



BOOK REVIEW

Rob Hunter, Rafael Khachaturian, and Eva Nanopoulos (Eds.) *Marxism and the Capitalist State: Towards a New Debate*

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ABSTRACT

In an era characterized by ecological crises, financial instability, geopolitical conflicts, and growing social inequalities, a critical reassessment of the capitalist state is both timely and necessary. *Marxism and the Capitalist State: Towards a New Debate*, edited by Rob Hunter, Rafael Khachaturian, and Eva Nanopoulos (2023), addresses this need by bringing together emerging critical theorists to revisit and develop Marxist perspectives on the state's role within capitalism. Published as part of the "Political Philosophy and Public Purpose" series by Springer Nature Switzerland AG, the volume seeks to invigorate debates around the state's function in reproducing, shaping, and potentially challenging capitalist social relations.

Keywords: Marxism, Capitalism, Political Dominance

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INTRODUCTION

Kerala's backwaters, a distinctive system of lakes, canals, and lagoons, have long been hailed as a representation of the state's natural beauty and rich cultural legacy. The longest backwater system in India, Vembanad Lake, is notable among them for its importance to the environment as well as its vital role in sustaining the rural economy of the area through inland navigation, agriculture, and fishing^{6, 9}. The Kuttanad Wetland Agriculture System, acknowledged by the FAO as a Globally Important Agricultural Heritage System (GIAHS) because of its uncommon practice of below-sea-level paddy production, is located inside the Vembanad wetland system, which has

been designated as a Ramsar Wetland of International Importance.

The region has seen substantial socioeconomic changes since the early 2000s, primarily due to the tourism industry's explosive expansion. Attracting both domestic and foreign tourists, backwater tourism, particularly in the form of houseboats and lakeside resorts has emerged as a major economic engine in areas like Alappuzha. The state's natural landscapes and cultural charm were positioned as key advantages in Kerala's official "God's Own Country" tourism branding campaign^{4, 15}. But the growing number of motorized houseboats, the strain on aquatic ecosystems, and the expansion of infrastructure along lake edges have



created new governance issues. The goal of this study is to comprehend how the expanding tourism industry has changed the lifestyles and environmental conditions of the backwater settlements. New types of ecological strain, social dislocation, and policy issues have been brought about by the transition from an economy centered on agriculture and fishing to one that is focused on providing services to tourists. The ecological resilience of the lake has been severely harmed by the growth of houseboats, wetland encroachments, poor waste management, and uncontrolled land use^{17, 2}. Local populations are frequently excluded from ownership and decision-making processes, traditional livelihoods have also been neglected, and the advantages of tourism are still not distributed fairly⁵.

Field-level discussions with boat operators and residents in Alappuzha revealed that while tourism has diversified employment opportunities, it has simultaneously produced social displacement, pollution, and cultural dilution. Thus, assessing the sustainability of backwater tourism requires a multidimensional lens that links environmental management, social inclusion, and regulatory practice. With an emphasis on the Alappuzha area, this article seeks to critically analyze the socioeconomic, institutional, and environmental issues raised by tourism in the Vembanad backwater region. It examines the connections between environmental deterioration, governmental inaction, and socioeconomic relocation via a multidisciplinary perspective and offers workable solutions for environmentally and socially responsible backwater tourism.

BACKGROUND: ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT OF VEMBANAD

Vembanad Lake, which spans several districts, including Alappuzha, Kottayam, and Ernakulam, is the biggest lake in Kerala and one of the longest in India. For thousands of people who work in agriculture, tourism, clam collecting, and fishing, it provides a base of natural resources as well as a place of occupation. Historically, agriculture and inland fishing have supported the region's economy. However, the 1990s tourism policy liberalization boosted private investment and made houseboating a lucrative business. Reports from the Kerala Tourism Department indicate that more than 1.5 million people are directly or indirectly employed in the backwater industry. Thus, the lake became a vital economic and ecological resource.

The Vembanad ecosystem's economic foundation used to be inland fishing and agriculture. The FAO recognized the Kuttanad Wetland Agriculture System as a GIAHS (Globally Important Agricultural Heritage System) for its distinctive hydro-agricultural methods, including

manually operated sluices and man-made bunds to manage fields. However, a number of factors, including recurring floods, rising saline intrusion, shifting rainfall patterns, and low farm produce yields, contributed to the decline in agricultural economic viability beginning in the late 1980s¹⁷. The "Kerala Tourism Revival" strategy, which was introduced in the early 2000s to promote Kerala as a global ecotourism destination, corresponded with this economic change. Because they provided picturesque scenery, serene waterscapes, and distinctive cultural experiences, the backwaters and Vembanad in particular became emblematic of this marketing strategy^{4, 15}. With the transformation of rice barges (kettuvallams) into floating hotels furnished with contemporary conveniences, houseboat tourism, which was essentially nonexistent before the 1990s, grew quickly. However, because tourism-related incomes are sometimes erratic and informal, this change has also created economic risks.

