Man and Society
A Journal of North-East Studies

Indian Council of Social Science Research
North Eastern Regional Centre
Shillong, Meghalaya

Contents

Editorial

In this issue of *Man and Society*, we first present to you an article by T. S. Papola, former advisor to the Planning Commission of India, who so kindly delivered one of the evening lectures at the Indian Council of Social Science Research, North-Eastern Regional Centre recently and also agreed to allow us to publish his brilliant lecture in our journal. We are indeed thankful to him for giving us this privilege. His article has many lessons for those who are enthusiastic about the Look East Policy and for those who are engaged in the development of the Indian Himalayan states.

T. T. Haokip and N. Haokip, in the next article, bring in conceptually rich discussion on the concept of internal displaced persons in India and draw our attention to some of the disabilities such persons suffer due to lack of conceptual clarity. The next article by Mamoni Kalita deals with the status of work participation of women in India. On the basis of the NSSO data the author finds that a vast section of women workers are going through a downward spiral, resulting in greater measures of gender inequality in employment. The burden as care-giver is increasingly falling on women, resulting in a large number of women remaining outside the sphere of productive employment. This is complemented by the next article by Joyati Bhattacharya, who argues that the full potential of women has not been exploited by the corporate sector in India due to old and enduring gender biases.

The next two articles focus on specific states of Northeast India. Ruma Saha and Amitabha Sinha analyse the agricultural, health and educational status of rural women in Tripura at block level across several Plan periods and concludes that there is a vicious circle of low agriculture productivity,

Globalisation and the Indian Himalayan States: Mitigating or Accentuating Marginalisation?

T.S. Papola∗

Eleven Indian States - Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Tripura and Uttarakhand - have entire, major, or minor parts of their territory situated in the hilly and mountainous region of the Himalayas. They also happen to be on the geographical and political margins of the country. Each of them shares borders with one or more foreign countries. Seven of them located in the Northeastern part of the country are beyond another large country, namely Bangladesh, and are connected with mainland India by only a narrow passage (See the map on the next page for the geographical location of these states). The geo-political marginality of these states is exacerbated by isolation, which is caused by relatively low levels of transport and communication connectivity. Thus natural and man-made factors combine to marginalise these areas. And when they are inhabited by tribals and ethnic communities, as happens rather often, they also suffer from cultural marginalisation.

Globalisation is often seen as a secular and equalising process and, as such, it is expected to bring marginalised areas and communities into the mainstream of economic and social activities. It does this by enabling them to link with other areas and wider markets through capitalizing

∗The author is ICSSR National Fellow and Honorary Professor, Institute for Studies in Industrial Development, New Delhi.

the local production is put at a disadvantage. In such cases, globalisation may lead to a decline in isolation, but may also turn the local population highly dependent on other areas, both for income and products. Out-migration may increase and those left behind may have to subsist primarily on the remittances sent to them.

The Resource Base

The Indian Himalayan region in which the eleven states mentioned above are, partially or fully, situated is proverbially rich in resources. Low population density adds to this 'richness', as it leads to higher per capita availability of these resources, particularly when it comes to land. Most of these states have large parts of their area under forests, and they are rich not only in wood, but also in minor forest resources, flora and fauna, and biodiversity. A large number of rivers flow in and from these states, and have a high potential for hydro-power generation. Some of them also have mineral resources of high value.

What, however, appears as richness of resources on the surface, does not translate into actually useable potential for economic benefits. No doubt, the population is thinly distributed across vast tracts of land. But then, most of this land is not fit for cultivation. The population density as per provisional figures from Census 2011 is as low as 17 per square kilometre in Arunachal Pradesh and 52 per square kilometre in Mizoram. It is well over 100 in Uttarakhand (189), Jammu and Kashmir (124), Nagaland (119), Himachal Pradesh (123) and Meghalaya (132) but still much lower than the 382 per square kilometre that counts as the national average. It is, of course, high at 350 in Tripura, where plains constitute the largest area. Similar is the case of Assam with a figure of 397, but it is much lower in Assam's two hill districts, North Cachar and Karbi Anglong. In 2001, it was 65 for these districts, as compared to 340 for the whole state.

A low density of population, however, does not necessarily mean a larger availability of useable land. Only 5 per cent of the geographical area in Arunachal Pradesh, 4.7 per cent in Jammu and Kashmir, around 11 per cent in Manipur, 15 per cent in Himachal Pradesh, and 18 per cent in Mizoram is cultivable, as against 56 per cent in the country as a whole. As a result, the net sown area per person is only 0.07 hectare in

areas with slopes beyond a certain degree. Areas under forests are large in most of the Himalayan states: over 70 per cent in Manipur, Mizoram and Sikkim, and 60 to 70 per cent in Arunachal Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Tripura and Uttarakhand, as against only 23 per cent for the country as a whole (Table 2). Actual forest cover is similarly large in these states, except in Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim and Uttarakhand where it is significantly lower than the recorded area. The exploitation of forests for economic purposes is, however, constrained by environmental concerns. Disastrous effects of deforestation causing floods, and other ecologically adverse impacts on lives and livelihoods of local, and more importantly, lowland populations, places severe restrictions on the use of hill forests for improving the economic condition of the people living there. The construction of large dams for generating hydroelectricity on a sizeable scale is also found to be environmentally unsafe in the geologically fragile Himalayas. Even the construction of roads to improve connectivity of villages and towns among themselves, to the markets, and to the rest of the world is viewed with a serious frown by environmental activists. Added to that, mining in hills and mountains is, of course, subscribed to cause even greater ecological disasters.

Table 2
Area under Forests: Indian Himalayan States
(% of Geographical Area)

SNo.	States	Recorded Area (2005)	Forest Cover (2007)
1.	Arunachal Pradesh	61.55	60.43
2.	Himachal Pradesh	66.52	26.35
3.	Jammu & Kashmir	9.20	15.21
4.	Manipur	78.01	77.40
5.	Meghalaya	42.34	77.23
6.	Mizoram	79.30	91.27
7.	Nagaland	55.62	81.21
8.	Sikkim	82.31	47.31
9.	Tripura	60.02	76.95
10.	Uttarakhand	64.79	45.80
11.	Assam	34.23	35.30 (Assam Hill Districts – 67.89)
	India	23.41	21.02

Source: India: *State of Forest Report, 2009*, Forest Survey of India, Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India.

Table 3
Per capita Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP): Indian Himalayan States, 2009-10 (at current prices)

Sino.	State	1999-2000	2009-10
1.	Arunachal Pradesh	14052 (88.72)	51405 (110.56)
2.	Assam	12269 (77.46)	27197 (58.50)
3.	Himachal Pradesh	20808 (131.37)	50365 (108.33)
4.	Jammu & Kashmir	13745 (86.78)	30582 (65.78)
5.	Manipur	13260 (85.89)	27332 (58.79)
6.	Meghalaya	14811 (93.51)	43555 (93.68)
7.	Mizoram	16443 (103.81)	45982 (98.90)
8.	Nagaland	13819 (87.25)	45680 (98.25)
9.	Sikkim	14890 (94.00)	68731 (147.83)
10.	Tripura	14119 (89.14)	35799 (77.00)
11.	Uttarakhand	13872 (87.58)	59684 (128.37)
	India	15839 (100.00)	46492 (100.00)

Source: *Economic Survey*, *2007-08* & *2011-12*, Table A-13.
Note: Figures in parenthesis indicate states' position with India = 100.

Estimates of poverty, however, do not necessarily suggest that the income at the disposal of people in these States is lesser than the national average. As is well known, poverty estimates are based on private consumption expenditure. For example, for the latest estimates, which relate to the year 2009-10, households with a per capita per month expenditure lower than Rs. 687 in rural and Rs. 990 in urban areas were considered to be below poverty line in Meghalaya. In that year, except Manipur, with 47 per cent and Assam with 38 per cent of the people estimated to live below the poverty line, the other nine hill States had lower incidences of poverty compared to the national average of 29.8 per cent (Table 4). Jammu and Kashmir, which had the second lowest per capita GSDP among the eleven Himalayan States, had the lowest, and, in fact, a very low, incidence of poverty standing at 9.4 per cent, which is almost similar to that in Himachal Pradesh, which has a relatively high per capita GSDP. It is rather intriguing to note that people in most of these states have much lower incomes compared to the national average, but have higher expenditure. These estimates would strongly suggest that remittances play a significant role in meeting the excess of expenditure over income for large parts of the population in these states. In other words, their own income generating capacity is not enough to

undertaken by some means of transport, either animal driven or mechanised. Added to this, walking in the hills for the same distance involves the use of much more energy than in the plains. Productive or household activities in the hills are also performed manually more often than in the plains, due to the non-availability or non-applicability of mechanised technology (e.g. the use of tractor and threshers in farming). As a result, the minimum calorie norms for the inhabitants of these areas have to be much higher (it may be about 3000 calories, as is sometimes prescribed for the manual workers in factories).

ii) Besides food energy requirements, the minimum requirements for other basic needs are also higher in these areas. For instance, the cold climate in most of these areas requires a higher minimum amount of clothing, including woollens, besides the requirements of heating. Similarly, their shelter needs to be of a minimum quality against protection from cold weather.

iii) Prices in these areas are significantly higher due to non-availability of most of the consumption items locally, and the resulting higher transport costs.

The price factor has now been taken into account in recent years, and poverty lines are now computed for each state by applying state specific price indices. The poverty line, when applying these state-specific price indices, is generally much higher in Himalayan States compared to the all-India figure. For example, for rural areas, it was estimated to be Rs 1017 for Nagaland, Rs 871 for Manipur, Rs 850 for Mizoram, Rs 774 for Arunachal Pradesh, Rs. 723 for Jammu & Kashmir, and Rs. 720 for Uttarakhand, against the all-India estimate of Rs. 672 in 2009-2010. But these figures still under-estimate the minimum consumption expenditure required for subsistence, for they do not take into account the higher food energy requirements, the minimum clothing, shelter and heating requirements as mentioned above. Once these factors are taken into account, the incidence of poverty in Himalayan states will turn out to be significantly higher than officially estimated. It may also be noted in this connection that earlier no estimates of the poverty line was made for seven states in the North East and that it was the poverty line of Assam, a

Table 5
Transport Density in Indian Himalayan States

S. No.	States	Railway Density (kms. of railway line per 100 km^2 of area)		Road Density (kms. of road length per 100 km^2 of area)	
		2000-01	2008-09	2000-01	2007-08
1.	Arunachal Pradesh	0.01	0.01	219.27	196.97
2.	Assam	32.08	29.12	1111.33	2936.44
3.	Himachal Pradesh	4.83	5.12	132.78	652.02
4.	Jammu & Kashmir	0.43	1.08	104.85	100.45
5.	Manipur	0.04	0.04	512.65	739.01
6.	Meghalaya	0.00	0.00	423.41	438.65
7.	Mizoram	0.09	0.09	235.77	292.13
8.	Nagaland	0.78	0.78	1267.85	1345.24
9.	Sikkim	0.00	0.00	280.56	263.80
10.	Tripura	4.29	14.39	1337.56	3025.07
11.	Uttarakhand	6.66	6.45	596.13	767.41
	India	19.17	19.47	744.29	1014.96

Source: Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy.

