in as far as provision of the so called 'RDP houses' which are low cost houses. Low cost housing in South Africa falls far below acceptable quality and standards. Not only are the houses small (which minimizes privacy within households) but also the housing structures are of poor quality and unlikely to withstand adverse weather conditions; in fact, a significant number did not survive the first few years of their existence. The quality of low cost houses (RDP) in South Africa has become news headlines in local media and the media abroad. The approval of the neo-liberal policy Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) in 1996 saved no good but worsened poverty of the already urban poor households. This kind of macroeconomic strategy is questionable with regard to its repercussions for social sustainability. The shift to GEAR therefore limited "policy maneuverability" and resulted in the "consequent neo-conservative straight jacketing of development policy deliberations" [7] Under the neo-liberal orthodoxy of GEAR, urban housing was commodified and resultantly impacting on housing service delivery, in part government was to spend less on public services while putting forward cost recovery measures. In other words market oriented housing was established in South Africa. Furthermore with the much proposed market driven housing delivery based on neoliberalism (profit driven), underdeveloped countries are even moving apart from ensuring sustainable housing.

South Africa is one of the most urbanized countries sub Saharan Africa and broadly in Africa. It is a mission impossible to talk of reliable figures, mostly approximates have been documented in literature. Statistics South Africa [8] points that in the year 2007, there were approximately 1.2 million people dwelling in informal settlements in South Africa on one hand. While at the other hand Stats SA [9] forcibly argue that households living in informal settlements have decreased from 16.4% to 14.4% in the year 2001. Through disaggregating provincial figures, Stats SA [9] points to the fact that 3 out of 9 South African provinces have higher figures of households living informal settlements. Cases in point are Free State (18.4%), Gauteng (22.7%), North West (23.8%), Limpopo (5.6%), Eastern Cape (8%) and KwaZulu-Natal (8.6%). Genuinely speaking, relying on such approximates does not point to realism. Unreliability of such figures can be seen in the contestation between Stats SA which guessed that there were 65113 families in informal settlements in Cape Town in 2004 while the City of Cape

Town argues that the actual figure is 94972 families [10]. It is most probable that illegal immigrants are not counted because of their fear to be expatriated.

Despite the dreadful conditions attributed to informal settlements in Africa and particularly in South Africa, they (informal settlements) act as a pool of cheap labour thereby contributing to economic growth. In that light, urban poor households endorse the formal economy because of the fact that they require fewer amounts of capital for housing and other related basic amenities. In South Africa, rural-urban migration has necessitated the increase in informal settlements, particularly people coming from former homelands where there is a dearth of opportunities. Migrants are mainly attracted to cities by socio-economic conditions such as better living standards. Ironically, these migrants lack the necessary skills to scope better paying jobs which are a way to decent housing compromising their livelihoods. Atuahene [11] rightfully claim that "they become victims of the city's wrath and they pose a daunting problem to policymakers in the developing world". In addition, they lack of security of tenure which is significant for achieving sustainable human settlements which automatically leads to adequate accommodation, fruitful livelihoods and good infrastructure.

The government has established site and services housing schemes as an approach to solve low-income housing problems. Srinivas [12] describes the sites-and-services schemes as the provision of plots of land, either on ownership or land lease tenure on top of a bare minimum of infrastructure appropriate for human settlements. The site and services schemes are chiefly aimed at i) housing the urban poor ii) increasing the stock of permanent household's iii) reducing public expenses iv) replacing informal settlements and tax implications v) developing a reliable construction sectors for job opportunities vi) empowering the emerging small businesses and accelerating capital development by low income households [13]. All this has partly transformed into reality as informal settlements remains as big as before 1994. One question forces itself on us, shortage of housing amount to violation of human rights. The Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution ensures economic, social and cultural rights such as the access to housing, the right to live in an unharmed environment, access to health, property rights and so on.

Section 26 of the Constitution identifies the right to basic needs, including protecting, fulfilling, promoting and respecting the right to housing by the urban poor. The Constitution elaborates: (1) 'Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing'; (2) The State must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realization of this right; and (3) No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without

an order of court made after considering all of the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions' [14]. Section 27 (1) (a) (b) and (c) endorses that each citizen has the right to access proper services and infrastructure such as health care services, water and social security. It is quite disturbing as such sections are not abided to, people in the informal settlements continue to leave in fear of their shelter bulldozed and torched, put it another way bulldozers and police have been turned into an instrument of governance. While at the same time preventing the emergence of informal settlements is a violation of the human rights to housing because the urban poor are left homeless thereby leading to discrimination and social exclusion. Such actions only save to exacerbate the vulnerability of the people dwelling in the informal settlements. To date the apartheid characteristics continue to be reproduced albeit in new forms, for instance the urban poor in the informal settlements occupy the periphery of the areas historically reserved for Africans. On the whole, the urban poor's ambition of owning, building a safe and sustainable house remains, for the most, a distant dream.

#### *a) Theorising Housing and Livelihoods*

The analytical framework that informs this study is located within the social sustainability with a broad context of sustainable human settlements development. Housing is a fundamental element of human settlement which gratifies basic needs and has an impact on welfare, quality of life, health and human development. A sizeable number of people in the developing countries particularly in Africa do not have access to dignified houses and live under agonizing conditions. Despite the move by governments especially in developing countries to ensure sustainable housing, policies, legislatures and projects that entirely contain all facets of human settlement remains an obstacle [15]. Given the rate of urbanization in the developing countries compounded by the lack of accountability, corruption and the much talked neo-liberalism leaving conditions will worsen and probably will lead to what Davies [16] called 'planet of slums'. Housing is the central constituent of the built urban environment and plays a pivotal role in all dimensions of sustainable human settlements. These dimensions are social, economic and environmental [17].

Generally social-sustainability indicators have been put forward in the literature. WACOSS for example provides five social-sustainable community indicators. These are equity (when a community offers equitable opportunities and results for all specifically vulnerable groups); diversity (when a community supports and encourages diversity of social groups and cultures); interconnectedness (when a community offers structures, systems and processes which encourage

connectedness outside and within the community at the institutional, formal and informal levels); quality of life (when a community makes sure that basic needs are fulfilled and promotes a good quality of life for all its citizens at the individual, group and community level); and democracy and governance (when a community promotes democracy and open and accountable governance). Littig and Griebler [18] offer three core social sustainability indicators. The first set of indicators deals with quality of life and satisfaction of basic needs. This includes the subjective satisfaction of housing quality, health, environment, income and education. The second set of indicators deals with equal access to opportunities in relation to similar issues. The third group of indicators deals with social coherence, and this suggests measurements for instance of solidarity, social networks, community interaction, participation in activities and tolerant attitudes (for example towards the unemployed and migrants).

The human settlement and sustainability are very crucial to this paper particularly because the democratic South African state boast as pursuing the sustainable urban settlements. South Africa under apartheid (particularly racial capitalism) was characterized by the social socio-spatial separation of different legally-defined races under different systems of central and local state administration. The poor black working class resided far-away from the employment opportunities and major facilities as such they experienced tremendous difficulties in sustaining a decent and dignified quality of life. It is against such a background that urban spaces under the agonizing apartheid were marked with socio-economic discrimination which weakened prospects for sustainability for the black majority. Overall, the framework is an analytical structure for coming to grips with the complexity of housing. But it is not beyond criticism. Of specific relevance to this study is the framework's marked blindness on how to survive and the need to bolster the framework through the incorporation of sustainable livelihood framework (SLF), such an understanding is critical for this study-unpack and dissect analytically how informal dwellers construct their livelihoods. This was originally applied to rural areas but has been more recently applied to urban working people [19].

Livelihoods are particularly important in understanding how urban poor households earn their living on a day to day basis, how urban environment (situation) impact on their household well-being and their aptitude to cater for their households. Of utmost significance to note are assets such natural, social, physical, financial and human assets (capitals). One of the key strengths of the framework in the context of this thesis is that it places a strong focus on productive assets/capitals in supporting urban livelihoods.

Broadly, livelihoods areas are defined as assets, capabilities (encompassing of material and social resources) and activities needed for a living [20]. Furthermore, a livelihood becomes sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks both for now and in future. Of importance is to conceptualize the asset vulnerability which particularly relevant to informal settlements [21]. The sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) seeks to understand the livelihood alternatives of the urban poor. Growing evidence on livelihoods suggests that poor households juggle these assets in times of crisis to improve their livelihoods. This concurs with Ellis [20] who argues that SLA acknowledges that trends and processes in the broader national economy create general social conditions which may provoke or inhibit livelihood diversification. Of particular importance as well is the role of formal, informal, organizational and institutional factors which limit or enhance livelihood outcomes.

#### *b) The Present Study*

Almost twenty years after the dawn of independence in South Africa from the hands of the ruthless apartheid regime from 1948 under the National Party (NP) a majority of South Africans still live under unbearable conditions. Some areas (Midvaal a focus for this study) despite being transformed infrastructure wise, the majority of the black population are still bearing the agonizing brunt of the underdevelopment shortcomings. It is quite disturbing that the right to proper housing as enshrined in the Bill of Rights continues to be violated in this democratic society. Informal settlements literature is quite substantial in Africa and South Africa particularly but in Sicelo Shiceka no study is known to the researcher. Therefore this study seeks to close this lacuna by offering fresh and novel knowledge concerning the lived experiences of the informal settlement at question in the context of South Africa being a middle income country but with a lot of inequality (housing a focus of this study). The black majority continues to live under harsh conditions, the apartheid housing policies of blacks living in the indecent shelters in townships and informal settlements continue to shape and reshape the lives of the black majority. This study uses explorative research in order to understand the lives of the informal settlement dwellers through framing the study under social sustainability in order to understand the quality of life and satisfaction and dissatisfaction of basic needs. This paper seeks to do so through specifically focusing on Sicelo Shiceka an informal settlement in Midvaal Municipality.

### III. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The broad aim of this paper is to critically examine the lived experiences (vulnerability) of informal settlement dwellers in the Midvaal Municipality (in Gauteng Province-Sedibeng District) specifically Sicelo

Shiceka (one of the informal settlements). The broad aim of the paper is backed up by subsidiary goals including: a) to ascertain the livelihood activities of informal dwellers and their implications for the survival of their household b) to understand the experiences and perceptions of informal dwellers in as far as living in 'shacks' is concerned. To attain the objectives of this study, the research is pursued under a genre of qualitative methodology.

#### *a) Sampling strategy, data collection and analysis*

The research is designed under a qualitative paradigm. Gibson and Brown [22] define qualitative research as an array of attitudes toward and strategies for conducting inquiry that are aimed at discerning how human beings understand, experience, interpret and produce the social world. According to Marshall and Rossman [23] qualitative research is pragmatic, interpretive and grounded in the living experiences of people. A qualitative paradigm suits the goals of this study which are to solicit the lived experiences of people living in the informal settlements of post apartheid democratic South Africa. It is consistent with the theoretical framework (social sustainability and sustainable livelihoods approach) which is primarily concerned with elucidating the processes by which people come to describe, explain and otherwise account for the world in which they live hence, it becomes important to listen to the participants own voices in studying the lived experiences of people in the informal settlements.

Purposive non-random sampling was employed to select the in-depth interview participants. The sample units were chosen because they have particular features or characteristics which will enable a detailed exploration and understanding of the lived experiences of the informal dwellers that the researchers are interested in. In-depth interviews were better suited to explore and study experiences and processes and provided informal dwellers the opportunity to be 'authors' of their experiences in their own words. This is constant with Seale [24] who argues that open-ended interviews are important because it ensures that the evidence collected is solidly grounded in research subjects' perspectives and interpretations without these being filtered and shaped by the researcher's pre-established constructs and categories.

Put it another way, the sampling technique utilized in this study enable the researchers to elicit sufficient data which best answers the objectives of the study. In-depth interviews were conducted with a purposively sampled unit of fourteen informal settlement dwellers (seven males and seven females). The essence of choosing such numbers was to elicit different data and get different lived experiences (since women and men derive sources of income and are subjected to different vulnerabilities). Having completed in-depth

interviews with the sampled unit, data was analyzed. The elicited qualitative data was rigorously scrutinized and sorted according to emerging themes.

#### *b) Study site*

Midvaal Local Municipality is in the Sedibeng District of Gauteng in South Africa. The name due to its geographical location Midvaal lies halfway between Johannesburg/East Rand and the Vaal/Vereeniging area. The municipality is 50% urbanised, with the rest made up of townships, farms, plots and informal settlements. Its economy is largely manufacturing but the agricultural sector also plays a critical role. Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement falls under the jurisdiction of Midvaal local municipality (other informal settlements include Khayelitsha and Boitemelo). Midvaal municipality has undergone radical change in as far infrastructure development is concerned and has turned into a tourist destination and industrial centre in southern Gauteng. However, despite the reforms under the municipality and the entire economic growth in South Africa after the agonizing apartheid regime, the lives of the majority in the informal settlement have not been transformed. It is no doubt that the Midvaal is one of the most noticeable in the informal settlement development. Amongst the informal settlements known to the researcher are Sicelo Shiceka which is an informal settlement located approximately five kilometers from the Meyerton town. The area is accessible through pathways and road.

In terms of other infrastructure, lesser households have disposable toilet facilities which are collected 'here and there' posing a danger of communicable diseases. Community taps are located at strategic points while few lucky households have their personal tapped water however they also serve the entire community. Sicelo Shiceka is believed to be housing at least 2696 households in form of shacks and people feel neglected because they lack proper and safe housing and the informal settlement has earned a name called Silahlwe (a Zulu word meaning we are neglected). Being an informal settlement, the area had been hit several times with floods further subjecting families to vulnerability.

## IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

South Africa despite being a medium income country inequality particularly housing has continued to shape the democratic era as was during the apartheid regime. Compounded by rapid urbanization, the government has failed to respond in an effective and efficient manner in providing decent housing, in case where houses have been provided- most of the houses have been low income houses such as the controversial 'RDP' houses. In response to the violation of the right to proper housing, poor urban citizens have resorted to building their own houses in form of shacks (locally

known as mukhukhu). The following discussion profiles the inhabitants of Sicelo Shiceka.

#### *a) Profiling the Sicelo Shiceka*

The majority (64.2%) of the informal dwellers sampled in this study are between the ages of 25-40 years, while (35.7%) are between the ages of 41-50 years. The respondents between the ages 25-40 years reported they were attracted to informal settlement because they did not have enough income to rent houses or apartments in legal buildings. In terms of educational levels, the majority of respondents, (nine out of fourteen sampled) reported that they did not complete a matric certificate. Hence, the results are consistent with the assertion that people in the informal settlements are highly illiterate posing a challenge of being employed in well remunerating formal jobs. A significant number of participants reported that they have dropped out of school because of the insufficient income to pay for educational expenses. In that light, most (100%) of the sampled respondents reported that they were not employed in the formal sector, because they did not have the required skills which most of the formal employers seek when they recruit employees. A significant amount of female (50.5%) reported that they were working in saloons in Meyerton town while some reported to be working as maids in the Henly on Clip (a low density suburb). Male respondents were particularly noticeable in construction part time jobs as well as security guarding. These part time jobs are notoriously known for being less remunerative.

Married respondents (males and females) constituted the highest proportion at 49.0% while the majority (50.5%) reported to be single, divorced and widowed. The number of household members (and hence the number of dependents) varied considerably with household sizes ranging from two to ten people. Given the household sizes it is disturbing that people are crowded in one or two rooms divided by a curtain to separate rooms. This poses a challenge to social reproduction particularly to children being exposed to sexual behaviors. One married respondent aged thirty years reported the following:

...its difficult to live under these conditions, my family is big and we have 1 big room which is divided into my bedroom and the kitchen where the children sleep. At times children they just come into the bedroom unexpectedly and to their shock they see something...[the respondent meant sex] which is not good at all to see parents doing such action.

From such a sentiment it becomes very clear that households living in less spacious rooms expose children to behaviors which they later translate into their own as a result unwanted pregnancies become rife in the informal settlements.

*b) Vulnerability informal settlement people*

Twenty years after attaining freedom, many South Africans are still surviving under precarious conditions including living in mukhukhu (a focus of this paper). Respondents were asked questions relating to their overall feeling pertaining to their form of housing. Several concerns were raised; the following is the discussion of the data gathered through the in-depth interviews. The following themes emerged: water, ablation, crime, employment, HIV/AIDS and xenophobia.

*i. Water*

Informal settlements are enduring shortcomings in as far as a basic amenity (water) is concerned. This is mainly because informal settlements are not site and service areas therefore it impacts on the provision of basic amenities in this regard water. The Midvaal municipality is obliged to provide water to all urban areas however; the informal settlement dwellers lack title deeds which is a provision to get safe and clean water. Data gathered through the in-depth interviews reports that clean, safe and reliable water supply was a long term problem in Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement. Day to day running of a household requires water therefore its availability is very important.

Water is used for many household chores including but not limited to washing dishes, bathing, and laundry and so on. Its unavailability is detrimental to humanity, particularly health. Lack of water causes life threatening diseases, respondents alluded that many dwellers have been treated of diarrhea particularly children at a nearby local hospital. Of importance is that when there is lack of water from the available community water source a number of people seeks refuge in the nearby water sources which are unsafe. In doing so, it becomes a coping strategy with the lack of the precious water resource. One female respondent reported the following

...what else can we do if there is no water, we end up fetching water from the nearby river to use in our houses...we cannot do anything without water. I remember there was an outbreak of diarrhea and mostly our children were affected. The municipality is doing nothing to give us water, political parties have promised us but after we vote nothing comes...we are tired

It is clear from that sentiment that the informal settlements suffer from the lack of clean and safe water and there is need for the city fathers to recognize their presence and provide them with clean and safer water irrespective of their informality because the problem is perennial.

*ii. Ablation Facility*

The problem of ablation facility is persistent. Respondents reported that they relieve themselves in the nearby bushes particularly because the municipality through the department of waste management takes too long to collect the waste in the ad-hoc movable cabin

toilets since Sicelo Shiceka is not a settlement designated area. As such the toilets omit a foul smell. Furthermore, women expressed their discomfort in using the bush for this purpose and advocated for early emptying of the cabin toilets. In time of a 'crisis' women respondents reported that they used the bucket system (as their last resort) however this did not solve the dilemma especially when the waste takers spend more than a week without collecting the waste.

The bucket system is still a common practice in many marginalized urban areas including informal settlements. It dates back to the apartheid era where most of the black majority areas were not serviced with toilets therefore relied on the bucket system. It is disheartening given that South Africa has gained freedom twenty years ago and black urban dwellers continue to be bearing this underdevelopment shortcoming. This second round of exclusion is attributed to the failure of the African National Party in dealing with the increased urbanization of the cities and towns. The lack of ablation facilities in the informal settlement has increased the risk of diarrhea particularly because of the over-filled facilities which attract flies. Resultantly, flies carry diseases which strengthen health of many informal as well as well serviced areas, including the areas of Meyerton town and Henly on Klip (these two are surrounding site and service areas).

*iii. Crime*

The issue of crime in South Africa is a complex one. South Africa is ranked first in terms of crime in the sub Sahara. The crime in South Africa ranges from murder, hi-jackings, rape cases, household break-ins and so on. Every day in the print media and visual media there are cases of crime in almost every part of South Africa particularly in the urban areas whereas the rural areas crime rate is limited (this is not to say-there is no crime). The high prevalence of crime in South Africa impacts on the tourist industry most as many tourists fear to come to the country as their destination. As well most investors are skeptical of their investment in a country where crime is rampant. Respondents from this study particularly women reported that they were more vulnerable to crime from youths who earned life through crime. They further elaborated that the crime ranged from house burglary and muggings. Respondents who have been victims of crime reported that they have suffered trauma and injury. One female respondent reported that:

We are tired of thieves here, everyday people scream after a thief has entered their house. Most of the thieves take radio, television sets and cell phones from houses. They mostly target houses which do not have male figures because they are afraid of males...we have reported these crimes but the youths always get away with their crime...the police is not doing their job

Another male respondent reiterated that

Youths have nothing to do...all they are here for is stealing and the police do nothing about that. Most of the stolen things are found in the second hand shop [televisions and radios]. That's how they earn their money because there is no employment...last time the other youth was stoned to death.

These two sentiments are reflective of the fact that unemployment in the informal settlement contributes to the high rate of crimes. Apart from that South African Police Services (SAPs) has a bad reputation to act in efficient and effective manner when crime is reported. Informal settlements have become breeding grounds for crime and if it remains unchecked a number of people will lose their lives as a result of crime (murder) as well as dwellers taking law in their hands in-case of a thief being caught.

#### iv. *Employment*

The issue of unemployment in South Africa is highly contentious with academia and politics. It is prevalent in both developed and developing countries. But for developing countries, this problem brings more challenges (including increased poverty) and complications (including political and social instability). South Africa is certainly no exception. High unemployment rates has become a major political campaigning agenda for most oppositions parties in the country including Economic Freedom Front led by former president of African National Congress Youth League Julius Malema and Democratic Alliance under the directorship of Helen Zille ahead of the elections on the 7th of May 2014. Unemployment has become a familiar misery of this democratic South Africa, its natures, causes and solutions remain a matter of disputes. Data collected shows that there was a unanimous conformity among the respondents that unemployment is a long term challenge in the informal settlements. One male respondent who do piece jobs like gardening and removing rubbles in nearby suburbs reported the following

... when the apartheid was abolished in 1994, we were happy that job discrimination was gone and we will have well paying jobs but the situation has become worse as we are unable to pay for education of our children and buying food for the house. The small jobs that we always get do not yield much money. At times you get R50 and it is not enough to buy food for the whole house...life is very difficult for us. Most people now survive through unscrupulous means like crime.

The above sentiment from the male respondent reflects that unemployment and crime are heavily linked together. The results of this study corroborates with Barker [25] "unemployment is probably the most severe problem South African society is experiencing and it is conceivably the root cause of many other problems, such as high crime rates, violence, abject poverty.... Prominent leaders in and outside government have also

stated that no government will be able to govern South Africa ...if this problem is not addressed effectively".

The respondents especially the married men interviewed reported that a stable income earned per month was what they desired through formal employment. However, because of the absence of employment opportunities most respondents reported that they were satisfied their party time work saved them with some sort of financial certainty.

#### v. *HIV/AIDS in the Informal Settlements*

Informal settlements have become undying features of the urban landscape in democratic South Africa, in actual fact these settlements have risen to be enclaves of social and economic problems including the deadly HIV/AIDS pandemic. This study reveals that the pandemic is so rife in the Sicelo, respondents were quick to point that the pandemic is robbing them of their friends and relatives in the settlement. One of the respondents who have recently lost a cousin reported the following:

last year I lost my brother because of this disease, youths and adults people in our community are highly active in sexual activities because there is nothing to occupy them...no work no nothing so they concentrate on sexual activities...some women offer sexual favours to get a beer, some offer sex to get money...and what makes is worse is they change these ladies and gentlemen between themselves. If one person is infected then everyone dies. It's a problem in this area

From the above sentiment, it is quite revealing that unemployment is a major influence into social vices like sexual activities in the informal settlement. As well in absence of the formal employment people engage into risk behaviours such as commercial sex to earn income. The results of this study are constant with a study by Ambert [26] which revealed that 16.2% of the residents of the informal settlements suffer from the disease. HIV/AIDS becomes so rife in the informal settlements because of the sexual networking as well as the partner change rates. It became clear in the in-depth interviews that alcohol abuse and sexual activities were everyday realities in the informal settlements particularly during month ends when people have received social grants from the government. Although HIV/AIDS is gender neutral, most women interviewed reported that women remain the worst affected.

The socio-economic status of the residents derives sexual behaviours. Through much probing one divorced women explained how she earned her income through commercial sex. She further explained how her household condition has forced her teenage daughter to engage into commercial sex with older men to supplement income for both household consumption and her fees. Unwittingly, girl child future is compromised as a result of the lack of income in

informal settlement households, exemplified through engaging in commercial sex.

vi. *Xenophobic violence*

The increase in xenophobia in South Africa has increased particularly in recent years despite the lack of direct comparable data. Despite the efforts by government in cubing racism and discrimination instigated by the apartheid government to disadvantage the black majority. Violence against foreign national has become very common and communities are divided by hostility and suspicion. There is a high perception that illegal immigrants are more involved in crime despite there being no statistical evidence to substantiate the perception as such foreign national are vulnerable to violence. According to a study by Human Rights Watch in 1998 immigrants from Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique living in the Alexandra township were "physically assaulted over a period of several weeks in January 1995, as armed gangs identified suspected undocumented migrants and marched them to the police station in an attempt to 'clean' the township of foreigners. The campaign, known as "Buyelekhaya" (go back home), blamed foreigners for crime, unemployment, sexual attacks and spreading AIDS.

One foreign national who owned a tuck-shop in the informal settlement explained how the service delivery protests are closely linked to xenophobic violence. He said the following:

It difficult to stay in this area, whenever there is service delivery, they always loot my shop...I do not know either I am responsible for providing service to them. I am not government. I do not even rely on the police because they mistreat us, even 'stealing'[they do not pay for what they take like cigarettes] from us and making unfounded allegations that we are responsible for selling drugs...it's so hard

Further probing into the xenophobic attacks unfolded that the South African's were angry of the fact that foreign nationals posed competition on available jobs, housing and commodities and the exceptionalism that comes from the fact that they are superior in relation to other Africans. It is apparent that informal settlements are havens of social ills and if it remains unchecked violence will continue to displace the already vulnerable foreign national.

vii. *Towards an understanding of living in a 'ramshackle'*

Meanings derived by informal dwellers about their household are different from those who live in well designated places. As such it raises questions about household satisfaction. In this section I reveal different perceptions from the different respondents in relation to their current household satisfaction.

Creating sustainable housing includes building houses which are durable and quality. However, in the case of Sicelo Shiceka, the shacks are substandard and

normally are one roomed and they are less durable arising from the fact that they are built with less durable and material, more so they are not able to withstand adverse weather conditions or survive for a long time. In large part most of the informal houses are built with mud and have been exposed to harsh weathering including the recent floods that have occurred resultantly weakening the already fragile houses. Respondents reported that some of the houses have partially collapsed particularly the ones made out of mud and plastics however they expressed that those made out of sheet metal were also affected but not greater than the mud houses.

Bearing in mind that these houses (shacks) are build on convenience due to lack of adequate capital either to buy or rent proper housing, most of the informal houses do not corroborate with the standardized houses. Further probing, revealed that most if the houses had leaking roofs making the household dwellers to susceptible to health hazards and this reduced available funds when people seek medication. Moreover, the roof leaks did not have adverse effects on the humans only but it also affected the household furniture and other household items. One divorced woman living with three of her children reported the following:

I am not employed on full time and most of the money that I get is for food and school fees of my children. My house leaks water every time it rains I have tried to fix it but the problem continues, during the night when it is raining you have to changes from one spot to another...I remember at one time I went to my Johannesburg and it rained all my wood furniture and my radio was soaked in water...I struggled to get such property...my daughter suffered from pneumonia for a long time.

