

Sustainable livelihood: an issue for Bhuiya of Jharkhand

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Abstract

Objectives: To study the livelihood status of the Bhuiya community of Palamu district of Jharkhand using primary data.

Methods: The study is based on primary data taken from Chhatarpur block of Palamu district. The study explores 62 households taken from two villages selected randomly from Chhatarpur block using quantitative and qualitative methods.

Findings: The livelihood options of this community are not sustainable and also not promising in terms of the amount they receive as income. The community suffers greatly during times of drought when agriculture is badly affected.

Application: Again, migration as an alternative is not very promising as it depends on the mercy of the contractors who charge a commission and conditions of work may not be very conducive. Being landless and resource less the Bhuiyas do not have any sustainable option of livelihood available. Also they do not have proper education and vocational training to take up any job in the formal or informal sector.

Keywords: Economic growth, Livelihood security, Scheduled Caste, Migration.

1. Introduction

The success story of a nation is gauged from its GDP growth rate. However this fails to measure the inequality in its distribution. With a section of country's population struggling for two square meals a day and pathetic livelihood options, Indian growth is still far from being inclusive. The present study brings to the fore the livelihood status of the Bhuiya community residing in the Palamu district of Jharkhand. The livelihood pattern of the sample group reflects the fact that ensuring sustainable livelihood for all is still a distant dream and a lot needs to be done in this direction.

Livelihood as a concept revolves around the various sources of income to sustain survival. Not only have this livelihood options also had to be sustainable. One of the most lucid definitions of 'sustainable livelihood' has been given by Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway. The definition says that livelihood includes many things capabilities, assets comprising stores, resources, claims and access and activities required for means of living. "A livelihood is 'sustainable' when it can cope with, and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities to the next generation: and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term" [1].

The livelihood resources may be seen as the 'capital' base from which different productive streams are derived from which livelihoods are constructed. Diversity in livelihood is closely allied to flexibility and stability of natural capital, human capital, physical capital, social capital and financial capital [2]. A livelihood is said to be sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, without undermining the natural resource base [3]. Another view associated with the concept of livelihood is Sen's entitlement approach. The original commodity bundle held by the individual is referred to as the endowment (resource ownership) set.

The process of 'exchange entitlement mapping' describes the transformation of the endowment set to the eventual commodity bundle that a person can acquire, i.e., it refers to the possibilities open to a person corresponding to each ownership situation. The entitlements are a function of the person's position in the economic class structure as well as their relationship with the modes and factors of production in the economy [4]. Sustainable livelihoods are seen as key determinants of food and nutrition security [5].

2. Methodology

There are altogether 22 Scheduled Castes in Jharkhand as per Census 2011. The present paper tries to explore the livelihood status of one of the Scheduled Castes of Jharkhand namely, the Bhuiya residing in Palamu district of the state. There are 21 blocks in Palamu district. The data has been taken using primary survey conducted in Chhatarpur block chosen randomly from Palamu district in Jharkhand. From Chhatarpur block two villages namely Khajuri and Khendrakala have been collected randomly. The data has been collected in three phases. In the first phase data was collected in October and November. In the second phase, data on the same things were collected from the same households during the upcoming month of February, in order to examine if there had been any change in the sources of livelihood and food security and to examine seasonality in the same. And in the final phase data was collected in the following month of May. Altogether 62 households have been surveyed in the study. The purpose behind collecting data in three phases is to explore the variation in livelihood option of sample communities. Both quantitative and qualitative methods have been adopted for the purpose of analysis.

The various tools and techniques that have been used for data collection are the following:

1. Household Schedule
2. Village Schedule
3. Focused Group Discussion
4. Key Informant Interview
5. Case Study
6. Participatory Observation

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. Livelihood pattern of the Bhuiya community

The present section explores the livelihood status of the Bhuiya community in the Palamu district of Jharkhand. The employment pattern of the Bhuiya community can be categorised under primary occupation and secondary occupation, the description of which has been given in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1. Gender wise distribution of primary occupation of the Bhuiya

Gender	Unemployed	Agricultural labour	Causal Wage Labour	Student	Wood Sale	Others	Not applicable*	Total
Male	7	29	49	15	12	2	43	157
	(4.46)	(18.47)	(31.21)	(9.55)	(7.64)	(1.27)	(27.39)	(100)
	[58.33]	[33.33]	[98]	[57.69]	[35.29]	[50]	[58.90]	[54.9]
Female	5	58	1	11	22	2	30	129
	(3.88)	(44.96)	(0.78)	(8.53)	(17.05)	(1.55)	(23.26)	(100)
	[41.67]	[66.67]	[2]	[42.31]	[64.71]	[50]	[41.10]	[45.1]
Total	12	87	50	26	34	4	73	286
	(4.20)	(30.42)	(17.48)	(9.09)	(11.89)	(1.4)	(25.52)	(100)
	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]

Note: Parentheses () represent row percentage and [] show column percentage

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

** The category 'not applicable' includes all those who are below 14 years or above 60 years of age*

The discussion also presents an analysis of their monthly occupational status and a separate section explores the seasonal occupational pattern of the Bhuiya. The study also explores the major sources of income and average annual income of the target group.