Economic Growth in Recent Years: Impact of Globalisation?

How have the Himalayan states performed in respect of economic growth over the period following economic reforms? Has globalisation helped them to grow faster? As is well known, the Indian economy has seen accelerated growth rates in the post reform period, from an average of 5.5 per cent during 1981-91 to 6.1 per cent during 1991-2001, and 8.6 per cent during 2001-2010. For the shorter period of 2005-10, the growth rate has been again higher at 9.6 per cent. During 1991-2001, and barring Arunachal Pradesh and Assam, which experienced a lower growth, and Himachal Pradesh with an average growth, the other six states (Uttarakhand was at the time not yet formed and data are not available for J & K) in the Himalayan region recorded significantly higher growth rates than the national average. Significantly, all these six states belong to the Northeastern region. In the period 2001-10, only the new state of Uttarakhand and Arunachal Pradesh registered a growth rate higher than the national average, while Sikkim, Tripura and Himachal Pradesh were almost at par with the national average. The other six Himalayan states performed relatively poorly. In the shorter, high growth period of 2005-10, only Arunachal Pradesh exceeds the national average rate of growth. Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Sikkim and Meghalaya have a growth

Table 7
Changes in Relative Position of States'
Per Capita GSDP in Relation to Indian Average (=100)

Slink.	State	% Higher (+) or Lower (-)	
		1999-2000	*2009-2010*
1.	Arunachal Pradesh	-11.28	+10.56
2.	Assam	-22.54	-41.50
3.	Himachal Pradesh	+31.37	+8.33
4.	Jammu & Kashmir	-17.22	-34.22
5.	Manipur	-14.11	-41.21
6.	Meghalaya	-6.49	-6.32
7.	Mizoram	+3.81	-1.10
8.	Nagaland	-12.75	-1.75
9.	Sikkim	-6.00	+47.83
10.	Tripura	-10.86	-23.00
11.	Uttarakhand	-22.42	+28.37

Source: Based on Figures in Table 3

Has globalisation anything to do with the differential performance of the Indian Himalayan states? The major outcomes of globalisation, which are increased external trade and foreign investment, may not have made any significant contribution in these states, as they are far-flung from the centres of the globalisation–induced economic upsurge. Some measures of liberalisation of border trade with neighbouring countries, especially in the North-East, have been undertaken, but information on the extent to which they have led to an actual enhancement of trade is not available. Faster growth rates of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya and Tripura could perhaps be attributed, to some extent, to this development. Measures of domestic deregulation, following economic reforms and globalisation could have made an impact on the economies of these states, particularly in their industrial sector. Himachal Pradesh has always followed a policy of comparative advantage by focussing on horticulture and has now diversified into new products – off-season vegetables and spices - with a view to offsetting the recent loss of its comparative advantage in its traditional product, which is apple, in domestic and international markets. Uttarakhand has achieved its high growth mainly on the basis of industrial growth in the plains of the state, by taking advantage of domestic deregulation and of the incentives available to

Conceptualizing Internal Displacement

T.T. Haokip & N. Haokip∗

The concept of "Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)" emerged as an issue of international concern out of the changed political environment from the end of the Cold War and the growing awareness of the consequences of internal conflict.[1] Since then, awareness of the global crisis of internal displacement and of the plight of affected populations has grown. However, despite being firmly embedded in the international lexicon, there exist different ideas as to what is meant by "internal displacement" and "internally displaced persons." For some, the term internal displacement refers only to people uprooted by conflict, violence and persecution, that is, people who would be considered refugees if they crossed a border. Global statistics on internal displacement generally count only IDPs uprooted by conflict and human rights violations.[2] Moreover, a recent study has recommended that the IDP concept should be defined even more narrowly, to be limited to persons displaced by violence.[3] Others, however, consider internal displacement to be a much broader concept, encompassing the million more persons uprooted by natural disasters and development projects. Still others question whether it is useful to single out IDPs as a category at all. There is also no consensus on "when internal displacement ends," that is, when an IDP should no longer be considered as such. Confounding matters is that in

∗ T.T. Haokip is Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong and N. Haokip is Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong

2005, in Zimbabwe with the home demolitions and forced removal of more than half a million people. Also problematic was the notion of people fleeing "in large numbers" as in reality many displaced fled in small groups or even on an individual basis. The definition eventually arrived at by the representative of the Secretary-General, therefore, eliminated any requirements regarding time or the minimum number of persons affected.

A more comprehensive definition emerged from the representative's deliberations, which define IDPs as: "Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border".[8] This definition introduced several important nuances. First, in recognition that people could become internally displaced not only as a consequence of suffering the causes of displacement but, also in anticipation of such effects, reference was made to people having fled "as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of" the causes listed in the definition. Second, as persons did not necessarily have a home, reference was also made to "habitual places of residence." Third, the criterion of being "within the territory of their own country" was altered to "who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border," to reflect the possibility of sudden border changes, for instance, as had occurred with the break-up of the former Yugoslavia and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Finally, the definition in the Principles prefaces the list of causes with the qualifier "in particular" so as not to exclude the possibility of other situations that meet the key core criteria of involuntary movement within one's country. The principles, which were presented to the UN in 1998, have since gained wide recognition as an important tool and a standard for addressing internal displacement and are being used around the world by governments, the UN, regional bodies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other actors.

Three important causes of displacement have been highlighted, viz.: (1) conflict, (2) developmental activities, and (3) natural disasters. In the deliberations leading to this definition, there were those who would

foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violations of human rights or circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order."All retain the crossing of national borders as a sine qua non for definition of "refugee" status. Thus, if persecuted individuals cross their national border, an elaborate system of international law and institutions comes into play for their protection. However, if they remain within the national border, they are not considered "refugees," hence are not entitled to such protection.

There are no national laws which define those who do not cross international borders as "internally displaced persons" and distinguish them from "refugees," whereas international law defines "refugees" in clear terms to refer to those who, being deprived of legitimate protection due to them in their home country, crossed over to another country seeking refuge. Internally displaced persons are also described as "internal refugees." However, in fact, internal displacement is much broader than the refugee concept. It is not limited to conflict and persecution but covers other causes of forced displacement including natural disasters and can also encompass people forced to relocate by development projects. Despite these very different causes, the various groups of uprooted people were included together in one definition as they have in common the two core criteria of involuntary movement and being within one's borders. Further, unlike "refugee," the definition of "internally displaced person" is a descriptive rather than legal definition. It simply describes the factual situation of a person being displaced within one's country of habitual residence. The term does not connote or confer a special legal status in the same way that recognition as a "refugee" does.[14]

Internally Displaced Persons as a Special Category of Concern
The question as to whether internally displaced persons should be considered as a "Special Category of Concern" was a point of considerable debate within humanitarian and academic circles. One view has been that rather than identifying internally displaced persons as a specific category of concern they should simply be treated as victims of war.[15] This argument ignores that displacement arises from causes other than conflict. The second view was that singling out this group would privilege the displaced and lead to discrimination against others.[16] Third,

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has come to recognize that displacement puts those affected at a distinct disadvantage. It pointed out that: Displaced people may have the same need to legal protection as other civilians during conflict, but it goes without saying that, deprived of shelter and their habitual sources of food, water, medicine and money, they have different, and often more urgent, material needs.[20]

Third, forced to leave their homes, a lack of shelter is an IDP's most obvious particular need. Whereas shelter is a basic component of assistance to refugees, in the case of IDPs, there is no UN agency that predictably meets this need in humanitarian crises. As such, providing IDPs with emergency shelter persistently proves to be among the poorest addressed and most neglected aspects of humanitarian response.[21] Many IDPs seek out shelter where they can, including in railway wagons, cars, aluminum containers, abandoned buildings, sanatoriums, hotels, factories and urban slums.[22] In some cases, it may be that IDPs who are taken in by relatives, friends or local residents generally fare better. Even then, over time the strain placed on the host families can lead to tensions and the risk of IDPs' eviction.

Fourth, one of the most urgent needs of the internally displaced is food. With limited access to land and also cut off from their normal means of income, IDPs tend to be more dependent on food assistance than others in the local population. Indeed, malnutrition is among the reasons why IDPs' death rates have often been found to be substantially higher than for non-displaced populations.[23] Moreover, IDPs' heightened levels of food and livelihood insecurity do not necessarily improve over time. A recent study concludes that there is "no indication that households who have been displaced for a long time have the ability to generate the income needed to obtain sufficient food."[24]

Fifth, food insecurity also contributes to other serious health risks. It is well documented that the lack of food and of income-generating opportunities to secure food leads to higher rates of prostitution and sexual exploitation among displaced women and girls. This consequence of the lack of adequate food has resulted in the HIV/AIDS infection rate being six times higher in IDP camps than in other areas.[25] The World Health Organization (WHO), which is mandated by its constitution to assist in providing health services and facilities to "special groups,"

of protracted displacement situations in south-eastern Europe and Central Asia, concludes: "when multifaceted dimensions of vulnerability are reviewed in conjunction, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the region's Displaced Persons are a group deserving continued significant attention from government and donors."[31]

Finally, one of the distinguishing characteristics of displaced persons is their need for a durable solution to their plight. For IDPs, forced return may be a greater risk than for refugees, who can rely on United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR's) assistance in monitoring whether conditions of safe and voluntary return or resettlement exist, whereas effective monitoring mechanisms for IDPs' protection do not yet exist. When safe and voluntary return or resettlement does become possible, IDPs, like refugees, require special assistance to rebuild their lives. Yet, despite facing similar problems, and often being in the same circumstances, IDPs rarely receive the same type of reintegration packages provided to refugees. Moreover, host communities, particularly in war-affected countries, require reconstruction assistance as well. However, IDPs inevitably face unique needs, most notably as regards property and land restitution. Special protection problems may arise as well. ICRC statistics and other studies confirm that returning displaced persons and refugees comprise a disproportionate number of civilians injured or killed by landmines.[32]

