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# HIMACHAL PRADESH UNIVERSITY JOURNAL

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## Transnational Korean Culture: A Response from North-Eastern and Eastern India

-Manas Ghosh

### ABSTRACT

Korean popular culture in recent time incites a huge influence on the popular culture of northeastern India. Huge followings of Korean popular songs, Korean television series and Korean films emerged in the region in the last two decades and it has been swelling up rapidly. The young men and women of four northeastern states of India – Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland – have fallen in love with ‘Korean Wave’ or *Hallyu*. Even the cultural creations of their own, especially music and local films, have internalized huge impression of K-Wave. The formation of the K-Wave fan-groups and K-wave inspired cultural creations among the youth of the region perhaps help them finding a new glocal cultural identity. The fan-groups and their fan-activity of K-Wave are already spread in the cities and major towns in India. Beside K-Wave festivals many shops and restaurants are opened which sell Korean cosmetic products, CD/DVD, Korean artifacts and Korean food. The article discusses the dynamics of the cross-cultural interaction between *Hallyu* and the emergent popular culture in northeast India. The article also inquires in to the reasons of increasing popularity of Korean popular culture in West Bengal.

**Keywords:** *Culture Industry, Transnational Asian Culture, Mediascape, K-Wave fandom, Popular Culture in India.*

### Introduction

The youth of north eastern India irrespective of gender and diverse economic or ethnic background has adapted to Korean popular culture. Mainly three factors are responsible for their exposure to Korean culture. The development of deterritorialized satellite television, the availability of IT in use for ordinary daily life plus the internet, and the liberalization of culture with the advent of globalization in Asia played major roles behind this. Another reason, which we must take into account, is the cultural banning of Hindi popular cultural products inflicted on the north eastern people by the ‘insurgents’ and local protectionist groups. The trend started as the Revolutionary People’s Front of Manipur declared/ imposed a ban on Hindi

television and Bollywood cinema to counter Hindi imperialist dominance over the local people. And of course, there has been a politically motivated material ground that the people of northeastern India are resistant to Hindi's cultural aggression over the local culture (Kaisii, 2017).

In the northeastern region, Manipur is the state most inclined to the Korean popular culture. The IT-related cultural goods like CD-DVDs of Korean films and K-pop regularly arrive at the local markets through the Moreh-Tamu border which is the most important Indo-Myanmar trade post connected by the trans-Asian land route. Not only IT goods but Manipuri people regularly receive Korean fashion magazines and photographs, K-fashion goods including T-shirts and other garments related to Korean popular culture through trans-border trade. And it can be assumed that some informal business takes place beyond the formal trade in the border markets (Mc Duie-Ra, 2016). So, there has been a regular supply of low-cost copied and pirated CDs/DVDs, cosmetic goods and clothes. Besides the availability of cross-border goods and items related to Korean popular culture, they are cloned in the local market and sold at low prices to meet the increasing demand for cultural Koreanization. Thus, the cultural phenomenon of Koreanization finds a sustainable local economy that in return is strengthening further the cultural phenomenon (Neikolie, 2013).

### **Hallyu as 'Glocal' Culture in Northeast**

The socio-cultural impact of Korean culture is phenomenal in the northeastern region. An empirical study reveals that almost 78 persons out of a hundred in Manipur love Korean, Chinese, Japanese, and Western popular culture and they don't have any special feelings for Indian popular culture. Out of these 78 persons almost 54 persons are devoted exclusively to the Korean culture. The study also reveals that gender, ethnic identity and marital status impact very little on their choice. Though, the findings interestingly reveal that the female respondents are more aware of the country of origin of K-Wave than male respondents. They dress like K-wave stars, they listen to K-pop, they watch K-drama on television, they follow YouTube channels dedicated to K-Wave, and they watch Korean films regularly. The girls and boys use Korean cosmetics and imitate Korean stars' haircuts. Alongwith the passionate attachment to Korean culture, there exists a strong political economy of consumption of K-goods too. Some of them are willing to establish a family relationship with Koreans. Even some ordinary Korean words have been appropriated into the popular lexicon of young men and women (Reimeingam, 2015).

The socio-economic study exposes that more than 85% of the population which exclusively loves Korean culture and is known as 'Koreanized persons' (KP) belongs to the 5,000-20,000 per month (data collected in April 2013) income group. That indicates the youth of middle-class households are

mostly in love with Korean popular culture in Manipur. Most of them have educational qualifications of matriculation and above. Another interesting revelation is that K-Wave lovers, though they are passionately immersed in the transnational Korean popular culture, do not emotionally denounce their own local/ tribal culture. Koreanized Persons mostly take pride in their ethnic culture and at the same time, they feel proud that they have adapted to Korean culture (Reimeingam, 2015).

The last observation as mentioned in the previous paragraph points to a rather complex situation where the 'local' is warmly welcoming the 'global' without sacrificing the localized identity. This can be explained with the help of sociologist Jan Pietrese's argument of 'structural hybridization' in the era of globalization. He explicates the phenomenon of 'glocalization' quoting from Lipschutz, "as people assert local loyalties but want sharing global values and lifestyles" (Pietrese, 1994:165). For a better political understanding of the particular case of Koreanization in northeastern India, we need to closely observe the historical development and crisis of northeastern identity vis-à-vis the grand National/ Indian identity.

In the colonial era, the northeastern part of India has always considered a territory that should be detached from Assam and other adjacent mainland districts to protect the (European) planters' interest from the disturbance created by the hill tribes of the adjacent regions. This separation policy practiced by the British rulers of India barred the entry of the political, social and cultural modernity in the region (Choudhury, 1970). Modernity came there mainly through the intervention of Christian missionaries. They played a major role in providing the local people with modern education. But since most of the missionary organizations that worked there in the early phase were coming straight from the European, Australian and American Churches, a kind of cultural westernization took place in the region. So, a certain form of cultural hybridization was observed in the region since the early ninetieth century, particularly in the aftermath of the British invasion of the region in the 1830s. According to the 2011 census, 68.42% of the total population belongs to the northeastern states is Christian, with Meghalaya and Mizoram having the highest concentration of the religion (Centre for Policy Studies, 2014).

In 1839 the British administrators invited the American Baptist mission to work in the region. The colonial rulers largely banked on the Christian missionaries for providing formal education and mass education in the region. For example, the British government in India officially franchised the school and college education in Meghalaya to the Christian missionaries (Sangma and Rajamurti, 2021). The influence of the western culture grew up surreptitiously beside the strongly rooted dominant tribal culture. The two main reasons were: one, the proliferation of western Christianity and two the opportunity for the people to come into the contact with British, American and Japanese soldiers

posted at the Indo-Burma frontier during the time of World War II. These two reasons shored up each other as it is observed that the rate of propagation of Christianity reached its peak there in the 1940s (Sitlhou, 2009).

In post-colonial India, the discomfort of integration has always been there. The socio-cultural difference between the northeastern part of India and the mainland was never been successfully and sustainably negotiated, particularly from the vantage point of the people of the region. The socio-cultural seclusion from the rest of India has naturally forced them to take a defensive and protectionist stand. They never felt any urge to integrate with the larger national modernity. But the proliferation of modern education in the region gave birth to modernist aspirations among the youth. The conservationist tribal collective identity failed to respond to their desire for modernity. They chose a 'third' that would help them to bypass the hegemony of the grand national cultural and the collective tribal identities as well. Before the era of liberalization, this place of the 'third' was occupied by the westernized lifestyle, American pop songs, jeans, T-shirts and Hollywood films. Thus, they already had historical proximity to that westernized culture in India.