In a separate section the coping strategy during drought and migration as an alternative source of livelihood have also been presented. As far as employment is concerned same category of occupation can be primary occupation for some households and secondary occupation for some other households. Primary occupation refers to that occupation in which the community is mainly engaged while secondary occupation is that which the households resort to as an alternative to supplement their earnings. A review of Table 1 reflects that among men casual wage labour is the main primary occupation engaging around 31% of the workers being followed by agricultural labour where around 18% are employed.

However, sale of wood is the primary occupation for only minor of them. While among women agricultural labour is the chief primary occupation engaging almost 50% of them followed by agricultural labour which engages around 17% of them. Further a review of Table 2 shows that as secondary occupation agricultural labour is the main occupation involving 21.02% of the males from the Bhuiya community. The next important secondary occupation among the males is sale of wood where 14.01% of the men are engaged. Around 5.1% of the men take casual labour as secondary occupation. Among the females sale of wood is the chief secondary occupation where 21.71% of the females are engaged followed by agricultural labour where 17.05% of the females are engaged. Almost 25.58% females do not have any secondary occupation. An important fact that comes to fore is that around 34.88% of the females are not included in the work force as they are either below 14 years or above 60 years of age. Hence we find that agricultural labour and sale of wood are the important activities that are taken as secondary occupations by the Bhuiya.

Table 2. Gender wise distribution of secondary occupation of the Bhuiya

Gender	Agricultural Labour	Causal Wage Labour	Wood sale	Nothing	Not applicable	Total
Male	33	8	22	34	60	157
	(21.02)	(5.1)	(14.01)	(21.66)	(38.22)	(100)
	[60]	[88.89]	[44]	[50.75]	[57.14]	[54.9]
Female	22	1	28	33	45	129
	(17.05)	(0.78)	(21.71)	(25.58)	(34.88)	(100)
	[40]	[11.11]	[56]	[49.25]	[42.86]	[45.1]
Total	55	9	50	67	105	286
	(19.23)	(3.15)	(17.48)	(23.43)	(36.71)	(100)
	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]

Note: Parentheses () represent row percentage and [] show column percentage

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

3.2. Monthly occupational status of the Bhuiya males

As far as the monthly occupation is concerned people migrate as casual wage labour in large numbers during two parts of the year: once during January, February, March, and the other during September and October. Men also take up sale of wood as an occupation especially when there are no other options. They sell wood all the year round except in the months of March, July and December when they either have earned some money by working as agricultural labourer or they go to work as agricultural labourer. There is literally no work available during the months of May, June and August as evident from Table 3.

Table 3. Monthly occupational status of the males belonging to the Bhuiya sample households as obtained in the first phase (in terms of percentage of the total sample households)

Months	Wood sale	Agricultural labour	Causal Wage Labour	Causal Wage Labour & agricultural labour	Causal Wage Labour & Wood sale	Nothing	Others
January	15	3	45	0	24	11	2
February	15	3	45	0	24	13	0
March	0	21	37	21	6	10	5
April	32	8	19	3	2	35	0
May	27	0	3	0	0	68	2
June	10	0	2	0	0	89	0
July	0	84	0	0	0	16	0
August	15	5	2	0	0	71	8
September	16	3	32	0	21	27	0
October	13	6	42	0	24	15	0
November	2	45	16	27	0	10	0
December	0	47	16	24	3	10	0

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

3.3. Comparison of monthly occupational status of Bhuiya males

The data for our study has been collected in three phases. This has been done to analyse the changes that have taken place in the livelihood pattern over the past one year. Observations of the second and third phase of the study as presented in Table 4 reflect that there has not been much variation in the occupational pattern of the Bhuiya as compared to the responses obtained during the first phase of the study. The only change that has been observed is that more households are engaged in causal wage labour in the month of April and so the number of households engaged in wood sale has declined.