Thus, it is difficult to deny that IDPs have certain needs that are distinct from the general population and which require special attention. What distinguishes the internally displaced are the unique needs and heightened vulnerabilities that arise as a result of forced displacement, including their need for a durable solution. They are often a part of a much larger group of persons in need, whether it be civilians caught up in armed conflict or populations affected by a natural disaster. Nevertheless, the objective fact of being displaced implies particular needs and exposes those affected to additional risks. Quite simply, as human rights expert Roberta Cohen has noted: "The fact of the matter is that internally displaced persons do have needs that make them different from others in the general population."[33] Dennis McNamara, reflecting on his experience of over 30 years working with populations in situations of war and violence, asserts that there is "no doubt that the internally

is true in many cases that, by virtue of their precarious situation, persons displaced as a result of armed conflict qualify for priority treatment.[38]

In some cases, there may not be sharp distinctions between the humanitarian needs of IDPs and those of other populations who have not fled but are also in need. It will often make sense to address the plight of IDPs through a broader community-based approach. However, there need be no conflict between helping IDPs and helping others. Addressing the specific problems encountered by IDPs does not preclude protecting and assisting other at-risk groups; it simply means that the particular needs and vulnerabilities of IDPs are taken into account and addressed, whether through general or targeted programming. In humanitarian assistance programmes, identifying priority interventions and striking a balance between general programming and targeted assistance for IDPs should be the goal. As the ICRC Deputy Director of Operations has pointed out, finding this balance is not only possible but is the principle guiding ICRC assistance programmes in situations of internal displacement.[39]

Funding for humanitarian assistance programming must also be flexible so that it can address the needs of both IDPs and the local non-displaced population who may also be in need. A recent study found that after the hostilities and the height of the humanitarian emergency had subsided; the continued automatic prioritization of assistance for IDPs without regard to the humanitarian needs of the local communities led to uneven aid distribution and consequently resulted in deep resentment and hostility toward IDPs that in the end endangered their security.[40] However, what the author concluded was not that the IDP concept should be jettisoned, on the contrary, "application of the Internally Displaced Person label calls attention to the special needs and vulnerabilities of the recently displaced."[41] Rather, what is important is that development programmes should not be limited to IDPs but also include impoverished members of the local community.[42]

At the same time, it is critical to avoid conceptualizing IDPs and their needs strictly in terms of assistance. To be an IDP does not necessarily mean that one is destitute and in need of aid. Not all displaced people are poor, although the great majorities are, but their dislocation from physical, social, economic, financial and political capital makes

displacement occurred. In some cases, it is the capacity or willingness of the government to provide humanitarian assistance that is the deciding factor. Governments may declare internal displacement to have ended in order to give the appearance of the country's return to normalcy, even if actual conditions suggest otherwise. Even among humanitarian organizations engaged with IDPs, the conclusions reached on this issue differ, and often dramatically. For example, in 2000 in Rwanda, serious differences of opinion arose within the international humanitarian community, including within individual UN agencies and offices, and the conclusion many reached that displacement had ended continues to be called into question to this day.[46] In many cases, the decisions taken on this issue violate the rights of the internally displaced.

The Guiding Principles stipulate that, "internal displacement shall last no longer than required by the circumstances." However, unlike in refugee law, the principles do not contain a cessation clause specifying *when* internal displacement ends. This stems from the fact, as noted above, that the IDP definition, unlike the refugee definition, does not connote a legal status but simply denotes the factual situation of being displaced within one's country. For IDPs who remain in their country, the principles nonetheless envisage two possible solutions to their displacement: (1) return to their areas of origin, or (2) resettlement in another part of the country. Indeed, the principles specify a responsibility on the part of the authorities to facilitate these solutions and also stipulate a number of conditions to be met. These include that return or resettlement must occur voluntarily and in conditions of "safety and dignity." The IDPs are to be protected against discrimination and to be able to participate fully and equally in public affairs as well as to enjoy equal access to public services they are to be assisted to recover or to receive compensation for property and possessions destroyed or of which they were dispossessed as a result of their displacement. These additional provisions suggest that from the standpoint of international law, solutions of IDPs entail much more than simply the physical movement of returning or resettling, but also require putting in place conditions to ensure the durability of these solutions.

The UN is currently developing what a durable solution to internal displacement should entail, with a view to ensuring less arbitrary

Notes

1.   US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants. "Internally Displaced Persons as of December 31, 2004." *World Refugee Survey 2005*, USCRI, Washington: GPO. (2005). 12.

2.   Ibid.

3.   Castles, Stephen, et al. "Developing DFID's Policy Approach to Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons." *Consultancy Report and Policy Recommendations*. Vol. 1, Oxford: Refugees' Studies Centre, University of Oxford, February 2005. 12.

4.   Mooney, Erin. "The Concept of Internal Displacement and the Case for Internally Displaced Persons as a Category of Concern." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 24.3. (2005): 9.

5.   Art. 1 of *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, adopted on 28 Jul. 1951 by the UN Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons convened under General Assembly Resolution 429 (V) of 14 Dec. 1950. 2.

6.   UN Commission on Human Rights, *Analytical Report of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons*, UN. Doc. E/CN.4/1992/23, 14 Feb. 1992. 17.

7.   Under the Organization of African Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (1969), the term "refugee" encompasses the definition in the 1951 Refugee Convention and: every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality." In Latin America, the Cartagena Declaration on Refugees (1984) defines refugees as persons forced to move "because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violations of human rights or circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order.

8.   UN Commission on Human Rights, *Report of the Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons: Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, UN doc. E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2, 11 Feb. 1998. 4.

9.   Cohen, Roberta and Francis M. Deng. *Masses in Flight: The Global Crisis of Internal Displacement*, Brookings Institution, Washington, 1998. 18.

10.   Cohen, Roberta. "The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement: An Innovation in International Standard Setting." *Global Governance* 10 (2004): 466.

11.   Kalin, Walter. *Protection of Internally Displaced Persons in Situations of Natural Disasters: A Working Visit to Asia by the Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons, Walter Kalin, 27 February to 5 March 2005*, Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Geneva, 2005. 9.

12.   "Khartoum Declaration" adopted by the Ministerial Conference on Internally Displaced Persons in the IGAD Sub-Region, Appendix E, in *Conference on*

Migration Review 23 (May 2005): 55.

[31] Holtzman Steven B., and Taies Nezam. *Living in Limbo: Conflict-iInduced Displacement in Europe and Central Asia.* The World Bank, Washington, 2004. 135-136.

[32] Clover, J. "Angola's Children: Bearing the Greatest Cost of the War." *African Security Review* 11.3 (2002): 103-105.

[33] Cohen, Roberta. *Statement before the World Food Programme Consultation on Humanitarian Issues*, Rome, 16 Mar. 2000: 3.

[34] McNamara, Dennis. "Refugees in Their Own Lands: Internally Displaced are Among the World's Most Vulnerable. The G8 Must Not Ignore Them Again." *The Guardian*, 28 Jun. 2005: 24.

[35] Mooney, Erin. "The Concept of Internal Displacement and the Case for Internally Displaced Persons as a Category of Concern." *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 24.3 (2005): 19.

[36] Kalin. 7.

[37] Castles, et al. 56.

[38] International Committee of the Red Cross. *Questions and Answers: Internally Displaced Persons*, 2002. 3.

[39] Krill, Francoise. "The ICRC's Policy on Refugee and Internally Displaced Civilians." *International Review of the Red Cross* 83.843 (Sep. 2001): 610, 621.

[40] Duncan, Christopher. "Unwelcome Guests: Relations Between Internally Displaced Persons and Their Hosts in North Sulawesi, Indonesia." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 18.1 (2005): 22.

[41] Ibid. 28.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Bagshaw, Simon, and Diane Paul, *Protect or Neglect: Toward a More Effective United Nations Approach to the Protection of Internally Displaced Persons*, Brookings-SAIS Project on Internal Displacement and the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Inter-Agency Internal Displacement Division, Washington, 2004. 32.

[44] Collinson, Sarah. "Lessons Learned from Specific Emergency Situations: A Synthesis." in Castles, et al. (eds.)., *Developing DFID's...*, Feb. 2005. 26.

[45] Mooney, Erin. "Bringing the End into Sight for Internally Displaced Persons." *Forced Migration Review* 17 (2003). 4-7.

[46] Norwegian Refugee Council. *Ensuring Durable Solutions for Rwanda's Displaced People: A Chapter Closed Too Early*, Norwegian Refugee Council Global IDP Project, 8 Jul. 2005. 4.

[47] Mooney. 7.

[48] Borton, John, et al. "Learning from Evaluations of Support to Internally Displaced Persons." *IDP Synthesis Report: Final Report*, Ohain (Belgium): Channel Research, 2005. 104.

considerable numbers of women in India.

There are various definitions of workforce participation in India. Over time, these definitions have changed with changing structures of the economy. In the 1950s and 1960s, since the country was heavily dependent on agriculture, the work status in the census was divided into two components: principal and secondary. In the 1981 census, the total population was classified in three broad sections: main workers, marginal workers, and non-workers. In order to capture the economic activities of women more realistically, unpaid works on farms and in family enterprises were then added to the 1991 Census. This emphasis, along with improved training of enumerators, helped in netting more women workers in 1991 (Census Report, 1991). In the 2001 Census, the enumerators' training was again improved substantially, which included them making use of audio and video cassettes in order to probe more deeply into women's economic activities. Further, milk production, even for purely household consumptions, was included as an economic activity for the first time. The enumerators were instructed to find out whether a person in the household was taking care of the cattle, and, if so, the person (either male or female) was included in the category 'worker' (Census Report, 2001). Due to this reason the Female work participation rate (FWPR) in Haryana improved from 10.8 per cent in 1991 to 27.3 per cent in 2001 (Census Report, 2001). In Punjab, the FWPR increased from 4.4 per cent in 1991 to 18.7 per cent in 2001. There has been a substantial improvement in FWPRs in the southern states as well. Gujarat and Maharashtra have, however, shown little improvement in their respective FWPRs (Census Report, 2001). Another important statistical data system (NSSO) defines a person as worker if he /she is engaged in any "economically meaningful activity". This kind of definition, however, excludes a large numbers of women who are concentrated in the subsistence sector for household consumption from the list of workers.