Usually, tribal cultures resist the entry of any kind of alien culture into their domain. But the case of the northeast was an exception. The place of the 'third' was always important for the northeastern youth to resolve the cultural conflict between the 'hegemonic' national and the 'limiting' local. The 'global' as a viable 'third' always played an instrumental role for them to get rid of the binary of national and local. After the liberalization some new developments took place. In 1995 Moreh-Tamu cross-border (specific commodity) trade was officially commenced as a result of the Indo-Myanmar bilateral agreement. Later in 2008, the restricted trade line was upgraded for general trade. A connection through market and trade was established between northeastern India and East Asia via Southeast Asia. In 2001 India-Myanmar Friendship Road linking northeast India, Myanmar and Thailand was established (McDuié-Ra, 2016). The connectivity established through formal and informal trade, glocal market and cross-border transport facilities in the region enhanced the possibility of the proliferation of global Asian popular culture originating in the Eastern and South-Eastern Asian culture industries. The internet as another means of deterritorialization played an important role in disseminating the images of global Asian culture, goods and identity.

It was observed that Korean popular culture or Korean Wave phenomenally replaced western popular culture in the region in the last two decades. To an extent, the government also encouraged K-wave on the strategic ground since it resists the influence of global Chinese culture in the region. Moreover, the western and American popular cultures whatever influential they had not properly fallen into place with the local social and cultural value system. On



the other hand, in addition to the ethnic resemblances, the global Korean popular culture matches the familial values and so-called Asian customs of the people and consequently offers a moral comfort zone to them. The function of the 'third' still remains important in the culture of the northeast, but the space is now occupied by the Hallyu as a more acceptable form and to a great extent it has replaced the American-Western popular culture successfully.

However, it is not enough to consider K-Wave or Hallyu as a phenomenon specifically associated with northeast India. The geo-political and cultural conditioning of the northeast was indeed congenial for the easy infiltration and quick proliferation of the Korean Wave in the region. But the influence, as the latest development shows, has not been confined only to the region. Although the northeast still remains the most important hub of K-wave in India, global Korean popular culture has rapidly spread in different other parts of the country. It has emerged as one of the most important global popular cultures in Bangalore, Delhi, Mumbai and Kolkata. K-Pop and K-Dramas have become extremely popular among the middle-class youth in various cities and towns in India. Hallyu has uplifted recently to the status of mainstream popular cultural trend in India (Roy and Das, 2022). As Stevan Kim (2022) observes, "One of the regions where K-pop and K-drama have made significant inroad in the entertainment market [in recent time] is South Asia [including India] [...] Although South Asia was late in embracing Hallyu compared to the rest of Asia, it offers fertile soil for K-pop and K-dramas to flourish due to its relatively young generation and growing internet and smartphone penetration rate" (26-27). Hence the scope of the hypothesis and consequent observations that the cultural specialty, racial or ethnic similarity (with East and Southeast Asia) and geo-political positioning of the northeast has made the K-Wave acceptable to them seems limited and reductionist, as it is observed that the Korean Wave has already spread among the youth of the other parts and regions of the country. The said hypothesis and the studies that validated the same could only help us to comprehend the primary stage of development of the Korean Wave in India. To understand this new trend of nationwide propagation of K-Wave which has been a much more recent phenomenon we need to arrive at a more general explanation. One of the reasons for the quick spread of Hallyu in India, as Kim (2022) has pointed out, is the spread of digital media. Another reason he points out is the rise of 'youth' in India in terms of number, new cultural tastes and consumption of the global commodity.

### **Hallyu Fandom in Kolkata**

Does the K-Wave promulgate some moral values and tastes that suit well the Indian urban middle-class youth? Keeping the question in the foreground, a fan meeting of Hallyu lovers was organized in December 2019 at Jadavpur University's main campus. Twenty-eight respondents joined the close door

discussion. Most of the K-Wave fans were undergraduate students from different colleges in Kolkata. Some of them were postgraduate students. As an ethnic composition, they were mixed groups that included students from northeastern India (studying in Kolkata) and students from Kolkata-based Bengali families. Both male and female students were in the group in almost equal numbers. Most of them came from middle-class or above middle-class pecuniary backgrounds and they had been mostly educated in English medium schools. They were asked one by one to come to the dais and share their experience of loving K-Wave. How did she/ he get acquainted with K-Wave? Why did she/ he prefer *Hallyu* over other global and national popular cultures? Which elements of Korean popular culture does she/ he like most?

Respondents' answers to those questions are extracted from their articulations:

- i) They were acquainted with the K-Wave or Hallyu in their early teens, while they were studying from the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> standard in school. Some of them knew about it from their friends and peer groups in school. Some of them told that they had already developed a liking for Japanese 'manga' and as they were trying to explore more varieties, e.g., similar cultural creations from other Asian countries they came across Korean culture. And later shifted their fondness from the Japanese popular culture to *Hallyu*. Some of them, especially the fans of popular music, chanced upon watching K-pop videos on YouTube and were readily attracted to it by the K-pop performers' good-looking and tender images, fashionable but sober outfits, youthful voices and cheerful gestures. (They don't carry rough-tough images as we usually find in Western pop stars' appearances) Another small group of respondents had developed the cultural habit of watching television series. As they were searching for foreign television series they discovered K-Dramas on YouTube or satellite television and gradually became *Hallyu* fans.
- ii) Almost all the respondents agree individually and collectively, partially or fully upon the point that they have been very much attracted to the family values and kinship relations projected in the K-Dramas. In family K-Dramas, they said, the respectful relations between the younger members and the elder counterparts of a family are notably important. Korean television dramas of the social genre 'project' the Korean family very meticulously and humbly. The humility and respect of the characters in the family for tradition attract them much. They find solace in the family relationship and values 'projected' in the K-dramas. The same is reflected in K-Pop stars' behaviour when they appear publicly through mass media. The respondents alleged that 'humility' is missing in Indian television dramas. Indian dramas show a conspiratorial world where the family members are involved in plotting

against the others, which they dislike. Further, they tell that they dislike the heavily gendered world projected in Bollywood films and Indian television dramas. According to them, Indian dramas are “bad family dramas” and American dramas are mainly “crime and sci-fi dramas”. The Hallyu fans object to moral and social violence shown in Indian and American teledramas respectively. On the contrary, the moral framework projected in the K-Dramas has been identified by its viewers as ‘true’ Asian values.