As I have outlined earlier, roof leaks have affects human health particularly children because of their weak immune system. Female respondents with children reported that they have been (once or twice) forced seek medical attention because of disease like cold flu, pneumonia and asthma.

The Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement does not have electricity hence the majority of the houses do not have electricity. Data collected revealed that most of the houses used wood for heating the water and food processing. Mostly, women have been noticeable in collecting the firewood for the day to day running of the household. This posed a challenge and reduced time in engaging into other income generating livelihood activities. Food processing was mainly done inside the house or outside, nonetheless the houses have no adequate ventilation thereby causing another health hazard including bronchitis as revealed by one respondent whose child died due to smoke continued smoke emitted by the fuel wood. Overall, through

observation most of the houses did not have air vents and the walls have turned black due to smoke.

By and large, the respondents expressed disgruntlement over their satisfaction in relation to the structures of their household. The entire majority among the sampled people reflected that they were extremely dissatisfied with their current conditions but however they were hanging in through agency given that the government through the Midvaal municipality is adamant to regularize the informal settlement. Evictions do not yield anything other than more vulnerability and destitution as the informal settlement is always in constant threatening.

viii. *Livelihoods of the Sicelo Shiceka informal settlement*

Informal houses are cheap to build but their proximity to jobs is compromised. With the high unemployment levels in South Africa particularly because of high levels of illiteracy most of the informal settlements people form high levels of uneducated people making it different to be in cooperated into formal employment. Through agency and ingenuity these people are not victims of circumstance hence they have employed and devised methods of acquiring income through responding to the market laws of supply and demand. The following themes came out: domestic work, commercial sex, manual labour and stokvels.

- a. A significant number of females in the sample reported that they managed to provide for their family through engaging into domestic housework. They reported that they worked at household in the nearby low density suburb where they did chores like doing laundry, nurturing toddlers, washing dishes, household cleaning and other chores as instructed by their employer. However, they expressed concerns on the salary they were receiving. The income was mainly to cater for household immediate consumption while making it difficult to do savings for the future. However, women utilized the little they received to maintain household economic wellbeing. Domestic work is one of the many ways women earn their leaving although it is notoriously known to be not well remunerative. In relation to the remuneration, it differed from one house to another or from one low density suburb to another. An estimated amount of R1500-R2000 was paid every month for domestic workers. Most of this money was paid in cash because the domestic workers were not bank account holders making it difficult to save the little they received.
- b. Apart from domestic work, commercial sex was very rife as a faster means to get little amount of money. Younger female respondents reported that the lack of stable income forces them to look for income through commercializing sex. Commercial sex was

not only offered to the local people in the informal settlement but was also extended to outsiders (particularly truck drivers). Younger women are particularly noticeable during the day and night standing under highway bridges wearing attractive mini-skirts to lure men. They expressed that truck drivers were better paying than the local people in the informal settlement. They further unearthed that they have encountered contracts with some truck drivers, whenever they were passing through they communicated to meet. This brings a point of how stable income was earned especially on contract basis. In furtherance, commercial sex workers revealed that people working in the industries also were customers mainly during lunch hours. Income earned was precarious despite the contract based; one respondent aged twenty-six said the following

...the money that you get is very little, if you want to have more money it means you should be very attractive and attract a lot of customers because this game is like gambling sometimes you get a lot and at times you get nothing...sometimes men do not want to pay and they run away. I charge per round R50 per round and if you want more then you have to pay more.

From the above sentiment it is clear that commercial sex is associated with risk (particularly men not wanting to pay) and very little is yielded given risks associated with sexual activities especially with a multitude of men.

- c. Apart from the commercial sex which is mainly associated with women, men engaged into day to day manual labour work. Men were noticeable at all corners streets waiting for an employer to come and pick them for a part time job. The part time jobs that were mainly reported by the men included but not limited to the following painting, cutting trees, offloading haulage trucks, digging trenches and demolishing structures amongst others. The money that was gained from these jobs was not transferred into meaningful usage such as that of women in catering for household needs. Men used their money for buying alcohol and cigarettes. This reveals that the priorities of men and women differed greatly. As such this has increased domestic violence as men only think of themselves than household economic well being. A lot of married and unmarried women expressed that domestic violence was rampant in the informal settlement and it was mainly fueled by the income issues. Women have been able to transfer their financial capital to physical capital through acquiring assets as gas stoves, radios for entertainment and so on while men's money has perished in night clubs and women.
- d. Women often engaged into stokvels (saving groups). These groups saved as a way of increasing ones income. These rotational groups



were reported to be very much significant in as far as maintaining and increasing household income. The groups mainly comprised of five people and they contributed groceries for the first half of the year and also cash for the second half of the year. An agreed R500.00 was contributed by each member. Also besides the stokvels women relied on the child support grant though it was reported to be a meager income, it has helped beneficiaries to hang on during difficult times.

## V. CONCLUSION

As its main objective this paper has critically examined the lived experiences (vulnerability) of informal settlement dwellers in the Midvaal Municipality (in Gauteng Province-Sedibeng District) specifically Sicelo Shiceka (one of the informal settlements). The broad aim of the paper was backed up by subsidiary goals including:

1. to ascertain the livelihood activities of informal dwellers and their implications for the survival of a household
2. to understand the experiences and perceptions of informal dwellers in as far as living in 'shacks' is concerned.

Informal dwellers of Sicelo lived in abject poverty given that poverty can be conceptualized as "the state of lacking adequate means to live comfortably and the want of things or needs indispensable to life" [27]. Informal settlements lack meaningful employment opportunities therefore households and individuals engage into a range of livelihood activities so as to sustain their lives. As highlighted a number of livelihoods included domestic work, commercial sex, manual labour by men and stokvels. These are well known to be less paying but the study revealed that despite being less remunerative, households and individuals have rose above their expectation. There is a discernible link between housing and poverty as exemplified by residents of Sicelo Shiceka, their lived experiences compounded by underdevelopment shortcomings of water, poor ablation and other essential services. Poverty is not only restricted to materials conditions but it also reveals human conditions. In that light, informal dwellers revealed their indecencies which they bear daily. Their daily experiences have been exacerbated by the deadly mixture of neo-liberal policies which have cut social expenditures as unproductive and wasteful. In return this has affected the black majority including the failure to secure or own a proper housing.

Social sustainability have been pervaded in Sicelo given that residents do not take pride in their place of residence given the challenges such as leaking roofs and lack of ventilation and lack of basic amenities (as discussed under vulnerability section). In general, such indicators limit the social sustainability of housing

as indicated earlier. The housing in form of shacks is of poor quality and extends to creation of contagious diseases as highlighted earlier. Overall, this paper unearthed that informal settlements are a haven of many social ills ranging from violence, crime, xenophobia, commercial sex and so on and these are greatly linked with housing. The fight against violence and crime and HIV/AIDS is a mission impossible if informal settlements are not factored in particularly because they are the breeding grounds for all these activities. Put it in another way the above discussed are indicators of poverty and doing away with informal settlements will automatically lessen poverty. This argument, I would suggest is the chief contribution made by this paper to the existing knowledge. Poverty indicators are mutually linked to informal settlements in a dependent and fluid manner, however they might have disconnected analytical facets but on realism they interlink and give shape to each other.

The findings of this study have implications for urban development policy. That is to ameliorate urban poverty (informal settlement poverty) city fathers and other concerned stakeholders have to should ensure that informal settlements are regularized in as far as provision of basic amenities (water, sanitation and toilets) and employment. This can be done through donating frequently emptied toilet cabins, establishment of water tapes than relying on a few. Establishing vocational training is a significant move towards enhancing sustainable income and a move away from charity model or social protection model to a more sustainable way of living thereby uplifting living standards. In general, informal settlements have institutionalized themselves so authorities should initiate participatory approaches that will ensure the needs of the people affected. Ignorance towards the informal settlement will only intensify their existing conditions that are urban suffering and vulnerability.

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## An Analysis of Marx's Theory of Value

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*Introduction-* Marx's theory of value arose out of the bid to understand the basis on which goods were exchanged. What is it that determines the quantity of a product that is exchanged with another? How is it that a bag of rice can be exchanged with two bales of cloth or why is it that both products share the same monetary value? Marx's theory was a build-up on the theories of bourgeois classical political economists, notably, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, et al. who laid down the foundation for modern day economic theory economic theory from their investigations of what exactly determined the value of a commodity. For Barbon (1696:2) "things have an intrinsic value and that the greatest number of things have their value from supplying the wants of the mind". Others like Ricardo and Smith posited that the reward for labour (wage) determined price of value of the commodity. Locke (1777:280), studying the issue of the consequences of lowering interest rates posited that "the natural value of anything consists in its fitness to supply the necessities or serve the convenience of human life". Also, some thought that this 'value' seen in exchange was a result of the importance of products, what is regarded as its usevalue. 'but that 'this property of a community is independent of the amount of labour required to appropriate its useful qualities.

*Keywords:* value, labour, production.

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# An Analysis of Marx's Theory of Value

Dr. Badey <sup>α</sup> & Dinebari <sup>ο</sup>

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Marx's theory of value arose out of the bid to understand the basis on which goods were exchanged. What is it that determines the quantity of a product that is exchanged with another? How is it that a bag of rice can be exchanged with two bales of cloth or why is it that both products share the same monetary value? Marx's theory was a build-up on the theories of bourgeois classical political economists, notably, Adam Smith, David Ricardo, et al. who laid down the foundation for modern day economic theory economic theory from their investigations of what exactly determined the value of a commodity. For Barbon (1696:2) "things have an intrinsic value and that the greatest number of things have their value from supplying the wants of the mind". Others like Ricardo and Smith posited that the reward for labour (wage) determined price of value of the commodity. Locke (1777:280), studying the issue of the consequences of lowering interest rates posited that "the natural value of anything consists in its fitness to supply the necessities or serve the convenience of human life". Also, some thought that this 'value' seen in exchange was a result of the importance of products, what is regarded as its use-value. 'but that 'this property of a community is independent of the amount of labour required to appropriate its useful qualities.

The classical theory of value, therefore, appeared incoherent, contradictory and somewhat confusing, which is why Marx continued on the work of the classical political economists in order to provide proof of the theory and stated that, the value of every commodity is determined by level of labour contained in it', that is quantity of socially necessary labour time in the production of the commodity.

The subject matter of the theory of value, therefore, is the interrelations of various forms of labor in the process of their distribution, which is established through the relation of exchange among things nor the relations of people with things, but relations among people who are connected to each other through things what things?- Commodities.

This all shows that a thing can have use-value without having 'value'. The is the case when its utility to man is not due to labour such as air, virgin soil, natural meadows, etc.

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As use-values, commodities are, above all, of different qualities, but as exchange values they are merely different quantities, and consequently do not contain an atom of use-value. If then we leave out of consideration the use-value of commodities, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labour.

## II. DEFINITION AND EXPLANATION OF CONCEPTS

*Use-Value:* The capacity of a product or thing to satisfy the wants or demands of man, that is, having utility. As such, it must have definite qualities, it constitutes a substance of all wealth despite the social form of wealth and its value only becomes real by its use or consumption. Thus, something can possess use-value whether it is a commodity or not.

*Commodity:* A product possessing use-value produced expressly for gain or profit through exchange. Human labour is also a commodity since it has utility and can be exchanged for another commodity and for profit.

*Surplus Social Product:* The product produced in excess of what is needed or required for subsistence. The labour expended in the production of this is referred to as surplus labour.

## III. SOURCE OF VALUE

By source of value, we mean or refer to what makes for value and it is traceable to the production of commodity, which is when goods and or services are made or given expressly for sale at a 'profit'. Thus, 'a commodity is, in the first place, an object outside us, a thing that by its properties satisfies human wants of some sort or another ...whether, for instance, they spring from the stomach or from fancy... as a means of subsistence, or indirectly as a means of production' (Marx, op cit). By this, a man's labour also, is a commodity if it is exchangeable for benefit, as well as for any other thing. This is why Hobbes (Marx, 1887) says about labour power: the value or worth of a man is as of all other things, his price: that is to say, so much as would be given for the use of his power.

Our argument, however, is that the mere fact of exchange cannot give something value, and this is so because a commodity must have value which makes it necessary or possible for someone to want to exchange it with something he has, which he feels is of the same value. Therefore, exchange value would cease as soon as exchange ceases.

To become a commodity, a product must be transferred to another, by means of an exchange for the purpose of making profit because it will serve as a use-value. This is so because nothing can have value, without being an object of utility gotten from labour. If the thing is useless, so is the labour contained in it. The labour does not count as labour, and therefore creates no value.

It is because of the confusion associated with this, that Marx making reference to the physiocrats posits that, as we have seen, "the basis for the development of capitalist production is, in general, that labour power as the commodity belonging to the workers, confronts the conditions of labour as a commodity maintained in the form of capital and existing independently of workers. The determination of the value of labour –power, as a commodity is of vital importance". 'Therefore the foundation of modern political economy, whose business is the analysis of capitalist production, is the conception of the value of labour-power as something fixed, as a given magnitude. 'The minimum of wages therefore correctly forms the pivotal point of physiocratic theory". Having seen that the production of commodity is the source of value, the next problematic is the search for what value is.

#### IV. WHAT IS VALUE?

There are varied perspectives on what constitutes value. For Mandel (1970) "the simple, abstract, total mass of living human labour expended at average intensity in the course of production determines the total mass of value newly made in society".

For Adam Smith (Marx, 1863:78), "it is the labour time necessary to produce different commodities that determines the proportion in which they exchange for another, or their exchange value" or as Malthus says, it is "the estimation in which a commodity is held, founded upon its cost to the purchaser or the sacrifice which he must make in order to acquire it, which sacrifice is measured by the quantity of labour that he gives in exchange for it, or what comes to the same thing, by the labour which it will command"

From these definitions, we find a central thread running through: that of labour. The problem then is that they look at labour only in terms of how it is exchanged and not for what it is, for value is a representation, or expression, of labour, not necessarily that value is labour. Or as McLellan (1976) would have us believe that "as soon as labour, in its direct form, has ceased to be the main source of wealth, then labour time ceases and must cease to be its standard of measurement and thus, exchange value must cease to be the measurement of use-value".

Marx further states that "quite correctly they (the physiocrats)" lay down the fundamental principle that only that labour is productive which creates a

surplus-value, in whose product therefore a higher value is contained than the sum of values consumed during the production of this product 'but the actual meaning of value does not appear to the physiocrats because' they have not yet reduced value in general to its simple substance- the quantity –the quantity of labour or labour –time and even when they do talk of labour, they erroneously regard, agricultural labour, as the only productive labour, saying it is only this kind of labour that produces surplus-value, and then, that rent is the only form of surplus-value which they recognize. This view is hinged on their reasoning that the worker does not consume all that he produces and also that industry does create value but only transforms that already created by agricultural labour.

If we are to follow the above argument how do we account for the quantity of labour expended in the transformation of value created by agricultural labour, by those working in the industry? We therefore reiterated that value is the representation or expression of labour. It is the socially necessary quantity of labour or labour time used in the production of a commodity and labour is its substance. The validity of this labour theory of value is based on

1. Analytical proof. Which is that extended far enough, everything is reducible to labour
2. Logical proof. That, the binding quality of commonness, comparability and interchangeability of all productions is their quality of being products of human labour- abstract or physical human labour
3. Proof by reduction to the absurd: to wit, no human labour, no production, no value, no exchange.

The law of value operating in the commodity economy through the mechanism of competition therefore fulfils three functions

- i. it acts as a regulator in the distribution of labour power and means of production between the various branches of production,
- ii. it leads to the development of capitalist relations, thereby sending small commodity producers to destruction and
- iii. it acts as a motive force of technical progress.

Having known what value is and that labour is the common substance of all commodities let us look at the types of value.

##### a) Exchange Value

For there to be exchange value, there must of a necessity be division of labour. This is so because no two persons will exchange things, which are the same. It would be idiotic. The fact of division of labour makes it possible for people to be engaged in production for different products which because they have utility can be exchanged.

Exchange value therefore is the capacity of a commodity to be exchanged for another commodity. Such exchange is predicated on the sharing of

commonness between the commodities, which allows for comparison. The basis of simple measurement of comparison is however, not in terms of weight, volume or form.

According to Marx ( ), "exchange value is the proportion in which values of one sort are-exchanged for those of another sort". This is referred to as commodity relations and it constantly changes with time and place. Thus the regular system of exchange give rise to the establishment of standard equivalents.'

From the above we can assert that exchanged value is accidental and purely relative. Relative in the sense that commodities exchanged must have commonness and also, have the capacity for exchange by having a valid exchange value which must be equal to that of the other commodity. Balley (1821:165) in this regard accuses Ricardo of converting exchange value from something relative to something relative to something absolute. The more generalized commodity production becomes 'therefore' the greater the regulation of labour and the more society becomes organized on the more society becomes organized on the basis of an accounting system founded on labour'. Exchange is therefore governed by equivalence in work hours.

Marx amply illustrated this with an historical record in India where a farmer supplies the blacksmith with raw materials to make farm implements and also tills the blacksmith's land for him during the period the blacksmith engages in forging the implements. This demonstrates that exchange is governed by equivalence in work hours. Also, Marx gives an illustration of how an ell of cloth 927-28 inches) would be exchanged for ten pound of buffer (on the basis of the approximate labour-time needed to produce a given quantity of cloth.

Exchange value is therefore only a mode of expression through which the values of commodities are made manifest. It 'reflects' the quantative relationship of exchange in which the value of a commodity appears (Dutt 1879:263).

## V. DETERMINANTS OF THE EXCHANGE VALUE OF COMMODITIES

Three factors basically determine the level of a commodity's exchange value, and they are (a) the fact of its being a commodity (b) its use-value (c) the amount of labour deposited in it

### a) *Commodity*

It is simple fact that a product can not have exchange value except it is produced for exchange and not for immediate consumption or subsistence, in which it would not be brought for exchange.

### b) *Use-value*

A commodity must be a use value, that is have utility before it can be exchanged because it is its usefulness and ability to satisfy wants or need that makes it desirable and facilitates.

### c) *Labour*

The amount of labour deposited in a commodity is also a major determinant as to the level of that commodity's exchange value. The is the real value of the commodity.

Since the above hold true, exchange value becomes an objective bond set up between independent producers in order to equalize the various crafts in society based on division of labour and an economy.

In summary, exchange value can best be understood in relation to commodity production. Thus Marx in 'DA KAPITASL' (1887:)

Critically analyzed capitalism with special reference to commodities. He further disclosed when predicting the fall of capitalism, that the embryonic contradiction of capitalism lay hidden in the commodity and their exchange value =. Lenin, in support of Marx sees the exchange of commodities as the simplest, most ordinary, fundamental, most common and every day relation of bourgeois society. It would be pertinent to note that exchange before economics were monetized was not regulated and was by chance. Barter was the order of the day (that is direct exchange of products. However, owing to contradictions in the barter system, a commodity money, has become highly marketable and has gradually assumed the role of universal equivalent for any product or commodity.

Surplus Value: As long as the productivity of labour remains at a level where one man can produce only enough for his subsistence, social division does not take place and any social differentiation within society is impossible. Under these conditions, all men are producers and they are all on the same economic level. Any small increase in the productivity of labour beyond this low point makes a small surplus possible, and once there is a surplus of products, once man's two hands can produce more than is needed for his own subsistence, then the conditions have been set for a struggle over how this surplus will ne shared.

From this point, some of the labour output may now be used to release a section of society from having to work for its own subsistence. Whenever this situation arises, a section of society through its economic wherewithal can become the ruling class, whose outstanding characteristic is its emancipation from the need to produce for its own subsistence, by owing and controlling the means of production. The process of exploitation of workers is simple: the capitalist buys a commodity (probably raw-materials) needed for production and sells the products for a greater amount

of money than he expended or makes the worker produce in excess of what is required for his subsistence. The money realized is the initial form of capital and capital invested has a self expanding tendency. The fundamental motive of the capitalist is the creation of surplus value sometime referred to as profit.

For instance, during the slave era, the slave had to produce for himself by working on a tiny plot of ground on Sundays and whatever is produced constitutes his food. On the other six days of the week, the slave works on the plantation and received in return, none of the products of his labour. This is the labour which creates social surplus product, surrendered as soon as it is produced. The work on Sunday is the necessary labour, while the work from the six other days constitutes surplus labour.

Social surplus products is that part of the proceeds of social production produced by the labouring class but which is appropriated and expropriated by the ruling class, regardless of the form the surplus product may assume, whether they be natural produce or commodities.

Surplus value, therefore, refers to the monetary form of the social surplus product which is appropriated from the worker, whether gratuitously or no, without compensation. It is the value created by the labour of a worker over and above the value of his labour power. It is therefore, unpaid labour. As such in the capitalist system, the degree of labour productivity is such that the cost of living of the worker are always less than quantity of the newly created value, that is, only a fraction of his day's labour is left for him. If this difference did not exist, of course, employers would not hire workers since such a purchase of labour would bring no profit.

According to Marx, surplus value is created or produced through absolute surplus value and relative surplus value. The absolute surplus value being the process where by the capitalist increase the working day or intensifies labour while the relative surplus value is the process by which the capitalist decreases the necessary labour time.

## VI. A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

In reality, prices of all commodities (including labour) are continually changing. They rise and fall as the result of most varied circumstances which often bear no relation whatsoever to the production of the commodities themselves. As such prices (appear as a rule) to be determined by pure chance. Speculation which leads to hoarding, increase in energy which in itself increases the cost of moving goods from one market place to the other or even political decision usurping economic decisions are some of the random factors affecting the prices of a commodity. These illustrations tend to suggest that the value of a

commodity may not be identical to its price because the market price often may be a gross exaggeration or concealment of the true cost of production even when the socially necessary labour had been used. It follows too that value may not be constant.

Besides, value is time dependent. If it is akin to utility, preferences change as utilities change hence value attached to commodities and the price one is willing to pay in exchange for the value of such commodity will change. Again and by implication, Marx's theory attributed the capitalist surplus (profit) to the uncompensated labour, the gratuitous labour which the wage worker gives involuntarily to the capitalist as the worker receives no value in exchange. Surplus or profit truly derive from the hidden uncompensated labour, but the impact of management in combining resources, in selecting production process and technologies and in deciding economist still need a law to explain the chance connotation that determine prices of commodities, and indeed to find a central point around which fluctuations and oscillations will have to stabilize.

However, Marx had set himself the task of providing a popular outline of the economic relations firing the materials basis for the class struggle in capitalist society. He has provided a theoretical weapon on the theory of surplus value. Left to be resolved is the identification and definition of what consists the costs of production of the labour –power of the worker. To the classical economist and their mode of production, this is the quantity of the means of subsistence (food et al) such as their prize in money term which on the average is necessary to make him capable of working and to replace him with a new worker after severance.

However, the value of labour or any commodity is ultimately fixed by supply and demand. Supply and demand are the forces that regulate the temporary fluctuation of market prices. It explains why the market of a commodity rises or sinks below its value itself.

## VII. CONCLUSION

Although Marx's doctrine of surplus value is the cornerstone of Marx's economic theory, yet the kernel of Marxist theory of value is that exchange value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labour which is socially necessary to produce that commodity'. This is the basis for all Marxist economic theory in general while the theory of social surplus product and surplus labour constitute the basis of Marxist Sociology. It is the bridge connecting Marx's sociological and historical analysis, his theory of classes and the development of society generally to Marxist analysis of all commodity producing societies of a pre-capitalist and post-capitalist character.

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## Seva and Institution Building in Hindu Inspired Faith Movements

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**Abstract-** This paper looks at the spirit of social service or seva in four popular contemporary Hindu Inspired Faith Movements (HIFMs) of Indian origin now having a global presence. These include Chinmaya Mission, Vivekananda Kendra, Mata Amritanandamayi Mission and Art of Living. The core questions which this paper addresses are: a) how seva as a mandate originated in these HIFMs b) what in the seva is volitional, what are the prescribed aspects and doctrines c) how tangible seva initiatives interface with various systems and d) how seva contributes to institution building through the interplay of memory and oblivion dynamics thereby evolving the style of HIFMs. This paper argues that seva becomes a pillar of institution building for HIFMs. It operationally stems from volition, prescriptivism and doctrinaire propositions given by the HIFMs. The scope encompasses the core social sectors which then projects the HIFMs assertion/partnership in development goals in a resource limited setting. The styles of seva go beyond simple instilling/extolling of virtues, but rather portray as vanguards of fulfilling social obligations and perpetuating the charismatic teacher and Hindu based memories. With the Hindu inspiration as non-negotiable, the operational form contains communitarian notions of social citizenship and social justice. There is an element of 'public good' factoring in the HIFMs ideals.

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**Abstract-** This paper looks at the spirit of social service or seva in four popular contemporary Hindu Inspired Faith Movements (HIFMs) of Indian origin now having a global presence. These include Chinmaya Mission, Vivekananda Kendra, Mata Amritanandamayi Mission and Art of Living. The core questions which this paper addresses are: a) how seva as a mandate originated in these HIFMs b) what in the seva is volitional, what are the prescribed aspects and doctrines c) how tangible seva initiatives interface with various systems and d) how seva contributes to institution building through the interplay of memory and oblivion dynamics thereby evolving the style of HIFMs. This paper argues that seva becomes a pillar of institution building for HIFMs. It operationally stems from volition, prescriptivism and doctrinaire propositions given by the HIFMs. The scope encompasses the core social sectors which then projects the HIFMs assertion/partnership in development goals in a resource limited setting. The styles of seva go beyond simple instilling/extolling of virtues, but rather portray as vanguards of fulfilling social obligations and perpetuating the charismatic teacher and Hindu based memories. With the Hindu inspiration as non-negotiable, the operational form contains communitarian notions of social citizenship and social justice. There is an element of 'public good' factoring in the HIFMs ideals.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

As institutional actors in civil society, faith-based movements are institutional manifestations of forms of faith that are orthodox, assimilative or accommodative. The concept of social-political capital is an appropriate metaphor to understand faith-based movements in civil society. The aim is to reframe the civic engagement debate by redirecting thinking about the ways in which faith may (or may not) strengthen social worldviews (Wagner, 2008). Faith traditions share a commitment to 'looking out' to the wider community and testing faith through action. While this is often expressed as charity, service provision or interfaith dialogue, there is also the potential to politicise this impetus to engage. Faith-based institutions and movements are generally involved in 'community cohesion' and 'regeneration' schemes (Jamoul and Wills, 2008). These institutional manifestations generate a differential normative and ideational culture by defining and redefining the 'social' within faith discourses. Connections have been sought between practical mysticism and service (Gray and Lovat 2008). They

essentially provide access to the sacred at the deep level; and, sometimes break down the dichotomy between mind and body in worship to experiment with worship styles and music and hence communicate with a new generation (Landres and Bolger, 2007). Ample literature in the western context has emphasised on the role of faith-based institutions and movements as civil society actors in the process of welfare and development (eg. Wineburg 1992; Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1993; Johnston and Sampson 1994; Printz 1998; Silverman 2000; Chaves and Tsitsos 2001; Berger 2003; Slessarer-Janir 2004; Carroll 2006; Dinham and Lowndes 2008; Hamplova and Nespor 2009).