Methodology

The data for this study has been extracted from the last three round of quinquennial surveys (NSSO) for employment and unemployment for the years 1983, 1993/94, 1999/2000, and 2004/05. The NSS generally conducts two surveys and in each of the large sample years a consumption

of part-time jobs in urban areas. It may also be due to some other factors like care-giving, household responsibilities, amongst other socioeconomic factors, which determine the female work participation rate. However, to analyze the changing behaviours of work participation rate of women and its implications, further analysis needs to be done.

Table 1: Workforce participation rate in NSSO Rounds

Rounds	UPS			UPSS		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Rural						
1993/94	53.8	23.4	39	55.3	32.8	44.4
1999/2000	52.2	23.1	38	53.1	29.9	41.7
2004/05	53.5	24.2	39.1	54.6	32.7	43.9
Urban						
1993/94	51.3	12.1	32.7	52.1	15.5	34.7
1999/2000	51.3	11.7	32.4	51.8	13.9	33.7
2004/05	54.1	13.5	34.6	54.9	16.6	36.5
Total						
1993/94	53.2	20.6	37.5	54.5	28.6	42
1999/2000	52	20.3	36.5	52.7	25.9	39.7
2004/05	53.6	21.5	38	54.7	28.7	42

Source: Various rounds of NSSO data.

Comparison between Census Data and NSSO Data on Work Participation Rate

A comparison of work participation rate has been made between the 2001 census data and NSSO data. This shows that the difference between the two sets are very marginal. The 2001 census data and the 55th round of NSSO data (July 1999) on female work participation rate shows a difference of 0.25 percent, which is not significant. From this follows that it does not make much difference whether we are using the data collected by the National Sample survey Organization or those of the Census of India for discussing the pros and cons of the women work participation rate in India.

Table 3. Percentage Distribution of Employment by Status (UPPS)

Employment status and year	Rural		Urban		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Self employed						
1987/88	58.6	60.8	41.7	47.1	54.3	58.9
1993/94	57.7	58.6	41.7	45.8	52.9	56.7
1999/2000	55	57.3	41.5	45.3	52.8	55.6
2004/05	58.1	63.7	44.8	47.7	54.21	61
Regular employees						
1987/88	10	3.7	43.7	27.5	18.6	6.9
1993/94	8.5	2.7	42	28.4	17	6.3
1999/2000	8.8	3.1	41.7	33.3	14	7.3
2004/05	9	3.7	40.6	35.6	18.25	9
Casual labour						
1987/88	31.4	35.5	14.6	25.4	27.1	34.2
1993/94	33.8	38.7	16.3	25.8	30.1	37
1999/2000	36.2	39.6	16.8	21.4	33.2	37.1
2004/05	32.9	32.6	14.6	16.7	27.54	30

The reason of the higher-rate of self-employment in rural areas may be the dominance of the agricultural sector. But one can see a decline in female self-employment rates in rural areas from 1987/88 to 1999/2000. The urban areas also show a decreasing trend in women's self-employment from 1987/88 to 1999/2000.

Large Number of Female Unpaid Workers

As regards the nature of employment, workers generally are classified into three categories: self-employed; regular salaried/wage employees, and casual workers. The second category includes persons working in others farms or non-farm enterprises (both within and outside the household) and getting a salary or wages on a regular basis. This category not only includes persons getting "time wages" but also "piece wages" or a fixed salary and paid apprentices, both full time and part-time. Casual workers include persons usually engaged in other farm or non-farm enterprises (both within and outside the household) and getting a wage in return based on the terms of their daily or periodic work contract. In the NSSO survey self-employed persons are further categorized into (a) own account workers and (b) employers and helpers in the household enterprise. Own account workers are those who run their own enterprises without hiring any labour from outside. However, they may have unpaid helpers to assist them. Employers, on the other hand, are those who

to 49.74% in 2004/05. This indicates that women workers are working more but are doing so without receiving any economic benefit, which is one of the reasons why this author wants to probe into the details of the factors that force women to join the labour market, and why they actually work more than men, which puts extra stress both on their health and mind.

Increase in the Proportion of Women as Unpaid Care-Givers

It is difficult to conceptualize women's work because of the economic invisibility and the compulsory nature of many of the works performed by them in various roles which a woman is expected to fulfill, especially in India. Research in several developing countries has captured the workloads of women by analyzing how it is taking a toll on their physical and mental health. However, the irony lies in the fact that very little of such research is recognized by the government and converted into policies. As it stands, the only data available to probe deeper into this aspect of the problem is the time use survey data collected by the Central Statistical Organization in 1999-2000. But this data was collected from 18,591 households spread over 6 selected states, namely Gujarat, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Meghalaya. This data is classified into three broad categories of activities based on the standard international system of accounting, System of national account (SNA), Extended SNA (ESNA), and Non SNA. The SNA activities primarily include production activities like agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, quarrying, processing, animal husbandry, and tertiary activities like trade, business and services. Extended SNA activities include household maintenance, and care for children, sick and elderly, while Non SNA activities include learning, social and cultural activities, mass media, personal care and self-maintenance. Since the activities included in SNA are much broader than the work participation definitions, there will definitely be a difference in the workforce estimation. However, this data has made it nevertheless possible for the government to at least acknowledge the long working hours of women, many of which go unpaid, and which help us realize the existence of gender disparities in most of the developing societies.

education, willingness to work, and the availability of work, but instead it depends, to a great extent, on other factors which men are less concerned about. This includes fertility of women, care-seeking family members, the socio-cultural environment, distance from the work place, religion, etc.

References

Anker, R. 1998. *Gender and Jobs: Sex Segregation of Occupations in the World*, International Labour Organization, Geneva.

Cerruti, Marcela. 2000. "Economic Reform, Structural Adjustment and Female Labor Force Participation in Buenos Aries, Argentina" *World Development*, 28, (n. 5).

Neetha, N. 2002. "Flexible Production, Feminisation and Disorganization, Evidence from Triuppur Knit ware industry", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 37, (n. 21).

Ozler, S. 2000 "Export-Oriented and Female Share of Employment: Evidence from Turkey" *World Development*, 28, (n. 7).

Srivastava, N and Srivastava, R. 2010. "Women, Work and Employment Outcomes in Rural India. *Economic and Political Weekly,* 15(n. 28).

Singh, N. and M. Sapera. 2007. Liberalisation in Trade and Finance: In Harris –White, Barbara and Anushree Singha (eds), *Trade liberalization and India's Informal Economy.* New Delhi and London: Oxford University Press.

Standing, Guy. 1989. "Global Feminization through Flexible Labor", *World Development*, 17, (n. 7).

Vijayabhaskara, M. 2002. "Garment Industry in India" In G. Joshi (ed.) Garment industry in *South Asia: Rags to Riches: Competitiveness, Productivity and Job Quality in Post MFA Environment,* ILO South Asia Advisory team New Delhi.

fact that the advancement of women and the promotion of gender equality is an issue of grave concern in today's intellectual discourse, but also because it brings advantages to business at large. With an increasing number of women now entering the competitive corporate world, it is realized that the other experiences, skills and perspectives with which women come often prove to be beneficial for the rise of the corporate houses and businesses. By creating an environment that is less hospitable to women, the corporate world actually loses out a talent pool that could benefit them.

Factors that Deter Women

While opportunities for women to earn have increased, the nature, terms and quality of their employment has not improved concurrently. As a result, in many instances, women's situation relative to that of men appears to have worsened during the era of economic development. In some post-colonial African countries, as well as in contemporary Latin America, for example, economic development appears to have differentially affected the interests of men and women. This has happened in such a way that men were drawn into the modern sector, while women were left behind in rural areas, or found employment in informal sectors, as street vendors or as casual workers. This resulted in making their lives less secure.[1] Although there is no deliberate policy to restrict women from seeking access to modern sectors, or for that matter to enter the corporate sector of the economy, the dominance of some factors automatically discourages women from venturing in this direction. One major hurdle is the constraint of a "role model" that is imposed upon women by the society.

- **Socialization:** Like most other work places, the corporate world is a place which is strictly run by the rules designed by men. Therefore, when women enter into this world, they do not really understand how to conduct themselves. They are not socialized to negotiate their way in a world designed and defined by men, and, most importantly, where man's values are perceptibly exemplified.
- **Nature of Job:** Rigid working patterns and not enough female mentors and role models to encourage women on the tough road

managerial positions are generally restricted to areas less central or strategic to the organization and to move laterally to important areas like product development or finance, often women have to respond as 'super women'.

- **Lack of Self-introspection:** women also have their own inner battles and contradictions, which need to be fought and overcome. Women need to develop confidence and the appropriate skills and attitudes which are a prerequisite to succeed in business. Women managers need to establish career goals, and acquire the determination to overcome those obstacles that tend to dissuade women from accomplishing their business aspirations.

Nature of Gender Segregation

There are two areas of continuing concern for gender equality in the corporate sector, and without creating a balance between the two the gender scenario in the corporate sector cannot be changed. In a survey conducted by the International Labour Organization (ILO) on occupational segregation on the basis of sex for 175 occupations in 41 countries, it is found that occupational segregation by sex is extensive in all of the countries under study, and that there are more male-dominated occupations than female dominated ones. In addition, there is still a concentration of women at certain lower level jobs, even in female-dominated sectors.[3] Thus, the nature of segregation is two-dimensional.

Horizontal Segregation: Employed women tend to be concentrated in a small number of occupations. According to the Fourth European Working Conditions Survey (2005-06), only 26 percent of Europeans worked in gender balanced conditions. In fact, half of all working women are concentrated in education, health, public service and media. This scenario is not much different in case of other countries; in fact it is often worse in developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is also worth noting that the public sector hires a greater share of women than does the private sector. In case of India, one of the causes identified for weak female workforce participation is the absence of preferred job opportunities due to gender biases. This happens as generally poor return is expected from women.[4]

increasingly make policy makers turn to employers, trade unions and employer associations to assume their share of responsibility in creating work environments in which both men and women can thrive, and in which women are fairly rewarded for their contributions.

The Global Trend

Although there are enough facts to support women's potential to serve the corporate sector, till date the global trend does not appear quite optimistic. Peter McGraw, Director of the Labour Management Studies Foundation at Macquarie University, who compiled and analyzed the 2008 data for Equal Opportunities for Women in the Workplace Agency (EOWA), said that "I am not surprised that the numbers of senior women have declined because this is consistent with international trends in developed economies. There have been similar findings in Britain, USA and Canada last year."[10] According to the findings of this study, at the board level there were more than 10 men to every one woman, while at CEO level there were 49 male CEOs for every female CEO in the Australian Stock Exchange (ASX). Women chaired just four boards and held 8.3 percent of board director positions, which is a decline from 8.7 percent in 2006. Just over half of all ASX 200 boards have no women board directors.