- iii) In K-Dramas the family members often assemble in the family living room and discuss the virtues or wrong-doings of others in a compassionate and modest tone. The *Hallyu* fans like this much. On the contrary, they strongly dislike the immoral villain or vamp characters as over-projected in Indian film and television dramas. The Korean television series shows romance and romantic moments, school dramas, family dramas, etc. They consciously avoid malicious themes and characters. Moreover, K-Drama radiates a feeling of aesthetic realism. They avoid strong melodrama, high-pitched and loud dialogue and wild imagination. Apart from historical dramas and period pieces, K-Drama explores a middle-class world. They illustrate ordinary Korean people’s life and ‘represent’ them on screen. Sometimes they show struggling people coming from a very humble economic background. Even many K-Pop stars claim that they have come up from a very modest economic class and they claim that they never forget their origin even after they become successful.
- iv) In contrast to the tough and often toxic masculinity projected in Bollywood and Indian television dramas, Korean pop stars and K-Drama characters show a tender and soft masculinity. The soft-masculine image of Korean boy bands like BTS is particularly appreciated by the respondents. They enjoy the teenage tenderness and calculated masculine gestures of the K-pop performers. The stars of K-pop are very well-mannered and the characters in K-Drama look very friendly and approachable. The male characters hardly try to project themselves as “strong and intimidating”. They usually try to project themselves as good and understanding father, brother and husband. The K-Drama creators handle the male-female relationship with softness and care. Often they try to create a world of tender teenage romance.
- v) In the popular world of K-pop, the stars and fans are engaged in a worshiper-devotee relationship. But the stars never keep themselves outside the reach of the fans. There are numerous forums on social media where stars regularly interact with their fans. Often they seriously consider the suggestions given to them by their fans. They hardly do anything which offends their fans. As a result of this, we observe that the fan activism is very lively and their activity is readily reciprocated by

other fans or sometimes recognized by the star in person which gives them a feeling of collectiveness and participatory communication. The K-Wave fans are very active on social media. To an extent, their likings and dislikes control the star's image in public life. Thus the K-pop fans enjoy some kind of active agency.

- vi) Finally, K-Wave promotes a series of 'feel good' factors. The fans in general appreciate the moral framework propagated in *Hallyu*. The fans consider the moral correctness of the star in his/ her personal and social sphere as a great virtue. The fans regularly discuss this on social media with the other members of the group. Many of the respondents claim: that Korean popular culture offers them a psychological comfort zone that sometimes becomes therapeutic and helps them to overcome depression and disappointment.

### **From Effect on Global Culture Industry**

It is interesting to note that most of the Hallyu fans in formal meets and informal conversations express a strong desire to visit South Korea. The origin of K-Wave, as they 'believe', is a dreamland for them. It is a common belief and common aspiration which is observed among the Hallyu fans in social media and online fan groups. As we visited Café Tov, located in south Kolkata, Korean food and cultural joint in the city, we perceived two major tendencies. One is that Korean food lovers are not merely foodies. Most of them enjoy a 'package' of Korean entertainment culture, not Korean food per se. The hosts play BTS songs regularly. In the waiting room adjacent to the eating room, there is a display of photographs of K-pop stars, K-pop CD/ DVDs, K-film posters, Hallyu T-shirts, Hallyu postcards and pieces of jewellery. The owner of the café Mr. Shin Guk-jin explains that Hallyu fans and the fan group members of Kolkata frequently visit the restaurant. They are keen to know Korean table etiquettes and the Korean language, says Mr. Shin. Because many of them aspire to visit South Korea. They consider South Korea as a society that reflects in 'reality', the 'projected world' which they perceive through K-drama and other cultural products of Hallyu.

But in reality, South Korean society is a masculine society. The traditional Korean value system undermines women and it is, like most Asian societies, a heavily gendered society (Young, 2010). The soft masculinity and the 'feel good' factor that the Hallyu 2.0 circulates do not always reflect Korean society and culture faithfully. Korean masculinity is not at all soft masculinity either in reality. The politically correct masculinity that the Korean Wave projects are a culture industry manufacture. The transcultural Korean wave is a global export quality cultural product (Jung, 2011). The Korean society is not a very happy democratic society as well if we consider the issues like citizen's rights, economic stability/depression,

or its general attitude to immigrants and its openness to foreigners. But K-Wave consciously ‘constructs’ a moral universe that maintains compatibility with the so-called ‘good’ traditional Asian values related to the family, workplace, kinship relations and other social institutions. Critically, this ‘good’ is not an unqualified good. It is rather in tune with refined revivalist Asian traditional values – the revivalism that we are observing in the era of globalization. Reinventing the values of family cohesiveness that most of the Asian societies would have ideally shared once and that has gradually faded away in the era of high modernity and economic and social liberalization thereafter actually is a nostalgic take. It is a kind of mode retro, a symbolic past that hardly exists today but its (moral) form is being circulated through popular culture.

The welcoming and modest world presented in the global Korean culture is not always an actual picture in practical reality. Elween Loke (2016) rightly remarks, “Though the Korean Wave’s place of origin is undisputedly South Korea, [...] it may not be as ‘authentically Korean’ as people might observe. Its cultural products exhibit characteristics of both local and foreign elements. In other words, they are the products of transnational cultural flows.”

The Korean Wave has been a result of a planned change in cultural policy proposed by the Korean government. The idea of building a very powerful culture industry was always a project dreamt by the South Korean government since the early 1990s. The focus was on the Korean film, television and music industry. From 1997-98 South Korean economy faced a major depression next couple of years due to the IMF crisis. Korea had to invent new ways of generating revenue. But the scope of the domestic economy was limited mainly due to its small size of the population. So, the government was desperately pushing the idea of globalizing the culture products in terms of popular film, television programmes and popular music (Chen, 2011). Hyejung Ju and Soobum Lee (2015) explain, “Korea’s ‘New Millennium Vision’ for the media industry has been promoted since 2001. Thanks to this sort of futuristic policy by the government, the Korean media and entertainment industry overall have benefited from the pro-movement of the cultural content business and market-driven competitions” (p.324). The government also intended that global Korean culture would work effectively as soft power and it would help build a positive image of the country (Lee, 2011). The strategy, as we have observed, has become extremely successful. The K-Wave fans believe, although being motivated by the global Korean popular culture, in a positive image of the country.

Hallyu has been earning huge revenue for South Korea. And South Korea has emerged as a new ‘cultural identity’ in Asia. Its culture industry in a very calculative way shapes regulates and designs the cultural products so that

they can cater the value system and aspirations of Asian youth in the era of neoliberalism.

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# **Role of Confidence Building Measures (CBMS) in Peace Making and Border Management**

**-Major General AM Bapat**

## **Abstract**

This paper examines the relevance of Confidence Building Measures in ensuring that peace is maintained amongst nations thereby resulting in common prosperity and mutual growth. There are multiple types of CBMs based on domains/fields and objectives. While Military CBMs take primacy in ensuring peace, Non-Military CBMs have further complimented inter-state relationships. Despite numerous such CBMs between India and China in both military and non military domains, they are yet to resolve the critical issue of their border dispute which time and again creates avoidable tensions. The aspects of Border Management in case of both settled and unsettled border and its implication have been analysed through the paper. The Paper highlights the factors and challenges in success of CBMs. The main constituents of successful CBMs have been arrived after studying the successful CBM models across all the continents of the world. This paper mainly highlights the CBMs undertaken in South America, between Chile and Peru, as well as, Brazil and Argentina. The study concludes that India and China require a four pronged strategy to find resolution of issues in a definite time frame. It concludes by stating that CBMs cannot be taken as magic bullets but they act as enablers for the resolution of disputes as has been the case in Camp David Accords and the Helsinki Pact.