In terms of faith-based institutions/movements in the contemporary Indian context, a particular genre is Hindu inspired. The stances could be purist or syncretic depending upon the orientation of the charismatic guru/teacher (Copley, 2000; Copeman and Ikegame, 2012). Oomen (2004) and Beckreglegge (2003) have affirmed the existence of Hindu inspired faith-based movements since historicity<sup>1</sup>. Their roles in the socio-political arena and their Hindu nationalist leanings have also been discoursed.

Contemporary Hindu Inspired Faith Movements (henceforth HIFMs) are thus headed by teachers or gurus and/or their disciples, their ideological leanings basically translating into the ideology, vision or mission of the organisations (Copley 2000). They are institutionalised religious structures which represent change of religion as a social institution over time. They question hegemony and yet remain traditional in many ways thereby characterising a soft revolution (Rustau 2003). 'Hindu India' herein is presented as an embodiment of the divine and the focus is on 'service' of the 'Hindu nation'. This endeavour of faith-based institutions to engage in seva as depicted in the aforementioned studies can be seen as a move to develop culturally relevant theology – influencing behaviours, worldviews and lifestyles. The attempt is essentially to re-instate the rationality content of a given faith. Inspired by a charismatic leader, the focal point is

<sup>1</sup> The origins of organisational forms in the Indian context can be traced to the Bhakti era and later on with a series of reform movements during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Venugopal (2004) has proposed that the history of faith-based movements in India can be traced to the 19<sup>th</sup> century agencies of reform- Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj and so on- deriving their organisational patterns from the Christian missionaries especially in educational and medical welfare.

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the 'persuasion of the perfectability of the human nature in the here and now' and much of theorising which predicates this is grounded in the 'belief' that the individual is Divine. In the understanding derived from Feuerbach, here the concern is not with God as the other, but with the God who lives in and for the individual and whose real meaning lies in the conception of human. The epistemic distinction between faith and knowledge is thus blurred – it is, in a Durkheimian sense a connection between the sacred and the profane (Copley, 2000).

The contemporary phenomenon is that of avatar gurus – important element in whose endeavour to fulfill the earthly missions is the setting up of institutional organisations. There are elaborate mechanics of institutional building; ethics of seva as crucial to the spirit of institution building. Thus seva is panegyric i.e. it constitutes an expression of the Hindu topography of the self where the prototypical act of worship is the glorification of the divine (Warrier 2003). This paper looks at this seva epithet of Hindu inspired faith movements from a cross institutional lens. The core questions which this paper addresses are: a) how seva as a mandate originated in these HIFMs b) what in the seva is volitional, what are the prescribed aspects and doctrines c) how tangible seva initiatives interface with various systems and d) how seva contributes to institution building through the interplay of memory and oblivion dynamics thereby evolving the style of HIFMs.

## II. HINDU INSPIRED FAITH MOVEMENTS AND SEVA

Several case studies have emphasised on the role of Hindu faith institutions in social spheres. Kennedy's (1925) study looks at the ashrama of Chaitanya Mahaprabhu as a potential site for socio-religious transformation. Kopf's (1979) study is on the Brahmo Samaj focusing on the organisational structure and agency effecting upon societal structure and human agency. Pimpley and Sharma (1983) have presented a descriptive account of the role of Arya Samaj in eradication of untouchability in Punjab.

The Hare Krishna movement or ISKCON has invited attention of several scholars due to its Diaspora presence (Squarcini 2000; Guerrlero 2000; Madsen 2000; Squarcini 2002; Neubert 2008; Crnic 2009). Sullivan (1975, 2000) and Brooks (1989) have projected it as a movement with religious and social leanings. The social leanings come with their interventions in the area of education and health care and macro-interventions in the arena of ecological consciousness and a corresponding lifestyle. The other institution is Rama Krishna Mission which echoes the correspondence between Vivekananda's practical Vedanta and nationalist discourses. From a historical- materialist perspective Gupta (1973) talks of Ramakrishna

Mission's transformation from an autology of renunciation characteristic of traditional Vedic tenets to a mission of faith-inspired altruistic service. At a higher level of generalisation, the mission has been viewed as a prototype of the native response to the Western challenge, leading to or re-instating tradition (Singh 1973); modernity (Srinivas 1966) or to a tradition-modernity synthesis (Saran 1969).

Babb's (1986) 'Redemptive Encounters' looks at three modern religious movements: Radhasoami, Brahma Kumaris with its millenarian philosophy and Sathya Sai Baba cult. Using deep continuities as the central theme, Babb establishes the fundamental unity in these three modern styles of Hinduism and the single source all these derive from. Service to society and world affirmation/accommodation also emerges out of these deep continuities with the dharma of Hindu tradition. There are basic 'images' of Hindu religious culture which are present in these three modern styles.

Some other descriptive case studies on contemporary Hindu religious institutions have been done by Juergensmeyer (1991) on Radhasoami Satsang, Taylor (1987) on the Satya Sai Baba Seva Mission, White (1992) on the Sai Baba Seva Sansthan and Williams (1984) on the Swaminarayan Sansthan. Falling within the purview of discourses on the sociology of religion, these case studies have from a largely structural-functionalist perspective, laid a dual emphasis on the spirituo-theological and social service aspects of the organisations.

Specifically on the seva aspect of Hindu faith institutions, studies have historiographically mapped its origin through specific HIFMs.

Adopting the historical-materialist approach and the historical method of investigation, Beckerlegge (1995) has analysed the Ramakrishna Mission with reference to its ideological leanings translating into the practice of "seva" – service to humanity; discussion being undertaken in the context of a historical tradition of continuity maintained with the tenets of social service in the faith. Developing upon the contentions further, Beckerlegge (1998, 2000a, 2000b) has also proposed that the mission's social service activities are a manifestation of the social stake of a religious organisation within the purview of modern Hinduism. Extending the discussion in a comparative study adopting the historical and ethnographic method, Beckerlegge (2003) has presented the connection between the extensive promotion and practice of seva (service) within the contemporary Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), a Hindu left-winged organisation, and the invocation of Vivekananda. The connection has been examined through the dialectical relationship between the first two leaders of RSS- Keshav Baliram Hedgewar and Madhav Sadashiv Golwalkar and the Ramakrishna Math and Mission.

Warrier (2003) has, employing the case study method, examined the mechanics of institution building within the Mata Amritanandamayi Mission. Devotees of the Mata tend to attribute the phenomenal growth and spread of this organisation in the course of the last two decades to the miraculous power of their guru. She has further explored the ethic of seva or selfless service propagated by the Mata through interviews with her devotees and disciples. The ethics of seva, a vital component of spiritual striving among Mata's devotees is crucial to the spirit of institution building in the Mata Amritanandamayi Mission and indispensable to its success as a fast growing and increasingly popular guru organisation in contemporary India. She has further elucidated the rationale for seva in the Mission, the forms of seva rendered by devotees and disciples and means by which their seva effectively contributes towards the organisations' institutional expansion and growth.

Srinivas's (2008) ethnography explores the relationship between Sathya Sai Baba and his internationally-diverse, middle-class, city-dwelling devotees. She tells the story of the evolution of the global movement following Sathya Sai Baba, from the more Indo-centric religious pluralism developed by his predecessor Shirdi Sai Baba (d. 1918) to a universalistic mission to re-establish love and service. Devotees negotiate their two identities as members of a worldwide community of faith who live in urban centers. Local community service (seva) is the site for the intersection of universal and local communities. Performing seva, is a form of "practical spirituality" (2008: p.258), a way to enact Sathya Sai Baba's "love all, serve all" doctrine. Devotees who practice seva take an active role in the betterment of their local communities. Their performance of seva demonstrates an alternative and non-nationalistic way to perform citizenship. Seva is a devotional practice, for serving others is equivalent to serving Sai Baba, that is, "feeding the divine in the body of the poor" (2008: p.281). For the many devotees who will probably never make the pilgrimage to Puttaparthi, seva is as an easily accessible pathway that connects a transglobal community to its religious teacher. Moreover, it is through seva that participation in the local life of one's city becomes a sacred activity through the alchemical mediation of the transglobal avatar Sathya Sai Baba.

Kasturi (2010) has examined the Sanatana Dharma Sabha movement's engagement with socio-religious charitable gifting practices, or dana, between 1915 and 1940. In late colonial India, elite donors used the language and forms of dana to rework relationships of patronage, reinforce power hierarchies and transform the moral fibre of different 'publics'. Reformist orthodox Hindu socio-religious organisations affiliated to the Sanatana Dharma Sabha movement fostered and shaped sanatana dharma norms, precepts and ritual

practices through charitable gifting. Reforming dana was also a significant part of their project of revitalising sanatana dharma to craft citizenship, nationalism and a modern civil society. Sanatani organisations led public initiatives to prevent the misuse of monies by the managers of wealthy religious and charitable institutions and use this wealth to reinvigorate the Hindu samaj and religion. They also utilised the Religious and Charitable Endowments Acts as legal tools of reform to nurture a 'Hindu public' bound by caste, sampradayik and gender norms.

Seva in HIFMs from the epistemic lens translates their theo-spiritual perspective in a tangible form. The focus then is developing their theology of praxis – with faith as a key constitutive thread in the civil society fabric. The source of this insight thus far has been empirical material of descriptive, historical and ethnographic nature – primarily singular case studies which map the growth trajectories, follower profiles, strategies and praxis. If seva is one core proposed strategy of proliferation/world affirmation across HIFMs (Walliss, 2007; Locklin and Lauwers, 2009; Srinivas, 2010; Zavos, 2012) the need is to build analytical bridges across (in the sense of Babb's (1986) deep continuities) and examine the same form a cross-institutional lens which this paper attempts to do.

### III. METHODOLOGY

The four broad questions which this paper attempts to address are: the origin of the seva mandate; aspects of volition, prescription and doctrinaire propositions in seva; systemic interfaces of seva initiatives; and how seva contributes to institution building in HIFMs through the interplay of memory and oblivion, thereby evolving the style. Of particular importance is the aspect of volition, prescriptivism and doctrinaire propositions that spearhead seva initiatives. The peculiar analytical approach adopted here derives from the following proposition. Among the HIFM associates there are volitional service tendencies as also prescribed mandates and doctrines, akin to trends in general faith-based movements (Kochuyt, 2009). Drawing from Hefferan (2007), it can be proposed that they provide spaces to negotiate realms not evident in strictly economic discourses such as good, evil and morality and work directed towards higher purposes.

Four popular and contemporary HIFMs were selected, that were founded between 1950 and early 1980s in India first and then developed a Diaspora presence. These included: Chinmaya Mission, Vivekananda Kendra, Mata Amritanandamayi Mission and Art of Living.

In Chinmaya Mission, it was the teacher Swami Chinmayananda's intent to revive an understanding of the ancient philosophy of Vedanta (Thapan, 2005). Chinmaya Missions genesis in 1953 is further attributed

to the adherents inspired by the discourses - christened as jnana yagnas (knowledge portals of sacrifice for transcendence). With respect to Vivekananda Kendra, Swami Vivekananda's (SVs) charisma was posthumously transported by an RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, right wing Hindu militant organisation) member Eknath Ranade who was later fully committed to Vivekananda Kendra's work. Vivekananda Kendra's genesis in 1972 is attributed to the sanctification of the Vivekananda Rock Memorial at Kanyakumari, an idea floated by the Ramakrishna Mission during his birth centenary year in 1963. The commencing aspect was SVs vision of nation building through cadre creation and capitalising on the heritage and spirituality of India. Amritanandamayi Mission's genesis paralleled the female guru Sudhamani's (later christened Mata Amritanandayayi) divine projections, and certain cause collaborators. These cause collaborators included an initial group of educated young men who wished to renounce family life to practice spirituality. By 1978, the nucleus of the spontaneous ashram grew and in the same year, Mother Sudhamani directed a devotee Balu to go to the Ramana Maharshi abode at Tiruvannamalai and meditate there for 41 days (Amritaswarupananda, 1988). Three years later on 6th May, 1981 with a view to preserving and propagating the teachings of Mother Sudhamani, the Mata Amritanandamayi Math and Mission Trust was founded. For Art of Living, the charismatic guru Sri Sri Ravishankar's transcendental experiences and efforts towards institutionalisation of spiritual training had an osmosis effect. These transcendental experiences of Sri Sri emerged out of a ten day quietude in Shimoga where he meditated after his training in Transcendental Meditation (™). This resulted in the first course on Sudarshan Kriya and Pranayama (SK&P) and the establishment of Ved Vigyan Maha Vidya Peeth (VVMVP) (Lebelley 2010; Gautier 2010). This followed the formal establishment of the Art of Living foundation in 1982 as a 'non-profit, educational and charitable organisation designed to enhance the quality of life'.

Field work was undertaken with all the four organisations in the summer of 2011. This entailed looking at the available institutional literature, discussion with the order or the key informants of the HIFMs and non-participant observation of the range of seva initiatives within the geographical proximity of the headquarters of these organisations (i.e. at Mumbai and surrounding regions, Kanyakumari, Kollam and Udayapura in India) and their modalities. The narratives evolved have been analysed utilising the conceptual networks within the study parameters as specified and a meta analysis has been attempted of the cross institutional picture.

Abiding by the case study tradition, apart from the proposition on volition-prescriptivism-doctrinarism

that forms the core, some other initial propositions are as follows:

HIFMs demonstrate either a serendipitous social service initiation and/or streamlined for charisma/ideology practical translation. The mandate is to bring faith back into the public realm (Isaac, 2003). The service ideology is mediated actively by religious-civil practices combining philanthropy and rituals. Norms of community organising around the faith principle are created.

The service scope-mission-mandate-management reveal aspects of faith-based program theorisation wherein the faith component, personal spiritual growth, beliefs development accompanies service. The engagement in core service sectors entail a partnership in development goals in an essentially resource limited setting. Mission is to respond to the faith calling and hence religious imagery accompanies the service mission to communicate faith-basedness in the 'public face'. Service mandate and management posit on the middle ground between sacred-secular: faith commune is primary influences aspect of leadership, practical functioning and finance-policy. The overall understanding is to cultivate a faith-based context for service.

Multisystemic institutional relationships can be seen – with the legal system, governance systems, economic system and civil society including adherents-associates-beneficiaries. Amicability/compliance characterizes the general relationship with the legal system and governance processes as the endeavour is to become crucial actors in the public domain (Pipes and Ebaugh, 2002). Beyond market exchange characterises the general relationship with the economic system; somewhere questioning the rational choice market model – as philanthropy is the main source (Twombly, 2002). With the adherent-associate-beneficiary subset, the core idea is to generate social capital (Lockhart, 2005).

The style of faith-based social initiatives of the HIFMs is characterised by dimensions of political economy, memory and oblivion. Political economy dynamics are determined by world perceptions and translations into practice. This would signify a collateral seepage of Hindu hegemony. Co-option and faith coded biopolitics or governmentality reveal power dynamics (see Kennedy and Beilefield 2006; Arif 2008). Faith memories are created through cultural practices, as also there are elements of oblivion (or secularisation) which in turn determine the style.

#### IV. HOW SEVA ORIGINATED IN THE HIFMS

Seva activities in Chinmaya Mission have their genesis through two sources: the vision of the spiritual heads and the seva propensity of individuals committed to the Chinmayananda ideals. The 'secular' seva

projects have been equated to the historic 'jnana yagnas' of Chinmayananda - as activities of nation building with the understanding of Hindu religion/dharma as embracing every aspect of life. In Chinmaya Mission, the component of seva is embedded in the pledge. It is construed as a component of moral responsibility and that is directed towards 'people' and 'nation', each aspect then translating onto seva to the Absolute<sup>2</sup>.

As Vivekananda Kendra commenced as a spiritually oriented service mission post the establishment of the Rock Memorial - seva component was embedded in its initial design. Swami Vivekananda's message of naraseva - narayanseva (service to man is service to God) was drawn on explicitly by Eknath Ranade. Perpetuation of the Swami Vivekananda memory and translating into action his ideals of 'man making and nation building' served to be the vantage point. The Vivekananda Kendra mandate was initially cadre training - seva vratis and jeevan vratis - a non monastic albeit committed group of individuals willing to mould themselves to the mission of Vivekananda Kendra. Commencing with educational initiatives, Vivekananda Kendra then moved to north eastern areas with the same object followed by rural development, natural resource development and alternative technology initiatives on a broader scale. Simultaneously the shibir culture with training in yoga as also intensive training programmes for the cadre workers including aspects of Hindu philosophy, Swami Vivekananda thought genre and translating that ideational stance through practice continued as viewed so till date. Apart from Swami Vivekananda's ideal, some of the other ideational positions that fed into Vivekananda Kendra's stance of seva were: the Adi Brahmoist stance of placing at the centre stage of the national life concepts of Brahman and universal equity; Dayanand Saraswati's spiritual revivalism; concepts of integral humanism and unity of creation and Gandhian thought. Further Eknathji, in view of the then RSS history {ban imposed post Gandhi assassination and uplift and struggle for organisational image annihilation} also viewed Vivekananda Kendra as a forum for translating the 'perceived uncompromising RSS stance into a palatable proposition'. Hence foci shifted from the 'extremist and revolutionary ideational isolate' onto a 'posterior cadre creation facet' for an undebatable purpose of nation building<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The scope of Chinmaya Mission's *seva* encompasses education, integrated rural development, health and residential services and institutions for elderly. The proclaimed mission is a re-instatement of justice.

<sup>3</sup> The scope of Vivekananda Kendra's *seva* includes: education as a pioneering service activity including Vivekananda Kendra residential/non-residential schools and balwadis particularly in north eastern states; rural development programmes; NARDEP or natural resource development programme including Gramodaya as a model

In Amritanandamayi Mission, the genesis of social leanings arose from the sporadic and spontaneous acts of helping of Mother Sudhamani in the Parayakadavu village - wherein as per her biography - 'she would step in almost anywhere to help people in poverty and need' (Amritaswarupananda 1988). Further as the narrative goes, 'she proclaimed having a divine rendezvous whence she heard a voice tell her that she was not in this world to merely meditate in isolation - but to go out and serve and spread the feelings of love and compassion for all fellow human beings'. With that individual episteme and with the formal setting up of Amritanandamayi Mission in 1981, the vantage point for spiritual-social endeavours was set. The first formal initiative however was undertaken in 1987 when with the corpus created from individual donations as also some from the paternal family property of Amma (as she is called by her devotees) that the first school for Sanskrit teaching which was free of cost and an accompanying branch ashram was opened in Kodungallur Kerala. Subsequently from the year 1989, formal setting up of institutions and training centres under the aegis of Amritanandamayi Mission was undertaken in and around Kollam district of Kerala. Amritanandamayi Mission's main mission of social/ humanitarian seva is the core message of 'unconditional love and compassion for all viewing divinity in them' as proposed by the charismatic teacher. Practical spirituality - a social leaning along with inward movements, form the normative ideational base of the social initiatives of Amritanandamayi Mission<sup>4</sup>.

Genesis of seva of Art of Living can be traced to the early 1980s, colliding with the genesis of the foundation. In early 1985, the 'Care for Children' program geared towards the educational development of children in the surrounding rural areas of the Udayapura ashram and the VISTA India program geared towards women empowerment were launched. Commencing as a figment of Sri Sri or a member adherents' imagination (with the sanction and permission of Sri Sri) these social initiatives have been launched. Art of Living foundation's seva mission is evident in its vision statement which encompasses its 'non-profit' and 'charitable' edifice - geared towards educational activities and enhancing the quality of life. This broad statement then provides room for multiple

initiative; and, training/mainstreaming initiatives in Arunachal Pradesh, Nasik and Orissa. For Vivekananda Kendra, the mission is threefold: to live up to the historical image of Vivekananda Kendra as a spiritually oriented service mission; to perpetuate the public memory of SV; and, to build a brand image for Vivekananda Kendra in terms of 'saffronised at core but inclusive in praxis'.

<sup>4</sup> The scope and range for Amritanandamayi Mission encompasses educational services, residential institutions for vulnerable groups, hospice and healthcare services, disaster relief and rehab operations, food services, environmental initiatives and ecological conservation and livelihood development. Amritanandamayi Mission has an austere mission of service as an instrument in spiritual growth.

interpretations and a range of activities both social and spiritual which can be subsumed under the same. The mandate is thus of transformation – primordially personal and hence social. Art of Livings basic ideology of seva is governed by threefold norms - love, seva and punarvana. In terms of love, the basis is that of divine love - loving all by seeing God's manifestations in them. With that basic preamble, seva is launched which is ideally a selfless exercise undertaken by Art of Living volunteers as a part of their sadhana. Punarvana is rejuvenation or transformation - bringing in a newness of all forms<sup>5</sup>.

## V. VOLITION, PRESCRIPTIVISM, DOCTRINARISM: HOW SEVA IS SPEARHEADED

On the postulate of volition, the HIFMs facets are as follows. For Chinmaya Mission with respect to both householders and monastic disciples, the quintessential requisite is the 'thirst for knowledge' of Vedanta in the Chinmaya Mission packaged form. Realising and recognising Chinmaya Mission as the paragon of Hinduised metaphysical, philosophical and practical view of life and the willingness to fit into the kaleidoscope is the primary component. That in Chinmaya Mission terms cannot be cultivated or infiltrated, but has to be in born. In Vivekananda Kendra terms, volition is the urge for spirituality and propensity to engage in nation building ventures. Seva for Amritanandamayi Mission is an integral part of harnessing the 'spiritual DNA' (Ramakrishnanda, 2006) and hence the volition is a natural outcome of spiritual quests. The preliminary translation of the social service mandate of Art of Living happens at the level of the individual member adherent and Art of Living volunteers and teachers. In the Art of Living genre, volition and prescriptivism collide - as seva (service) has been laid down as an essential component of sadhana (or spiritual practice) and spirituality as per Sri Sri is the 'technology of the consciousness and the whole world is the play and display of consciousness' (Vyakti Vikas Kendra 2005); and 'seva is seeing God in the next person, and when we serve, we are able to go deep

within, the deeper you go the more you are able to serve - they complement each other' (Sri Sri Publications Trust 2005). The self-world connections are inevitably established as seva is a crucial pathway to mumukshatva (desire for total freedom and enlightenment). Seva assumes multiple forms - the hermeneutics are broad enough to encompass a range - from scientific research to disaster interventions to empowerment efforts and charitable giving.

For Chinmaya Mission, prescriptivism and doctrinarism then is in twofold terms: i) the metaphysical-philosophical spread; and, ii) the work-outreach-service ensemble. The metaphysical-philosophical spread comprises of levels or gradations of courses on the ideational core of Sankaracharya's version of Vedanta - the forms for householder adherents being jnana yagnas (as per the historical method of Chinmayananda referring to austerities and sacrifice to attain 'true' knowledge), spiritual camps, study groups, lesson course {a correspondence course on the fundamentals of Vedanta} and the three month residential dharma sevak course; and, the two and a half year residential course in Vedanta for aspiring ascetics who wish to join and perpetuate the monastic order of the mission. The work-outreach-service ensemble comprises of casting the Chinmaya Mission message in the mould of service-outreach-work for others and nation through the practical philosophies embedded in and drawn from Vedanta itself - the core being oneness, karma yoga and nishkama karma (work as austerity and unattached work), and seva as sadhana (service as a form of penance ensuring other worldly transcendental benefits). Prescriptivism for those engaged with Vivekananda Kendra is the training for workers and volunteers (seva vratis, jeevan vratis, vanaprasthis and shiksharthi) as per the prescribed training package and the acceptance of 'postings' in areas of Vivekananda Kendra service projects. In Amritanandamayi Mission, what is prescribed are the spiritual-service oriented regulations for monastic and householder disciples.

With respect to Vivekananda Kendra, the doctrinaire turn arrives with: i) the acceptance of the Vedanta relationality as having transcultural and transnational implications; and, ii) viewing nationalism as an overarching vision inspired by the historical 'man making and nation building' temper of Swami Vivekananda as also spiritual nationalism of RSS leader Gururji Golwalker. The language for Vedanta relationality in the public domain is a moral universalism based on compassion for and connectivity with society. The ethics of Vedanta relationality coupled with nationalism are then embodied in acts of yoga practice, vegetarianism, camaraderie with fellow volunteer workers and righteous norms of conduct derived from practical Vedanta translatable across a range of socio-political sites. Hence what is crucial in shaping the doctrinaire forms of

<sup>5</sup> Art of Living social initiatives scope encompasses - education, health and substance abuse interventions, livelihood and empowerment through rural development efforts, women's empowerment, prison programmes, sustainable development, disaster and trauma relief and peace initiatives of political and communal nature. In line with the larger vision, the Art of Living mission is to undertake work whenever required and opportunity arises - the HIFMs stake being that of a spiritual institutional actor within the civil society frame. Hence a certain degree of fluidity and permeability characterise Art of Living's social endeavours.

Vivekananda Kendra are: sites of sociality, Vedanta relationality and the non-discursive realm of nation building. Vivekananda Kendra also promotes as a doctrine Swami Vivekananda's conception of Vedanta socialism (as distinct from Marxian socialism, with spirituality as the underlying principle) as an abiding tenet of political organisation. What is proposed is Swami Vivekananda as having historically shown the spiritual-social-political path, temporally transported by Eknathji and transposed in Vivekananda Kendra. Along Platonic lines, the genealogy of Swami Vivekananda leadership has, as per Vivekananda Kendra, served the purpose of re-instating moral values that enable engagement in transcendental tasks of nation building.

The doctrinaire propositions are introduced for the Vivekananda Kendra adherents heuristically-commencing with inwardness of self discovery through yoga then catapulted onto a meaningful outwardness of service at the vital level and nation building at the surreal level.

In Amritanandamayi Mission, the doctrinaire twist comes with the consolidation of faith-service link taking the forms of service groups and tithing practices. Doctrinarism for Art of Living is the mandatory allegiance to the Art of Living courses as the inevitable way forward. The courses are of basic and advanced levels, as also there is the Sahaj Samadhi Meditation, Divya Samaj ka Nirman (DSN) meaning creation of a divine society, All Round Training in Excellence (ART-Excel) course for children, Youth Empowerment Seminars, corporate programs and Sri Sri Yoga.

## VI. SEVA IN HIFMS AND SYSTEMIC INTERFACES

Through seva HIFMs have systemic interfaces with the legal system, political and local governance, the economic system and civil society. The general view of the legal system is that it is for attestations and sanctions and hence there is historically an element of compliance with the same. Similar notions prevail in Chinmaya Mission and Amritanandamayi Mission. Vivekananda Kendra proposes a compliance and adherence - the legal unit at the headquarters looking into matters of registration, permissions and offering advisory details to branches and centres. With the legal system there is a tradition in Art of Living of attaining sanctions and abiding by controls; the general image of Art of Living being that of a pro-establishment organisation facilitating larger jurisprudential processes.