According to the Kerala Tourism Department (2023), over 900 licensed houseboats operate in the Alappuzha-Kumarakom sector, employing approximately 1.5 lakh workers directly and indirectly. However, the Department of Water Resources (2022) notes that over 65% of these vessels lack onboard waste treatment units. The CWRDM's latest assessment (2021) revealed that biochemical oxygen demand (BOD) levels near Pallathuruthy jetty averaged 4.8 mg/L, exceeding permissible limits. These figures underscore the magnitude of ecological stress alongside economic dependence. In addition, uncontrolled houseboat operations, illegal development, and the expansion of tourism infrastructure resorts have all had a significant negative impact on the ecosystem. A large portion of the lakefront, which was formerly utilized for community farming, wetlands, and ecosystem services, has been transformed into tourist-focused properties through dubious legal means or illegal encroachments, according to the People's Commission on Vembanad Ecosystem¹¹. Due to conflicting claims on land and water use, this ecosystem transition has caused tensions between government agencies, tourism entrepreneurs, environmentalists, and former residents. Nevertheless, continuous dredging, land reclamation, and unregulated boating have intensified ecological stress. Based on field-level observations near Kainakary and Pallathuruthy, locals noted reduced fish populations and accumulation of plastic waste along canal banks. Water hyacinth proliferation, reduced oxygen levels, and oil discharge from engines further aggravate the crisis. These cumulative pressures have transformed Vembanad into an environmental hotspot, demanding urgent regulatory and community-based intervention.



ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES

Despite being an essential ecosystem that sustains livelihoods and biodiversity in Central Kerala, the Vembanad Lake is under threat from several environmental factors. The ecological stability of the lake has been seriously affected by the rapid and uncontrolled increase of tourism as well as anthropogenic pressures, including urbanization, unsustainable infrastructural development, and lax enforcement of environmental rules. The rapid commercialization of houseboat tourism has altered the delicate ecological balance of Vembanad Lake. Waste disposal from boats, oil leaks, and sewage discharge has severely deteriorated water quality. Field observations near Alappuzha and Kumarakom confirmed visible layers of fuel residue and floating waste in boat-parking zones, especially during peak tourist seasons. CWRDM's 2021 data confirm that oil and grease levels exceeded 0.4 mg/L in multiple sampling points across Alappuzha's houseboat clusters. Approximately 22 tons of solid waste are estimated to enter the lake annually from tourism-related sources¹¹. Despite the Kerala Responsible Tourism Mission's initiatives, only 38% of registered boats currently comply with sewage treatment norms. These figures reaffirm the urgent need for stricter environmental governance. Water deterioration is largely caused by these urban drains, which are frequently obstructed and improperly maintained. They carry heavy loads of chemicals, lubricants, detergents, and pathogens³. Near boat jetties and urban drain entry points, alarmingly high amounts of iron oxides and other metal pollutants have been detected, indicating advanced phases of corrosion-related discharge and heavy metal pollution¹⁶. The problem of encroachments and uncontrolled land use along the Vembanad shoreline coexists with pollution issues. Many wetlands have been reclaimed, illegal resorts, homestays, and private boat jetties have been built, and the steady migration of rural populations to urban clusters like Alappuzha and Kumarakom, along with the infrastructure demands of tourism, have reduced the natural buffer zones required for flood mitigation and runoff filtration¹⁸. The biodiversity of birds is also impacted by diesel engine noise pollution, especially migratory and nesting birds on Pathiramanal Island and Kumarakom Bird Sanctuary. Additionally, boats' continuous disturbance of local fish species' migratory and reproductive cycles puts additional strain on already diminishing fish stocks¹³.

Despite being pushed by the Kerala Tourism Department, the idea of "responsible tourism" is still primarily aspirational in the Vembanad context since environmental compliance is undermined by a lack of monitoring, lax enforcement, and commercial competition among houseboat operators. Backwater tourism may, ironically, contribute to the ecological collapse of the very resource it

depends on if the lake's carrying capacity is not scientifically reevaluated and strict regulations are not put in place regarding the number and kind of vessels.