**Keywords:** *Strategy, Agreements, Conflicts, Impact, Border, States & Measures.*

## **Introduction**

China's management of relations with its neighboring states, especially where shared borders were disputed, has been a crucial aspect of its foreign policy. The Borders of the People's Republic of China (PRC) are extensive and complex. The PRC has the longest land and maritime borders than any other country in the world, in excess of 18,000 kilometres and 22,000 kilometres, respectively. China shares land borders with fourteen countries including a land boundary with India and maritime borders with eight countries.

Both India and China are aspiring for Great Power status and began undertaking developmental measures near simultaneously. While China is already pushing the edges towards global stardom, India is on the fringes of establishing itself as a Regional Power.

The relationship between the two countries had touched a nadir post the 1962 conflict. However, in the mid-70s and 80s, both the countries realized that as emerging and developing Nations they must give a chance for their respective economies to grow. To obviate the prospect of conflict, from the beginning of the 90s, India and China signed numerous Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) between each other in various fields including the Military domain. These CBMs brought in relative calm and peace along the borders and have benefited both countries immensely, bringing development and prosperity to the region. CBMs are an important tool which can build trust at a relatively low cost and in a low-risk manner. They are not magic bullets and are dynamic as per the changing needs of conflict resolution mechanisms.

### **Part I: Confidence Building Measures –Genesis and Concept**

CBMs as defined by Igor Scherbak are ‘Actions carried out by States through adoption of special Political or Military measures to ensure predictability of political intentions of States and their Military activities with help of adequate information & verification, to rule out the risk of misinterpretation of Military activity and to prevent a surprise attack/ armed conflict occurring because of accident/ unauthorized actions’. Miss Holly Higgins has defined CBMs as ‘Any set of unilateral, bilateral or multilateral actions that act to reduce military tensions between Nation States before, during or after actual conflict’. In actual practice, they function to make conduct of countries more calculable and predictable, so that states can have certain degree of mutual trust and expectations about behavior of the adversary, thus maintaining Peace at the Borders.

The entire spectrum for reduction of hostilities and prevention of full- scale conflict has three stages beginning with Conflict Avoidance, then Confidence Building and finally Making or Strengthening the Peace (Khoja et. al., 2000). Conflict Avoidance is the first stage where in no matter how serious outstanding grievances are, prudent national leaders will wish to avoid inadvertent escalation or accidental war. Conflict Avoidance Measures (CAM) are characterized as the initial steps to avoid unintended escalation as a precursor to CBMs. These can be taken even when states have not established diplomatic relations. They are also a necessary precondition to Confidence Building because setbacks will inevitably occur during peace making. The second stage of Confidence Building is more difficult as it requires traversing the critical passage from Conflict Avoidance. Many measures can be taken to facilitate the transition to confidence building like



use of third parties or multinational inspection teams comprising of representatives from adversarial states (ODA, 2021). The third stage is the continuance of stage two where CBMs become the foundations for making or strengthening the peace and trust. The objectives of this stage of the process include broadening and deepening existing patterns of cooperation and making positive developments as irreversible as possible. Confidence-building measures (CBMs) are planned procedures to prevent hostilities, to avert escalation, to ease military tension, and to build mutual trust between nations. They have been applied since the dawn of civilization, and are particularly relevant in addressing and working towards the resolution of long term political and military stalemates. The term was used in the 1950s during the early period of the Cold War when initial steps were taken to increase the transparency between the two military blocs (OSCE, 2012). The main objective of Confidence Building Measures during the Cold war was to contribute towards reducing the cause of mistrust, fear, tensions and hostilities that had fuelled the conventional and nuclear arms race between the two sides.

The general idea of CBMs had emerged during the Cold War in order to build transparency between countries to diminish the danger of a nuclear conflict. It was subsequently broadened to include other thematic areas, military (inter-state and intra-state) and non-military (with political, economic, societal, environmental, and cultural initiatives). CBMs in both narrow and broad sense are important measures for improving regional peace and preventing military conflict. CBMs can be unilateral, bilateral and multilateral. They can take various shapes and structures depending upon which stage of the conflict cycle they are used, how deep the conflict between the two sides is and whether they are utilized in intra state or inter-state conflicts.

### **Types of CBMs**

Fundamentally, there are two types of CBMs viz. Positive and Negative (French, 2019). Positive CBMs are agreements that enable tangible gains (e.g., prisoner exchanges or trade agreements), whereas Negative CBMs are agreements that proscribe certain destabilizing actions (e.g., non-violation of airspace). In short, Positive CBMs are helpful for building trust by creating patterns of cross-border interaction, whereas Negative CBMs promote overall stability. Thus, while Positive CBMs insulate the relationship from shocks, Negative CBMs aim to prevent those shocks taking place in the first place. The majority of well-known India - Pakistan CBMs fall within the latter category.

CBMs can also be categorized into many different types based on the field of differences, objectives and sectors under which they fall. The CBMs in the

various domains/sectors of differences are Military, Political, Economic and Humanitarian. The details of the same are as under (Herbert, 2014):

- a) **Military/Security CBMs** are means to lessen misconceptions of military actions that could prompt an escalation of conflict. Examples of security CBMs include establishing communication hotlines, exchange of military maps, joint training programs, information on troop movements, exchange of military personnel, demilitarised zones, joint border patrolling, No fly zones and joint ceasefire monitoring teams (Simon et.al., 2013).
- b) **Political CBMs** intend to find political solutions to a conflict by building trust between the parties. Examples include negotiations occurring at a location away from distractions (Camp David), informal in addition to formal exchanges, Joint events, Exchange visits, agreeing on a common media campaign (e.g., releasing joint press statements on progress of negotiations).
- c) **Economic and Environmental CBMs** aim to generate confidence to develop cooperation over shared environmental and economic interests. Environmental CBMs includes measures/agreements to formulate joint responses to natural disasters and man-made disasters. Examples include, opening trade routes, agreements to allow safe access to markets, opening transport routes, joint economic development projects, joint preparation for natural disasters or peace parks.
- d) **Humanitarian, Social and Cultural CBMs** are agreements on basic humanitarian principles to improve human safety and to signal good intentions. Social and cultural CBMs aim to strengthen confidence at grass-root levels between people and groups. Examples include not using anti-personnel mines, prisoner exchanges, releasing information about missing people, joint cultural or sports events and student exchange programs.

As per Henry L Stimson Centre, CBMs can also be classified as per objectives into Communication, Transparency, Constraint and Verification measures.

- a) **Communication Measures:** They involve establishment of communication links among political/military decision-makers of rival states. The most effective arrangements are the establishment of hotlines for crisis management purposes.
- b) **Transparency Measures:** They include the exchange of information about military expenditures, the strength of armed forces, arms production and arms transfers, prior notification of military manoeuvres including their scope and extent and the presence of foreign observers at military exercises.

- c) **Constraint Measures:** They may include abstaining from provocative military activities in border areas, establishment of demilitarized zones between states and routine inspections to show compliance with agreements.
- d) **Verification Measures:** They involve actions to monitor and encourage the parties in the implementation of established agreements like the establishment of Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) at Helsinki, Finland.