At the time this census was taken, women held just four CEO positions. It was also found that the number of women managers declined from 12 percent in 2006 to 10.7 percent in 2008. Added to this, the number of companies with no women executive managers rose sharply from 39.5 percent in 2006 to 45.5 percent in 2008. According to estimates from the International Labour Office (ILO, 2009), the female adult employment-to-population-ratio (aged 25 and above) in 2008 was 51 percent for women compared to 70.5 percent for men in Eastern Europe and Central Asia and 50.4 percent for women compared to 67.5 percent for men in the European Union (EU) and other UNECE (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe) member states. This signifies a significant gender gap. According to the Third Bi-annual European Professional Women's Network Report in 2008, the top 300 European companies have 9.7 percent of women on their boards. In the EU, 9 percent of men have a female boss, compared to 41 percent of women. Gender

shows that even among the best employers in India, women employees barely hold 10 per cent of the senior management positions in the two-thirds of the companies covered under the survey. Nearly 40 percent of the surveyed companies had women workforce of less than 10 percent. At the same time, there is practically no culture in Indian companies to monitor gender-based wage discrepancies, with only 4 percent of the surveyed companies having some sort of mechanism for this.

Thus, it seems that despite India's admirable march towards economic progress, India still needs to go a long way in terms of integrating its women workforce at par with the country's economic development. At the same time, the Indian corporate sector needs to become more conscious of its social responsibility, and create firm HR policies to reduce gender-based disparities. The latest trend in India Inc, however, suggests that it seems now to be realizing the negative effects of gender discrimination, and is, therefore, taking steps to include women, as they bring their own perspectives, and have emerged as better professionals in many situations.[14] The days ahead may see a better future for women in the corporate world.

Conclusions

Success today requires organizations to best utilize the talent available to them irrespective of gender. The UNDP-sponsored 2010 Asia-Pacific Human Development Report states that lack of women's participation in the workforce costs the region billions of dollars every year. In countries such as India, Indonesia and Malaysia, even conservative estimates show that GDP would increase by 2-4 percent annually if women's employment rates were raised to 70 percent closer to the rate of many developed countries. Mechanization of agriculture and women's withdrawal from subsistence production even led to food crisis in number of Latin American and African countries[15]. Therefore, it is not only in the interest of women but in the interest of business as well that the corporate world needs to do more to achieve gender equality. But employers alone cannot solve the problem as the roots of gender discrimination are conditioned by the wider societal environment within which companies operate. Thus, a more holistic approach and commitment on the part of the government, the corporate leadership

Change", file retrieved on 03/01/11 from www.bonology.com/…/gender-agenda-time-for-mindset-change.

12. B, Jason (September 16, 2010), *"Goldman Sachs Sued For Gender Discrimination",* In House, the Find Law Corporate Counsel Blog.

13. News Report (April 7, 2008) "*Corporate India Woos Women to Strengthen Workforce"*, The Economic Times.

14. Kushi Mehta (article last modified Nov,2011), "*A Yawning Gap Between Working Men and Women's Wages in India", file retrieved on 18/01/2011 from www.paycheck.in/.../a yawning-gap-between-working-men-women.*

15. *op cit, Janet Zollinger, p5.*

16. Quoted in www.cultureofpeace.com/quotes/women-quotes.htm

twice the 'Hindu Rate of Growth' (a term coined by Raj Krishna), the benefits of this higher growth rate have not trickled down in terms of a rapid decline in poverty and unemployment (Bandyopadhyay 2007). It has been argued that the poor performance of the agricultural sector, where almost 60 per cent of the labour force is employed, is the major cause behind the weak trickledown effect (HDR 1996; GHDR 2004; WDR 2008). The context that the development of agriculture may lead to improvements in health and educational status of rural women can be studied in region and community specific contexts. This is because the hypothesis has context specificity. The North-Eastern Region (NER) of India is a relative newcomer when it comes to technological change in agriculture. Tripura is one of the eight states of NER. In the context of the State, one can analyse the nature of association between technological change in agriculture, educational and health status of rural women.

This paper is divided into five sections. Following this introduction, Section II outlines the objectives of the present paper. Section III discusses data sources. The major findings that emerge from the analysis of data are presented in Section IV. Section V provides the summary and conclusions.

Objectives
(1)   To classify the development blocks of Tripura into technologically advanced and backward blocks in agriculture.[1]
(2)   To classify the blocks of Tripura into advanced and backward blocks in female education.[2]
(3)   To classify the blocks of Tripura into advanced and backward blocks in female health.[3]
(4)   To study the nature of association between the blocks which are classified in terms of technological change in agriculture, health and educational status of rural women.

The Data
Only secondary data have been used in this paper. Agricultural statistics are collected from the Directorate of Economics and Statistics and the Department of Agriculture of the Government of Tripura (GoT). Data on rural female literacy rate and rural average family size are collected

transition from Situation I to Situation II (a), then move to Situation III (a) and perhaps to Situation III. Thus, this analytical frame allows for non-linear discrete transitions as well.

Classification of Agricultural Sub-Divisions

It is found that all the agricultural sub-divisions were in Situation I at the end of the Seventh Plan (Table 1). At the end of the Eighth Plan, theymoved to Situations II, II(a), III(a) and III(b) with most of them moving into Situation II and III(a). Those who moved to III(a) are mainly from South Tripura Districts (Udaipur, Bagafa, Rajnagar and Satchand) added by two of them from West Tripura Districts, namely Bishalgarh and Melaghar (Table 2). At the end of the Ninth Plan, this pattern changed further with none of them situated in II(a) and III(b). One of them, Bagafa, moved to Situation III from Situation III(a) (Table 3). During the Tenth Plan, five more of them joined Bagafa, with three, namely Melaghar, Matabari and Rajnagar, coming from III (a), Mohanpur coming from Situation II, and Kadamtala, from the left zone of the Situation I (Table 4). Moreover, Panisagar stagnated in Situation I during the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Plans, but moved to Situation II at the end of Tenth Plan (Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4). However, throughout these periods Kanchanpur, Chhamanu and Gandachara stagnated in Situation I (Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4).

In short, during the Eighth to Tenth Plan periods, the agricultural sub-divisions have registered progress both in terms of yield of rice and rice area under HYV seeds. However, this progress has not been uniform.

One of the major contributing factors behind the stagnation of Gandachara, Chhamanu and Kanchanpur in Situation I is the large area under shifting cultivation in these subdivisions. The percentage of area under shifting cultivation (*jhum*) is significantly high, standing at 42.94 per cent in Kanchanpur, 19.87 per cent in Chhamanu and 51.78 per cent in Gandachara, as shown in Table 5. Chhamanu and Gandachara belong to the Dhalai District where the terrain is hilly and where scheduled tribes have a major presence, constituting 75 per cent of the total population in Chhamanu and 79 per cent in Gandachara. Kanchanpur with 70 per cent of the population classified as scheduled tribe is situated in North Tripura District (as per 2001 Census). It shares similarities with

In the case of advanced blocks, the tribal population is below 50 per cent for all blocks, except Jampuii Hills and Padmabil. Jampuii Hills does not depend on agriculture. It has a plantation based economy. As for rice production, they only use traditional seeds. In Padmabil block, rice area under HYV seeds is more than 90 per cent for 2001-02. GoT).

If one compares population composition and backwardness of the blocks in female literacy rate (as per 2001 Census) it is found that among the 19 backward female education blocks, 15 blocks have a larger Scheduled Tribe population, constituting 55 per cent and above (Table 9). Bagafa has a Scheduled Tribe population of 43 per cent (which is above the state average of 31 per cent). It consists of 39 revenue villages. Here the female literacy rate is lower than the state average in 26 of the 39 revenue villages. Among these 26 villages, 11 villages (Uttar Takmachhara, Purba Kathalia, Raibari, Laxmichhara, Uttar Barapathary, Dakshin Barapathary, Birendranagar, Abhangachhara, Purba Pillak, Tairumachhara and Baramura Deotamura R.F.) have a large tribal population, standing at 94 per cent and above. Moreover, the female literacy rate in six revenue villages (Raibari, Uttar Barapathary, Dakshin Barapathary, Birendranagar, Tairumachhara and Baramura Deotamura R.F.) is 25 per cent or less, and have a tribal population of almost 100 per cent. This pattern is not observed in the rest of the 15 villages. The three remaining backward female education blocks have a considerable presence of Muslim population in two blocks, namely Boxanagar and Kathalia. Gournagar is an exception. If one looks at the 39 revenue villages of Gournagar, it is found that 20 villages have lower female literacy rate compared to the state average. There are five non-tribal villages but they have a female literacy rate below the state average. Similarly, there are four tribal villages, with more than 80% of the inhabitants classified as scheduled Tribe, with a low literacy rate. The rest are mixed revenue villages

Classification of Blocks in Female Health

Blocks are also arranged according to their rank of rural average family size and grouped as advanced or backward blocks (Table 10). The rural average family size of 19 blocks is mentioned as number 1 to 19 among 38 blocks of Tripura and lies between 3.9 and 4.9. These 19 blocks are

Summary and Conclusions

Technological change in agriculture in Tripura is considered in terms of the use of HYV seeds in rice cultivation. The agricultural economy of Tripura inhibits a technological dualism. Shifting cultivation is mostly practised by tribals in the hilly regions, while settled cultivation is mostly practised in the plains. This paper focuses on technological change in settled cultivation, ignoring the process of mechanisation of agriculture and jhum cultivation. The increase in production of rice can be divided into two components: increase due to yield of rice, and increase due to area under rice. The former may be attributed to technological change. The data shows that the contribution of yield to the growth of production has become dominant from the Sixth Plan period onwards. However, the spread of technological change has not been uniform all over the State. All the rural blocks of Tripura did not experience an increase in yield of rice, and an increase in area under HYV seeds between the Seventh and Tenth Plan periods. There are seven blocks at present which have stagnated at the Seventh Plan period level. These are the blocks where further agricultural development initiatives have to be taken up by the State Government. The female literacy rate of these seven blocks is also below the state average, except for the Jampuii Hills. In the case of average family size, too, there is a higher family size compared to the State average in these seven blocks. One notices a vicious circle of low agriculture productivity, low female literacy and very high family size in these blocks.