GOVERNANCE AND POLICY PARALYSIS

For ecologically delicate areas like the Vembanad backwaters to be sustainable, effective environmental governance is essential. However, scholarly assessments and empirical observations point to a chronic governance deficit in the region, which is reflected in fragmented policy implementation, insufficient institutional coordination, and entrenched interest regulatory capture. Even though there is a statutory framework in place thanks to laws like the Environment Protection Act of 1986 and the Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act of 1974, enforcement has been uneven and ineffectual on the ground. There are jurisdictional overlaps and a lack of inter-agency cooperation because diverse sectors, including tourism, agriculture, urban development, and fisheries, are run by distinct ministries and agencies¹⁷. Even when rules are in place, such as those governing the number of boats allowed on a certain length of water, sewage disposal standards, or acceptable noise levels, they are rarely observed, and those who break them frequently escape punishment. The widespread operation of unlicensed houseboats without pollution control certifications, which persists because of lax inspection procedures and suspected administrative collaboration, is an illustration of this failure²¹. Furthermore, powerful tourism operators, particularly those in the houseboat and resort sectors, frequently delay or weaken regulation enforcement through political clientelism and lobbying⁵. Still, some progress has been made by the Kerala Responsible Tourism Mission, which was established to transform tourism to be both socially and environmentally inclusive. It has encouraged craft-based tourism, homestay networks, and local entrepreneurship. Furthermore, state and federally developed master plans and wetland conservation regulations frequently lack ground realities and fail to sufficiently include the opinions of residents, particularly those involved in traditional inland and ocean-based water livelihoods. Therefore, policy incoherence, lax enforcement, and poor stakeholder alignment, rather than a lack of policies, are the governance challenges. In addition to modernizing the administrative framework, a significant rethinking of ecological governance and local involvement based on openness, responsibility, and decentralization is necessary for the sustainable management of the Vembanad ecosystem.



SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

Backwater tourism has had a significant impact on local livelihood structures. Traditional jobs like fishing and coir work have given way to jobs as maintenance workers, cooks, guides, and boat crew. Many younger locals view tourism as a more reliable source of income than seasonal fishing or farming. However, this change has also resulted in inequality. There is evidence that the socioeconomic effects of this change are not evenly distributed, with vulnerable social groups being marginalized, traditional livelihoods being displaced, and inequality growing. The benefits of tourism are mostly reaped by private tour operators, foreign investors, and urban elites rather than the local communities that have the closest interactions with the ecosystem. This is true even if tourism has brought about new revenue streams and infrastructure expenditures. For many, this change was brought about by encroachment on common property resources like canals, lakefronts, and paddy fields, as well as declining access to resources¹⁵. Many locals were compelled to move into low-skilled service positions in the tourism industry as a result of the decrease in these primary sectors, which was made worse by ecological degradation, pesticide runoff, and saline intrusion¹⁷.

A pattern of land alienation and displacement is noted in several studies, particularly when previously community-managed areas are converted into resorts, private boat jetties, or corridors with restricted access for tourists. Many small-scale fishermen and farm-based households no longer have guaranteed access to their traditional areas as a result of the commercial seizure of common lands, which has undermined customary rights⁵. According to field-level interviews conducted with employees in Pallathuruthy and Pathiramanal, local and migrant laborers earn significantly different wages. The increasing dominance of lower-paid migrants in service professions caused a sense of displacement among many native workers. A dual economy has been produced in the absence of inclusive tourism governance frameworks and skills transfer initiatives, with a top tier dominated by middlemen and tourism entrepreneurs and a bottom tier of unorganized labour without ownership or decision-making authority. Tourism has undeniably diversified local employment structures. The Kerala Economic Review (2023) indicates that tourism-related livelihoods contribute about 10% of Alappuzha's district GDP, yet over 72% of jobs remain informal, lacking wage security and social protection. Local interviews corroborate wage disparities between migrant and native workers, often exceeding 25%. Such data highlight the imbalance between economic opportunity and equitable benefit distribution. Studies in the region have found that Numerous young people are currently employed as insecure daily-wage workers on

houseboats, with wages frequently falling short of the official minimum.