Table 4. Monthly occupational status of the males belonging to the Bhuiya sample households as obtained in the 2nd and 3rd phases (in terms of percentage of the total sample households)

Months	Wood sale	Agricultural Labour	Agricultural Labour & Wood sale	Causal Wage Labour & wood sale	Causal Wage Labour	Causal Wage Labour & Agricultural Labour	Nothing	Not applicable
November	8.1	37.1	1.6	6.5	22.6	8.1	11.3	4.8
December	6.5	40.3	1.6	3.2	24.2	8.1	11.3	4.8
January	22.6	4.8	0.0	4.8	33.9	0.0	29.0	4.8
February	24.2	1.6	0.0	9.7	37.1	0.0	22.6	4.8
March	6.5	11.3	11.3	9.7	33.9	12.9	9.7	4.8
April	8.1	6.5	9.7	11.3	40.3	8.1	11.3	4.8
May	24.2	1.6	0.0	6.5	8.1	0.0	54.8	4.8

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

3.4. Monthly occupational status of the Bhuiya females

Among the Bhuiya females sale of wood engages females from majority of the households during the months of January, February, April, May, September and October as is clear from Table 5. While during March, July, November and December agricultural labour is their main occupation. Causal wage labour is not taken up by many females as can be seen from the table. Woman from only 1 household is engaged as causal wage labourer. Further it can be also seen from the table that not much employment prospects are available in the months of May, June and August.

While unemployment during the months of May and June can be explained by the fact that these months happen to be warm months of the year and the local wind 'loo' plagues the area. Again during July most of the women migrate to Bihar to work as agricultural labour and earn money which they spend during August and hence return to their village during August and choose to stay unemployed and migrate again during November and December.

Table 5. Monthly occupational status of the Bhuiya females belonging to the Bhuiya sample households as obtained in the first phase (in terms of percentage of the total sample households)

Months	Wood sale	Agricultural labour	Agricultural labour & wood sale	Causal Wage Labour	Others	Nothing
January	53	5	0	0	3	39
February	55	3	0	0	3	39
March	11	71	8	0	2	8
April	47	13	0	2	3	35
May	44	0	0	0	2	55
June	18	0	0	0	2	81
July	2	90	0	0	2	6
August	19	5	0	0	2	74
September	45	3	0	0	3	48
October	50	3	0	0	2	45
November	6	87	0	0	2	5
December	10	82	0	0	2	6

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

3.5. Comparison of monthly occupational status of Bhuiya females

Similarly in case of Bhuiya females, comparison with data of the second and third phases, as given in Table 6, also shows that there is little variation in their occupational pattern. Minor decline in the engagement of females in the sale of wood has been observed during the months of January, February, April and May. In case of agricultural labour, decline is observed during majority of the months in which they had worked as agricultural labourers during the first phase with the decline being most pronounced in November, December and March.

This is because they migrate only when the farmers from the nearby districts of Bihar come to take them and during these months of the second and the third phases of the study they did not come in large numbers and also because the production of rabi crops has been low in the second and the third phases of the study so the demand for agricultural labourer has also been low.

Table 6. Monthly occupational status of the females belonging to the Bhuiya sample households as obtained in the second and third phase (in terms of percentage of the total sample households)

Months	Wood Sale	Agricultural labour	Agricultural labour & Wood sale	Causal Wage Labour	Others	Nothing
November	21.0	54.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	24.2
December	22.6	54.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	22.6
January	43.6	1.6	0.0	1.6	0.0	53.2
February	41.9	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.6	54.8
March	25.8	37.1	12.9	0.0	1.6	22.6
April	32.3	9.7	9.7	0.0	1.6	46.8
May	38.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	59.7

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

3.6. Seasonal occupational pattern of the Bhuiya males belonging to the sample households a decade ago

A decadal comparison of occupation of men from sample households shows that sale of wood has been an important source of livelihood even before along with agriculture labour with 58% of males from sample households being engaged in sale of wood and 45% engaged as agricultural labourers during most of the months. However migration as casual wage labour has been a recent phenomenon. The males migrate to distant places to work as casual wage labourers. While migration as agricultural labourers is prevalent among all, that is, males, females as well as children as are clear from Table 7.

Table 7. Seasonal occupational pattern of the Bhuiya males belonging to the sample households a decade ago (in terms of percentage of the total sample households)

Months	Wood sale	Agricultural labour	Agricultural labour & wood sale	Nothing
January-March	0	45	55	0
April-June	58	0	0	42
July-September	0	45	55	0
October-December	0	45	55	0

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

3.7. Seasonal occupational pattern of the Bhuiya females belonging to the sample households a decade ago

A decadal comparison of occupation among the females reflects that sale of wood and agricultural labour has been the chief occupation of women even a decade ago as presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Seasonal occupational pattern of the Bhuiya females belonging to the sample households a decade ago (in terms of percentage of the total sample households)

Months	Wood sale	Agricultural labour	Agricultural labour & wood sale	Nothing
January-march	0	45	52	3
April-June	55	0	0	45
July-September	0	45	52	3
October-December	0	45	52	3

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

3.8. Sources of income of the Bhuiya

This section highlights the different sources of income of the Bhuiya community. It can be seen from Table 9 that casual wage labour and sale of wood comprise basically the first and second main sources of income respectively for the sample households. Along with these agricultural labour is another main source of income.