With the political and local governance, the general trend is that of congruence and collaboration. The Chinmaya Mission and Amritanandamayi Mission tradition is that of collaboration, exchange and co-ordination, Chinmaya Mission positing as a Hindu faith-based organisation on a spiritual-social mission. In Vivekananda Kendra, there are elements of

collaboration and co-operation with the local/state establishment and a consociational<sup>6</sup> form of partnership in development from the Vivekananda Kendra ideational lens. The Art of Living relation is twofold: at one level in keeping with the legal system there is a tendency to align and hence build a consortium with state efforts - whether it is in the field of women's empowerment or ecology. At the next level programs also play an arbitration role between the state and conflict ridden situations in a self directed manner. Particularly in the field of ecology, corporate-state clashes have been dealt with by the Deepening Roots initiative, by including a strong component on ecology in the Art of Living corporate courses wherever applicable.

The systemic interface of Chinmaya Mission with the economic domain is threefold: i) self sustenance through revenue generated out of sales of spiritual goods/discursive commodities; ii) remunerations from philanthropy outside market exchange - a kind of beyond rational choice expense of individuals in exchange of the intangible, inexplicable and transcendental; and, iii) in a bridging sense towards the 'secular' program oriented state and global funding {sources such as USAID, NORAD and others}. Chinmaya Mission has a systematic and well worked out policy for receipt of foreign funding, proposal writing and program designing. Within the economic realm in particular, the norm and form of fund requisition, program development and management deconstructs and demystifies the 'sacral' - fuzzifying at times the sacred-secular dichotomy boundaries - Chinmaya Mission functioning as a systematised, translocal, third sector institution in interactionist and exchange relation with the global and local markets and the state. For instance, systematic program proposals have been developed for obtaining funding for sewing unit vocational training centre at Chinmaya Organisation for Rural Development (CORD) {funded by NORAD} and for the obtaining of fully automated wheelchairs for the residential institutions for the elderly or Pitamaha Sadans.

In terms of the economic system, Vivekananda Kendra has three way interface: i) there are ideals of self sustenance as derived from the Gandhi vocab; ii) RSS trajectory of 'Hindu social responsibility' (linking Hinduism to economic growth akin to Weberian links of Protestant ethics and capitalist spirit); and, iii) Vivekananda Kendra bringing the compassionate angle of service which highlights the third interface of 'giving' as a culture beyond rational choice economics. Hence self sustenance, Hindu inspired social responsibility and philanthropy are three domains of Vivekananda Kendra

<sup>6</sup> Arendt Lijphart has proposed the concept of consociational democracy, moving beyond Hobhouse's notion of organic liberalism and hence advocating the schema that ensures that the will of diverse groups is accounted for in the political process (Mahajan, 1998).

tryst with economics. Amritanandamayi Mission economics is managed by philanthropy and international funding and collaborations - Amritanandamayi Mission being an NGO with special consultative status to the UN. With the macro-economic system, the interface of Art of Living is of threefold forms: self sustaining ventures - Art of Living generates its own funds by sale of literature, CDs containing transcribed talks and discourses of Sri Sri as well as its organic and ayurvedic products which are in turn utilised for social service initiatives. Secondly, there has also been a culture of tithe in Art of Living with some member adherents giving a part of their annual income for Art of Living activities. In some cases honorary services are also rendered. Thirdly there are also systematic establishment grant receipt policies (Art of Living is reasonably open to access state funds on schemes applicable to vulnerable groups); albeit within voluntaristic frame of reference.

In terms of the larger civil society, Chinmaya Mission through its social initiatives is instrumental in the image creation as a Hindu missionary. For the same, in terms of the volunteer assets, Chinmaya Mission capitalises on the imagined commune of Vedanta aspirants. The modus operandi is the appeal to the moral-ethical dimension among adherents to solicit collaboration in social initiatives. Two links are the tools: i) the 'dharma-karma-sadhana-seva-moksa link' referring to religiosity-work-austerity-service-renunciation link; and, ii) the 'metaphysical-ethical-praxis link' from the Hindu vantage point. The latter is a more Vedantic description of the imperative of service along with Hindu spirituality using arguments, contentions and propositions from scripture to dwell on the epistemology, ethics and practical aspect in Vedanta. For the Chinmaya beneficiaries, there is a Promethean portrayal of Chinmaya Mission as a material benefactor and spiritual emancipator. For beneficiaries, Chinmaya Mission officials perceive two other flavours of interface: firstly, the privilege of association/adherence as atypical in the existential scheme of things. Secondly, the contention is that such valuable associational prospects should be safe deposited and utilised/expended in future for social-spiritual mobility.

With the civil society Vivekananda Kendra preserves relationships of the nature of brand image building and cadre creation. This is operationalised by highlighting the associational privileges which include: i) Vedantic exegesis; ii) saffron norms which ensure rootedness; iii) service which gives outreach wings and creates spaces for salvation; and, iv) a general impression of collaboration in a generous and secularised task of nation building. Hence the Vivekananda Kendra projection for civil society - extant and plausible member adherents and patrons, is that of a non renunciant yet compassionate and universalist religious institution - an epitome of 'spirituality' (from the

Hindu lens). With the service project beneficiaries, Vivekananda Kendra is unabashed its claim of generating a habitus Vivekananda Kendra loyales. Service projects with respect to beneficiaries who are the core intent of the interventions, then assume two forms: i) sites of production/reproduction/socialisation of Vivekananda Kendra ideals particularly in the educational initiatives as well as training programmes of NARDEP for professionals (the ideological scheme is well chalked out in terms of subjects of faith study, subject matter, quantum and nature of ideas to be developed); and, ii) for the mass populace not too inclined to study ideals but more oriented towards tangible gains (such as the rural/tribal folk in NARDEP and rural development programmes) the object is attainment of the 'mission' of Vivekananda Kendra. What eventually emerges is a sophisticated projection of a benevolent face of a saffron edifice.

With respect to member adherents and volunteers as an independent system in Amritanandamayi Mission, there is a cultural reproduction depending on a niche habitus of Amma adherents. What is reflected is an Amma-inspired ethic of love and service. This manifests in terms of a 'culture of giving and service with a spiritual orientation'. Beneficiaries are drawn to Amritanandamayi Mission services by the very epithet of unconditional love and the hallmark 'Amma embrace' which is perceived as the epitome of comfort by human touch. Further there is an adaptation and self-organisation into the Amritanandamayi Mission fold - most beneficiaries call themselves 'Amma's children'. There are also self-referential dynamics including learning of Amritanandamayi Mission ways, self-modelling and a chain effect in terms of co-opting newer beneficiaries. In Art of Living, there is a relationship of multilateralism and exchange with civil society particularly through member adherents and volunteers. Two effects of this exchange relationship are: i) social capital generation through a combination of collective-reflexive volunteerism styles; and, ii) institutional-individual actor interface through cadre generation. For Art of Living beneficiaries there as an adaptation, internalisation and routinisation of SK&P and other practices; through a snowballing effect, a normative and ideational patronage is generated.

## VII. SEVA AND INSTITUTION BUILDING: MEMORY, OBLIVION AND STYLE

Seva and institution building in the HIFMs has elements of memory and oblivion of Hindu leanings which determine the style. Political economy in seva is the backdoor entry of dominant discourses of Hindu hegemony in the praxis fold. In Chinmaya Mission, the apparent myth and camouflage of 'secular', 'all encompassing' and 'universal' are systematically erased and demystified through the continued emphasis on

'Hindu' philosophy and Vedanta as the distinctive way forward. The rewriting is then 'revivalist Hindu' - a syndicated package comprising of oriental and postcolonial answers to Enlightenment rationality, occidental ethnocentrism and modernist scientism - Vedanta believed to be the 'Hindu scientific' paradigm extant since historicity. As for Vivekananda Kendra, there is an austere emphasis on comprehending Vedanta universalism and the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda version of Hindu philosophy - a mode through which the discourse of Hindu enters praxis. In Amritanandamayi Mission it occurs with the emphasis on 'ancient Indian heritage'. In Art of Living, the hegemony seeps in inconspicuously through the position is that 'wisdom' lies in the Vedas primarily. With other tenets such as Buddhist and ecclesiastical, there is the element of seeking congruity - the vantage point of comparison being the Vedic repertoire.

The postulate of memory is an important component feeding into the seva style. In Chinmaya Mission, what remains perpetually alive is the memory of Gurudev-Guruji (Swami Chinmayananda-Swami Tejomayananda) as herald-sustainer of Hindu revivalism and 'Indian' cultural heritage. Through seva endeavours, the public memory of Vivekananda Kendra is characterised by two aspects: i) images of Swami Vivekananda perpetuated through Eknathji where the Kendra is viewed as a vanguard of nationalist reconstruction on the Indian/Hindu cultural edifice; and, ii) a 'back to the indigenous sacral roots' sentiment. With respect to Amritanandamayi Mission, twin memories are created: i) Amma as the divine feminine personification of the love-compassion epigraph; and, ii) of the characteristic embrace<sup>7</sup> and unconditional love epithet. In Art of Living, the strong 'memory' of faith is permeated with the projection of Sri Sri as a brand ambassador of 'ancient' philosophy sophisticatedly repackaged in contemporary form. He becomes an epitome of spiritual tradition-continuity-change within a postmodern-postcolonial epoch.

What accompanies the postulate of memory is the shadow effect of oblivion - a mirroring of secular and profane in the faith repertoire. With respect to Chinmaya Mission, temporary amnesia and oblivion occurs in routine managerial activities which bring two components: i) a sense of corporatism; and, ii) a mirage of desecralisation-secularism. In Vivekananda Kendra, routine and market transactions as well as collaboration/partnerships do betray a neutralist image or a sense of oblivion. Oblivion for Amritanandamayi Mission is not complete in the sense of making

memories evasive. Rather what is visualised is a sense of fuzziness in routine business and collaborations with national bodies such as the RBI and NABARD (as for instance for the Amrita SREE self help groups) - thence the projection of Amritanandamayi Mission being that of a non-profit with humanitarian concerns but guided by the charisma of Amma who has 'secular and inclusive' leanings. The Art of Living seva omnibus with its routine fades the faith stance. At another level the continuous emphasis on the interfaith harmony position as well as soirees with other faith groups, tends to make the stance almost rhetorically secular.

The core of confluence of political economy, memory and oblivion projects the seva style of the HIFMs. The Chinmaya Mission style has tenets of: a) Hindu theism and faith inspired sadhana-seva link; b) Vedanta epithet; and, c) 'Hindu' hologram in the seva agenda. Owing to the strong Hindu origin base and Swami Vivekananda as a historical and cultural translator of re-imported oriental thought, the Vivekananda Kendra style is hallmarked by an animated Swami Vivekananda imagery. There is an ideological broadcast through claims of philosophical universalism of Vedanta. On the subtle edifice of fascistic Hindu norms, the pronounced seva objects that typify the style are: a) mission attainment, b) spiritual infiltration, c) provision of tangible needs, d) steadfast social capital generation and, e) a perceived matter-of-fact answer to Christian proselytisation.

The Amritanandamayi Mission style is an interplay of two dimensions: a) the Amma persona as the hologram and metaphor of grace, unconditional love and seva; and, b) translocal collaborations and routinisation that facilitate secularisation by camouflaging the micropolitics of the dominant Hindu discourse. The style of Art of Living's seva delivery is an interplay of: a) Sudarshan Kriya as representing an orientalist imagery; and, b) manufacturing of practical spirituality i.e. salvation through seva norms by transcending faith at one level (by spiritualising it) and catapulting it at another (by the edifice of Vedic tenets under the garb of ancient wisdom). This continuum of 'seva sadhana' functions like an aphorism. What emerges in terms of a seva stance of Art of Living is a complex interplay of faith memory, its simultaneous oblivion, and spiritualised assertion. In a Derridaen sense, writings of 'faith' and erasures of 'secularised spirituality' coexist.

## VIII. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

For HIFMs the genesis of seva is either serendipitous initially and later systematised or apriori streamlined for translation of guru's ideals. The seva genesis within HIFMs has also meant a paradigm shift from the traditional 'privatised' role with focus on the spiritual-sacred towards the 'public' role which

<sup>7</sup> The BBC has described *Amma* as the 'hugging saint'. When in an interview she was asked as to why she hugged people (as she is said to have hugged 30 million people till date), she described it as a natural act of motherhood (Amritanandamayi Mission Trust, 2010). *Amma* embraces people irrespective of caste, creed, ethnicity, nationality and sex.

embodies a multidimensional social capital. The idea/mandate is to bring faith to the public realm in a visible way – beyond rituals, towards a community orientation. The seva ideology of the HIFMs is not of the nature of armchair prophecy, but mediated actively by religious and civil practices – philanthropic giving, collective prayer and rituals. Habitual practices of seva, sadhana, yoga within the HIFM context, rather than simple espousal of beliefs have been responsible for the seva repertoire. Hence seva becomes a pillar, position and vanguard of institution building for HIFMs.

This paper argues that seva operationally stems from volition, prescriptivism and doctrinaire propositions given by the HIFMs. Volition entails innate faith tendencies and seva propositions stemming from virgin faith leanings. Prescriptivism is the streamlining and straitjacketing of the volition through HIFM schooling. Doctrinaire propositions alleviate the prescriptions to the level of instrumental directive. The volitional tendencies are, drawing from Sapp (2011), representative of imago dei, incarnational theology and a faith active in love. The imago dei concept holds that all people are created in the image of God – which has inherent self giving implications. Incarnational theology focuses on the image of the Absolute Being and the HIFM embodiment/charisma, in solidarity with the oppressed. Hence what is justified and glorified is the sacrificial/renunciant act of the guru flowing then to the associates' sympathetic participation with humanity. Volition arises precisely from this knowledge of human suffering which needs to be annihilated – engagement is to have and build enduring relationships over episodic involvement with society. Faith active in love is the inherent tendency of faith to reach out – symbolically signifying beyond self and cognitive-virtual-real alliance with the other self. Through prescriptivisms, HIFMs actually construct the selfhood of adherents/associates as a deeply moral endeavour {see Winchester (2008)}. From the theoretical insights of Bourdieu it can also be said that embodied faith practices of ritual prayer, dietary restrictions and seva form within the associates a moral disposition or habitus. Faith practices have morally constitutive properties, serving as key elements in the process of developing and solidifying moral dispositions of significant associates over time.

HIFMs' prescriptions and doctrinaire propositions also complement the contemporary theoretical work on 'lived religion' (Winchester 2008). HIFM traditions not only supply relevant doctrines, narratives and belief systems but also embodied 'technologies' through which the moral subjectivities of associates can be transformed. Akin to Bourdieu's concepts of practice and habitus, the HIFM doctrines play a key role in shaping the moral and faith-oriented selves of associates.

The scope of seva encompasses the core social sectors of development such as education, health

and livelihood as also certain customised programmes. It also projects the HIFM assertion/partnership in development goals in a resource limited setting by simultaneously factoring in culture. The mission is inevitably 'social' through the prism of faith. The mandate is seva to eventually realise transcendental ideals of a twin spiritual-material upliftment and proliferate the 'message'. Both these are derivatives of the mission – the HIFM mission-ideals then seep into the social canvass through the projects either in an apriori, parallel and/or retrospective manner. The management of these institutionalised efforts have a 'missionary consciousness' – there is an order ministration of evangelical nature. In terms of practicalities of management, HIFMs public face is characterised by religious phraseology in their mission statements and religious symbolism in their logo. Headed by the charismatic guru, the members of the order are in charge and the adherent base forms a volitional second line supported by paid staff with a fair degree of formalisation in recruitment. 'Hindu inspired faith' nevertheless remains the overarching raison d'être for engagement at all levels. Finance generation is through modes of exchange beyond market logics – philanthropy being one core source. In terms of goods delivered, HIFMs provide flexible services involving a range of relational programmes – faith-oriented seva also being a part of the package. The organisational culture is imbued with 'faith' as the overarching and underlying tenet. There is a certain reliance on secular expertise – but not sans the spiritual veto power in information processing and decision making. Hence whereas the secular/profane is not discounted in managerial aspects – faith is an important and unnegotiable add on.

In terms of systemic interfaces of HIFM projects, there are relationships with the legal system, political and local governance, economic system, civil society including member adherents, associates and beneficiaries. The affirmative relationship of the HIFMs with the legal system is an exercise in practiced legitimacy – a way to consolidate their stand as reasonable social actors. HIFM amicability with political and local governance is also a result of the state policy to view the HIFMs as 'communities of character' that can generate social capital that contributes to social change and development. The compliance with the state mechanisms is almost whole hearted – sometimes even complementing establishment efforts. The add on is the HIFM ideology – the signature teachings actually becoming principal rhetorics supporting seva. With the economic system there are relationships beyond market exchange as essentially HIFMs deal with religious goods that are acquired or received through the charisma and/or transcendental forces. With the adherent subset of civil society, HIFMs tap the intrinsic-extrinsic religiosity-spirituality and tamper with the religio-spiritual

orientations to then affect notions of self and cognitions of associates. HIFM beneficiaries are viewed as an imagined community of would be adherents/associates – the faith cultural capital utilised to reach out. They also extend, using Wilson's (2011) term, an ethics of hospitality towards potent seva seekers – especially in situations wherein alternatives are limited. That way a combination of bonding-bridging social capital is generated.

The faith and collateral Hindu hegemony seepage through seva is the general political economy dynamics flavour for the HIFMs. HIFMs are particularly inclined towards engaging in sevas that promote well-being and are in line with their faith-based outlook. Further contrary to being unblemished 'armies of compassion' (using Kennedy and Beilefield's (2006) term) HIFMs have their mandate of initiation-co-option spelt out in their mandate. This initiation-co-option is either a direct derivative of faith and/or truncated from the teachings-praxis calculus of the HIFMs – the latter being more prominent.

HIFM memory is like a spiritual-rationality wherein there is a shared inherent purpose to experience connectedness with the transcendental vision demonstrated by the HIFMs. Memory also very strongly shapes the social imaginations – placing on the charismatic guru and teachings, a kind of doctrinal responsibility to then feed into the pragmatics and contextualities of social justice. HIFM memory is culturally loaded – they ensure a cultural continuity by preserving the 'knowledge' through mnemonics (practical Vedanta, Integrated Amrita Meditation technique and Sudarshan Kriya) – rendering it possible for adherents/associates to reconstruct their cultural identities. For HIFMs the oblivion dynamics arise in course of the HIFMs reflexive acts in re-defining and refining their own positions in relation to the larger socio-political environ. Oblivion has been further enhanced by neoliberalisation which has opened spaces for HIFMs to enter into the public realm in newer ways and also enter into mainstream 'secular' partnerships.

HIFMs styles of seva/action go beyond simple instilling/extolling of virtues, but rather portray as vanguards of fulfilling social obligations. The operational ontology of HIFMs contains communitarian notions of social citizenship. Other aspects are that of integrality of the human experience, commune as predominant (rather than traditional hierarchies which characterise religion, and social justice notions as fertilising/impregnating virgin aspects of charity/philanthropy. There is a stylised form of faith-based social logic and the 'public good' factoring in the HIFM ideal is the utopia towards which they are geared.

A part from being a pillar of institution building, seva in HIFMs is also a reflection of the flexibility of the charismatic guru to respond to social realities. The guru does not refer to a consistent body of knowledge and

practice (Cohen 2012). Perhaps the quality most common to the guru across individuals, institutions and logics is that of uncontainability. The figure of the guru demonstrates that such domains—religion, politics, economy, and culture are mutually implicated, in ways that cannot be anticipated but have to be explored and narrated (Jenkins 2010). Through seva as a strategy, gurus, can be said go beyond all limiting categories of traditional faith (Babb 1986; Srinivas 2010). The guru thus comes to appear something like Marcel Mauss' – total social phenomenon. The guru essentially has an expansive agency (Copeman and Ikegame, 2012) and there are differential multiplicity of meanings condensed within guru-ship that are the condition of possibility of such agency.

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# Evidence in Patient-Based Decision Making Contrasting Views of Court-Derived Doctrines of Consent, Informed Consent and Proposed Alternative Decision Making Frameworks on Evidence Disclosure in Health and Medicine

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**Abstract-** Evidence-based patient choice (EBPC) is a subset of the set of alternative frameworks that have been proposed to supplement or supplant the court-derived doctrines of consent and informed consent. In this paper, we will examine the definition, roles, and hierarchies and topologies of evidence that have been proposed to be provided to patients to use in their decision making related to the own care in health and medicine. Patient-based rational decision making in its present form has a relatively small base of high-quality medical and scientific evidence that are of potential use to patients in decision making relative to the broad range of health and medical decisions that patients face and thus is not reflective of the vast domain of decisions patients face. In addition, the proponents of alternative patient-based frameworks have not fully examined the potential impacts of evidence on patients, how evidence is to be adequately communicated to patients, and thus EBPC is still in its definitional phases of development. In this paper, we also examine a new taxonomy of patient-based decision making inclusive of a broad range of patient decisions.

**Keywords:** *evidence, medical evidence, participatory decision making, randomized controlled trials, shared decision making.*

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**Abstract-** Evidence-based patient choice (EBPC) is a subset of the set of alternative frameworks that have been proposed to supplement or supplant the court-derived doctrines of consent and informed consent. In this paper, we will examine the definition, roles, and hierarchies and topologies of evidence that have been proposed to be provided to patients to use in their decision making related to the own care in health and medicine. Patient-based rational decision making in its present form has a relatively small base of high-quality medical and scientific evidence that are of potential use to patients in decision making relative to the broad range of health and medical decisions that patients face and thus is not reflective of the vast domain of decisions patients face. In addition, the proponents of alternative patient-based frameworks have not fully examined the potential impacts of evidence on patients, how evidence is to be adequately communicated to patients, and thus EBPC is still in its definitional phases of development. In this paper, we also examine a new taxonomy of patient-based decision making inclusive of a broad range of patient decisions. This taxonomy includes characteristics of four types: (1) characteristics of the decision, (2) characteristics of the patient being counseled, (3) characteristics of the patient's counselors (providers of information and those who help clarify the unique patient's values relative to the decision), and (4) characteristics of the evidence underlying the decision. This paper also presents a future research agenda to help fill current gaps in patient-based rational decision making relative to this taxonomy.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

In Western democracies, patients have rights to certain types of information in the patient-physician relationship regarding the care that they receive. In addition, they have specified rights of privacy to the medical conditions they possess, the decisions they make related to their medical conditions and the

information that is provided to them, and the rights to make certain future medical decisions on their own behalf in terms of advance directives. These rights are typically based on the court-derived doctrines of consent (British House of Lords, and the High Court of Australia) or informed consents (U.S. courts and the Supreme Court of Canada). Although consent and informed consent law originated in judge-made law, today, for example, in the United States, state legislatures now contribute to the development of the doctrine of informed consent within that particular state.

In the court-derived doctrines of consent and informed consent, the physician is only required to provide information about the procedure (P) or intervention the physician is recommending in the patient's care, its alternatives (A), and the risks (R) associated with the physician-recommended procedure and its alternatives. In addition, the physician must answer any questions the patient has. There are no specific court requirements that the physician provide the patient the numerical estimate of the chance (probability) the risk will materialize in the patient's care. Although presumably the physician would provide such a numerical estimate if asked by the patient and the physician was able to derive a reasonable numerical estimate based on his or her own experience and understanding of the peer-reviewed medical literature. However, it needs also to be recognized that such a number is only an estimate and that estimates will differ even among experts in the particular medical field in question.

## II. EVIDENCE-BASED PATIENT CHOICE

In the last quarter of the twentieth-century, physicians and other experts from different fields introduced a set of alternative decision making (DM) frameworks in the field of medical care. Key among those frameworks were those in which rational decision making concepts were introduced into the patient-physician relationship. These alternative DM frameworks offered patients a chance to learn more about rational

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decision making through understanding the clinical medical evidence that underlies their choice. This addition of evidence into the patient's decision making is the introduction of a new type of information to the traditional requirement of risk disclosure in consent and informed consent. What these alternative decision making frameworks offer patients is evidence-based choice (EBPC). From the standpoint of the proponents of these EBPC-frameworks, the patient should base his or her decision, not on the clinical opinion of physicians, but on the evidence underlying the decision (at least to the extent that such high quality evidence exists in the case of the patient and his or her medical dilemma). While the competent patient still has the right to base his or her decision on whatever grounds he or she wishes, the proponents of these alternative decision making (DM) frameworks provide evidence in various ways to patients and, in essence, attempt to control the information content that provided to the patient. One has to examine each alternative DM framework to determine what role, if any, the physician has in the alternative patient DM framework under consideration.

#### a) *The Nature of Evidence and Numerical Chance Estimation*

From a philosophy of science standpoint, Hacking defines a basic sense of evidence as "a pointing to." Something points to something else in support of a medical or scientific claim. This is to be contrasted with other types of support like opinion. Today, evidence in medicine is typically described in terms of multiple tiers where the top tier is made of evidence derived from randomized controlled trials (RCTs) or meta-analyses of RCTs. The clinical experience of physicians—although many times the only form of evidence available for diagnosis, management, and treatment of a medical condition, especially rare medical conditions—is most often allocated the bottom-most tier of these evidence frameworks.

#### b) *Communicating Evidence to Patients*

Even though there are many gaps in evidence-based medicine that will never be easy to fill, proponents of alternative patient-based decision making frameworks, like participatory and shared decision-making (DM), argue that their devices, tools, and systems provide evidence for patient DM. In the words of participatory DM proponents, they are "communicating evidence to patients." In the words of the shared DM proponents, they are providing patients "current best evidence," "best external evidence," or "resting decision making on the best evidence of the risks and benefits of all available options." Yet, the actual studies on participatory and shared decision making focus on are a limited set of medical decisions, those in which high-tier evidence is available. These rational DM frameworks focusing on communication of scientific evidence to patients include: participatory

decision making and evidence-based patient choice. In this section, we will develop a taxonomy of medical decision making inclusive of a broader range of medical decisions that patients actually face than has yet been attempted in patient-based rational decision making based on medical scientific evidence. This paper also develops a research agenda to fill in the gaps that exist in current approaches aimed at reaching out to patients to inform, to participate, and to share in the medical decision making being made in their health and medical care through understanding medical scientific evidence.

#### c) *Evidence in Medicine Today: Reports of Results of Scientific Studies of Certain Types*

The evidence used today in participatory and evidence-based patient choice DM programs could contain the results of analysis of inquiries into reports of physician experience and the data contained in registry audits, but it doesn't. Rather, evidence in such programs is often represented as lower tiers in a scientific evidence hierarchy. The top tier in this hierarchy includes systematic reviews and meta-analyses. The second tier is made up of sets of randomized controlled trials (RCTs) or a single RCT. Few of subsequent tiers represented in a typical hierarchy are represented in participatory and shared decision making devices, tools, and systems. Little attention is paid to lower-tier evidence in the hierarchies in the devices, tools, and systems used in these programs.