Women who used to work in fish processing and clam gathering now have few options; the majority are either employed in catering or selling handicrafts to visitors. Concerns regarding cultural displacement and social conflicts have also been raised by the inflow of male-dominated outsiders in popular tourist destinations, especially in locations where public spaces and gender norms are contested. Furthermore, traditional cultural celebrations and subsistence methods are becoming more and more commercialized for the benefit of tourists, sometimes diluting or misrepresenting their original significance. Lake management plans, tourism master plans, and environmental impact assessments (EIAs) are frequently created without sufficient input or involvement from regional women's organizations, traditional farmers, or fisher cooperatives. A cycle of disempowerment is maintained by this top-down government, which hinders successful grassroots mobilization for more equitable development policies. Communities experience a kind of cultural alienation as a result, feeling like spectators in their own customs, in addition to having an impact on cultural identity²². Another issue is the instability of income. Many boat owners reported substantial revenue losses during the monsoon and post-COVID recovery periods as a result of fewer tourists and higher maintenance expenses. Going forward, equitable benefit-sharing, community ownership, and social safeguards that acknowledge the rights and contributions of historically marginalized people must be the cornerstones of sustainable tourism in the Vembanad region. Thus, the study finds a twofold trend: while tourism creates a variety of livelihoods, it also perpetuates precarity and reliance on erratic visitor flows.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Vembanad backwaters' tourism industry's future rests not only on the profits it makes but also on how well it applies the concepts of inclusive development, social justice, and ecological resilience. The lake and its related cultural landscapes have become highly commercialized, making the current tourism model unsustainable from an environmental and socioeconomic perspective^{2, 17}. As a result, moving toward sustainable backwater tourism calls for a multifaceted, collaborative, and scientifically based approach. Some key suggestions are:

- Establish a joint enforcement task force comprising the Kerala State Pollution Control Board, Inland Waterways Authority, Department of Tourism, and Local Self-Governments (LSGs) to oversee compliance.



- Enforce compulsory licensing and environmental certification for all houseboats and tourism vessels.
- Deploy floating waste collection pontoons, operated by fisher cooperatives or tourism-linked Self-Help Groups (SHGs), to remove floating debris and solid waste.
- Establish Decentralized Wastewater Treatment Systems (DEWATS) at key boat landing centers such as Punnamada and Pallathuruthy to treat grey and black water.
- Strict implementation of Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ) norms to restrict commercial and residential encroachments.
- The demarcation of "no development zones" around critical wetland habitats and mangrove belts.
- Commission a comprehensive carrying capacity assessment (CCA) at micro-levels using environmental, social, and infrastructural indicators (e.g., water quality, biodiversity, waste volume, tourist density).
- Supporting Community-Based Tourism (CBT) models through skills training, microfinance, and market access for homestay operators, local guides, women-led handicrafts, and canoe ride initiatives.
- Integrating marginalized groups, especially traditional fisherfolk and women, into formal tourism services with assured minimum wages and social protections
- Developing mandatory training and certification in sustainable practices for houseboat operators, resort staff, and tour guides.
- Promoting awareness campaigns using brochures, signage, mobile apps, or boat-based audio systems to educate tourists on local biodiversity, waste norms, and responsible behaviour.
- Engaging educational institutions and NGOs to co-organise clean-up campaigns, wetland festivals, and school-based eco-clubs anchored around the Vembanad lake ecosystem.

CONCLUSION

Once a symbol of Kerala's peaceful coexistence of the environment and economy, the Vembanad backwaters today confront an uncertain future influenced by unchecked tourism growth, ecological deterioration, and socio-economic injustices. The study emphasizes how Vembanad Lake, the focal point of Kerala's backwater tourism, represents both opportunity and vulnerability. The findings of this study reaffirm that the unchecked growth of houseboat-based tourism, weak regulatory mechanisms, and the exclusion of local communities have collectively intensified the region's environmental degradation. Field observations around Alappuzha confirm severe water quality deterioration, accumulation of waste, and displacement of traditional

livelihoods. While tourism continues to sustain thousands of households and contributes substantially to local income, the benefits remain unevenly distributed, creating both economic dependency and social vulnerability. It is also noted that long-term sustainability is still in danger due to a lack of a unified governance structure and lax implementation of waste-management and licensing regulations.

But Sustainable tourism in the Vembanad region can be achieved through the integration of environmental zoning, carrying capacity evaluations, improved waste management systems, and genuinely participatory tourism governance. Although there are regulatory structures, they are not well enforced. A scientifically grounded carrying-capacity assessment, strict enforcement of waste management standards, and genuine community involvement must guide future planning. Unless the backwater tourism model transitions toward ecological responsibility and inclusive development, the very resources it depends upon will continue to deteriorate. Kerala must incorporate environmental responsibility and community involvement into daily operations if it hopes to maintain its standing as a global leader in sustainable tourism. In order to preserve Vembanad's future, tourism must be rethought as a component of a larger socio-ecological resilience plan that is based on equity, conservation, and cultural stewardship rather than as a stand-alone economic endeavor. Only then will the lake be able to sustain the region and its inhabitants as a source of identity, life, and economic stability.

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