## **Section II: Success of CBMS – Factors and Challenges**

Based on the detailed study of various facets contributing to the success of various CBMs, it can be deduced that the major contributing factors for their success are as follows:

- a) **Multilateral Agreements:** The agreements which were mediated by a major neutral power or union of countries have better chance of success. The Camp David Accords and Korean Peninsula agreements have succeeded because of the presence of a neutral state who acted as a negotiator or a mediator. It can be further stated that the mediator state should be the one which has its stakes in the conflict and possesses requisite authority and power to force, mend and influence the opinions/decisions of the signatory states.
- b) **Participation of all Stakeholders:** All parties whose interests were getting affected and those getting directly influenced should be engaged. The success of the Helsinki Accords is a prime example. However, increasing the number of member states in a CBM may complicate the issue and may result in an unsettled ending.
- c) **Establishment of A Monitoring Group:** A Monitoring group should be established to verify and validate the implementation of CBMs which will assist in sustaining the trust.
- d) **Accountability:** CBMs should be clear and unambiguous in terms of cost and consequences if they are violated. This will cater for various contingencies and will give an advance warning of adverse effects. It will also act as deterrence against violation.
- e) **Multi Track Diplomacy:** For any CBMs to be effective and successful, there is a need to ensure that the impact is felt at various levels of decision making, resulting in creating an overall positive influence for initiating Peace.
- f) The formulation of CBMs need detailed deliberations as it builds a foundation to deal with and bring order into the regional security. CBMs are the second stage of overall stabilization process and an important but difficult phase involving critical transition from Conflict Avoidance to

peace making. The various guidelines that need to be factored in are as under:

- i) **Purpose Based:** CBMs should be simple and address the core issues of dispute. They should not be over demanding or too complicated. Their Purpose should be clearly articulated.
- ii) **Equality:** CBMs must be fair and should bring in appropriate result to both parties equally. If they are biased towards one side, it may not bring out conclusive results.
- iii) **Graduated Approach:** Building and earning confidence is an incremental procedure. Hence CBMs can begin with a very simple measure even with establishment of communication channels and then can graduate to more core issues as mutual trust develops.
- iv) **Low Cost:** CBMs should remain at its very base value i.e. low cost and low risk so that it creates minimum hurdles for a state to implement.

### Challenges for Success of CBMs

CBMs do have certain prerequisites and challenges to be successful between states. They cannot be replicated or introduced every time and everywhere. Certain challenges that need to be considered while initiating the process of CBMs are as under:

- a) **CBMs may be Avoided Where Trust is not the Core Issue:** CBMs should be favored where lack of trust is the primary factor. Whenever states are lacking a common understanding or will, CBMs might not be the right tool. In such cases, techniques like capacity building workshops and dialogue workshops to clarify the misunderstanding are more appropriate. For example, no CBMs should be done with Non-State Actors.
- b) **CBMs being used as a Stalling or Cover-up Tactic by States:** States or parties sometimes design the CBMs to stall or buy time. They use them just to show that they are doing something but in actual fact they don't have any intent to implement or resolve the issue for example the PLO doing the same with Israel on behalf of Palestine.
- c) **Initial success of CBMs Distract Real Negotiations:** Initial success of CBMs may become a reason for the parties to get distracted from the real issues. Leaders enjoy the initial success but don't follow up the real objectives which defeat the purpose of CBMs. A prime example could be the Iran – US Nuclear deal.
- d) **Unilateral, Asymmetric and False CBMs may not be Successful:** In case of asymmetry in power between the states, there may be a case of

one of the states initiating the CBMs but the result might not be favourable for both. South Korea felt that CBMs were not being sufficiently reciprocated, especially 2008 onwards by North Korea. CBMs designed in a symmetric manner have more chances of success. False CBMs are built to look like CBMs but are designed to favour one.

### **Section III: Border Management – Genesis and Nuances**

**Genesis/Historical Background:** Border Management refers to ‘Measures taken by any government to monitor and regulate borders to control movement of people, goods, contraband and weapons. It also involves facilitation of authorized flow of persons, including business people, tourists, migrants and refugees and the detection and prevention of irregular entry of non-nationals into a given country’. Borders can be in multiple domains i.e., Land, Air and Maritime.

Government of India gave impetus to border management post Kargil Conflict where in it set up four task forces to review the National Security Management system in the country. One of these was on Border Management. That was the first time India looked at the borders holistically, as part of National Security management (Zulfikar, 2013, p.108). Department of Border Management created under Ministry of Home Affairs has been entrusted to spearhead the border management effort in the country with number of Paramilitary forces under its command.

**Settled and Unsettled Borders – Meaning and Implications:** Borders are geographical boundaries divided along geographic features such as rivers, watershed, lakes and mountain ranges. Borders are established through Warfare, Colonization, or Mutual Agreements between the political entities that reside in those areas. They can be termed as settled when they are mutually Delimited, Delineated and Demarcated. Any dispute with respect to alignment, settlement and demarcation will put the border in the category of Unsettled Borders. The genesis of the unsettled borders can be attributed to historical linkages, poor leadership, lack of visionary foreign policies and lack of awareness. India – China border is an example of an unsettled border.

**Settled Borders:** The border between the India – Bangladesh, India – Pakistan (IB sector), US- Canada and France and Spain are examples of settled borders. One of the major aspects of a settled border is the existence of strong Border Dispute Resolution mechanism. Implications of a Settled Borders are as under:

- a) Settled borders guarantee territorial integrity and sovereignty to a state thus creating an environment for development and economic progress.
- b) The stable neighborhood will provide conditions to nurture relations and people to people connect.

- c) It will open doors to establish relationships in other fields like Commerce, Travel and Tourism, Academia, and, Science and Technology by opening new routes of cross border trade and exchange.
- d) Countries with settled borders will economically prosper as it will invite more FDI and Industrial investment because of development oriented governance.

**Unsettled Borders.** Unsettled borders are mainly because of territorial disputes which have led to rise of long-term rivalries between disputant states. Some of the examples of unsettled border are Israel – Lebanon, North – South Korea, Pakistan – Afghanistan and India – Pakistan (LC Sector). These have the following implications: -

- a) The boundary dispute would have impacted relations in other sectors like trade and culture where in trade agreements have suffered which led to economic losses as a result of institutional uncertainty.
- b) It results in increased competition in the military sphere resulting in an increase in defence spending cascading to increase in taxation and decrease in social security expenditure. It impacts the overall geostrategic alignment due to formation of quasi alliances with similar interests to counter each other. The stability of the government and trajectory of governance are greatly influenced by status of borders.
- c) Above all, no country can achieve any sort of global dominance with an unsettled border resulting in turbulence on its periphery.

### **Activities Carried Out and Responsibilities: Border Management**

Border Management is a comprehensive effort by all elements of a state to provide a secure environment both in case of Settled or an Unsettled Border. The challenges of Border Management are twofold-to ensure that the borders remain secure while they remain accessible. There are multiple agencies which put together their efforts in maintaining the sanctity of a border spearheaded by Paramilitary forces in case of Settled Border and Military in case of unsettled Borders. The deployment of the military becomes essential in case of disputed borders, as challenges are further accentuated because of non-demarcation and non-delineation of the border which may result in friction between opposing forces.