Today, physicians are gaining more access to an increasing number of high-tier RCTs, often in unexpected areas. For example, in surgical DM, there are an increasing number of RCTs in surgery of various types including RCTs of perioperative management of drugs of patients who are about to undergo surgical operations (for example, an RCT to evaluate and optimize use of antiplatelet agents in perioperative management of patients undergoing general and abdominal surgeries); RCTs about important aspects of surgical operations (for example, a multicenter RCT to evaluate the effect of small stitches on the incidence of incisional hernia in midline incisions); and meta-analyses of RCTs comparing one surgical approach to another (for example, a meta-analysis comparing different surgical operations (for example, a meta-analysis to determine whether disease-free and overall survival in laparoscopic surgery for colorectal cancer is comparable to conventional surgery.)). However, while having access to an increasing number of high quality RCTs in medicine, surgery, and other areas, physicians still do not have access to as many high quality research studies as they need and would like to have in medical DM. In addition, physicians do not have access to as many high quality research studies as patients might think physicians can access. The goal of participatory and shared decision making should be to provide patients evidence to have them understand the

d) *Evidence Physicians Rely on in the Absence of RCTs*

Today, physicians, while having access to some high quality research studies, do not have access to as many high quality research studies as patients might think they do. In medicine today, although the term ‘evidence’ has many meanings, the basic form of evidence in medicine rests on factors that have long been part of court DM in consent and informed consent since the early 1900s: information regarding physician-recommended intervention (P), its alternatives (A), and their risks (R). If we include the benefits (B) of a procedure and its alternatives, this core set of concepts (PARB)—except for physician-recommended intervention (P)—forms the basis of all other forms of evidence in medicine, including decision analysis, informed DM, , participatory DM, and informed shared DM, , and shared DM. . . . .

needs to answer for patients the following set of questions: (1) What is the evidence?; (2) What is the type of evidence being considered?; (3) What is the quality of the evidence judged to be?; and (4) Who is judging the quality of the evidence? This last question points to the fact that one has to understand the values of the individuals judging or interpreting the evidence. Fischhoff argues that these values of the judges of evidence need to be understood before one can judge whether what one has as results is sufficient and reasonable to be presented to individuals as evidence. If the values are judged to be conflicted, otherwise problematic, or simply deemed insufficient, then other sources of evidence must be sought after or the overall status of the quality of available evidence has to be discussed with the patient transparently.

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patient when recommending a newly approved drug in the patient's care.

#### e) *News About Inquiries Into Evidence*

News about inquiries into evidence is not necessarily good. Evidence may be nonexistent on a particular question for a particular patient because no research has been carried out on the topic because of the rarity of the medical condition the patient has. Evidence may be nonexistent for the patient even though the patient's medical condition may have been studied the patient is much more complex in terms of the disease, other medical conditions, and the underlying medical problems than the participants studied. Thus, the key property of evidence is its quality and the quality of its interpretation in the case of the individual patient. If the evidence has not been personalized for the patient's case, then the patient's physician may be the only one to personalize the information. If the information is not personalized, then the question must be asked as to how the patient is to understand if or why the evidence is being used in the patient's care.

#### f) *Providing Patients Data for Deliberation in Medical DM*

Even when RCTs are available, most participatory and shared decision making devices, tools, and systems provide patients only with general data, that is, data derived from research studies in which the patient himself or herself was not involved as a study participant. Very few studies have focused on providing patients personalized data. Let us example the difference between general data studies vs. personalized data studies.

#### g) *General Data Studies (Survival and Mortality Data)*

Most research today in participatory and shared DM is focused on ways to present study results to patients. This includes survival curves, and survival versus quality of life consideration, among others. Each of these studies relied on some form of evidence as published results in peer-reviewed medical journals as the basis of developing their presentation tool. For example, providing patients five-year survival graphs (containing survival data at six time points: year-0, year-1, year-2, year-3, year-4, and year-5 data) instead of data at two time points (year-0 and year-5). The five-year survival curves, for example, contained data on the number of patients still alive at the time of the procedure, year-0, and one year (year-1), two years (year-2), three years (year-3), four years (year-4), and five years (year-5) after the procedure. This is in contrast to patients being provided data at only two time points: year-0 (the number of patients alive and dead due to the conduct of the procedure, for example, the numbers of patients dying at the time of surgery for lung cancer vs. lung cancer treated with radiation therapy)

and year-5 (the number of patients still alive five years after surgery and five years after lung cancer). Other studies focused on the difference when patients were provided data in terms of five-year mortality curves instead of five-year survival curves. This survival data is general data that is applicable to a patient to the extent that the patient compares to the study participants studied the produced the curves. This survival data has not been personalized. It is general data derived from a study that is presented to patients for consideration in a general DM session.

#### h) *Personalized Data Studies (Life-Expectancy Data)*

In contrast to data based on survival and mortality curves in general DM sessions, fewer studies have focused on personalized data studies. The research on personalized data to the extent that it has been carried out has been based on life-expectancy data. Life expectancy is defined as the average amount of time an individual of a given age is expected to live based on a specific mortality rate. In contrast to presenting patients general data derived from studies without reference to their own personal probabilities, for example, based on a patient's medical history, Clarke and colleagues provided patients with hypothetical examples of their own predicted life expectancy and predicted survival probabilities. Interestingly, 58% of patients expressed a desire to know the life expectancy and survival probability (if it were possible to calculate), and 36% wished not to know. Fischhoff recognizes that "users' information needs might be so varied that no single communication could serve more than a significant fraction of users, without becoming hopelessly cluttered (and then fail the accessibility standard)."

#### i) *Need for Combinatory Evidence*

The Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in the U.S. recognize that more than one type of evidence is necessary to make a decision. The CDC recognizes the importance of three types of evidence: (1) the best available research evidence (where the more rigorous a study's research design—e.g., randomized controlled trials—the more compelling the evidence); (2) experiential evidence (based on professional insight, understanding, skill, and expertise accumulated over time and often referred to as intuitive or tacit knowledge); and (3) contextual evidence (evidence based on factors that address whether a strategy is useful, feasible to implement, and accepted by a particular community). When patients are presented only the best available research evidence results, they are not getting evidence that reflects the experience of the physicians who understand the patient's condition and who have treated like patients (experiential evidence) or that has been accepted by a particular community (contextual evidence).

j) *Personalized Evidence and the Notion of "Fit"*

The final point that needs to be considered in evidence is the extent to which the patient is provided personalized evidence for his or her DM. Today, in medicine, the physician caring for the patient is the individual who personalizes the information for patient DM in terms of deciding whether the patient "fits" in the studies. The notion of "fit" involves the task of deciding how similar the patient is to the study participants in a research study (to the extent that this information is available to the physician). In this sense, proponents of participatory and shared DM have not yet either personalized information or personalized DM in the devices, tools, and systems they have developed to help patients participate or share in DM with their physician in the health and medical conditions they face. Today, we should be at a stage beyond informing patients about general outcomes (benefits and risks) to one where the aim should be providing patients with personalized information about what their outcomes and chances will be with a particular treatment. That is, in terms of evidence and patient involvement in DM, patients should be presented information: (1) to predict the various chances that they, as unique individuals, will benefit from the procedure, and (2) to predict the chances that, as unique patients, they will sustain an adverse outcome related to the procedure. Unfortunately, we are not there as yet.

k) *An Expanded View of Evidence for Patient Deliberation*

Study results (generalized and personalized) are only one part of the evidence of medical DM of which patients should be informed. Evidence includes various elements. The next goal is to clarify the evidence that should be presented to patients in participatory and shared DM programs (Table 1).

Yet, the focus of the above table is on objective evidence of the type obtained by RCTs in high-tier evidence. Most evidence today in participatory and shared decision making is focused on the results of RCTs and the "results" derived from a specific set of systematic reviews and meta-analyses or sets of randomized controlled trials (RCTs) with definitive results (when such studies are available). Such hierarchies with these pinnacles of evidence relying on RCTs also have their critics. In addition, there are many types of health and medical decisions where the evidence quality is poor as judged by RCT-standards and these are the decisions that patients must make and should be of interest to supports of patient-based rational decision making.

l) *Founding Principles of Decision Analysis and Decision Making Frameworks*

Decision analysis can help clarify decisions even in the absence of high-tier RCT evidence. In decision analysis, a decision rests on three grounds: (1)

what a decision maker can do (alternatives), (2) what a decision maker knows (information about benefits and risks), and (3) what a decision maker wants (preferences). Court-based decision making in consent and informed consent shares only two of these grounds: information and alternatives. In court-based frameworks, once the physician discloses the information about the procedure (P), its alternatives (A), their risks (R), and answers any questions (Q) the patient may have, the physician has discharged his or her court-based obligations (PARQ). For the courts, the competent patient has the right to make his or her decision on whatever grounds the competent patient sees fit. Patient-based rational decision making (PBRDM) shares the same three-legged base of decision analysis: information (benefits and risks), alternatives, and preferences. PABRDM frameworks go beyond court-based frameworks in two ways: (1) a focus on a broader range of information disclosure, including counseling on concepts relevant to rational decision making needed to optimize decision making, and (2) a focus on using methodologies designed to elicit patient preferences (or to help patients clarify their values). What is needed by researchers in PBRDM is a fuller taxonomy of medical decision making that captures a fuller range of the varied decisions that make up medical decision making in which high-tier RCT evidence is not available.

m) *A Taxonomy of Medical Decision Making*

The proposed taxonomy of medical decision making is based on aspects of patient choice not ordinarily included in patient-based rational decision making (PBRDM): (1) the characteristics of the decisions that need to be made; (2) the characteristics of the patients who are counseled about PBRDM and who must make the decisions (or who participate and share in making the decision); (3) the characteristics of the counselors disclose the information and who help elicit the patient's preferences over the set of outcomes (or who help the patient clarify his or her values regarding diagnostic and outcomes and their consequences), and (4) the characteristics of the evidence upon which the decisions can be based.

Medical decision making (MDM) involves a heterogeneous set of medical decisions in need of a taxonomy linking them with their evidential bases. Our taxonomy will focus on four aspects of decision making: (1) characteristics of the decision in relationship to evidence availability; (2) characteristics of the patient to be counseled; (3) characteristics of the provider of evidence; and (4) characteristics of the evidence itself.

### III. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DECISION

How convincing the evidence must be for the decision depends greatly on the risks and benefits of the test or treatment being considered and the time frame of the decision (Table 2). Regarding risks and

benefits, if the treatment alternatives are of low risk and there is no high-tier evidence available, N-of-1 clinical trials (multiple crossover studies carried out in single individuals) can be conducted on the patient to determine which therapy is the best. However, if alternative interventions are risky, high-tier evidence based on randomized controlled trials (RCTs) derived from study populations is highly desirable, so that a minimum number of individuals need to bear the risks and the majority of the population can benefit from the study results. However, no matter how great the need for RCTs to understand the benefit-risk level across a set of alternative therapies, if the patient's disease is rare, there may be no funding for such studies. No matter how desirable high-tier evidence is only clinical experience may be available to guide testing and therapy.

Regarding the time frame of the decision (the length of time for deliberation before a decision has to be reached), a treatment decision may be elective, urgent, or emergent. There may be time for watchful waiting and deliberation in the short term. While waiting for biomarker development to help in determining if a patient will respond to therapy, the clinical experience of physicians may be the only basis to decide if a disease is progressing slowly, intermediately, or rapidly, or whether it will respond to a therapy.

#### a) *Characteristics of the Patient to Be Counseled*

There is a wide range of preferences of patients to be involved or uninvolved completely in decision making regarding their own health and medical care (Table 3). Level of patient interest in involvement is a relatively understudied area, and factors to consider in future research include a patient's level of health literacy and numeracy (or the level they would like to achieve); a patient's previous experience in active or passive decision making of decision tracking; a patient's level of regret regarding past decision making experiences; or other characteristics and experiences (Table 3). Even highly literate and numerate patients may still not work well with the statistics of medical risks and benefits over time. Potential future research should focus on the frequency of various types of decision making to see if the problems with numeracy in highly numerate samples are due to a lack of experience in MDM in patients' own lives or whether they relate to other factors.

#### b) *Characteristic of the Counselor of Evidence*

The personality or characteristics of the provider (Table 4) may influence a patient's interest in the evidence for decision making. An enthusiastic mentor may generate interest in the patient, whereas a lackadaisical mentor may foster distrust in the evidence provided in a decision tool or in evidence in general.

#### c) *Characteristics of the Evidence*

Within rational decision making, evidence takes on the form of hierarchies where systematic reviews, meta-analyses, and RCTs are considered high-tier evidence. However, within shared decision making, evidence has been expanded into considering forms of evidence other than objective evidence —this is called subjective evidence (Table 5).

Objective evidence is the evidence in the higher tiers of hierarchies. Subjective evidence is considered typically as evidence one cannot evaluate and where one simply must accept what the person says. Subjective evidence can refer to deeply held values, such as religious beliefs. Oftentimes, subjective evidence refers to the evidence of mental states accessible only to the individual or upon observations of his or her behaviors. This latter view of subjective evidence may involve conditions that affect the unique patient's decision making related to how the patient perceives his or her own life and circumstances.

In shared decision making, another use of the term subjective evidence refers to the evidence that the patient involved in shared decision making brings to the shared decision making session. Llewellyn-Thomas refers to three types of subjective evidence only the patient can provide to MDM related to the patient's health and medical care: (1) whether the patient is experiencing either inadequate social support or inappropriate social pressure to choose or reject a specific treatment alternative; (2) whether there are potential barriers acting on the patient's preferred option; and (3) the relative desirability of each of the possible benefits and harms, as considered by the patient in rational MDM. It is not clear whether the issues of subjective evidence are being assessed in the patient-physician relationship or in decision devices and tools.

The main problem with high-quality objective evidence is its tremendous variability across the number of diseases that need to be treated (Table 5). Regarding RCTs and disease (as noted above), there are a number of rare (orphan) diseases, where the only evidence available is the clinical experience of physicians who treat and follow the patients with rare diseases over time. Regarding newly approved prescription drugs and procedures and new developed surgical procedures, while one has sufficient evidence based on highly-selected research subjects to obtain a new drug or to get a new surgery approved, it will take additional time to determine the risks that accrue in the general population (in routine clinical care) to judge their safety in the general population over time. As we noted above, N-of-1 studies were devised because of the recognition that newly approved prescription drugs need additional research after their approval to determine whether a unique patient drawn from the general

population benefits from the newly approved drug in his or her care.,

#### d) Future Studies

This taxonomy offers an agenda for future research into a broader range of existing concerns in patient-based rational decision making, where rational strategies need to be developed related to medical conditions and diseases where no RCTs are available to base decision making upon and where only clinical experience fills in the evidential gaps. Such research is need to aid a broader range of patients interested in

exploring rational aspects of the health and medical decisions they face in their lives as they live with medical conditions and diseases that for the most part, are understudied. In addition, more research needs to be undertaken on the interface between Llewellyn-Thomas's subjective evidence that patients bring with them to the decision making session, where they would like to explore not only the objective evidence of RCTs but also the subjective evidence regarding blocks to implementing those treatment alternatives they prefer across the set of alternatives they are asked to consider in patient-based rational decision making.

*Table 1 : Goals of Evidence in Participatory and Shared DM Programs*

Presenting patients information to help patient understanding of the following aspects of evidence:

1. Results of a study, relative to
2. Type of study
3. Quality of study
  - 3.1 Quality of study design
  - 3.2 Quality of data collection
  - 3.3 Quality of data analysis
  - 3.4 Quality of interpretation of data analysis
  - 3.5 Quality of "general conclusions" drawn from study and
  - 3.6 Quality of "personalized conclusions" draw from study data and then allow the patient to make the decision, bringing in whoever the patient wants to bring in as co-decision makers
  - 3.6 Quality of experiential evidence
  - 3.7 Quality of contextual evidence

*Table 2 : Characteristics of the Decision*

- Characteristics of the disease in relationship to availability of evidence
  - High incidence → Low incidence
- Characteristics of tests and treatments
  - Characteristics of available research funding
    - High funding → Low funding
  - Characteristics of the riskiness of procedure and alternatives
    - Newness of the procedure
      - 5–6 years after approval → Just approved by federal regulators/others
    - Ease of performance of the procedure
      - Less technical → More technical
    - Safety of procedure
      - Very safe → Very risky
    - Skill of the Physician and Team
      - Highly skilled → Of low skill

*Table 3 : Characteristics of the Patient to Be Counseled*

- Characteristics of the patient considering the procedure
  - Health and medical literacy
  - Education level
  - Level of previous medical experience
  - Level of competency
  - Preferences for personal involvement in decision making
  - Past history of personal involvement in decision making regarding self/others
- Characteristics of the patient's decision
  - Level of risk
  - Cost of procedure
  - Estimates of survivability rates across alternatives
  - Estimated levels of change in quality of life (activities of daily living) across alternatives
- Characteristics of the disclosures of information about evidence
  - Level of understanding
  - Level of trust
- Characteristics of the preference elicited about evidence
  - Well-considered fixed preferences
  - Newly constructed preferences
- Characteristics of quality of decision aid, device, tool, system available
  - How data is displayed/provided
    - Simple basic
    - Ornate
- Characteristics of the way patient's questions are answered
  - Degree of thoroughness
  - Degree of accuracy

*Table 4 : Characteristics of the Provider of Evidence*

- Personality of provider
- Provider's commitment to process
- Provider's level of understanding of objective evidence
- Provider's level of understanding of subjective evidence

*Table 5 : Characteristics of Objective Evidence*

- Data-based evidence
  - Availability of high-tier evidence
    - Systematic reviews
    - Meta-analyses
    - Sets of randomized controlled trials (RCT)
    - At least one RCT
- Experience-based evidence
  - Rare (orphan) diseases
  - Newly approved prescription drugs as first used in the general population
  - Newly approved medical procedures
  - New surgical procedures

#### **Characteristics of Subjective Evidence**

- Level of social support available to patient
- Barriers to acting on patient-preferred options
- Extent to which patient's attitudes are derived from an adequate consideration of outcomes across a set of alternatives
  - Fixed preferences or newly constructed preferences

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## Women Work Issues in Rural Development: A Case of Mgnrega Implementation in West Bengal, India

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**Abstract-** This paper used a gender and development (GAD) approach and explores how M.G.NREGA is opening a new window for the ease of livelihood for rural women in India. MGNREGA is the first right based and demand driven employment generating act of the country which ensures some special provisions for rural women. The focus of the act is to mainstream the rural women into the contemporary discourse of economic development. MGNREGS is the outcome of this act. This paper keeps an inner look about the expectations from this scheme for the development of women livelihood in rural areas and the challenges in ground level implementation. The problem addressed in this paper is the women work issues generating with the successful implementation of the scheme. It is important to find out how the full benefits of the scheme can be explored. This exploration is needed for a large societal benefit and improved rural livelihood. For entire study, a twofold approach is taken. First is the analysis of available literatures to understand the possible outcomes of the scheme with current discourses of economic development. Second, analysis of primary and secondary data for revealing the characteristics of the problem based on gender dynamics of the region. This study relates findings from the field survey of 210 samples in the state of West Bengal, India. Intensive field study has identified several positive outcomes like saving of time for domestic works, mainstreaming of women labour, generation of income and livelihood security for village women, reorganization of women's work etc with wide regional variations.

**Keywords:** MGNREGA, MGNREGS, household specific approach, substantial dependency.

**GJHSS-C Classification :** FOR Code: 160804



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



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## 1. INTRODUCTION

National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, renamed as Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act popularly known as MGNREGA, was enacted by legislation in August 25, 2005 is the most prevalent in contemporary discourses pertaining to employment guarantee schemes ever passed in Indian history of employment generation. This act targets rural people of the country, irrespective of financial, social and gender status. From the very first day of its inception, this act has drawn the attentions of the economists and scholars for its wide scope of

improving of the livelihood of the rural people, especially rural women. Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), is the outcome of MGNREGA. The expectations arisen in contemporary times may brief as follows:

### a) *Ensuring right to work for rural women*

Present rural context of India often sees women workers as invisible workers. Schedule II, Section 6 of MGNREGA Act states 'While providing employment, priority should be given to women in such a way that at least one third of the beneficiaries shall be women who have registered and requested for work under the scheme.' MGNREGS is the first scheme, which provides the right of employment to the rural people with a specific reservation for the rural women. MGNREGA makes a conscious effort to provide employment to the rural women by ensuring work identity and employment as a right. Surely, this scheme marks a paradigm shift in this way by ensuring the right of employment to the rural people, especially women. Thomas (2008, p.8) argued that "NREGA is unique in the sense that, it gives primary importance to women participation and empowerment as well as a corruption less implementation of the wage employment programme; through social auditing by Gram sabhas."

### b) *Mainstreaming rural women into developmental process*

A complete developmental initiative should touch the target group irrespective of gender status. Unfortunately from the past experience it has seen that most often women are the most deprived of all benefits offered by Government. It is an accepted fact that women has to bear the domestic work burden which is a major factor restricting them to perform work outside. They do prefer home based job and performs the home based part of farming and cattle rearing in the rural areas which are often non countable invisible work. This invisibility and non-accountability has deeply rooted to such an extent that often women workers treated themselves as non-workers. The word 'nothing' is a frequent answer of rural women when surveying in a rural area with the question 'what do you do?', while they are investing at least one and half or double work hours than their male counter parts, the realization of work is almost absent. To mainstream this invisible workers to

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the process of economic development, MGNREGA has framed the work design outside the home boundary, ensures their work identity by 'job cards' and records their contribution of work days and wage sharing which is certainly a good initiative to mainstream a large section of invisible workers in rural India.

*c) Reduction in the exploitation level*

In the rural labor market, women do suffer from three stand points, first differential wage rate which is mostly lower than men, second, comparatively longer working hours with no choice of preference of work and third, harassment by local employers. These situations expects some improvements though MGNREGA. This scheme ensures fixed working hours with equal wage for equal work. Besides that, one can apply for job according to his/her own choice of season or for a worksite which she prefers. For example, choice of the plantation sites rather than road construction sites or agriculturally slack season rather than the agricultural season. As this scheme ensures the employment days within 15 days from its demand, it is expected that a woman will be able to balance her employment days and earnings according to her choice of preference. This situation is expected to reduce the exploitation level of the rural women both at work and domestic front.

*d) Rise in the bargaining power and improvement in the local market situation*

It has proved by different scholars that the income level and power of bargain are directly related, i.e. rise of one results the rise of other too. One of the expected outcomes of MGNREGA is the rise in the bargaining power of the rural women as a result of the increasing job opportunities in the villages and a considerable rise in income. This will improve the wage situation for Non-MGNREGA casual workers too. In the fully implemented phase of MGNREGA, less supply of labor for other worksites will create the situation where demand exceeds supply resulting the improvement of the wage situation. Similarly, the local employers will compel to improve their worksite situation without harassment for securing the non-interrupted availability of cheap labor. In this way rise in the bargaining power of rural women will result the improved wage and worksite situation of the local market too, if MGNREGA is fully implemented.

*e) Reduction of working hours of women for household work*

The assets created by MGNREGS are equally created for both men and women. But in most cases women is the direct beneficiary of these assets than men. For example, plantation for land development and flood protection, creation of social forestry under MGNREGS in the territory of the village helps the rural women to collect the fuel wood and forest products from their locality and thus it saves them from the longer

duration of work for collecting firewood. As wood is the main fuel in the rural India and in most of the cases, collection of the firewood is the responsibility of the children and women of the household, so it is the compulsory duty for them to collect by spending hours varying from 5 hours to 9 hours in an average depending on the availability of the wood. Except this, MGNREGS water harvesting feature is being created which is another useful asset especially for rural women. As collecting the drinking water and sometimes water for domestic work is the essential duty



*Pic. 1 :* Collection of firewood from MGNREGS Created plantation Ground in the Field Area

of the rural women, the assets created under MGNREGS plays dual role in favor of rural women, first, it saves the time by providing firewood, forest products and water in the locality. Secondly, it generates the possibility of participating women in economic activities in their spare time. In this way MGNREGA plays a key role for the rural women by saving their working hours for the jobs which are specially recognized as women's jobs.

## II. ISSUES FROM THE FIELD



*Pic. 2 :* A Glimpse of Field Work Revealing the Issue of Women MGNREGS Workers

Though the scheme has undoubtedly explored the rural women labor force unused or underused to the mainstream of rural development, women are facing newer challenges to get their right of work under MGNREGS. The question arises what are the challenges especially to women? Are they inherent in the Act or a result of the implementation failure? Let us discuss the points of the women work issues to understand the matter clearly. It draws from data obtained through the field survey carried out in two villages (Rupnarayanpur & Galsi) in Burdwan district of West Bengal. The survey was carried out during November 2009 to January 2010 and covered a sample size of 210 respondents. This study refers to the data for the financial year 2008-2009. The major queries of this study are a) how this scheme has influenced the lives of the marginalized people as well as the lives of the rural women and b) whether there is a positive change regarding this or not. The scheme of sample selection in the study area is as follows:

| Location                 | MGNREGS Participators       | MGNREGS Non Participators   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Rupnarayanpur            | 27(M)<br>29(F)<br>56(Total) | 35(M)<br>12(F)<br>47(Total) |
| Galsi                    | 40(M)<br>35(F)<br>75(Total) | 15(M)<br>17(F)<br>32(Total) |
| Total No. of Respondents | <b>210</b>                  |                             |

Source: Primary Survey in Burdwan district of West Bengal November'09 –January'10

First, the household approach of MGNREGS puts a major challenge to the women workers of MGNREGS. The concept of household, as explained in the MGNREGA Act section 5.1.3 is 'Household will mean a nuclear family comprising mother, father, and their children and may include any person wholly or substantially dependent on the head of the family. Household will also mean a single member family.'

This definition excludes the single women residing with her brother's family or with the family of the any relative having own earning from any source in the absence of her father and mother. It is a known fact that a women very rarely stays alone in rural India as the social restriction does not allow her to do so. In that case, if she is a widow or unmarried or separated in marital status and having a distinct earning source, is deprived from earning wage under MGNREGS automatically. And the point is, the rate of self employment is predominant among rural women, who do not have any other options of work and these self employment in most of the cases, non remunerative. Poor single women, if employed by an employer in most of the cases are exploited and under-paid. In that case, the need of the employment seeking single women is as

much as other members of the household, but she is not eligible to work as per the guideline of MNREGA as she is neither in the reproductive group (mother) nor in dependant group (wholly or substantially).