Table 1
Pattern between Yield of Rice and HYVRA in the Agricultural Sub-divisions

YR HYVRA	High (≥2500)	Medium (2000-2500)	Low (0-2000)
High (≥90)	None	None	None
Medium (80-90)	None	None	None
Low (0-80)	None	None	Panisagar, **Kanchanpur**, Kumarghat, **Chhamanu**, Salema, Khowai, Teliamura, Jirania, Mohanpur, Bishalgarh, Melaghar, Udaipur, Amarpur, **Gandachara**, Bagafa, Rajnagar, Satchand

Note: Highest yield = 1940.06 kg/ha (Bagafa), Lowest yield = 1218.82 kg/ha (Gandachara).
Source: Computed from Official Registers for 1985-1986 to 2006-2007, GoT.

Table 4
Pattern between Yield of Rice and HYVRA in the
Agricultural Sub-divisions

(End of Tenth Plan)

YR HYVRA	High (≥2500)	Medium (2000-2500)	Low (0-2000)
High (≥90)	Kadamtala, Mohanpur, Melaghar, Matabari, Bagafa, Rajnagar	Kumarghat, Khowai, Jirania, Bishalgarh, Dukli, Satchand	None
Medium (80-90)	None	Panisagar, Salema, Teliamura, Mandai, Amarpur	None
Low (0-80)	None	Tulashikhar	**Kanchanpur**, **Chhamanu**, **Gandachara**, Rupaichari

Note: Highest yield = 2755.08 kg/ha (Matabari), Lowest yield = 1362.53 kg/ha (Chhamanu).
Source: Same as Table 1.

Table 5
Jhum Rice Area in Total Rice Area

(End of Tenth Plan)

District/ASD	JRA	District/ASD	JRA	District/ASD	JRA
i. North Tripura District	10.99	iii. West Tripura District	2.39	iv. South Tripura District	5.25
1. Panisagar	1.11	1. Khowai	2.38	1. Matabari (Udaipur)	2.80
2. Kadamtala	0.57	2. Tulashikhar	13.49	2. Amarpur	15.79
3. Kanchanpur	**42.94**	3. Teliamura	7.16	3. Bagafa	3.53
4. Kumarghat	1.54	4. Jirania	1.95	4. Rajnagar	1.28
ii. Dhalai District	16.58	5. Mandai	10.52	5. Satchand	2.79
		6. Mohanpur	1.53	6. Rupaichari	14.89
1. Chhamanu	**19.87**	7. Bishalgarh	0.61		
2. Salama	9.61	8. Dukli	0.13		
3. Gandachara	**51.78**	9. Melaghar	0.54		

Note: JRA - Jhum Rice Area in Total Rice Area (in percentage).
Source: Same as Table 1.

Table 8
Technologically Advanced and Backward Blocks in Agriculture

Advanced Blocks				Backward Blocks
1. Khowai	9. Boxanagar	17. Satchand	25. Gournagar	1. Damcharra
2. Bishalgarh	10. Melaghar	18. Mohanpur	26. Panisagar	2. Jampuii Hills
3. Matabari	11. Kathalia	19. Hezamara	27. Kadamtala	3. Pencharthal
4. Kakraban	12. Bagafa	20. Tulashikhar	28. Jampaijala	4. Dasda
5. Rajnagar	13. Hrishyamukh	21. Mandai	29. Kumarghat	5. Chhamanu
6. Padmabil	14. Kalyanpur	22. Amarpur	30. Karbuk	6. Manu
7. Jirania	15. Teliamura	23. Salema	31. Rupaichhari	7. Dumburnagar
8. Dukli	16. Killa	24. Ambassa	-	-

Table 9
Rank of Advanced and Backward Blocks in Rural Female Literacy Rate

Advanced Blocks			Backward Blocks		
1.Panisagar (7.85)	8.Jirania (33.85)	15.Salema (26.64)	20.Pencharthal (54.72)	27.Hezamara (95.70)	34.Rupaichhari (82.20)
2.Khowai (17.07)	9.Bishalgarh (24.10)	16.Padmabil (94.80)	21.Bagafa (43.02)	28.Manu (66.90)	35.Damchhara (84.02)
3.Dukli (6.29)	10.Jampuii Hills (97.68)	17.Hrishyamukh (22.78)	22.Gournagar (14.53)	29.Jampuijala (91.83)	36.Karbuk (82.19)
4.Kumarghat (19.81)	11.Matabari (17.19)	18.Melaghar (13.24)	23.Tulashikhar (80.02)	30.Amarpur (68.76)	37.Dumburnagar (78.94)
5.Kalyanpur (30.49)	12.Mohanpur (16.47)	19.Teliamura (44.63)	24.Boxanagar (6.85)	31.Ambassa (72.61)	38.Chhamanu (92.81)
6.Kadamtala (2.49)	13.Rajnagar (17.26)		25.Mandai (82.35)	32.Dasda (69.34)	
7.Kakraban (15.86)	14.Satchand (34.39)		26.Kathalia (14.10)	33.Killa (97.77)	

Notes: (1) Blocks are numbered according to their rank of rural female literacy rate.
(2) Percentage of rural ST population in total rural population in the parentheses.
(3) Highest FLR = 77% (Panisagar), Lowest FLR = 19% (Chhamanu).
Sources: Government of India (2001a, 2001b).

Table 12
Advanced Blocks in Agriculture, Health and Education
Status of Rural Females

Advanced Blocks in Agriculture	Blocks in FLR	Blocks in AFS	Advanced Blocks in Agriculture	Blocks in FLR	Blocks in AFS
1. Khowai	A	A	17. Satchand	A	A
2. Bishalgarh	A	A	18. Mohanpur	A	B
3. Matabari	A	A	19. Hezamara	B	A
4. Kakraban	A	A	20. Tulashikhar	B	A
5. Rajnagar	A	A	21. Mandai	B	A
6. Padmabil	A	A	22. Amarpur	B	A
7. Jirania	A	A	23. Salema	A	A
8. Dukli	A	A	24. Ambassa	B	B
9. Boxanagar	B	B	25. Gournagar	B	B
10. Melaghar	A	B	26. Panisagar	A	B
11. Kathalia	B	B	27. Kadamtala	A	B
12. Bagafa	B	A	28. Jampaijala	B	A
13. Hrishyamukh	A	A	29. Kumarghat	A	A
14. Kalyanpur	A	A	30. Karbuk	B	B
15. Teliamura	A	B	31. Rupaichhari	B	B
16. Killa	B	B	-	-	-

Notes: A-Advanced, B-Backward.
Sources: Tables 8, 9 and 10.

Table 13
Correlation Matrix

	ADI	RFLR	RAFS
ADI	1.0000		
RFLR	0.3233	1.0000	
RAFS	0.4487	0.4623	1.0000

Sources: Computed from Official Register for 2001-02; GoI (2001a, 2001b).

be reflected by improved yield of rice. Of course mechanical technological change is not captured by these variables.

Table 1
Growth Rate of Area, Production and Yield of
Rice in Settled Cultivation

Period	CAGRA	CAGRP	CAGRY
End of 2nd Plan over 1st Plan	1.22	2.55	1.33
End of 3rd Plan over 2nd Plan	6.85	5.81	-1.04
End of 4th Plan over 3rd Plan	2.84	4.17	1.33
End of 5th Plan over 4th Plan	1.20	5.62	4.42
End of 6th Plan over 5th Plan	-1.03	1.66	2.69
End of 7th Plan over 6th Plan	-0.83	3.30	4.12
End of 8th Plan over 7th Plan	-1.05	0.67	1.73
End of 9th Plan over 8th Plan	-1.02	3.01	4.03
End of 10th Plan over 9th Plan	0.85	1.91	1.06

Note: Estimates of area, production and yield of rice are based normally on three-year moving average. However, estimates of rice production and yield for the First Plan refer only to the last year (1955-56) because production for the years 1953-54 and 1954-55 are not available. CAGRA refers to Compound Annual Growth Rate of Rice Area, CAGRP refers to Compound Annual Growth Rate of Rice Production and CAGRY denotes to Compound Annual Growth Rate of Rice Yield. These concepts are used by Bhalla and Singh (1997) in the article entitled "Recent Developments in Indian Agriculture: A State Level Analysis".

Sources: Computed from Statistical Abstract of Tripura 1964 to 2007 (various issues), GoT; Official Registers for 1985-86 to 2006-07, GoT.

1. Rural Female literacy rate (RFLR) is considered for classifying blocks in educational status of females. If rural female literacy rate of a block is higher than the state average (60.50 per cent as per the 2001 Census) then the block is considered to be advanced in female education. Those blocks with a rural female literacy rate lower than the state average are considered as backward blocks. RFLR is calculated using the formula: (Rural literate females / Rural female population excluding the age group (0-6) years) × 100.

Understanding the Sexual and Reproductive Health Needs of Pregnant Women Living with HIV/AIDS: A Study of Churachandpur District, Manipur

Grace Laltlinzo*

Abstract

The sexual and reproductive health of pregnant woman living with HIV/AIDS is fundamental to their well-being. Gender plays an important role in determining a woman's vulnerability to HIV infection, as well as her ability to access treatment, care and support. All women have the same rights concerning their reproduction and sexuality, but women living with HIV/AIDS require additional care and counselling during their reproductive life. This paper addresses the specific sexual and reproductive health needs of women living with HIV/AIDS and contains recommendations for counselling, care, amongst other interventions. When sexual and reproductive health services are tailored to the needs and circumstances of people living with HIV, this will not only benefit the lives of people living with HIV, but Global HIV prevention efforts itself will benefit as well.

* The author is Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work, Indira Gandhi National Tribal University, Imphal, Manipur.

Population and Development, held in Cairo in the year 1994. The conference's 'Programme of Action' defined the terms as follows: 'A state of complete physical, mental and social well-being . . . in all matters relating to the reproductive system. Reproductive health therefore implies that people are able to have a satisfying and save sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when, and how often to do so.

Policy debates have largely ignored the sexuality of women living with HIV/AIDS and programmes, provided that they address sex and reproduction in the first place, are generally limited to helping pregnant women to avoid transmitting the virus to their children. Given that most HIV transmissions occur through sexual intercourse, it is critical to include a sexual and reproductive health lens in HIV programmes. Most current programmes revolve around access to antiretroviral and other AIDS-related treatments, and on hospital and home-based care for those with HIV and AIDS-related illnesses. In relation to sexual and reproductive health care, HIV prevention dominates.