Table 9. Major sources of income of the sample households

Sources of Income	1 st main source	2 nd main source	3 rd main source
Wood sale	15(24.2)	19(30.6)	3(4.8)
Causal wage labour	39(62.9)	4(6.5)	3(4.8)
Agricultural labour	4(6.5)	33(53.2)	21(33.9)
Contract labour	0	0	0
Minor forest product	0	0	0
Livestock	1(1.6)	0	0
Old age pension	2(3.2)	0	0
Fish sale	0	0	7(11.3)
Others	1(1.6)	0	0
Total	62(100)	56(90.3)	34(54.8)

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

Note: The figures represent number of households and the parentheses () represent the percentage of household

3.9. Average annual income of Bhuiya households

Here we discuss the average annual income earned by the Bhuiya sample households from the various sources. Table 10 shows that the Bhuiya households on an average receive highest annual income from casual wage labour which is 54.4% of the total average annual income per household. The next main source of income is sale of wood which contributes 20.4% to the total average annual income per household. The agricultural wage labour stands third in terms of contribution to the average annual income of the Bhuiya households. Livestock forms a very minor source of income of the Bhuiya. Again there is great variation in the income from casual wage labour.

Table 10. Average annual income of Bhuiya households from various sources (In Rs.)

Sources of Income	Average annual income per HH	Share in total income	Std. Dev	Co-efficient of variation
Agricultural Labour	5773	20.4	2746.75	47.58
Causal Wage Labour	15366	54.4	10222.59	66.52
Wood sale	6589	23.3	6569.63	99.70
Livestock	113	0.4	889	786.73
Others	400	1.4	1098.29	274
Total	28240	100	10538.45	37.32

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

The reason for variation in income received from casual wage labour, which is earned by migrating to metropolitan cities, is that the income fluctuates between ₹500 and ₹38000 and migration is seasonal as well as partial bringing only transitory increases to their income.

When they are not migrating, confinement to their native places does not bring much change in their livelihood pattern because there is much less alternatives available in their countryside. The value of coefficient of variation is largest for livestock. This is because only few households possess livestock and hence there are differences in the earnings from livestock among the households. Variations are observed in all the sources of income which means that none of the sources are consistent source of income which can secure their livelihood. The average annual income per household is ₹28,240 which is very low meaning that their livelihoods are not secure.

3.10. Livelihood status of the sample households in times of drought

Drought year in the study does not refer only to the year which is officially declared to be drought year by the government rather it also includes years when it may be possible that the government has not declared it to be a drought year still the region where the sample households live has received very deficient rainfall and hence agriculture in the region has been badly affected.

People resort to migration as casual wage labour and agricultural labour by migrating to other places of the country especially Bihar during times of drought as is clear from Table 11. All this reflects that not much change in the occupational pattern of the Bhuiya households in times of drought but this is partially true.

Table 11. Sources of livelihood during drought year

Sources of Income	Male	Female
Wood sale	0	12.9
Casual wage labour (CWL)	11.3	0
Agricultural labour (AL)	0.0	33.71
Wood sale & AL	14.5	38.71
CWL & AL	33.9	0
CWL & Wood sale	6.5	0
Contract labour	0.0	0
AL, CWL & wood sale	21.0	0
Others	3.3	6.45
Not applicable	9.7	8.06

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

Note: the figures are in terms of percentage of households reporting for the concerned gender

This is so because no change occurs for those who can migrate to other places but for those especially the households headed by old who do not migrate faces great difficulty in times of drought. Those who do not migrate do not get much agricultural work in their native place because of the drought and also face falling wage rates and rising prices of the food grains. At the same time they do not have many alternatives available which can supplement their income.

Table 12. Number of households facing change in prices of fuel wood during times of drought

Price of fuel wood	No. of Bhuiya households
No Change	9.68
Increase	0
Decrease	87.10
Not responding	3.22

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

For the Bhuiya what happens on account of drought is that the wages that they receive for working as agricultural labourer in their own village get reduced by 10-15% as reported by 10% of the households thus affecting their livelihood and ultimately threatening their food security. Bhuiya from around 87% of the households report that the prices of fuel wood fall during the drought year by 15-20% as shown in Table12.