Second issue is how do we measure substantial dependency? Is it in the terms of food, clothing and shelter? How do we demarcate a line between partial and substantial dependency? In most of the cases of rural India, dependency of single women is related with shelter, as society does not permit them for single residing. Except that either she has to earn her own food by working somewhere or have to put her labor for the shelter giver's family. The second option does not generate money but make her indispensable for the family. In that way a single woman secures her shelter in a family. When we consider the dependency of the household member to the head of the family, we should consider the fact that, dependency is not the sole criteria for eligibility, as a woman may be single and independent, having inadequate income for her livelihood should be considered eligible for applying job under MGNREGS.

Thirdly, the household approach taken by the scheme puts another challenge to rural women. It is obvious that where there is a strict boundary of job days as hundred days per household per financial year, the intra-household distribution of job days is possibly not equal for the adult male and female unemployed members of the household. Preference always goes to the unemployed males. Females are, in fact the secondary receiver of job when either a) male member is unwilling to do so or b) temporarily migrate from the village. Decision of taking job is possibly determined by the head of the family, who is usually a male. Thus women suffer in intra-household level in the point of job distribution and decision taking. These two extremely important points are ignored by the scheme which causes less participation of women than men as expected. Government figure reveals that women participation is increasing with years, but still it is lower than the men.

Table 2 : Women & Decision Making

|                                                                    |        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Women who took their decision independently regarding MGNREGS work | 21.88% |
| Women whose decision was influenced by household Members           | 78.12% |

Source: Primary Survey in Burdwan district of West Bengal November'09 –January'10

Fourthly, MGNREGA provides unskilled manual work to the job seeking people. It is true that rural poor are generally unskilled and it is one of the reasons that metro cities and big towns are denying to accept them in various works which needs some minimum skill. That

makes their life more struggling in urban areas. In that context, providing job opportunity within the territory of the village is certainly a good step to stop un-economic job-driven rural to urban migration. The point needs to mention that, beside providing the poor unskilled manual work the stress should be given on some skillful works too as most of the rural population in India are malnourished and have inadequate health facilities. Women are the worst sufferer of it, so exposing them to hard manual work in every season without any option needs consideration of the government. MGNREGS should cover some skillful work and obviously the category of skillful work should be higher paid than the unskilled ones. This categorization will develop rural women workforce in many ways: firstly, women have some inherent domestic skills like cooking, stitching, making household products etc which can be improved through training. This skillful training will develop a new window of reorganization of women's domestic work as earning one. Secondly, these skills will certainly improve their livelihood. Thirdly, rural people can value the skilled work and gradually learn it which will ready them for big job market other than MGNREGS.

*Table 3 : Distribution of Women Non Working Respondents in Different Categories*

| Category of non-participation | Rupnarayanpur (%) | Galsi(%) | Total(%) |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|----------|----------|
| Lack of detailed information  | 8.33              | 17.65    | 13.79    |
| Low wage rate                 | 8.33              | 0        | 3.45     |
| Not home based                | 58.33             | 29.41    | 41.38    |
| Not secure                    | 25.00             | 29.41    | 27.59    |
| Administrative difficulties   | 0.00              | 25.53    | 13.79    |

*Source: Primary Survey in Burdwan district of West Bengal November'09 –January'10*

Fifthly, non participation of rural women in the planning stage puts another obstacle for planners to plan the work successfully suitable for rural women. Participation is very less in the case of the rural backward classes. Overall low rate of women participation in planning has influenced the participation rate also, as seen in the study area. Women are often seen uncomfortable to move in the public meetings and to express their requirements which are another major issue of mainstreaming women workforce.

*Table 4 : Women Participation in NREGS Planning Level (Respondents Workers)*

| Caste                | Rupnarayanpur(%) | Galsi(%) | Total(%) |
|----------------------|------------------|----------|----------|
| Gen                  | 17.24            | 22.86    | 20.31    |
| SC                   | 13.79            | 0.00     | 6.25     |
| ST                   | 10.34            | 5.71     | 7.81     |
| Others               | 0.00             | 0.00     | 0.00     |
| Total in the village | 41.38            | 28.57    | 34.38    |

*Source: Primary Survey in Burdwan district of West Bengal November'09 –January'10*

### III. CONCLUSION

One interesting point is women participation under NREGA is increasing gradually with the pace of time. Sudarshan (2008) argues that the participation of women is getting high basically because of three reasons, '(a) because of the high market wage of males for works other than MGNREGS, (b) for low market wage of females for works other than NREGS (c) migration of the male members of the family and need to earn money in the female-headed households in poverty stricken states'. From this discussion it can be suggested that MGNREGA should move from its household specific approach to person specific or more precisely, gender specific approach to achieve its goal for women participation. Ensuring women participation in the public meeting is the second step through which the desired assets of the village women can be crated, or in other words, active participation of women in the planning process and inclusion of some skillful works in the MGNREGA framework can only enhance the full benefits of the scheme and to achieve the improved sustainable livelihood for rural women.

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## Playing (A)-Part: Thinking Poly-Cultural Societies after Multi-culturalism

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**Abstract-** This paper considers citizenship in a culturally diverse society through ethnography in the Israel Andalusian orchestra. The orchestra was established in 1994 in the immigrant city of Ashdod by the second generation of North African Jewish immigrants. The establishment of the Andalusian Orchestra looks, at first sight, like one more case of ethnic revival that one should explore as multicultural citizenship, but research shows that it does not fit into the multicultural mold. Thus, research that began as an exploration of multicultural citizenship turned into ethnography of the politics of classification in Israel. This paper offers an alternative way of thinking, analyzing citizenship in a polycultural society and focusing especially on the dialog between the state and different ethnic groups. This approach involves investigation not only into the second generation of immigrants in a modern city, but also into the concept of multiculturalism itself.

**Keywords:** *politics of classification, second generation, iron cage of ethnicity.*

**GJHSS-C Classification :** *FOR Code: 420301, 420399p*



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The story is about Neighbourhood 'A'. Rabbi Meir Amar came to me to ask for the use of the community center for the special morning prayers, the "Request Songs". I told him: You've got it. At four o'clock in the morning I woke Lasry up in the pouring rain. By the time we got there we were all wet. We asked ourselves, what idiots, what on earth are we doing here? When we got to the main hall, we were amazed: the room was packed. Someone pushed a prayer book into our hands. What we got was three hours of a spiritual experience. I felt that something was happening here, a community event, a musical and cultural one. They invited us, young academics, to a table and treated us as honored guests. But people had brought their food with them, the amplification was faulty, and they put pictures of holy men up for sale, to cover their costs. We got annoyed – is this way to do culture? Still, we understood that it wasn't their fault – they just didn't have the conventional framework to express themselves. I saw that, and I wasn't there to complain but to create. I put my idea down on paper and sent it to the mayor of Ashdod. No answer. A few months later, I got a call from him: Come at once, I have this idea to found a world center for sacred songs.

(Malka, The founder of the Israeli Andalusia orchestra).

In the last decade of the Twentieth Century, theories have developed concerning the flourishing of cultural enterprises, and treating them as demands for the recognition of cultural difference (Kymlicka 1995). The present article aims to question the concept of multiculturalism, both as a theory and as a tool for field research. Multicultural citizenship seemed to be a way to define and understand how people settle their identity, both as citizens and as ethnic subjects, identities that often "run up against one another" (Comaroff 2003). Hence, Kymlicka's notion of multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka 1995) appeared to be a promising tool for analyzing one of the cultural enterprises of the second generation of immigrants to Israel from North Africa – the Israel Andalusian Orchestra. However, every attempt to fit the field research on which this paper was based into the language of multicultural citizenship raised more questions than answers. It became clear that multiculturalism has to be viewed as a constructed category, rather than a natural phenomenon, raising questions of how people use it, what contribution it makes to different social groups, and under what conditions. These questions demand new ways of thinking about the relationship of culture to social stratification and power (Swidler 1986), opening the door to questions concerning cultural aspects of social inequality. DiMaggio (DiMaggio 1992) argues that examining the production of high culture involves understanding how the "making of meaning" shapes social institutions. Thus, research that began as an exploration of multicultural citizenship turned into ethnography of the politics of classification, where findings in the field contradicted accepted theory.

Early in my research it became clear that "multiculturalism" was not only the language of researchers, but that the subjects of this research, the founders of the Israel Andalusian Orchestra, were familiar with it and with its implications. The way they interpreted the experience of the first generation of immigrants led them to reject the use of the concept. They refused to adopt difference, the central component of the multiculturalist way of thinking, demanding instead recognition as an integral part of Israeli society, not merely by right of their ethnic identity. They rejected uniqueness as the basis of their claim, on the grounds that "nowadays everybody is unique", to use the words of one of them. Furthermore, establishing the orchestra

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was not an effort to revive a culture, but rather one more case of invasion of tradition (Hobsbawm 1992).

From this perspective, multiculturalism can be explored as one strategy among others that people use to gain recognition. Indeed, as far as these founders were concerned, it was not even a very successful one. They were knowingly constructing a culture by asking themselves how a tradition that their immigrant parents brought with them could be accepted as high culture by mainstream Israeli society.

Ethnographical study of the Andalusian Orchestra sheds light on the construction of identity in general, and of ethnic identity in particular. In the 90s, there was a flowering of sociological research which posited the term "identity" as a central tool for the unraveling of individual and group existence in the society. The ethnography of the orchestra encapsulates the fact that the main demands of the immigrants was for economic, social and cultural recognition and existence (Taylor 1992).

In the course of establishing the orchestra, a number of methods of presentation were examined. The method which the founders selected, what they called "the right model", was to perform Andalusian music within the outward forms of a western classical orchestra, that is to say in formal suits and bow ties, with a preponderance of string instruments, under a conductor, with a printed program, and with a Friends of the Orchestra association, all of which were absent from the source. They saw this as a new way to make use of their inherited culture to become a modern national enterprise

It was this understanding that brought the research back to its starting point for review, this time investigating not only citizenship as it was experienced by the second generation of North African Jews, but the theories of multiculturalism as well. A study of the relationship between the state and the Andalusian Orchestra involves a close look at a struggle for classification that identifies the institutions that operate in the field. The question of what multiculturalism is (both as a concept and as a set of institutionalized practices) in the eyes of the second generation of Jewish immigrants from North Africa to Israel, brings multiculturalism into question as an empirical reality that has to be understood in the wider context of economics and politics.

Several steps are required to create new research as Vertovec (2007) urges us to do in his important introduction to the special issue of Ethnic and Racial Studies.

The first step is to distinguish between the language of the field and the language about the field. In the course of writing field diaries, it became clear that multiculturalism is *emic*, the language of the field. Comaroff (2003) suggest that the concept of "polyculturalism" provides a more useful tool for

analyzing social variety than the term "multiculturalism". The concept of polyculturalism includes both multiplicity and the politicization of the relations that arise from that multiplicity.

The second step is to analyze a cultural phenomenon at the meeting point of the structures and the agents – that is, between state institutions and its subjects (Vertovec 2007). In this case, not so much the orchestra and the state themselves as the relationship between them. The state is both the source of funding and the source of social recognition and legitimization, and hence it is not a matter of the ethnography of the state or of a particular cultural enterprise, but of the meeting point of the two. It is here that bureaucracy, nationalism, law and liberalism come into the picture, together with social aspirations.

The third step, emphasizing analysis within the wider social context, is to ask what multiculturalism means to groups of minorities whose rights are recognized but who experience poverty under a neo-liberal policy (Postero 2007). The social climate during the period of this research was formed by years of economic depression and the second intifada (Palestinian revolt). The Jewish public discourse in Israel during that time was dominated by nationalism, on the one hand, and neo-liberalism (the ruling policy in the field of economy, under the Minister of Finance, Benjamin Netanyahu), on the other. The budget for cultural enterprises was cut progressively from \$95 million in 2003 to \$56.4 million in 2004. In the second year of the research, the players of the orchestra were not paid for seven months. Thus, even ten years after it was founded, the orchestra was still struggling for its existence and for official recognition.

*The Subjects:* Between the promise of belonging and social marginality 'Minority individuals suspended in limbo between the promise of full integration and the fear of continued exclusion' Geoff Denchquted by Bauman (2001: 94).

The current section discusses a second generation of immigrants into the modern nation state, Israel, whose national and religious identity enables them to take part in state and society, but whose social marginality is nevertheless preserved by strong social forces.

It is impossible to understand the story of the Andalusian Orchestra without taking into account the suppression of local cultures that non-European immigrants brought with them to Israel in the 1950s and early 1960s. To a great extent, the orchestra was a response to this cultural and social fracture, when they were lumped together under the term "Mizrahim" (Shohat 1988) [a term denoting immigrants from Islamic countries]. "Country of origin" became a useful category for sociologists in describing the ladder of class in Israel, with European and North America Jews at its head, followed by the Jews from Asia, then Jews from

Africa, Palestinian citizens of Israel and, at the bottom, Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Semyonov 1987).

Cultural suppression was made possible by the total dominance that the established forms of culture held over art and culture (Shenhav 2005), including the field of music (Seroussi 1984). The culture of the Mizrahim, insofar as it enjoyed the status of culture at all, was not granted the resources that would enable it to flourish or maintain any quality. From this perspective, culture can be seen as a political mechanism for excluding minority groups. Cultural oppression constructs social marginality and is reinforced by it.

The history of Moroccan Jewish music in Israel typifies the extent of this deliberate cultural destruction and what arose from the dramatic circumstances of this great wave of immigration (Polem 1999). This suppression of "alien" cultures led to the near-extinction of the customs of Moroccan Jewry in Israel. Many of the musicians and singers of sacred music became a part of the proletariat of the predominantly secular Zionist revolution, with the result that many of them were forced to abandon their music just to earn a living. In such circumstances there was no chance of forming musical ensembles and playing professionally. In addition to this process, the leaders of the musical scene became split up, in the name of settling peripheral areas of the country, putting the older generation of musicians into an impossible situation. Dr Eilam-Amzalig, musicologist and first conductor of the orchestra, stated:

The human element of Andalusian music was very low, both culturally and musically. This is easy to show: they were limited to playing at parties and celebrations. They were capable of banging on an oudh or a violin, but the musical continuity, the musical knowledge and culture were lost to them. Look at the players who are used to playing loudly: the nobility of the instruments has got lost over the years of playing at Bar Mitzvot, weddings and parties. What you have to do there is to play over everything else, over the eating and the noise of the crowd.

Nonetheless, there were still some among them who were recognized over the years as special phenomena, due to their expertise in classical Arabic and Hebrew and the esoterics of music. However, any chance of bringing up a second generation without a conservatory, without music groups for young people and without documented music was doomed to failure. Even the few who continued with this musical activity treated their work as if they belonged to a closed guild and took on no pupils.

The Israel Andalusian Orchestra was founded by Dr Yehiel Lasri and Motti Malka in two stages in Ashdod, a pre-planned immigrant city. In 1988, together with Sammi Almagrabi, Eli Ben Hammo and Aryeh Azulai, they established the Center for Sacred Songs and Poetry, which became, and remains to this day, a

training school for singers of sacred songs and musicians who play the traditional instruments. In 1994, there was a division, and the orchestra was put on a new footing. It was established as a classical orchestra, with a preponderance of string instruments absent from the original format. There were forty-five instrumentalists, consisting of two groups. The first was called, in local usage, "the authentics", and all the rest "the orchestra". Most of the "authentic ensemble" were, and still are, immigrants from North Africa and Israelis of Mizrahi origin. The First Violin, however, was a Palestinian, an Israeli citizen from Majd el Krum in Western Galilee, and most of the "orchestra" consists, to this day, of immigrants from countries of the former Soviet Union or native-born Israelis.

How could the second generation found an orchestra under conditions of cultural oppression? How could they dream about a classical orchestra, with its preponderance of string instruments, when very few of their people knew how to play the violin? During the early Nineties, there was a huge wave of immigration to Israel from the countries of the former Soviet Union. Among them were many musicians who, under the state policy of dispersing the population, were settled in Ashdod. These new immigrants provided the founders of the orchestra with cheap, professional western musicians. The second generation of immigrants from North Africa were able to empower their "burden" and present it as "culture", in order to gain social status, only thanks to these immigrants from the CIS.

By 2006, the orchestra had 4,000 subscribers. Most of these were first or second generation Moroccan Jews. Most of the musicians played from notes, on classical instruments, such as the violin, viola, cello and double bass, but next to these was an ensemble of traditional Andalusian musicians who played the oudh, mandolin, guitar, camandja, darbuka and tahr drums. Integral to Andalusian music is the accompanying vocal. For hundreds of years, both Muslims and Jews wrote lyrics to the music, in Arabic and Hebrew, and over the years these lyrics became the main part of a tradition of worship among Moroccan Jewry. Texts in Moroccan Arabic were interwoven into the Hebrew, so that the content would be understandable. This genre was known as "al-matroz" (the weave). In the program that were distributed at concerts, the words appear in Arabic, but written in Hebrew letters, since most of the audience can not read Moroccan Arabic – though perhaps half can speak it.

Even ten years after the orchestra was established, its founders were busy morning to night in defining their vision and their form. The *raison d'être* of the orchestra was an ongoing process of constructing a cultural identity. It became apparent early on that there was no common knowledge available: there was no common understanding of "This is how we usually do things". In one conversation Malka spoke about his

meeting with Dr. Buzaglo, a philosopher and the son of one of the important musicians of North African Jewry, Rabbi David Buzaglo. 'You have to help me to create a language', Malka told him, 'I need more words and arguments, we have to write a new dictionary'. This developmental flux facilitated our investigation into the politics of classification.

## II. METHODOLOGY

The present paper is based on four years of ethnographic study in the modern national city of Ashdod, Israel (Aharon 2005). After a year of preliminary exploration, the study concentrated on the Andalusian Orchestra, over a period close to three subscription seasons (2002-5). This involved attendance at many concerts, sitting side by side with the subscribers, recording backstage events, talking to the musicians in their dressing rooms and traveling with them. Interviews were held with dominant figures in the municipality. The research even involved attendance at synagogues at four o'clock of a winter's morning. It also involved inquiries concerning the history and music of North African Jewry.

In a first telephone conversation with Malka, the managing director of the orchestra, I asked his permission to visit the orchestra. His answer was surprising: 'I've been waiting years for this telephone call'. It was an answer that opened the door to a deep and frank dialogue. Malka and Lasri, the founders of the orchestra, came to Israel from Morocco as toddlers. Both of them are religious, charismatic and able in the fields of politics and power. They were very welcoming, viewing the fact that a researcher saw fit to devote the topic of a doctorate to the orchestra provided them with authoritative proof of its importance. As a result, the research on the orchestra itself became an important part of their quest for recognition. For example, when Malka was told that the work had been presented at the AAA conference in Washington D.C, he requested the Abstract in order to put it on the Orchestra's web site, 'You see', he smiled, 'It's not every day that people talk about the orchestra in Washington.'

In the majority of ethnographic studies there is a distance between the researcher and the reality under study, but in this case the distance was minimal. The discourse concerning multiculturalism represents a meeting of an enlightened subject and political academia. Major Israeli academics have been requested by state authorities to write papers on the topic of policy regarding culture; others led the establishment of social organizations that became dominant in the demand for multiculturalism. Malka, Dr. Lasri, Dr. Avi Ilam Amzalig (the first conductor) and Asher Canfo (chairman of the orchestra) took part in the intellectual discourse concerning multiculturalism. They attended discussions and conferences, and published

essays and papers in a variety of publications. Thus, my position as the one who wrote about them became yet another voice in a field in which the writers and the subjects of research constantly changed places.

The condition of second-generation immigrants at the time provided a unique methodological moment which gave observers, including social scientists, a standpoint from which to analyze culture both within and beyond the borders of culture, thereby helping them to explore the construction of major social categories such as ethnicity and citizenship.

Theory: Between "ideals", "empirical reality" and "concepts"

It was Walter Benjamin (Moses 2003) who proposed the use of the meeting point between the "ideals", "empirical reality" and "concepts" as a research tool:

State and statements (ideals)

[Citizenship]

People and concepts

Empirical reality

This triangular model will be followed to analyze the citizenship undertaken by this second generation of immigrants who were looking for both social recognition and making a living. At the point of the triangle is the utopian ideal of modern nationalism, which promises a national culture that embraces everyone. On one side of the base is the empirical reality, which is how the ideal actually works out on the ground (where it will be shown how state actions often contradicted formal state pronouncements), and at the third point we find the people themselves, that second generation whose very existence embodies multiple identities. It is in the space between these points that different categories of citizenship are negotiated and can be classified.

Hence, the model can help us to explore the experience of citizenship in a new light. It turns attention from constituent elements as entities in themselves to the relationship between them, reminding us that social categories, promises and power struggles play out at their meeting point. The triangle reflects tension between its point and its base, between the "big time" (Gurevitz 1997), the national time of promises, declarations and ceremonies and the "small time" of the daily round.

The state and society meet at the point where citizenship is found, that is to say at the point where rights, duties and institutions overlap... citizenship is located at the medial point between state and society, exercising the normative control of the relations between the state and the individuals that constitute society (Shafir and Peled 2005).

### III. FINDINGS

#### a) *Part 1: Statements and state: enlightened nationalism and the politic of exclusion.*

Culture, like every social phenomenon, is always stratified. Just as no social movement has succeeded in deleting social stratification, so too no social-cultural movement has succeeded in deleting cultural stratification. Hence, the principal of equality of value may be a heartfelt catchword, but it is never brought to reality in any cultural system (Shavit et al 2000).

In more recent years, the official pronouncements of the state, which also form a part of the public discourse, aim to present enlightened nationalism by shuttling between the demand for homogeneity and tolerance toward groups of minorities. In this case, multiculturalism came to be a discourse of mere politically correctness. State officials adopted multiculturalism under an interpretation that preserved the core (Western) culture, while yet making some room for other cultures. At the same time, the state practiced a bureaucracy of exclusion by adopting so-called objective criteria, based on official reports and carried into practice by budgetary policy. The orchestra, as a result of its refusal to accept the label "ethnic", became a serious problem, because it blurred the establishment strategy to budget the orchestra, not under the category of "classical orchestra" but as a "special-native-case".

Two reports on culture were written at the beginning of the present century by major academics in Israel, at the request of the government, called the Bracha Report (Katz and Hed Sela 1999) and "Vision for 2000" (Katz and Hed Sela 1999). Another document was the budgetary policy, which became known as "the criteria". It is in those parts of the documents, in the small print which the reader tends to pass over, that the fate of whole groups was decided. Why did the government ask for reports on culture? Firstly, to neutralize the power of politicians to interfere with the budget for cultural matters, secondly it was a result of examining the tension between preserving the old institutions and encouraging new enterprises, and thirdly out of a desire to strengthen the connection between the national budget and national objectives, especially social unity.

By presenting a policy of enlightened nationalism, the reports try to tread a path between the desire to preserve the ethos of one national culture by protecting the budget for so-called "national institutions" (e.g. the national theater, Habima, and the national orchestra, the Philharmonic) while at the same time showing "tolerance" by promoting what were seen as "other" cultures. They rejected the main and basic demand of the Andalusian Orchestra to be considered as a classical orchestra, as we can see in the following quotation:

In 1998, some 40% of the Jewish population attended the cinema, a museum, a popular music show or an evening of light entertainment at least once. Twenty-five percent went to a concert of classical music, 13% to a dance performance, 5% to the opera and 5% to a concert of the Israel Andalusian Orchestra (Katz and Hed Sela 1999).

The Andalusian Orchestra is in a separate category that the report refuses to consider as classical music. In rejecting this demand, its writers repeated their position that the orchestra belongs in the "ethnic" category. At the same time, the orchestra went through a process of delegitimization, under the label "ethnic symbolism", which placed the Mizrahi identity into the category of an invented one, and its leaders into representatives without a public. "The claim of Mizrahis who demand equality is more statistical (50% of the population) and sociological (identity) than substantial" (Katz and Hed Sela 1999). In "Vision for 2000" (Shavit et al 2000) too, Mizrahi identity is negated as an artificial construct. The writers of the report continue to look for a mono-ethnic national identity (Shavit et al 2000). The orchestra was stigmatized as threatening to split Israeli society.

An attempt to understand the overall picture arising from the many details reveals a bureaucracy of exclusion. The policy known as "the criteria" involves supposedly objective support by the state of its national culture. The main parameters for awarding budgets are (a) assessment of quality, which the Cultural Administration mostly divides into "pass; or "fail"; (b) seniority, on the basis that the old should not have to give way to the new. For example, a cultural enterprise can gain the support of the state only after showing two years of activity. The latter criterion of course closes the door to groups who need support from their outset.

The research revealed a formal machinery of ranking that lets the Authority maintain and protect what it calls national projects. This system gives the Philharmonic Orchestra the advantage of being "national", while the official policy of multiculturalism provides a lower ranking factor, called "special", that enables the Authority to give relatively tiny grants to groups on the fringes of the hegemonic society.

#### b) *Part II: people and concept*

Next, we come to the subjects, the people concerned, who play a major role in defining the situation. The director of the orchestra, Malka, was busy from morning to evening with questions of self-definition and strategic location; not as a therapeutic exercise, but to win recognition and financial support. For example, when asked whether he considered their music as "world music", he answered:

As far as I am concerned, our music is world music, in the sense that all the music in the world comes into that category. If mine is world music and

his is classical music, then mine is not world music at all. And if his is Western classical music, then mine is Mizrahi classical music. When I define my music, I don't use the notion of world music.

In other words, ethnic identity has nothing to do with the culture of a particular group, nor indeed with the country of origin of that group. The need to maneuver in a wide range of discourses involved the heads of the orchestra and its players – Moroccans and Russians alike – in questions of ethnic identity, specifically as it concerns movement from the margins toward the center of society.

This is a different definition of ethnic identity: the attempt to "get in", to be "correct", to win a budget, to gain recognition. Such an identity – in this case, Mizrahi identity – does not arise from the question of origin, but from the desire to move from the social periphery to the central, established positions.

The "Vision for 2000" Report (Shavit et al 2000) brings into discussion the need to preserve the national core culture. Groups that do not belong to Western culture were promised funds in return for their recognition of the centrality of Western culture.

This was Malka's reply:

Someone wanted Western, Ashkenazi [i.e., European] culture to be THE Israeli culture. In my opinion, they failed. The facts speak for themselves. There is a struggle going on, both concealed and open, about what Israeli culture is to be. My contribution is to say: let every cultural sector come out in all its glory, in full force, in its fullest expression, with its strength and its people, and from the junction of them all we will get one good central power. In one of my articles, I asked, what is culture for your understanding? Mozart? Rachel the Poetess? What about David Avidan and Hanoch Levin? [The last three are Israeli writers who could be considered to typify the established culture.] That's the heart of the matter!

Tell me – don't hold back. I say that the core will come from both this one and that one. David Avidan – I've nothing against him, but his poetry does nothing for me. The poetry of Rabbi David Buzaglo is what does it for me – it's canonical. They say that the core is Ashkenazi stroke Western culture, and on the fringes let the Beduin, the Druze, the Maimuna [a Mizrahi festival] come out with their mats and dances and we'll take a look and say Oi, oi, oi, natives [Malka used the English word] and so on. Oi, oi, oi, I'm not having that!