The sexual health of women is an important component of Sexual Reproductive Health (SRH), but is often overlooked, particularly for women living with HIV. Discussions on SRH services for women living with HIV often revolve around controlling fertility, and so ignore HIV-positive women's needs for services that include attention to a safe and healthy sexuality, and a desire for children. Because women living with HIV are more vulnerable to rights abuses, for example forced contraception or coerced sterilization, ensuring that their sexual and reproductive health needs are met is critical (Wilcher and Cates, 2009).

Several factors, however, have now moved the international community to consider ways to meet broader needs. Sexual and reproductive health in general has received increased global attention in the years following the 1994 international conference on population and development (the Cairo conference). Many activists have pointed out that improved sexual and reproductive health is essential to meet the Millennium Development Goals, which were agreed to by world leaders in 2001. At the 2005 world summit of the United Nations General Assembly, United Nations member-states committed to achieve universal access to reproductive health by 2015 as part of achieving the MDG's.

already had at least one child. The reasons given for not wanting more children were that they should give priority to the children they already had, that they were worried about the economic impact that another child would have on their household, and the extra burden it would pose on their time and energy. They were also concerned that pregnancy and childbirth would affect their health, and that their children would be left orphaned. However, HIV-positive women who did not have any children, or those who were young, in a new relationship, or had a husband who had paid bride price ("lobola"), indicated a strong desire to become mothers, and therefore chose to become pregnant despite knowledge of their HIV-positive status. This was the case even in the face of previous experiences of miscarriages or stillbirth (Feldman et al., 2002).

Meena (1992) indicates that the high value placed on fertility may have an impact on the decision-making of HIV-positive women during pregnancy. In the sense that an infected woman may decide to proceed with her pregnancy despite knowing the risks to her own health, and the risks of transmitting her infection to her baby in order to fulfil her own desire, as well as the societal expectation to bear children.

Gilks (1998) and De Bruyn (2002) have indicated that HIV-positive women who decide to carry their pregnancy to term also report adverse consequences. Apart from the additional physical hardships that a pregnancy brings, HIV-positive pregnant women do often, as we have noted above, face hostile responses from health-care workers, partners and family. The HIV-positive women are told not to be sexually active. They may also have difficulty in gaining access to hospitals for delivery, and sometimes experience discrimination in the quality of care given to them.

Many HIV-positive women report healthcare provider hostility and judgmental attitudes regarding their desires for family planning (POLICY Project, 2006). Healthcare providers often believe that HIV-positive women should not be sexually active (Kyomuhendo and Kiwanuka, 2008). When Family Planning and Reproductive Health (FP/RH) services are offered, providers frequently limit the number of options for HIV-positive women (Kyomuhendo and Kiwanuka, 2008). This may be due to a lack of clear information and guidelines about which services are appropriate for HIV-positive women, or are a manifestation of stigma

minimal intervening from the interviewer throughout the interview. In short, a monologue was encouraged with minimal verbal and non-verbal probes. All the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in native languages, they were audio-taped and then transcribed, first in the native language and subsequently translated into English. During the process of transcription, all personal identifiers were removed and a subject/interview code was assigned to protect the privacy of the interviewees. The data collection and analysis took place concurrently. This allowed the use of already transcribed information for subsequent data collection, and so to identify data gaps, which could then be filled during subsequent interview sessions. The data was then coded and analysed.

Findings

1. Uncertainties related to the prevention of future pregnancies.
Women living with HIV want to avoid pregnancy for a variety of reasons: fear of passing the HIV infection, feelings of responsibility for the child's health, avoidance of risk-taking, fear of being judged by others (especially by health-care providers), already having children, and economic constraints. However, knowledge and actual usage of contraceptives is very limited among women infected with HIV. Figure 1 indicates that most of the women reported that they surely did not want to become pregnant in the future. Yet, most of these women were not sure on how to go about not having more children. They thought they personally did not need to use condoms, and that condom use would imply both a physical and emotional barrier in the relationship with their partner. It would lead to conflicts in the family once the issue would be introduced. When asked: "You have told me that you plan not to have any more children. Can you please tell me the action you will take to prevent future pregnancies? " the following answers came forth from HIV postpartum women:

"My future plans are that I should never become pregnant again, but I am not sure about the family planning methods. I have to discuss with my husband."

"We have not yet decided. I do not know much about family planning methods."

bring up the child but men will not know what we undergo. Knowing that the child will be positive, he still wants a child and I already have 3 children.

"I am going to die so why do I want more children? This child I am having is because my family [husband and mother] forced me to".

In some cases it appears that when a health-provider advised sterilization, it influences their opinion and views about the child's future as a potential orphan.

"They [health-care provider] said to have an operation, and not to have another baby as we would leave them as orphans in this world—who will take care of them?"

Some of the women mentioned using natural methods of pregnancy prevention, but this was not a major method that emerged from the quantitative data.

"….when we join [sexual intercourse] there is a liquid [semen] that comes out of the man….at the end time he will leave the liquid [semen] out. Because of this the baby will not form. We are doing this now".

2. Pregnancy and child birth. Giving birth and motherhood play a very significant role in the social status and self-identity of women in many cultures. Child-bearing may indeed often be more important to women, than fear of illness or death (Tabi and Frimpony, 2003). Therefore, despite the knowledge of being infected, many women may become pregnant, or continue their pregnancy, in order to fulfil their desire, as well as the existing societal expectation to bear children (Meena, 1992). Various reasons were cited by the women for wanting to have baby:

(A) *Sustaining the family genes*: Some women talk about the need to have a baby from the perspective of sustaining their family.

"My parents always wanted me to sustain our generation. I would follow that".

"We want to leave an heir behind us...it is natural, isn't it?"

(B) *Need to experience motherhood*: A women asked, "What is there in a life in which there is no baby?" Another woman said, "Whether negative or positive, a desire to have a baby is present in all women". This perspective strongly reflects societal norms that portray motherhood

"I have never used [a condom] with my husband. We never felt the need to use, and are not using it now also".

"My husband does not like using condoms so we do not use them".

In qualitative interviews with pregnant and postpartum women, some mentioned that they were not always able to use condoms with their partners, even though their service-provider had counselled them to do so.

"We do use condoms, but not always. We know it is best to use condoms but sometimes we forget and don't use it."

"…get condoms from the NGO and we used it quite often. But sometimes when my husband is drunk, I am not able to negotiate with my husband. And moreover I don't want to create chaos in the house fighting with him so I had to oblige."

"I never used condoms with my husband. With my sexual clients I have used it sometimes because they only wanted me to use condoms. Otherwise I never made an issue out of it. I know the NGO staff told us to use condoms always. But it is not always practical all the time."

"From the time I have been declared positive we have been using condoms. Because my husband is negative I don't want him to be infected".

"We are using condoms for two reasons. One is not to have more children and the other is not to get my husband infected. I want him to live long."

4. Access to Safe Abortion. Even where contraceptive services are available unintended pregnancies continue to happen for a variety of reasons. Contraceptives may fail, or people may not use contraceptives for fear of side-effects, or the sex may be coerced. Many women will seek to terminate these pregnancies. However, many HIV infected women may not be able to terminate pregnancies because they lack information and access to safe, legal and affordable services (de Bruyn, 2005).

"I was tested positive during antenatal check up. I wanted to have an abortion as I already had two children but I cannot afford the expense charged by the doctor for an abortion".

"I wanted to have an abortion but what will others say? They will not understand it; they will say she wanted a baby, she had, and now she does not want. I do not want to face that situation. I have not disclosed

sexual reproductive health-care is to link or integrate these services. This could imply the provision of HIV services and sexual and reproductive health services at one single site, or simply that health workers are trained to acquire knowledge and skills to provide an appropriate basic package of services, and develop the ability to refer patients for other necessary services if these cannot be provided at the site.

The attitude of the health-care providers in terms of the discrimination experienced by the women is inexplicable. Health-care staff require the skills, knowledge and understanding to treat HIV-positive women without being judgmental, as well as to provide them with the information they need to make informed choices. It is also essential to assess and acknowledge the fears and risks of health-care staff, and then to develop work place policies that ensure staff safety, and respect health care workers rights. It is essential that prevention goals do not outweigh the rights of women as patients. Women will be more inclined to participate in programmes if they feel that their choices are be respected.

References

De Bruyn, M. (1992). Women and AIDS in developing countries. *Social Science and Medicine,* 34(3), 249-262.

De Bruyn, M. (2002). *Reproductive choice and women living with HIV/AIDS*. Chapel Hill, NC: Ipas, retrieved on February 2011 from http://www.ipas.org/english/publications/international_health_policies.asp.

De Bruyn, M (2005). *Reproductive rights for women affected by HIV/AIDS? A project to monitor Millennium Development Goals 5 and 6.* Accessed on October 2011 from http://www.ipas.org/Publications/Reproductive_rights_for_women_ affected_by_HIVAIDS_ A_project_to_ monitor_ Millennium_Development_Goals_5_6.aspx. Feldman, R., Manchester, J. & Maposhere, C. (2002). *Positive Women: Voices and Choices-Zimbabwe Report*. International Community of Women living with HIV/AIDS.Gilks, C., Floyd, K., Haran, D., Kemp, J., Squire, B. & Wilkinson, D. (1998). *Health and Population Occasional Paper Sexual Health and Health Care: Care and Support for people with HIV/AIDS in resource poor settings*. Liverpool.

Koegh, R., Allen, S., & Temahagili, B. (1994). The social impact of HIV infection on women in Kigali, Rwanda: a prospective study. *Social Science*

Adjustment of Adolescent Students of Working and Non-Working Mothers

Tomba Chingtham*

Abstract

The present investigation aims to study the contribution of the areas related to the adjustment of adolescent students of working and non-working mothers. This paper attempts to make a thorough, comprehensive and analytical study by exploring the impact of dual responsibilities played by working and non-working mothers on the emotional, social and educational adjustment of adolescent boys and girls. The research outcomes may benefit working and non-working mothers in trying to solve the problems of their adolescent children in their adjustment in emotional, social and educational spheres, and hence it may help them to lead their children to a betterment of their lives.