3.11. Role of migration as a livelihood strategy

Migration is an important livelihood strategy for the Bhuiya households as presented in Table 13. They migrate seasonally to work as agricultural labourer to nearby districts of Bihar like Gaya, Aurangabad, Newada, Bhojpur etc as well as temporarily as casual wage labourer to big cities in the country. As agricultural labourer they have been migrating for around last 25 years. Big farmers from the nearby Bihar region come and take away people from Bhuiya community and their families, by making an allowance for travelling, to work on their farms. They migrate in three seasons. Once during July-August for transplantation of paddy. At this time some households migrate with their whole family and from some households only young males and/or females migrate. The payment that they receive is very nominal either in cash as wages up to ₹150 or in kind as 5-6 Kg of rice per person per day. The other season in which they migrate is November-December which coincides with the time of harvesting of Paddy. They migrate for 30-45 days. They are basically paid in kind during this time. The rate of payment is for every 12 stacks of Paddy harvested they get 1 stack in return as payment and each stack contains approximately 10-12 kg of Paddy.

The other season in which they migrate is November-December which coincides with the time of harvesting of Paddy. They migrate for 30-45 days. In the year 2013 around 50% of the households migrated during this season. Out of these households, except 3 households all the households migrated with their whole family. They are basically paid in kind during this time. The rate of payment is for every 12 stacks of Paddy harvested they get 1 stack in return as payment and each stack contains approximately 10-12 kg of Paddy. They have to both harvest and transport the produce to the house of the farmers. The total average income earned this way in kind is 350 kg of paddy. The next major activity during this time is separating grains from the husk of the Paddy crops. They return to home after this and use a part of the wage received in kind to pay for conveyance while on the way back to home. Thus, the households are food secure from December to March. Another phase of migration occurs during March-April which coincides with the time of harvesting of wheat crops. But migration during this time is not regular as is reflected from the fact that they had not migrated in 2011, 2012 and 2013.

As casual wage labourers only young men from Bhuiya households migrate to places like Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Hyderabad, Punjab, Surat etc. The average age of the migrating males is 28 years. The phenomenon of this type of migration is a recent one observed during the past 4-5 years. Although some migration of this kind had started taking place 8 years ago but in very few numbers. The minimum age of the migrant is 18 years and the maximum is 65 years. There is no time fixed for migration but usually they migrate between September and March. The daily wage rate varies from ₹170 to ₹200 per person per day. They offer a service of 8 hours a day (8 a.m. – 6 p.m. with 2 hours of rest).

They migrate through the local contractors for an average time period of 4 to 6 months in a year. Earlier around 2-3 years ago they migrated only for 2-3 months. The share of income earned from migration in total income of the Bhuiya community is 66.31%. The share of income earned from migration to work as casual wage labour in total income earned by the Bhuiya from casual wage labour is 96.46 percent and the share of income earned from migration to work as agricultural labour in total income earned by them from agricultural labour is 67.62%.

From the above analysis we find that migration is an important source of livelihood for the Bhuiya. But during the months when they do not migrate, that is May and June they are fully food insecure. The problems faced in migration is that it is a full of uncertainties as they can migrate only if the contractors or the big farmers come to take them.

Table 13. Details of migration of Bhuiya households

Type of activities	Percentage of households migrating	Average wage rate per day (in Rs.)
Agricultural Labour	22.58	80
Agricultural Labour & Causal Wage Labour	37.09	80-175
Causal Wage Labour	30.64	175
Total	90.31	-

Source: Author's own calculation from primary data

An issue with migration is that the earnings or remittances sent back home are through the bank account of the contractors who charge a commission for doing so. Thus their genuine earning is siphoned off before reaching home. Generally they send ₹2500-4000 and they pay ₹300-400 as commission.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

The major occupation of the Bhuiya community is casual wage labour and agricultural labour. The Bhuiya members migrate to work as casual wage labourer during two times of the year once between January and March and other in September. Hence their major source of income is also casual wage labour along with agriculture labour and sale of wood. This means that the livelihood options of this community is not sustainable and also not promising in terms of the amount they receive as income. Especially bad are the times of drought when agriculture is badly affected. Again migration as an alternative is not very promising as it depends on the mercy of the contractors who charge a commission and conditions of work may not be very conducive. Talking in terms of sustainability of livelihood options, being landless and resource less the Bhuiya do not have any sustainable option of livelihood available. Again they lag in terms of education and vocational training to take up any job in the formal or informal sector. This calls for the need to address the problem of livelihood security among the members of this community and provide them livelihood options to help them live decently. Vocational training and Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act can be the alternatives to provide them livelihood options.

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