Malka went on more quietly:

The problem is one of resources. If all that culture were carried on with private money, if they were to bring a hundred million dollars, they could do what they like. But the moment that it's a question of public money of all the shareholders, both mine and theirs, in my opinion it should be divided out in a way that all the

shareholders can enjoy the dividends. That's not what happens.

In saying this, Malka expressed the essential standpoint of the orchestra, that it is central to Israeli society and the Israeli culture. They did not seek to select or point to differences, and thereby adopt the category of ethnicity. In their understanding, the dangers of the ethnic label lay behind all talk of differences. Hence, the orchestra refused both the bait and the stigma of "difference". Malka saw clearly that every controversy on the topic of culture came down to a controversy on resources. The experience of the previous generation taught him that any expression of willingness to accept the ethnic label would forever leave them on the periphery of society.

As a case study, let me go into details concerning a meeting between the heads of the orchestra and the Culture Administration. This meeting took place in the summer of 2003, and encapsulates the politics of classification. The context of the meeting explores a new facet of analysis: the summer of 2003 was the summer of the second intifada, a time of terror, fighting and deep economic recession. It was at a time when the orchestra had not been able to pay the wages of its musicians for seven months. Malka opened the meeting by saying:

It was important to us, as heads of the orchestra, not to come to the meeting as members of a needy minority. What we wanted was to be a proper part of Israeli society. After all, we pay our taxes, we do our army service.

In other words, their request for a budget was not based on difference, but on their desire for legitimacy and equal partnership. As they saw it, emphasizing the difference might bring advantages in the short term, but it would harm them in the long term.

Where multiculturalism is concerned, it's a matter of the "special" factor. We objected to that. We don't want to be labeled as "natives", with an agreement for the 6% allocated to special cases, which ended up at four per cent. That was supposed to be divided up between all non-Western classical orchestras, and in the end, they added baroque groups and groups that play period instruments as well. It's nothing but fraud.

From a legal point of view, the special factor simply doesn't work. Besides, I don't want to be treated like one of the natives. How much are you giving to multiculturalism?

Dr. Lasri added: It bothers you that we compare the Andalusian Orchestra with the Philharmonic.

The head of the Cultural Administration answered: "The nation isn't divided into Andalusian and Philharmonic. We've only just paid for an east-west concert. There is only one national orchestra, and that's that. Don't try to compete with it."

An argument about the status of the Philharmonic as the national orchestra developed. 'Where is that written?' asked Malka. 'I'll take it on myself to clarify that point. It has to be documented somewhere,' answered the vice-chair. She was forgetting that the unwritten agreements are the strongest ones.

Malka asked her to say in her own voice that the orchestra is Mizrahi Classical Orchestra. She refused. 'You don't understand what classical means,' she answered, and Malka responded: 'Classical means anything that is excellent, in the sense of that particular taste. Those mistaken assumptions are embedded into the Establishment, and there's no way that it won't influence your decisions if you won't define us as classical.'

That made her angry. She banged on the table: 'It's ethnic. It belongs to a particular group. It's just fashionable at the moment.'

Malka got angry too and banged on the table. 'That's just labeling. It's not labeling on one condition, though: if I'm ethnic, then Beethoven is ethnic too.'

This made everyone laugh in amazement.

The meeting was closed on the understanding that the head of the council, who had been trying to calm the sides down throughout the meeting, would examine the possibility of adding to the budget under the heading of 'needy cultural institutions'.

What comes out of this discussion is that, contrary to formal pronouncements by the state on 'culture for all', the moment that some cultural enterprise tries to get support in the name of national unity, the state protects the hegemonic groups, and affixes the label "ethnic" on to even the second generation of immigrants, and then grants them their lesser budgets accordingly. Malka's question, 'How much are you giving to multiculturalism?' put the actual use of the term into a ridiculous light. Contrary to multicultural expectations, Malka refused to talk in terms of different cultures. He was perfectly well aware that if he accepted that term, he would be put right back into the ethnic niche, a "native", as he put it.

Why did the officials repeatedly demand that the heads of the orchestra define their music as ethnic or east-west music? According to Regev (1998), this classification is a continuation of the "melting pot" ideology: "Its creators serve the national idea and in fact make a form of music that is subordinated to the concept of building an Israeli identity." This contention gains reinforcement when comparison between the Philharmonic and the Andalusian Orchestras is treated as the ultimate threat. The officials of the Authority demanded again and again that the orchestra should not compare itself to the Philharmonic, that the latter was something special, and when they were pressed made it clear that they considered this to be a basic

understanding that required no documentation. Shenhav and Yonah (2005) explain this phenomenon: The dominant culture in Israel was envisaged and engineered from the beginning as an ethno-national Zionist one, and not as a people's culture. The established élite and the state institutions conferred on its creators such kite-marks as "national poet", "national theater", "National museum", "national library" or "national literature".

However, in view of the policy of criteria, a whitewash of the cultural and social priorities was revealed, in that the committee was forced to invent a special status for the Philharmonic Orchestra in order to preserve the level of its budget. The chairperson of the criteria committee declared to the people of the Andalusian Orchestra, "We made our judgment without any preconceived ideas, don't be suspicious." Lasri and Malka tried to tear off the disguise of objectivity, asking "Who are the judges? Who are these people who sit on the committee?" and the chairperson turned the whole question on its head by declaring, "It's you, by claiming to represent women, Mizrahis, Arabs to the committee, who have introduced a subjective and alien element into the system". For a moment, the heads of the orchestra were tempted to make their demands on the grounds of being a "special case", but Malka recognized that this strategy would be a failure, because "everyone's special now". He went back to the main track, declaring that they were the equals of the big orchestras and should receive their budget accordingly.

### *c) Part III: empirical reality*

It is not enough to record and analyze "front of the stage" interactions: they are only one side of the picture, and not the most important one. Behind the scene, in the places that concrete decisions are taken, another kind of policy is shaped. There are key people in the bureaucracy whose position enables them to deal with the reality of a polycultural society. They are not people who are out to change the world, but aim to keep things quiet by means of mechanisms that bypass bureaucracy and by using personal connections.

When a number of key persons work that way over a period of time, a new Establishment statement is created, one that often flies in the face of the formal pronouncements, but never publicly opposes them. The case of the criteria committee shows how opening side-doors to granting a budget gave birth to major social categories, which in turn gave rise to shadow policies that encouraged the politics of identities and, at the same time, to formal pronouncements on the importance of "social glue". For instance, if you came from the CIS and wanted to set up an Israeli theater, you could get a budget from the Ministry of Absorption, as a Russian. A Druze who wanted to set up an Israeli dance group, had to declare himself a member of a minority, and get his budget from the Council for Minority Culture.

In other words, these key people did not announce a new agenda. They adopted the existing one, and were able to recite the chain of events that brought it into being. However, they were aware of exceptions, inherent mishaps that, according to them, were neither deliberate nor the result of error. In point of fact, by their long drawn-out handling of such exceptions, they created a new agenda for the bodies dealing with recognition and connections, where cases fell into bureaucratic and organizational gaps. This activity gave rise to a new reality, as the reports on culture themselves reveal.

For example, according to Katz and Sela (1999), in order to obtain financial support from the Ministry of Culture, it was necessary to prove continuous existence for at least two years to obtain a grant – and even that was conditional on the Ministry receiving a higher budget, since it would not be at the expense of any existing body. In that case, how is it possible to become a supported body? How is it possible to "get in" in the first place? How can one support oneself for those two years? One answer given by the Bracha Report is that one can first obtain a modicum of support as a special project, and become a regular, fully supported institution at the end of the period. Another solution is to gain support under a different fiscal heading, for instance as a religious body, or as an organization of new immigrants (as the Gesher Theater did), and thereby gain support from another government ministry. In other words, to become a candidate for support, the body or institution concerned is forced to go through the very politics of identities that it opposes.

Hence, the identity of cultural enterprises in Israel has been defined by slipping them through the cracks in the bureaucratic obstacles, cracks that enabled new immigrants from the CIS to obtain support for the Gesher Theater, or a grant being given to a sale of Judaica, justified by calling it artwork. When the Culture Administration rejected a request for support of "neighborhood art", new resources were found to set up councils for neighborhood culture. The result has been that bureaucrats have created routes that bypass the criteria – by right of the politics of difference – and have thereby won peace and quiet.

As a result, the first request of the orchestra to be treated as an equal among orchestras failed, on the grounds that, according to those who made the decisions, it did not meet the criterion of quality. The Ministry would only grant it the status and budget of an "ethnic project".

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS

Ethnic minorities are first and foremost the product of enclosure from outside, and only secondly, if at all, the outcome of self-enclosure (Bauman 2001: 94).

This research began as an Israeli case of multicultural citizenship and ended up as ethnography

of the politics of classification. It explored the experience of citizenship as a struggle for existence and recognition, where the process of classifications became the turning point to win legitimacy and budget. The founders of the Andalusian Orchestra rejected the option of winning their claim as "natives". By rejecting this, they rejected any claim on behalf of difference, a category that, in their understanding would preserve their social marginality. Consequently, multicultural citizenship failed to define citizenship as it is experienced by second generation North African Jews in Israel.

Multiculturalism should have come under the academic microscope as an empirical reality, as one of many strategies that people use to present and advance their case. Instead, it became a theory, a tool for analyzing social reality in polycultural societies. Under the influence and authority of American academic discourse, this way of thinking became widespread in Israel too.

The following questions arise on public and academic floors: 'Does multiculturalism threaten the very existence of the modern nation state?' and 'Is multiculturalism the last chance of the state to deal with its internal variety in a moral way?' Questions like these are essential to committed academic discourse, that is, any scholarship that accepts the responsibility of being involved in society. The point is, though, that such questions do not contribute to research on the expanded variety of cultures in a society.

In our analysis of the policy of funding the arts in Israel, it is argued that by its public statements the state present enlightened nationalism, and yet at the same time the state practiced a bureaucracy of exclusion by adopting "objective criteria" for funding. The refusal of the heads of the orchestra to accept the label "ethnic" and their demand for equal treatment were seen as a threat to the status quo.

The narrative and actions of the orchestra make it clear that its leaders were full partners to the definition of the situation. Contrary to what intuition might suggest, they did not make their demands on the basis of the right to be different, or for their uniqueness, but fought for the right to be recognized as equals in Israeli culture. But the whole point is to be recognized as equal as who you are – Arab, Moroccan, Jew, or whatever. The sole contribution of the Culture Administration to multiculturalism was its proposal to grant the orchestra a budget as a special case. The orchestra recognized this as a trap that condemned it to the periphery, where it would have to share limited finances with dozens of other special cases.

The concept of multiculturalism serves élites as a mechanism to defend their social status. The terms 'core values' and 'the right to culture' are additional forms of the fear of the 'other'. Had the Andalusian Orchestra not been seen as a threat, there would

certainly not have been any problem in its inclusion in the category of "orchestra", nor would the Establishment have condemned it to the periphery, as threat to the center, thereby reducing it to cheap productions.

Theoreticians of multiculturalism would argue that the state was obeying the system of liberal multiculturalism, by distinguishing between center and periphery, between the hegemonic culture and a secondary one, whereas the leaders of the orchestra stood for a polycentric culture, i.e., with a number of centers.

I suggest that the ethnography presented here is one of the fears of losing hegemony. This is rationalized by such terms as "dropping standards", "loss of character" and "harm to national institutions", but it is clearly a reaction to the internal conflict between liberalism and the results of massive immigration from countries of the Third World: in such cases liberalism becomes a double-edged sword

In rejecting the proposal of the culture administration, the heads of the orchestra rejected the concept of multiculturalism, which they saw as just one of the strategies of the hegemony to advance its own interests. It is worth noting that this standpoint in no way involves any rejection of the concepts of nation and state, in a country where nationalism has always been a major factor. Indeed, its spokesmen stressed its fulfillment of the duties to the state: "We pay our taxes and serve in the army", he said. They based their claims on excellence, but also on representing half of the Jewish population, a proposition that negated any assertion that the Mizrahi identity is "special". Their standpoint was that they were therefore entitled to centrality in society.

The concept of multiculturalism blossomed among radical intellectuals because it provided them with a new language for talking about democratic utopia and moral society, but it ignores the ideological power of these concepts and the fact that it is useless when it comes to explaining the activities of groups which reject talk about the right to difference, and want to play on center stage. Theoreticians of multiculturalism would no doubt claim that this was the policy of the liberal state, preserving the distinction between the center and the periphery, between the hegemonic culture and sub-cultures, whereas the heads of the orchestra treated multiculturalism as polycentric, as if aiming to multiply centers.

The motivation and driving force of the orchestra are expressions of human, political and cultural hunger for recognition and reward. In fact, it was not the aim of the heads of the orchestra to create a multi-centered society, or to redefine the relationship between the center and the periphery. The explosive nature of the dialogue between them and officials of the state was the outcome of the tension between a sense of being under threat and losing power, on the part of

the agencies of the nation state, and the experience of its subjects that the nation state is a powerful and relevant player. Although transnational links were established by the orchestra with Jewish communities in Canada and Europe, these did not present any real alternative to links with the state.

The dynamics behind the scenes presented above document and analyze how the shadow policy, created through complex organizational and personal processes, feeds the politics of identities, even while public declarations oppose such a thing. The result is that the imaginary community – and it makes no difference whether it retreated in the face of globalization, as Appadurai (1990) says, or changed its appearance while hanging on to its power – paves the way to an imaginary community of differences.

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## The Hidden Transcripts of the Slums

By Dr. Sribas Goswami

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**Abstract-** A slum is a compact area of overcrowded population, poorly built congested dwelling condition, unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities. Living conditions in slums have a direct impact on people's health. One of the major challenges that face urban planners globally is the proliferation of slums in urban areas and the host of health hazards that they bring along with their wake. However, the prolific spread of slums has been a rampant problem in urban areas worldwide. Eventually, the extent and spread of slums in India not only help us to recognize that they are not anomalous and pathological phenomena on the urban landscape but also a manifestation of urban poverty that is still predominant in the urban economy. This study is an attempt to unfold the underlying problems of development of slums.

**Keywords:** *slum, poverty, development, malnutrition, infant mortality.*

**GJHSS-C Classification :** *FOR Code: 160304, 160899*



*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



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Dr. Sribas Goswami

**Abstract-** A slum is a compact area of overcrowded population, poorly built congested dwelling condition, unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities. Living conditions in slums have a direct impact on people's health. One of the major challenges that face urban planners globally is the proliferation of slums in urban areas and the host of health hazards that they bring along with their wake. However, the prolific spread of slums has been a rampant problem in urban areas worldwide. Eventually, the extent and spread of slums in India not only help us to recognize that they are not anomalous and pathological phenomena on the urban landscape but also a manifestation of urban poverty that is still predominant in the urban economy. This study is an attempt to unfold the underlying problems of development of slums.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The concept of a slum varies widely from country to country and depends on a variety of defining parameters. Sometimes slums are used interchangeably with squatters. In general, it is considered as a residential area in an urban locality inhabited by the very poor who have no access to tenured land of their own, and hence 'squat' on vacant land, either private or public<sup>1</sup>. For the thousands of poor in developing areas in India, especially urban areas have always been a means for improving their quality of living and environment, besides getting better jobs and incomes. This, in contrast to deteriorating conditions in the rural areas has generated a considerable flow of migrants to cities, particularly in the last three decades<sup>2</sup>. Priorities of urban migrants change over time, depending on various conditions that they find themselves. But one of the first dilemmas that slum dwellers face and which persist for a long period is the question of an adequate house. The problem is further compounded by the apathy and even antipathy of various government agencies which view the 'invasion' of urban areas by 'the masses' and the development of slum settlements as a social 'evil' that has to be eradicated. Such a confusing and knee-jerk reaction and attitude towards squatter settlements has not helped the more basic question of 'adequate housing

for all'. Qualifying definitions, characteristics, quality and examples of slum settlements vary widely, with the inherent danger of generalization, but an attempt has been made to identify key features which are common to such areas and distinguish them.

A slum therefore, can be defined as a residential area which has developed without legal claims to the land or permission from the concerned authorities to build; as a result of their illegal or semi-legal status, infrastructure and services are usually inadequate. There are essentially three defining characteristics which help us to understand squatter settlement: the Physical, the Social and the legal with the reasons behind them being interrelated.

### a) Physical Characteristics

A slum, due to its inbuilt 'non-legal' status, has services and infrastructure below the 'adequate' or minimum levels. Such services are important equally, network and social infrastructure, like water supply, sanitation, electricity, roads and drainage; schools, health centers, market places etc. Water supply, for example, to individual family may be absent, or a few public or community stand pipes may have been provided, using either the city networks, or a hand pump itself. Informal networks for the supply of water may also be in place. Similar arrangements may be made for electricity, drainage, toilet facilities etc. with little dependence on public authorities or formal channels.

### b) Social Characteristics

The households in slums belong to the lower income group, either working as wage labour or in various informal sector enterprises. On an average, most slum people earn wages at or near the minimum wage level. But household income levels can also be high due to many income earners and part-time jobs. Slum dwellers are predominantly migrants, either rural-urban or urban-urban. But many are also second or third generation squatters.

### c) Legal Characteristics

The key characteristic that delineates a slum is its lack of ownership of the 'land packet' on which poor people have built their houses. This slum could be vacant government or public land, or marginal land parcels like railway setbacks or 'undesirable' marshy land. Thus when the land is not under 'productive' used by the owner, it is appropriated by a squatter for building a house. It has to be noted here that in many parts of Raipur, a land owner may rent his land for a nominal fee

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<sup>1</sup> See Ramachandra, P, "The slum : A note on facts and solutions (with special reference to greater Bombay)" ,1969, pp-161-170.

<sup>2</sup> See Sharma, R.C "Metropolitanization and Urban Crisis and Conflicts" Employment News, 1991, 30 March, New Delhi.

to a family or families, with an informal or quasi-legal arrangement, which is not however valid under law.

It is argued that wherever there are cities there will be slums and they are associated with poverty and specific culture. Oscar Lewis (1966) who developed the notion of culture of poverty mentioned that this was not just a matter of deprivation, but a design of living with a readymade set of solutions for human problems. Hence it served a significant adaptive function. He developed this in the context of his investigations of urban Latin America and New York. He showed how culture of poverty was manifested in urban slums as a subculture. In the words of Lewis "The lack of effective participation and integration in the major institutions of the larger society is one of the crucial characteristics of the culture of poverty" (Lewis, 1966)<sup>3</sup>.

There is no consensus on a definition of urban poverty but two broad complementary approaches are prevalent: economic and sociological interpretations. Conventional economic definitions use income or consumption complemented by a range of other social indicators such as life expectancy, infant mortality, nutrition, the proportion of the household budget spent on food, literacy, school enrolment rates, access to health clinics or drinking water, to classify poor groups against a common index of material welfare (Wratten, 1995; Satterthwaite, 1995). Sociological studies of poverty have shown that people's own conceptions of disadvantage often differ from those of professional experts. Great value is attached to qualitative dimensions. More generally, there has been a widening of the debates on poverty to include more subjective definitions such as vulnerability, entitlement and social exclusion. These concepts have been useful for analyzing what increases the risk of poverty and the underlying reasons why people remain in poverty. Vulnerability is not synonymous with poverty, but refers to defenselessness, insecurity and exposure to risk, shocks and stress. Vulnerability is reduced by assets, such as human investment in health and education; productive assets including houses and domestic equipment; access to community infrastructure; stores of money, jewellery and gold; and claims on other households, patrons, the government and international community for resources at times of need (Chambers, 1995, cited by Wratten, 1995). Social exclusion is seen as a state of ill-being and disablement or disempowerment, inability which individuals and groups experience. It is manifested in 'patterns of social relationships in which individuals and groups are denied access to goods, services, activities and resources which are associated with citizenship' (ILO, 1996)<sup>4</sup>.

Most studies attempt to describe urban poverty have focused on drawing out the characteristics of urban poverty, often by comparing rural with urban poverty. However, there is still much debate as to whether urban poverty differs from rural poverty and whether policies to address the two should focus on different aspects of poverty<sup>5</sup>. In some views, rural and urban poverty are interrelated and there is a need to consider both urban and rural poverty together for they have many structural causes in common, e.g. socially constructed constraints to opportunities (class, gender) and macroeconomic policies. Many points to the important connections between the two, as household livelihood or survival strategies have both rural and urban components (Satterthwaite, 1995), (Baker, 1995) and (Wratten, 1995)<sup>6</sup> also illustrate this point in terms of rural-urban migration, seasonal labour, remittances and family support networks. Baker (1995) illustrates how urban and rural households adopt a range of diversification strategies, by having one foot in rural activities and another in urban. Conceptualizing urban poverty as a separate category from rural poverty is also problematic because of different yardsticks for defining urban in different countries. The urban-rural divide is more a continuum rather than a rigid dichotomy.

The Raipur city is projecting immense development with sky scrapers, fancy flyovers, massive shopping malls and multiplexes. But what are co-existing are poverty, poverty of employment, poverty of shelter, poverty of basic necessities and poverty of access to basic infrastructure like electricity, water, drainage and sanitation. Housing for the poor is so scarce and consequently slums are mushrooming everywhere, with little action on the part of the authorities to ensure cheap housing for the poor. The so called slum rehabilitation authority does precious little by way of locating suitable land and constructing tenements with basic necessities. Poverty can be seen in the form of slum. The development in Raipur creates a paradox; in which on the one hand Raipur is emerging with tremendous growth potential on the other hand number of urban poor is growing with heavy impetus. Slums here may be the byproduct of the development. Here the concern is to explore the development discourse in the form of slums and urban poor. Paradox of economic growth in urban areas is the growing number of urban poor. In spite of Raipur's prominent role in economy of the region, urban population and especially urban poor face serious problems in terms of access to infrastructure, diversity of livelihood opportunities, and basic services. Increasing population pressure resulting

<sup>3</sup> Lewis, O. 'La Vida'. Random House, New York, 1966, Vol-421

<sup>4</sup> ILO 'Social exclusion and anti-poverty strategies research findings on the patterns and causes of social exclusion and the design of policies to promote integration', 1996, Geneva.

<sup>5</sup> ILO 'Social exclusion and anti-poverty strategies research findings on the patterns and causes of social exclusion and the design of policies to promote integration', 1996, Geneva.

<sup>6</sup> See report Wratten, E., "Urban poverty: characteristics, causes and consequences", *Environment and Urbanization*, 'Conceptualizing urban poverty' in ILED, 1995, Vol. 7 No. 1

in deterioration of physical environment and quality of life further aggravates the problem<sup>7</sup>. In this study, dimensions of urban poverty and key issues for urban poor and those living in slums are discussed in detail. Present study is a humble attempt to explore some aspects of slums of Raipur city- capital of Chhattisgarh.

The present study broadly comes into the category of urban sociology where an effort is made to understand the problems of poor living slums of Raipur city. As it is known that sociology is an academic and applied discipline that studies society and human social interaction. Sociological research ranges from the analysis of short contacts between anonymous individuals on the street to the study of global social processes. It is the study of the individuals, groups and institutions and their relations that make up human society. Sociology is the study of social life, social change, and the social causes and consequences of human behavior. Sociologists investigate the structure of groups, organizations, and societies, and how people interact within these contexts. Since human behavior is shaped by social factors, the subject matter of Sociology ranges from the intimate family to the hostile mob; from organized crime to religious cults; from the divisions of race, gender and social class to the shared beliefs of a common culture; and from the Sociology of work to the sociology of sports. In fact, few fields have such broad scope and relevance for research, theory, and application of knowledge such as urban sociology. Sociology provides many distinctive perspectives on the world, generating new ideas and critiquing the old.

This study presents an overview of the slum life in Raipur. More than one third of Raipur's population resides in slums, squatters and other poor settlements. Their contribution to city's economy has been also been growing over the period. In the absence of developed land and clear policy to address their problems, the poor suffer from many inadequacies in terms of access to basic services, socio- economic needs. It is necessary, therefore, to articulate policies and programmes to mainstream the slum communities with the city, both in terms of infrastructure provision and social and economic development.

## II. GROWTH OF RAIPUR CITY AND SLUMS

Chhattisgarh as state came into existence in 2000 after bifurcation from Madhya Pradesh. And Raipur becomes capital of Chhattisgarh. It is evident that the new groups, who come to the city to search for entry in the development process, create a new type of residential settlement in contradiction to that of the existing urban groups. Since the new groups are mostly constituted of low-income group of rural migrants, they accept whatever accommodations are available or can

be quickly stiff with waste materials or with those that can be procured on low costs on open spaces which are unusable or lying vacant. Generally the operation takes place in groups, initially consisting of relatives and kin's or members from the same caste, village, district, region or language. This process involves illegal occupancy or squatting on public or private lands. They take place independently of the authorities charged with external or institutional control of local building and planning.

Another major characteristic of these settlements is their neo-rural or village like pattern since the dwellers in these settlements follow traditional procedures with regard to building and physical development. It seems to be an attempt for reinterpretation of rural life in an urban condition. The process of formation of these autonomous squatter settlements makes it not only possible for large number of low income group families to get themselves cheap dwellings but also to supply labour force for a variety of urban activities at a lower costs. Thus the processes of producing autonomous settlements are manifestations of normal urban growth and as such the existence of these settlements is not the problem but that they are uncontrolled and their forms are often distorted. Unless there are alternatives for the millions of immigrants to live, these settlements will exist. It cannot also be assumed that unless the alternatives are found, the poor should not be really in the cities, but should wait patiently in the villages until rural and regional development policies can help them.

The inhabitants of low-income pockets in urban areas do not form a separate and distinctive social order. Studies of slums show that their composition is varied and that the slum population does maintain strong and close ties with the established formal and informal institutions of the urban system. Further these studies show the pattern of norms and values are similar to those of the larger society. In other words the urban poor including those forms the slums do not entirely belong to the informal sector and therefore cannot be regarded as a clearly distinguishable part of the urban economy.

It is the assumption here that the slum life should be understood in its totality. The major features of slum life are its poverty and reality of this poverty is caused by and in its turn brings about a number of other socio-cultural factors. Therefore analyzing the basic features is essential to understand its links with economic, social, cultural, political institutions. Presently the focus is given on macro as well as micro level social development of slums of Raipur city. "The root cause of urban slumming seems to lie not in urban poverty but in urban wealth" (Verma, 2002).

Marginalized sections in the slum area lack essential services. The reason for this is in the unplanned and prohibited nature of these settlements.