Major activities involved as part of Border Management in case of settled borders are as under:

- (a) Anti-Human trafficking Operations.
- (b) Anti-Smuggling Operations.
- (c) Anti-Illegal Arms Trade/ Gun Running Operations.
- (d) Anti-Narcotics and Contraband operations.

- (e) Customs and Immigration.
- (f) Border Trade Check posts.

**The main requirements for successful Border Management of unsettled borders are as under:**

- a) Need for border area development through construction of border villages, roads and other civil amenities.
- b) A strong robust ISR infrastructure to keep the area under close observation with presence of an efficient reaction capability.
- c) Strategic Infra upgrades to include roads, airfields, billeting and storage facilities to support any contingency.
- d) An effective mechanism in terms of measures/understanding to communicate reservation and protests by either side to each other.

The passage of new Land Border Law and China's disregard to established Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) with countries on its periphery has further complicated the issue. Since, the existing CBMs have failed to provide an efficient border management model, the only way forward is to review the current CBMs and suggest those which can be mutually beneficial and last longer.

**CBMs in Vogue Between India and China: Types and Implications**

**Various Non-Military CBMs Between India and China:** The relations between both the countries started on a positive note after independence with India taking the initiative. Both got their independence near simultaneously and started laying the foundation to rebuild their respective nations post the independence struggle. However, India and China followed different trajectories. They realized the importance of CBMs at an early stage which is evident from the conclusion of Panchsheel Agreement in 1954. The various agreements enlisted as non-military CBMs can be categorized as Political, Cultural, Economic, Education and Science and Technology CBMs.

**Political CBMs**

India's political strategy has always been driven by the principle of friendship and regional stability. The two sides have agreed that high-level exchanges between the governments, parliaments and political parties of the two countries play an important role in expanding overall bilateral cooperation. The Agreement on trade and intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India signed on 29 April 1954 had laid the foundation of bilateral relations and extended political relations between both nations. The major agreement under the umbrella of political CBMs is Panchsheel Agreement which was in addition to the agreement signed post-1988 to increase bilateral cohesion.

**Panchsheel Agreement:** The five principles of peaceful coexistence also known as Panchsheel Agreements were supposed to serve as one of the most important building blocks between both countries to further their economic and security cooperation. The agreement was first formally enunciated in The Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India later deliberated in the Asia- Africa conference in Bandung, Indonesia. This agreement described a set of five principles to be followed by two countries. The five points of Panchsheel were:

- a. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
- b. Mutual non-aggression.
- c. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
- d. Equality and mutual benefit.
- e. Peaceful coexistence, implying that both the countries would respect each other's existence in international relations.

**Agreement on Recognition of Tibet as part of China:** India has recognised Tibet as part of China during the joint press release in the year 1988 by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and in a joint declaration by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 2003. In the Joint Declaration of the year 2006, both the nations committed themselves to pursue a ten- pronged strategy to include Comprehensive development of bilateral relations, strengthening Institutional linkages, Consolidating Commercial and economic exchanges, expanding all round mutually beneficial cooperation, instilling mutual trust and confidence through Defence Cooperation, seeking an early settlement of outstanding issues and dialogue mechanism. Para 45 of the joint declaration mentioned 'the Indian side reiterated that it recognized the Tibet Autonomous Region as part of the territory of the People's Republic of China and that it will not allow Tibetans to engage in anti-China political activities from India. The Indian side recalled that India was among the first countries to recognize that there is one China and its one-China policy remains unaltered. The Indian side stated it would continue to abide by its one China policy.'

**Agreement on Recognition of Sikkim as part of India:** The amalgamation of Sikkim with India in 1975 was protested by China initially but the Sino-Indian Memorandum of 2003 was hailed as a de facto Chinese acceptance of the region. Article I and II of 2003 Agreement signed by both Prime Ministers indirectly specifies the acceptance wherein Changgu and Nathula of Sikkim state were mutually agreed as the venue for border trade market and as the pass for entry and exit of persons respectively.

### **Cultural CBMs**

India and China cultural exchanges have been going on for ages. In the early 20th century, Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore visited China twice, in 1924 and 1929. Since 1911, Chinese scholars and intellectuals have been



visiting and revisiting Tagore's life, works and philosophy. In 1955, the first Indian cultural delegation headed by then Deputy Minister of External Affairs Mr. A. K. Chanda visited China which was warmly received by the Chinese leaders and people during their tour. In the 1960s and 1970s Bollywood movies such as *Do Bigha Zameen*, *Awara* and *Sree 420* struck an emotional chord in the hearts and minds of the Chinese people. Movies like *PK*, *Dangal*, *3 Idiots* and *The Life of Pi* have been well received in recent times (Simon et al., 2013). Many agreements exist between both countries to promote the diverse culture and heritage of nations. Some of the important agreements are mentioned in subsequent paras.

**Agreement Promoting Access to Pilgrimage Sites:** 'Agreement on Trade and Intercourse with Tibet Region' was signed on Apr 29, 1954 in Beijing to promote trade and cultural intercourse between the Tibet region of China and India and facilitating pilgrimage and travel by the people of both states. Article III of the agreement stipulates that the pilgrimage shall be carried out in the region of Kang Rimpoche (Kailash), Mavern Tso (Mansarover) in China and Banaras, Gaya, Sarnath and Sanchi in India by respective religious sects (Gupta, 2021). In addition, the agreement also spoke about the establishment of a guestroom at Mount Kailash, Taklakot and Mansarover to facilitate the pilgrims.

**Cultural Cooperative Agreements:** In 1988, China and India signed the Cultural Cooperative Agreement, which stipulated that the Executive Programme of the Cultural Agreement between the two governments would be signed every triennium. The same year during the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China, the Executive Programme of the Cultural Agreement for 1988-1990 was signed between China and India. In 1992 and 1994 respectively, China and India successively held large-scale art festivals in each other's country (MEA, 2016).

**Reciprocal Establishment of Cultural Centres in their Capital and Executive Programme of Cultural Exchanges for the years 2003-05:** The agreements were signed during the visit of Indian Prime Minister to Beijing in June 2003 to establish independent cultural centres in each other's capital cities. The Executive Programme of Cultural Exchanges (CEP) provides for the exchange of cultural troupes, art exhibitions, and cultural festivals, cooperation in the fields of archaeology and library science, cooperation between the National Museum, National Gallery of Modern Art, National Library, Sangeet Natak Academy and their respective Chinese counterparts.

**Construction of Temples/Memorials:** Memorandum on the Construction of an Indian-style Buddhist Temple on the Western side of the White Horse Temple in Luoyang, China was signed during 2006 visit of Prime Minister to promote the ancient civilizational linkages. President Pratibha Devi Singh Patil inaugurated the temple in May 2010. As part of the agreement

Revitalizing Cultural Ties and Nurturing People-to-People Exchanges of 2006 the Xuan Zang memorial was inaugurated at Nalanda. In June 2008, joint stamps were released, one stamp depicting the Mahabodhi temple at Bodhgaya and the other depicting the White Horse temple at Luoyang.