Introduction

A mother's role is of paramount importance because she is the child's best instructor, and fully responsible for a child's early socialization, as well as for building a strong mental and emotional foundation. As Napoleon Bonaparte said, "Give me a good mother, then I will conquer the world." It clearly signifies the importance of a mother in the all-round development of a child. Women in most Indian families, whether working or non-working, educated or uneducated, play different roles. Working mothers are required to play a dual role - one as housewives

∗ The author is Assistant Professor, D. M. College of Teacher Education, Imphal, Manipur.

from Kendra Vidyalayas in Manipur. The tool for the study was the Adjustment Inventory for School Students (AISS). Statistical techniques like mean, difference and analysis of variance were used to analyse the data.

Results and Discussion

Table 1
Emotional Adjustment of Adolescent Boys and Girls of
Working and Non-Working Mothers

Sources of variation	Df	S.S	M	F - Ratio	Sig / N.S
Mothers (WM and NWM)	1	105.55	105.55	7.16	Sig
Adolescent (Boys and Girls)	1	109.80	109.80	7.45	Sig
Interaction (Mothers X)	1	50.06	50.06	3.40	N.S
Within	156	2300.17	14.74	-	-

It is clear from the above table that the F-ratio for the main effect of adolescent students of working and non-working mothers on emotional adjustment stands at 7.16. This calculated F-ratio value is greater than the table value at 1/156 df, which is significant at 01 level of significance. It can thus be stated that adolescent students of non-working mothers have a better emotional adjustment than adolescent students of working mothers.

Table 2
Social Adjustment of Adolescent Boys and Girls of
Working and Non- Working Mothers

Sources of variation	Df	S.S	M.S	F - Ratio	Sig / N.S
Mothers (Wand NW)	1	107.55	107.55	7.27	Sig
Adolescent (Boys and Girls)	1	102.65	102.65	6.94	Sig
Interaction (Mothers X Adolescents)	1	13.02	13.02	0.88	N.S
Within	156	2309.52	14.80	-	-

It is evident from the above table that the F-ratio for the main effect of adolescent students of working and non-working mothers on social adjustment is 7.27. This calculated F - ratio value is greater than the table value at 1/156 df, which is significant at 0.01 level of significance.

discerned:
1. Adolescent children of working and non-working mothers are facing a number of problems in their adjustment, particularly in emotional, social and educational fields.
2. Working mothers are unable to give the required attention to their adolescent children because of their dual responsibility and the scarcity of time at their disposal.
3. There is a lack of emotional adjustment between mother and family. This may lead children to develop various psychological symptoms, such as obsession, compulsion, anxiety, depression, etc.
4. A lack of adjustment in education of adolescents may lead to their weaker performance, growth in intelligence, growth in knowledge, and growth of understanding in creative expression and development, both socially and emotionally.
5. Due to lack of social adjustment, adolescent children may develop absenteeism, truancy, low achievement, amongst other unworthy habits of children. This, in turn, may lead them to engage in some activities which are unwanted and antisocial.

Based on the above situations, it is suggested to give more attention to the adjustment of working and non-working mothers.
1. Working and non-working mothers should sympathetically discuss and solve the problems of their adolescent children, so that they may develop a balanced personality.
2. Working and non-working mothers are required to improve their adjustment, particularly in emotional, social and in educational fields.
3. Working mothers must give the required attention to their adolescent children, despite their dual responsibility and the scarcity of time at their disposal.
4. Parents should give proper counseling and guidance to their adolescent children as regards to their individual, education, vocational and sexual problems.
5. Parents should be aware of the joint role of motherhood and fatherhood for a well adjustment of their children.
6. Knowledge on the needs and importance of adolescents is needed among the designers of curriculums, to enable them to frame it

Book Review

Michael Ondaatje, *In the Skin of a Lion*, New Year, Vintage International, 1997, 244pp.

Migration narratives have been the focus of many contemporary writings that grapple with the inner worlds of the migrants' experiences. "In archival records, there are only the barest written traces of the migrant voice", says Jonathan Crush in his essay "Vulcan's Brood: Spatial Narratives of Migration in Southern Africa." He adds: "Migrants rarely remember in neat chronology. Scholarly narratives filter, combine and recombine the rough contending voices of oral histories, smoothing them into a coherent whole designed to illustrate some larger truth" (Crush 1995: 229).[1]

This reminds one of *In the Skin of a Lion,* in which Ondaatje exploits the oral narration of migrants to enable an interpretation of their life-worlds. By blurring the boundaries that separate historical facts from mythical stories, Ondaatje, in this novel, adopts a different style of literary writing. He gives a platform to marginalised souls, to those who have been neglected in documented history, and who have been silenced by power and authority. Ondaatje touches the boundaries of history and myth, and then puts these categories to the test.

The novel's focus is on the role of illegal migrant workers whose names do not figure in the official history of Toronto, Canada. Ondaatje's chief concern is to salvage the untold and the unhistorical; to bring out the fragmented stories of marginalised workers who live on the periphery

those in power. Patrick "absorb[s] everything from a distance" (p. 19) and sees himself as a "watcher" rather than a "hero of one of the [many] stories" that comprise the novel (p. 157). Ondaatje invokes Patrick as the major voice, reflexive in nature, and able to relate a series of historical discoveries and revelations. He uses Nicholas Temelcoff as a representative of those migrant workers who work day and night at the bridge in Toronto. Though he is "solitary", Ondaatje sees in him the quality of a leader for he "links everyone" around him. He is "a spinner" with the ability to interlace voices coming from different communities into a single voice. Nicholas is given all the difficult jobs and he takes them on willingly. He assembles ropes, "brushes the tackle and pulley at his waist" and descends from the bridge into the canyon without fear. He swings agilely from one pier to the other at the bridge, ferrying tools mid-air as if "swimming in the river" (pp. 34-35). His work is so exceptional and so time-saving that he earns one dollar an hour while the other bridge workers receive forty cents. There is no enmity towards him for no one would even dream of doing half the things he does. But then again, his courage and identity are not acknowledged in history. Nicholas Temelcoff's arrival in Canada was "a great journey made in silence" (p. 43), as two of his friends died on their way to Canada. His silent journey only seems to foretell the legacy of migrant labour that is experienced universally, and which he would later become familiar with in Toronto. Ondaatje uses him and Patrick Lewis to give voice to the voiceless.

Though the voices of these migrants are now gradually being heard through various literary platforms, more often they have remained myths because they lack official documentation. This is also the case for the experiences of the Issei, the first generation Japanese-Canadian settlers who tried to maintain their culture and history through their poetic expressions in the form of the tanka,[2] and the haiku.[3] The best Japanese poets work within these syllabic structures to create inspiring and profound images that characterise much of Japanese art and culture. The Issei, who were viewed as stoics, could persevere in silence in an environment which could amount to intolerable oppression to others. One such poetic expression of the Issei's perseverance in the midst of hard labour in Canada, however, appears mythical to the third generation Japanese-Canadian migrants. They could neither understand the

order to give form and identity to those who have been eliminated from the annals of history.

The migrant workers in *In the Skin of a Lion* are not recognized, they cannot speak for themselves, and they have no official records, no official accounts of their transportation, no official historians, but nevertheless it is through their oral stories that Ondaatje maintains their umbilical connection with the city of Toronto.

In his novel, Ondaatje communicates through a series of metaphors like Alice's silent puppet show, which is the most dramatic metaphor of the migrant experience in the book. It demonstrates the powerlessness of those without a language. The forty small puppets, whose "costumes were a blend of several nations" (p. 116), represent the marginalised migrants. The life-size puppet is the "hero" that "linked them all" (p. 116). He upsets all accepted categories and "is assaulted by insults" but can "say nothing" because he is powerless in the face of "the authorities" (p. 117), who only emit sounds on stage; "grunts of authority" (p. 118). The small puppets that scatter all over the stage or "hurdle together as a chorus" and "the human puppets, alien and naive and gregarious" are the "caricature[s] of a culture" (p. 117).

In "Negotiating Caribbean identities", Stuart Hall asserts that: "no cultural identity is produced out of thin air. It is produced out of those historical experiences, those cultural traditions, those lost and marginal languages, those marginalised experiences, those peoples and histories which remain unwritten. Those are the specific roots of identity" (Hall 2001: p.291).[6]

Though official history has neglected the existence and contributions of migrant workers to the building of the city of Toronto, Ondaatje underlines their struggle for their right to be heard through Alice's performance at the puppet show, where she is the lone human being, the life-size puppet amidst forty small ones. Alice is seen fighting this class structure with her Marxist ideology. She is a determined individual through whom Ondaatje projects the fight for the right of the marginalised to be heard. She uses her skills as an actress to bring to light the plight of the marginalised and in doing so she becomes highly critical of the wealthy. In her endeavour to persuade Patrick into adopting her philosophy, she reminds him that "in a rich man's house there is nowhere

much more difficult than what he does in space." Nicholas Temelcoff knew that "if he did not learn the language he would be lost" (p. 46). When he was in Toronto, "all he needed was a voice for all this language" (p. 48).

In *In the Skin of a Lion*, deaths are but only "fragments of memory" (p.148). For Patrick, "the giant centrifugal pumps [were] more valuable than life (p. 108). The men work in the equivalent of the fall out of a candle... Ash-grey faces. An unfinished world" (p. 111). "Exhaustion overpowers... tunnellers within twenty minutes, the arms itching, the chest dry, then hour more, then another four hours till lunch more, when they have thirty minutes to eat... During the eight hours shifts no one speaks. Patrick is as silent as the Italians and Greeks towards the *broncho* foremen... all morning they slip into the wet clay unable to stand properly, pissing where they work, eating where someone else left shit" (pp. 106-07).

This reminds one of the final confrontation between Harris and Patrick towards the end of *In the Skin of a Lion.* "Do you know how many of us died in there? Patrick asks Harris. "There was no record kept." he answers, defending himself calling upon official history" (p. 236).

While conventional history has shut them out, Ondaatje gives each a platform to voice their fragmented identity that has been erased by history. His concern in the novel is to lend voice to, and situate the identities of those who have been silenced. His narrative focuses on the endurance and survival of migrant workers. Though the novel is based on the personal lives of the people who built the city of Toronto, Ondaatje explores how his characters are linked to history, even though the actual facts concerning their contributions are not sufficiently available in recorded history. Ondaatje connects his own vision with theirs and through the empowering vigour of language gives voice to his characters. He uses Patrick Lewis as the major voice of the characters that he visits in the novel. This takes him beyond linear history.

Through Patrick's stories, the reader, thus, gets a glimpse of the inner worlds of the migrant workers in the novel. The stories are, however, fragmented and displaced. Ondaatje's employment of gaps and silences within the novel calls for reader's active participation in his construction of identities. Ondaatje may, therefore, be looked upon as an artist who is