<sup>7</sup> See Gurumukhi K.T., "Slum Related Policies and Programmes" Shelter, 2000, Vol-3, No-3p-57

Drawing upon the history of development of a slum in the extended Raipur and, in particular, the acquisition of several services in the slum, interpretation are made about the ways in which slum communities develop an union to build their environment and obtain services. However, it is also observed that slums are homogeneous in this case in terms of physical attributes. There are vulnerable groups within a vulnerable community. In Raipur, the distinguishing feature of a slum is kutchra (semi concrete) structures, meaning those structures are mainly built of mud brick, bamboo, or thatch. The term, which derives from the word for 'crude' or 'unripe', refers to a house that is makeshift, flimsy, and unfinished, as opposed to pucca (concrete), the widely known Indian expression which derives from 'mature' or 'cooked' and which means built with good materials and designed to endure. The existing situation in Raipur with regards to land tenure in the slums, occupation and income of the slum residents, education, health, women and girls, children and adult males are understood to develop this concept. While speaking about the social development in slums multidimensional and multi-causes explanation are needed to understand the present context of Raipur city. Hence an effort is made to understand the living condition of poor people in slum areas through this study.

With the growth of trade, attention is given to the improvement of systems of communication, and mercantile activities in Raipur received a tremendous stimulus with the opening of railways and other new lines of communications. Naturally the roadways and railways for further improvements, and airport were built. It must be noted that in very recent past the business of Raipur had a very small hinterland comprising only Bilaspur, Bhilai, Nagpur, and a small part of M.P. But the establishment of iron and cement industries in Raipur and its surroundings and the opening of the new lines of communication expanded this hinterland. Nevertheless, urban growth, especially in the capital territory areas, has been exploitative and chaotic, resulting in rising unemployment and low productivity work-sharing in the informal sector, squatting in teeming slums, congestion, encroachment on public space, water and air pollution and deteriorating infrastructure and services. In this context another important aspect is that of the inequality of distribution of resources especially income which has led to the deterioration of the living standards of a section of urban people. This is one of causes of the origins of slums in the city.

Slums are scattered across the city in different wards. It is estimated that many slums are located on private lands without access to basic services. The poor, not only inhabit the slums of the city but are spread in squatters and informal settlements in small groups near residential colonies, market places, industrial areas, etc., deprived of basic services. This makes them more

vulnerable to vicissitudes of nature and periodic threats of eviction, ejection and demolition. Authentic data are not available on the number of such settlements and their population. Another feature is that the Raipur urban agglomeration consists of outgrowth, which is presently not part of the corporation area but inextricably linked with the city both spatially and economically. In all these areas the poor population is very high and all these areas can be considered to be slums without basic infrastructure both physical and social. The number of slums and slum population in Raipur Municipal Corporation are increasing at a faster pace over the decades. The slum population as per 2001 census is over 15, 9120. The slum population has gone up substantially over the last few years and which is very high. The urban agglomeration, with growth in population is putting heavy pressure on services and the urban local bodies are not been able to meet the demands and expectations.

Leading forces of development of Raipur (Capital of Chhattisgarh state)

#### ➤ City Population And Economic Changes

- Urban population is increasing rapidly
- Urban population soon numerically dominant
- Urban economic activities driving national economics
- Havoc changes in communication systems

#### ➤ Global Economic Factors

- Globalization
- Market liberalization
- Rapid technological change
- Localization

#### ➤ Global Political Factors

- Decentralization
- Devolution
- Rise of Governance- moving beyond government
- Rise of municipal civic leadership

With the growth of trade, attention is given to the improvement of systems of communication, and mercantile activities in Raipur received a tremendous stimulus with the opening of railways and other new lines of communications. Naturally the roadways and railways for further improvements, and airport were built. It must be noted that in very recent past the business of Raipur had a very small hinterland comprising only Bilaspur, Bhilai, Nagpur, and a small part of M.P. But the establishment of iron and cement industries in Raipur and its surroundings and the opening of the new lines of communication expanded this hinterland. Nevertheless, urban growth, especially in the capital territory areas, has been exploitative and chaotic, resulting in rising unemployment and low productivity work-sharing in the informal sector, squatting in teeming slums, congestion, encroachment on public space, water and air pollution and deteriorating infrastructure and services. In this

context another important aspect is that of the inequality of distribution of resources especially income which has led to the deterioration of the living standards of a section of urban people. This is one of causes of the origins of slums in the city. In

Raipur the following reasons of growth of slums can broadly be summarized namely-

- Land encroachment
- Locational incompatibility
- Unplanned development
- Unauthorized construction
- Temporary/semi-permanent structures
- Absence / inadequacy of basic amenities.

The key question may be asked here is why do people live in slums? Here there are two reasons for this: one is internal to the slums, and the other is external. Internal reasons include, lack of collateral assets; lack of savings and other financial assets; daily wage or low-income jobs (which in many cases are semi-permanent or temporary)<sup>8</sup>. External reasons include high cost of land and other housing services; apathy and antipathy on the part of the government to assist them; high acceptable building standards and rules and regulations; loop sided planning and zoning legislation.

### III. OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

The following objectives have been framed for the present study. These are follows:

1. To examine the demographic characteristics of slum dwellers.
2. To examine the nature and extent of slum and factors responsible for growth.
3. To evaluate the people's participation in slum improvement programme.
4. To know the living conditions and infrastructural facilities available in the slum areas.
5. To study the health and nutrition level of slum dwellers.
6. To explore the level of general awareness among the residents of slums.
7. To review the environmental aspects of the city.
8. To identify the problems and constraints of slum development.

### IV. METHODOLOGY

The data have been collected from secondary and primary sources.

#### a) Secondary sources

Data is collected and compiled from the books, reports, published and unpublished papers, leaflets, booklets, Municipal records and Governmental circulars.

#### b) Primary sources

Interviews from the field with respondents, word counselors and slum leaders have been conducted to elicit their opinions and experiences in slum life with the help of interview schedule.

### V. SAMPLE SIZE

The study was conducted on slums of the capital city of Chhattisgarh, Raipur. Total 300 families from four slums taking 95 families from Gandhi Nagar, 88 families from Moulipara, 100 families from Kushalpur and 17 families from Kota basti have taken as sample. Total surveyed population is 1383. Head or senior most persons of the family are the respondents.

### VI. NATURE OF HOUSING IN THE SLUMS

In this part a discussion is made on the nature of housing where slum dwellers spend their day to day life. It is said that there must be an impression in the mind or gesture where we born and brought up. Sometimes man influences his surroundings and his surroundings influence him vice-versa. His living in slum becomes sometime serious drawback in his life, no matter how he is eligible or talented. So here an attempt is made to discuss the direct or indirect impact of slum on human life. The slum dwellers use minimum building materials to create their living space. They use easily available local building materials. Often they use old and used tin sheets, timber rafters, joists and posts, country tiles, plastic sheets and other recycled materials. However, their limited technical expertise is put to the best creative use to meet their shelter needs. The minimum shelters of slum dwellers are not static houses. The freedom to build and meet the social and economic requirements through incremental growth is crucial to the success of the slums. This is consistently reflected in the incremental growth of dwelling units, house-groups / rows and the slum community as a whole. In Raipur slums mushroom in parts of urbanizing area with minimum of administrative control, in other words, they grow in areas which provide them with maximum of freedom to build. In the process, the slum dwellers transform most inhospitable and neglected abandoned land for housing and community building. These include land adjoining marshes, creeks, streams, drainage channels, left over spaces near transportation network of road, railways. The slum-dwellers' local actions to reclaim land for their shelters and community facilities, teaches us the need for micro-planning for positive use of natural resources including land, water and vegetation. Raipur city is almost unplanned city. Slums within the city can't be replaced due to many reasons. So it is obvious that development has to be taken up including the slum settlements.

<sup>8</sup> Herbert G, "The Urban Villagers" The free press, New York, 1961,P-15

Table 1 : Ownership Status of House and Nature of House

| Name of Slum | House holding |       |              |       | Types of house   |       |               |       |           |       |        |       | Total Respondents |
|--------------|---------------|-------|--------------|-------|------------------|-------|---------------|-------|-----------|-------|--------|-------|-------------------|
|              | Own house     | %     | Rental house | %     | Concrete / Pacca | %     | Semi concrete | %     | Soil made | %     | Others | %     |                   |
| Kota Basti   | 14            | 82.35 | 3            | 17.65 | 2                | 11.77 | 6             | 35.29 | 5         | 29.41 | 4      | 23.53 | 17 (100%)         |
| Kushalpur    | 77            | 77.00 | 23           | 23.00 | 24               | 24.00 | 41            | 41.00 | 32        | 32.00 | 3      | 3.00  | 100 (100%)        |
| Gandhinagar  | 65            | 68.42 | 30           | 31.58 | 32               | 33.68 | 27            | 28.42 | 21        | 22.11 | 15     | 15.79 | 95 (100%)         |
| Moulipara    | 77            | 87.5  | 11           | 12.5  | 25               | 28.40 | 33            | 37.5  | 23        | 26.14 | 7      | 7.96  | 88 (100%)         |
| Total        | 233           | 77.67 | 67           | 22.33 | 83               | 27.67 | 107           | 35.67 | 81        | 27    | 29     | 9.66  | 300 (100%)        |

Source: Personal survey:-2012

Table 1 depicts the housing condition of slum dwellers. A clarification needs to be made about the house types or nature of the house.

- Concrete/ Pucca-  
Plinth: Either stone or brick with cement packing.  
Wall: Either stone or brick with cement packing.  
Roof: RCC/RBC
- Semi-concrete/ semi pucca-  
Plinth: Either stone or brick with mud packing.  
Wall: Either stone or brick with mud packing.  
Roof: Asbestos or tile, tin etc.
- Soil made /Katcha-  
Plinth: Mainly mud or mud with broken stone or brick.  
Wall: Mainly mud or mud with broken stone or brick.  
Roof: Bamboo, straw and cheap materials like polythene, tarpaulin etc.
- Others-  
All are made with temporary shed with special grass, or bamboo cutting.

According to the information available 65% slums are regularized, however, tenure security rests with few households in the regularized settlements (RMC report, 2010). Slums in Raipur urban area, as elsewhere in the state, are located on state and central government, municipal, private and other unclaimed lands. Slums are classified as objectionable and unobjectionable based on location and land use – location on riverbeds. But those who live in hazardous areas are still large. From the above table 1 it is clear that 77.67% slum dwellers reside in their own house where as 22.33% stay in houses with rent. As it has already been mentioned that these slums persist for a very long time so the house types are traditional. 27.67% respondents stay at concrete houses and 35.67% people stay in semi concrete houses. Whereas 27 % people stay in soil made houses. Most of houses have concrete and semi concrete. Only few owners of land have made temporary settlement and have given for the rent. The most of the public and private sector housing is beyond the capacity of slum-dwellers and therefore, unaffordable. The slum dwellers have their own houses in maximum cases in four slums. The nature of the houses is semi concrete type dominating the slums.

## VII. FOOD, NUTRITION AND VARIOUS ISSUES ON HEALTH IN SLUMS

Having basically no education, skill and work experience, they have no choice in the competitive job market and pick up lowly paid jobs such as construction labourer, domestic servants, casual factory workers and petty trading business. With their meager income, they are forced to live in slum areas in the most unsanitary and unhygienic conditions, and are carrying out their existence with the barest necessities of life. Even if people have some money, they do not invest it in house improvement, because of its temporary status or illegal occupation of the public lands and constant threat of eviction. Therefore, the housing of the slum dwellers is of lowest quality. Poor housing conditions, overcrowded environment, poor sanitation, occupational hazards, group rivalries and clashes, stressful conditions together with lack of open space for children's recreation etc. are detrimental to the health of people in the slums. An overview of women's and children's health status presents a sobering picture. Deaths and illnesses from reproductive causes are highest among poor women particularly in slum areas. In addition to the suffering of women, yet another cause of concern is their almost apathetic attitude towards their own health and its management during illness. Girl children are found to seek treatment only when their health problem caused great physical discomfort or when it affected their work performance. The situation with respect to women's and children's health in the urban slums is no different; rather their health is neglected the most. Insecurity related to regular income, food, shelter, access to health care and other essential services, along with poverty and difficult physical and social environments, such as exploitation and abuse in the treatment of women, have an adverse impact on the health of the urban poor children.

Table 2 : Consumption of Nutritious Foods by Children of slums

| Name of Slum | Daily |       |                  |       | Some time |       |                  |       | Don't / Can't take |       | Total Respondents |
|--------------|-------|-------|------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|-------------------|
|              | Milk  | %     | Baby food/fruits | %     | Milk      | %     | Baby food/fruits | %     | Total              | %     |                   |
| Kota Basti   | 3     | 17.65 | 1                | 5.88  | 3         | 17.65 | -                | -     | 10                 | 58.82 | 17 (100%)         |
| Kushalpur    | 25    | 25.00 | 3                | 3.00  | 31        | 31.00 | 4                | 4.00  | 37                 | 37.00 | 100 (100%)        |
| Gandhinagar  | 38    | 40.00 | 5                | 5.26  | 32        | 33.68 | 2                | 2.11  | 18                 | 18.95 | 95 (100%)         |
| Moulipara    | 33    | 37.50 | 11               | 12.50 | 22        | 25.00 | 9                | 10.23 | 13                 | 14.77 | 88 (100%)         |
| Total        | 99    | 33.00 | 20               | 6.67  | 88        | 29.33 | 15               | 5.00  | 78                 | 26.00 | 300 (100%)        |

Source: Personal survey:-2012

According to respondents, children are provided on an average three meals in a day. But inadequate quality and lack of diversity of food are matter of concern in food habit. Consumption pattern of slum dwellers depict that rice, potato, vegetable and edible oil are consumed on daily basis. Food composition sometimes is only rice with potato or peas or fish which are cheap to them. But access to protein rich animal product (milk and milk product, meat or chicken, eggs) is very low among the poor. According to households these are expensive food item and most of them cannot afford it. Though, a large number of households can manage fish or meat in weekly basis. Most of them answer that they eat fruits on weekly basis. In this case, they can afford mainly banana which

is relatively cheaper than other seasonal fruits. The data show us that 33% people can afford milk for their children. But only 6.67% can daily provide nutritious foods other than milk. 29.33% children sometime take milk whereas 5% respondents can provide fruits or baby foods seldom. Still 26% can't provide such types of foods to their children. Actually providing nutritious foods is quite expensive now a day, where half population earns less than Rs.5000/- per month and household units are more or less comprise of 5 persons per family. In Kota Basti more than 58% respondents can't provide expensive foods to their family members. In this regard Moulipara's situation quit better than other slums.

Table 3 : Practices of Breast Feeding After the Birth of Child

| Name of Slum | Within 1 hour |       | Above 1 hrs to 12 hrs |       | Within a day |       | Above 1 day |       | Total Respondents |
|--------------|---------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|--------------|-------|-------------|-------|-------------------|
|              | Total         | %     | Total                 | %     | Total        | %     | Total       | %     |                   |
| Kota Basti   | 2             | 11.77 | 4                     | 23.53 | 6            | 35.29 | 5           | 29.41 | 17 (100%)         |
| Kushalpur    | 17            | 17.00 | 28                    | 28.00 | 12           | 12.00 | 43          | 43.00 | 100 (100%)        |
| Gandhinagar  | 7             | 7.37  | 18                    | 18.95 | 37           | 38.95 | 33          | 34.73 | 95 (100%)         |
| Moulipara    | 12            | 13.64 | 27                    | 30.68 | 36           | 40.91 | 13          | 14.77 | 88 (100%)         |
| Total        | 38            | 12.67 | 77                    | 25.67 | 91           | 30.33 | 94          | 31.33 | 300 (100%)        |

Source: Personal survey:-2012

Exclusive breastfeeding (EBF) is recommended as the optimum method of feeding for the first 6 months of life to meet the physiological requirements of the infants. It has been reported from the study that the practices of early introduction of breast feeds and late introduction of semi-solids are widely prevalent, more so in slums areas. Study reveals serious erosion of breastfeeding practices. Use of pre lacteal feeds is almost universal; use of feeding bottles, animal milk, and commercial milk formulae are very common. Also it has been found that the introduction of complementary foods is markedly delayed with this background, the study have been conducted to assess the breastfeeding

practices of the children in slum and to determine the factors influencing it, if any. 12.67% mother has given colostrums within 1hour. 25.67% has provided milk to their children after one hour but before 12 hours of the birth. 30.33% mother has given breastfeed within the day and 31.33% provided breastfeed after one day. In Kushalpur and Gandhinagar slums major respondents admitted that they provide breast feeding to their children after a day.

Table 4 : Action Taken during Minor Sickness by slum dwellers

| Name of Slum | Consult register doctor | %     | Consult non-register doctor | %     | Prescribe himself/herself | %     | Don't take any action | %    | Total Respondents |
|--------------|-------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|-----------------------|------|-------------------|
| Kota Basti   | 8                       | 47.06 | 7                           | 41.18 | 1                         | 5.88  | 1                     | 5.88 | 17 (100%)         |
| Kushalpur    | 65                      | 65.00 | 25                          | 25.00 | 7                         | 7.00  | 3                     | 3.00 | 100 (100%)        |
| Gandhinagar  | 65                      | 68.42 | 8                           | 8.42  | 21                        | 22.11 | 1                     | 1.05 | 95 (100%)         |
| Moulipara    | 34                      | 38.64 | 16                          | 18.18 | 38                        | 43.18 | -                     | -    | 88 (100%)         |
| Total        | 172                     | 57.33 | 56                          | 18.67 | 67                        | 22.33 | 5                     | 1.67 | 300 (100%)        |

Source: Personal survey:-2012

The study shows that slum dwellers often neglect minor sickness and do not consult doctor for remedy unless they fall ill. In this situation it is become obvious to know the medical practices of slum dwellers of Raipur city. Among the surveyed population (table no4) 57.33% respondents said that they consult doctor. Government hospitals provide comparatively cheaper treatment. Some of them (18.67%) consult the local doctor or quack. But most dangerous practice is done when 22.33% respondents prescribe medicine

themselves without proper knowledge. 1.67% people say that they don't take any medicine for minor cases. In Moulipara and Gandhinagar many people use this practice. Often people neglect minor sickness in slum areas which can be seen through data in the table in which Kota Basti has ranked top. In slum areas local doctors like RMP or quack are operative. They often take the chance of ignorance of slum dwellers which can be also seen in the table. In Kota Basti such cases can be seen clearly.

Table 5 : Infant Mortality Incidents in the Family of the Respondents

| Name of Slum | 1 case |      |    |      | More than 1 case |      |   |   | No case |       | Total mortality case | %     | Total Respondents |
|--------------|--------|------|----|------|------------------|------|---|---|---------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------------------|
|              | M      | %    | F  | %    | M                | %    | F | % | Total   | %     |                      |       |                   |
| Kota Basti   | -      | -    | 1  | 5.88 | -                | -    | - | - | 16      | 94.12 | 1                    | 5.88  | 17 (100%)         |
| Kushalpur    | 1      | 1.33 | 3  | 3.00 | -                | -    | - | - | 96      | 96.00 | 4                    | 4.00  | 100 (100%)        |
| Gandhinagar  | 1      | -    | 4  | 4.21 | -                | -    | - | - | 90      | 94.74 | 5                    | 5.26  | 95 (100%)         |
| Moulipara    | 4      | 4.54 | 4  | 4.54 | 2                | 2.27 | - | - | 78      | 88.64 | 10                   | 11.36 | 88 (100%)         |
| Total        | 6      | 2.00 | 12 | 4.00 | 2                | 0.67 | - | - | 280     | 93.33 | 20                   | 6.67  | 300 (100%)        |

Source: Personal survey:-2012

Here in the present study table 5 shows that in some families either boys (2%) or girls (4%) died after birth. .67% respondents have reported more than one infant death incidents. 93.33% respondents don't have any such type case. It is seen that the total number of infant mortality recorded in this table is 6.67%. Infant mortality is not a single problem with a single solution. Multiple and interrelated determinants interact demanding a chain of approaches and policies that to be evolved to deal with and to bring down the mortality rates. Mostly the women's and children's health is often neglected resulting poor health and development. Over population and poverty are pervasive in and causing health hazards such as mortality. Infants are naturally innocent, vulnerable and dependent on their parents

mainly mother's nutrition status and child feeding practices and often suffer from viral and infectious diseases. The lower case of infant mortality shows the greater level of awareness. It is seen that among four slums Moulipara has the maximum number of infant mortality cases. But the overall scenario is encouraging in this regard.

*Table 6 : Opinions of Slum People in Raipur about Garbage Disposal in Locality*

| Name of Slum | Regularly | %    | Occasionally | %     | Not at all | %     | Total Respondents |
|--------------|-----------|------|--------------|-------|------------|-------|-------------------|
| Kota Basti   | 1         | 5.88 | 4            | 23.53 | 12         | 70.59 | 17<br>(100%)      |
| Kushalpur    | 7         | 7.00 | 36           | 36.00 | 57         | 57.00 | 100<br>(100%)     |
| Gandhinagar  | 2         | 2.11 | 46           | 48.42 | 47         | 49.47 | 95<br>(100%)      |
| Moulipara    | 2         | 2.27 | 34           | 38.64 | 52         | 59.09 | 88<br>(100%)      |
| Total        | 12        | 4.00 | 120          | 40.00 | 168        | 56.00 | 300<br>(100%)     |

Source: Personal survey:-2012

Municipal Solid Waste (Management and Handling) Rules, 2000 says that all local bodies are expected to undertake segregation of waste and its collection, storage, transportation, processing, and disposal. Management of industrial and municipal waste is a serious challenge because of its magnitude and the resources required. The JNNURM covers programmes for urban waste disposal.

Table 6 shows that 40% respondents partially admitted that corporation dispose garbage occasionally. However, from total sample 4% respondents say that garbage is disposed regularly. The rate of generation of solid waste in these areas has outpaced population growth in recent years with the

wastes normally disposed in low-lying areas of the city's outskirts. Inadequate facilities for disposal of garbage lead to large quantity of waste both ground water and surface water. Ground water contamination is less visible but often more serious. The proportion of households reporting removal of household waste by members was much higher in slum areas than that in other city areas. Only 4 per cent slum households have reported removal of their waste by local authorities and by private agreement regularly. A substantial percentage (59.09%) of population has reported against their waste being taken to individual dumping spots. Regarding the garbage disposal provisions Kota Basti has the poor service.

*Table 7 : Indicative Lists of Institutions and Programmes*

| Sl. No | Institutions                                                         | Programmes                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1      | Raipur Municipal Corporation                                         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Implementation of poverty programmes</li> <li>Notification and de-notification</li> <li>UCD</li> <li>Health and Sanitation</li> <li>Town Planning</li> <li>Infrastructure</li> </ul> |
| 2      | Revenue Department                                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Issues of Pattas</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                          |
| 3      | Development Corporations relating to SCs, STs, Women, and Minorities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provisions of loans and subsidy for livelihoods</li> </ul>                                                                                                                           |
| 4      | Housing Corporation                                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>House development</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                         |
| 5      | Education Department                                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>School Education</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                          |
| 6      | Health Department                                                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Health care and ICDS</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                      |
| 7      | Social Welfare Department                                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Welfare of weaker sections</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                |
| 8      | Raipur Urban Development Authority                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Planning and development</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                  |
| 9      | Urban Health Centers                                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Primary health care</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                       |
| 10     | NGOs                                                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Livelihoods and services</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                  |
| 11     | CBOs                                                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Articulating needs and priorities Planning and implementation</li> </ul>                                                                                                             |

Source: City Development Plan under JNNURM (2006-13).

Table 7 shows that several government agencies (such as Municipal Corporation, Health Department, Education Department of Chhattisgarh government) and non government organizations are

working together for the betterment of slums. The table also focuses categorically on the programmes with its concern implementing institution.

*Table 8 : Vision for Basic Services to Urban Poor in Raipur City*

| Sl. No. | Vision Outcomes                   | 2005-06 | 2010 | 2015 | 2020 |
|---------|-----------------------------------|---------|------|------|------|
| 1       | BPL Population (%)                | 33%     | 15%  | 20%  | 10%  |
| 2       | Access to Schools (%)             | 40%     | 60%  | 80%  | 100% |
| 3       | Access to Primary Health Care (%) | 65%     | 80%  | 100% | 100% |
| 4       | Housing access (%)                | 35%     | 60%  | 60%  | 80%  |
| 5       | Slum (% reduction)                | 30%     | 40%  | 60%  | 80%  |
| 6       | Literacy (%)                      | 45%     | 65%  | 80%  | 100% |

*Source: CDP (2012), Raipur*

Above table shows the vision of Municipal Corporation to facilitate the basic services to the urban poor. It focuses a comparative study between past and present and has set a target for future.

## VIII. CONCLUSION

The rapid growth of urban population poses serious challenges in terms of provision of basic minimum services. Slums are an outcome of an imbalance in urban growth resulting from over-concentration of economic resources in Raipur. Slum problems are widespread and multidimensional in nature; therefore they can be solved by comprehensive programmes. Infrastructural development and civic amenities are required adequately. After bifurcation, Raipur's formation as capital has brought qualitative and quantitative changes among the slum dwellers. Environmental degradation is general phenomenon in slum. Therefore, a system has to be evolved whereby the garbage from slums can be collected from each household and placed in the nearest big garbage collection depots or transaction stations, and after that it can be cleaned by municipal services. Living conditions of urban poor in these areas are considerably meager according to the survey findings. Socio-economic status of slum dwellers is characterized as mainly low income group with inadequate education (for both parents and children). Also, poor physical environment with non-existent sufficient infrastructure is very common phenomenon in slum areas. Therefore, high prevalence of disease (water-borne) among children living in slums indicates unhealthy environment. In such circumstance, to ensure food quality of urban poor is a challenge if their socio-economic condition remains miserable. According to the information available 65% slums are regularized, however, tenure security rests with few households in the regularized settlements (RMC report, 2012).

In Raipur, substantial differences exist among mainstream and slum in terms of mobility, wealth, settlement, facilities, and standard of living etc. Although only a mental outlook cannot alter the structure of

opportunities available, it can increase awareness, social skills, knowledge of safe spaces for meeting, and group identification. There are main issues that require attention if health services for the poor are to be improved and made more accessible - while inadequate health facilities may be partly responsible for the poor health status of slum dwellers the answer does not lie in simply providing more services.

It is evident from the study that, environmental and social conditions of the slums of Raipur city are very much deprived. In case adequate steps are not taken to prevent pollution and to improve the quality of life by providing more social amenities, the life of the slum dwellers of the city may become more miserable, and this may be the cause of health hazards and worst devastation. Regarding garbage disposal system Raipur city is facing tremendous problem particularly in these slum areas. Since most of the slums are located in marginal areas encroaching on drains, the physical environment in most of these is of poor quality. The other main problem is lack of covered drains and sewerage facility. The conditions of public toilets constructed under different schemes are in poor state, as there is lack of maintenance by the assigned staff and as a result, they are not used.

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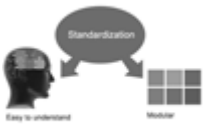
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| <b>References</b>             | Complete and correct format, well organized                                                                                                                                            | Beside the point, Incomplete                                                                        | Wrong format and structuring                                   |



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