**Conduct of Cultural festival:** During the meeting of Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and Premier Li Keqiang in 2013 the leaders designated 2014 as the Year of Friendly Exchanges between India and China. To mark this special year, Glimpses of India Festival was organized across several cities of China showcasing Indian performing arts, exhibitions of modern Indian Arts, depiction of Buddhism links between the two countries, food and film festivals. Sangeet Natak Akademi performed at the Reception Marking the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence at the Great Hall of People. Yoga Festivals were organized in Beijing, Shanghai and Dali in partnership with Department of AYUSH, Government of India.

**Memorandum of Understanding on Media exchanges:** The agreement was signed during the Chinese Premier's visit in Nov 2010 to enhance friendly cooperation and interaction between media agencies of the two countries. The agreement consisted of four articles and stressed the following points:

- a. Exchange of groups of editors and journalists of media organizations, specializing in foreign, political, security affairs, culture, and tourism.
- b. The visits would be conducted for around seven days in each other's country at a mutually acceptable time.

### **Economic CBMs**

Trade has always been a positive point which has been continuously growing Year on Year despite the friction in solving the boundary dispute. Both nations had realised the potential of trade very early and had begun promoting it.

Trade Agreement between Republic of India and People's Republic of China: The Agreement was signed on 14 Oct 1954 to develop trade and commerce between the two countries (MEA, nd.). It consists of nine articles and accorded use of facilities for the entry into the Port of Calcutta, and subsequent movement to the Tibet Region of China, of such commercial goods as cannot be obtained in India. These facilities would be accorded only to goods of Chinese origin. The two schedules of the Agreement specified goods and articles that could be exported and imported in each other's territory. It mainly consisted of agricultural goods, cereals and machineries.

**Agreement on Expanding All-Round Mutually Beneficial Cooperation:** As part of this agreement signed during the Joint Declaration of 2006, both sides agreed to fully implement the provisions of the Memorandum on

Cooperation in the field of Oil and Natural Gas signed in January 2006 and encourage collaboration between their enterprises, including through joint exploration and development of hydrocarbon resources in third countries.

**Memorandum of Understanding and Implementation Plan on Cooperation in Railways:** It was agreed that the two sides would cooperate to identify the technical inputs required to increase speed on the existing railway line from Chennai to Mysore via Bangalore. The two sides would cooperate in areas such as redevelopment of existing railway stations and establishment of a Railway University in India.

**Opening of Cross border Trade points:** There are two main agreements which were signed to open border trade points to facilitate the trade between the two countries.

- a. **Agreement on trade and intercourse with Tibet Region (1954):** The agreement dated Apr 29, 1954 was signed with the endeavour to facilitate trade and commerce activities as was done pre independence between both states. Both sides agreed to establish Yatung, Gyantse, Phari, Gartok, Taklakot, Tashigong, Gyanima – Chakra, Dongbra and Pulang Sumdo in China and Kalimpong, Siliguri and Kolkata in India as markets for trade.
- b. **Bilateral Trade Agreement 2006 (Promoting Trans-border Connectivity and Cooperation).** According to the agreement, Nathu La was reopened to foster trade. The traders from Sikkim could export 29 items and import 15 items from Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR). Every year the border trade was supposed to begin from 01 May until 30 November after which the pass would be closed for the winter season.

### **Educational CBMs**

Both the nations have promoted education in diverse areas through exchange programmes and exchange of youth delegations. The programmes have been enhanced and taken to next level with every visit of the leaders of the states.

**Executive Programme on Educational Cooperation and Exchange between the Ministry (2003):** The agreement was signed to consolidate and strengthen mutual cooperation in the field of education through sharing of experiences between the educational administrators and through the study of education systems and innovative education programmes in each country. The two sides agreed to exchange views and conduct a discussion on mutual recognition of academic degrees. They agreed to cooperate in such areas as the development of curriculum for primary and secondary school education, exchange of teaching material, teaching methodologies as well as the feasibility of conducting joint research in various modes of pre-research and in-service teacher's training and examine the possibility of jointly establishing a Demonstration Centre for Teacher Training.

**Agreement on Exchange Programme on Cooperation in the Field of Education (2006):** India and China signed an Education Exchange Programme (EEP) in 2006, which is an umbrella agreement for educational cooperation between the two countries. Under this agreement, government scholarships were to be awarded to 25 students, by both sides, in recognized institutions of higher learning in each other's country. A revised EEP was signed during the visit of Prime Minister Sh. Narendra Modi to China in May 2015. The same provides for enhanced cooperation between institutions in the field of vocational education and collaboration between Institutes of higher learning.

Exchange of Youth delegation between Indian and China has been continuing since 2007. During the visit of Chinese President Hu Jintao to India in November 2006, the two sides had agreed to launch a five-year programme for mutual exchange of youth delegation. In this context, the China had invited five hundred youth from India over five years. Later, during the visit of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao to India in December 2010, the two sides agreed to continue youth exchange activities for another five years. Reciprocal visits were also paid for by the Chinese side each year. During the visit of President Xi to India in September 2014 the two sides recognized the significance of youth exchanges in increasing mutual understanding. The two sides agreed to continue with the annual exchange of 200 youth from 2015 to 2019.

**A Memorandum of Understanding was signed in August 2012, between CBSE and Confucius Institute:** where both signatories agreed to exchange academic staff, teachers and trainees as well as exchange information on the system and structure of teaching Mandarin (Chinese) as a second language in schools in India. As a part of this MoU, the first batch of 22 Chinese teachers taught in select CBSE schools for two years, from January 2014 to January 2016. The cooperation in the education sector between the two sides has increased the number of Indian students in China.

### **Science and Technology CBMs**

**Both sides had taken a lot of initiative to promote joint research and mutual exchange of data between the research institutes and universities:** The two sides decided to establish an India-China Steering Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation chaired by their Ministers for Science and Technology and start consultations on an agreement on mutual recognition of academic certificates and degrees between India and China during the 2005 Joint Declaration. Some important MoUs existing between India and China are given in the succeeding paragraphs.

**MoU between Ministry of Water Resources on Strengthening Cooperation on Trans-border Rivers:** The agreement was signed in 2013 where in both sides recognized that trans-border rivers and related natural resources and the environment are assets of immense value to the socio-

economic development of all riparian countries. The Chinese side agreed to extend and share the hydrological data of the Yarlung Tsangpo /Brahmaputra River in Flood Season to India on May 15<sup>th</sup> instead of June 1<sup>st</sup> and October 15<sup>th</sup> of each year.

**MoU between Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) and China National Space Agency (CNSA):**The agreement was signed on September 18, 2014 at New Delhi on cooperation in the peaceful use of outer space. The Cooperative activities include the following areas:

- a. Research and development of scientific experiment satellites, remote sensing satellites and communications satellites.
- b. Launch, tracking and control services for satellites including in-orbit operation and management.
- c. Research, development, utilization and applications of satellite ground systems.
- d. Material processing in space, atmospheric sciences, radio astronomy, astrophysics and microgravity testing; and other mutually agreed areas.

**MoU between Beijing Genomics Institute and Institute of Genomics and Integrative Biology, New Delhi:** The two institutes signed a Memorandum of Understanding in 2006 to work together in the upcoming area of Integrative biology. Though scientifically beneficial to both countries, the Indian Embassy in Beijing did not take kindly to this agreement and the Department of Science and Technology was severely pulled up by the Indian Foreign Office. Indian diplomats felt the MoU would lead to the exploitation of Indian expertise and erode the selective advantage that India had in this highly competitive discipline (MFA, nd.).

### **Impact of Non -Military CBMs on Relations**

Non-military CBMs have always played a complimentary role in amplifying the 'Feel Good' relationship between the two states. The Agreements have added strength to the foundations on which the various security agreements have been structured. Various agreements in the fields of Culture, Politics and Education between both nations have facilitated in nurturing people to people exchanges and improved the mutual understanding of each other's sensitivities. Cultural CBMs have provided people access to pilgrimage and cultural sites thus giving opportunity to people to revive their cultural identity and historical linkages. The exchange of education and research curriculum and academia have been widely appreciated and provided a platform to learn from each other. The rich history and strategic culture of the two ancient civilisations need to be studied with enhanced collaboration. The establishment of various cultural and research centres have been possible due to these agreements. The exchange of hydrological data of rivers and mutual

cooperation in the peaceful use of outer space has further cemented the relationship and provided a direction to further enhance the relationship in the upcoming fields where both nations can make significant contribution.

Economic and Trade CBMs generally go hand in hand because of their increased global vibrancy. The trade CBMs has always been pursued by both countries in a positive manner and have largely been unaffected with the situation on the borders. They rather have become the reason to continue the interaction at one or other level. There have been many occasions especially at WTO meets where in both countries have stood in unison against developed nations to safeguard mutual trade and commerce rights. The volumes and domains of trade have galloped over the years post the 1988 visit by the Prime Ministers. The major Indian startups in the last decade have immensely benefitted from the experience of Chinese startups in the fields of management, marketing and expansion. The majority of these startups look for funding from Chinese investors. The Indian software giants like Infosys and TCS have made inroads in China and expanded their business. The scale of capacities and capabilities of the Chinese construction and banking industry have made significant contribution to the growth of India directly or indirectly.

The non-military CBMs are essential in terms of building a foundation of smooth and long-term relations and they do improve relations which can have both positive and negative effect on the military CBMs. The existing Agreements signed between both the countries in the field of Trade, Culture and Education have contributed in scaling up the relations. Both nations have respected and implemented them with full commitment.

### **Various Military CBMs Between India and China**

India and China have signed a total of five military CBMs in an attempt to find a resolution to the vexed boundary issue and prevent the conflict from escalating. The agreements have been signed bilaterally over 20 years post the end of Cold war.

**Agreement on Maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity along LAC (1993):** The agreement was signed between Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao and Premier Li Peng on 07 September 1993 in Beijing to maintain the status quo on their mutual border pending an eventual boundary settlement. It was the first of its kind after Panchsheel Agreement and 1962 war, which was signed after numerous rounds of talks and visits of politicians and diplomats of both sides. This was the first time where in the phrase ‘Line of Actual Control (LAC)’ was used to define the boundary between both nations. The agreements were in accordance with the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence to maintain peace and tranquillity in areas along LAC. It is divided into eight articles (LII, 1954).

| Year              | Agreement   | Key Points of Consensus   |
|-------------------|---|---|
| September 7, 1993 | Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas   | Respect, and abide by, the Line of Actual Control (LAC).<br><br>Continue implementing confidence-building measures in the military field along the LAC.   |
| November 29, 1996 | Agreement Between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China on Confidence-Building Measures in the Military Field Along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas | Maintain peace and tranquillity in areas along the LAC in the India-China border areas.   |
| April 11, 2005    | Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China on the Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for the Settlement of the India-China Boundary Question             | Neither side shall use its military capability against the other side and their respective military strengths shall not be used to attack the other side. |
| January 17, 2012  | India-China Agreement on the Establishment of a Working Mechanism for Consultation and Coordination on India-China Border Affairs   | Neither side shall use or threaten to use force against the other by any means or seek unilateral military superiority.                                   |
| October 23, 2013  | Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of China on Border Defence Cooperation  |   |

**Agreement on CBMs in military field along LAC (1996):** The Agreement was signed during President Jiang Zemin's November 1996 visit to New Delhi which was also hailed as unique and a significant milestone in India – China relations. It extended the existing CBMs to being specific and sensitive in areas of the military sector. The agreement constitutes 12 articles and provides direction for institution of CBMs towards Sino Indian border management, military transparency with respect to military exercises and reduction of force levels in border areas.

**Protocol for the Implementation of Military Confidence Building Measures (2005):** The agreement was signed on 11 April 2005 at New Delhi to implement the 1993 and 1996 agreements by further detailing the Confidence Building Measures. It was a direct outcome of the Special Representative (SR) Mechanism that had been set up through a 2003 agreement 'Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation between India and China', signed on 23 June 2003. It constitutes seven articles and provides direction towards on ground implementation mechanics for the defined CBMs.

**Agreements on Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for Settlement of the Indo China Boundary Dispute (2005):** The agreement was signed along with the agreement 'Protocol for the Implementation of Military Confidence Building Measures (2005)' on 11 April 2005. It constitutes eleven articles and provides direction towards the political parameters and guiding principles for the settlement of disputes.

**Agreement on Working Mechanism for Consultation and Coordination (WMCC) on Indo-China Border (2012):** The Agreement was finalised at the 15<sup>th</sup> round of Special Representative talks and signed in January 2012 for improved institutionalized information exchange on border related issues.

The mechanism was first suggested by Wen Jiabao in 2010. The highlights of the agreement are as under:

- a. Mechanism is established to deal with border affairs to maintain peace and tranquillity. The WMCC is to be headed by Joint Secretary level officials from MEA.
- b. The aim is to strengthen exchanges and cooperation between military personnel and establishments. The questions on boundary resolution were not to be discussed.
- c. Situations that could affect peace and tranquillity in border areas only to be addressed. Consultations to be held once or twice every year alternately in India and China as a mandate.

**Border Defence Cooperation agreement (2013):** The agreement consisted of ten articles and provides direction towards common understanding of the LAC and escalation management in the eventuality of a face off.

- a. Both sides to carry out border cooperation as per respective laws and relevant bilateral agreements.
- b. Implement border cooperation through the following: -
  - i) Exchange information with respect to conduct of military exercise, air activities and demolition operations.
  - ii) Take measures to maintain peace and stability.
  - iii) Jointly combat smuggling of arms, wildlife and contrabands.
  - iv) Assist in locating personnel, livestock transport and aerial assets which have accidentally crossed.
  - v) Sharing of information and combating natural disasters or infectious diseases.
- c. Ensure border defence cooperation flag meeting at designated posts. Organise periodic meeting between Military regions and army commands. Establish BPM points in all sectors. Establish telephone contacts and telecom links at mutually agreed locations and hotline between the military HQs.
- d. Enhance understanding and cooperation by inviting each other for joint celebrations, organising cultural activities. The two sides shall not allow and follow or tail patrols in areas where there is no common understanding of the LAC.
- e. Follow a well-defined protocol in the eventuality of a face off situation where there is no common understanding of the LAC.

59. The organic content and motives of all the agreements was to maintain peace and tranquillity at the border. The same sentence has been repeated in all

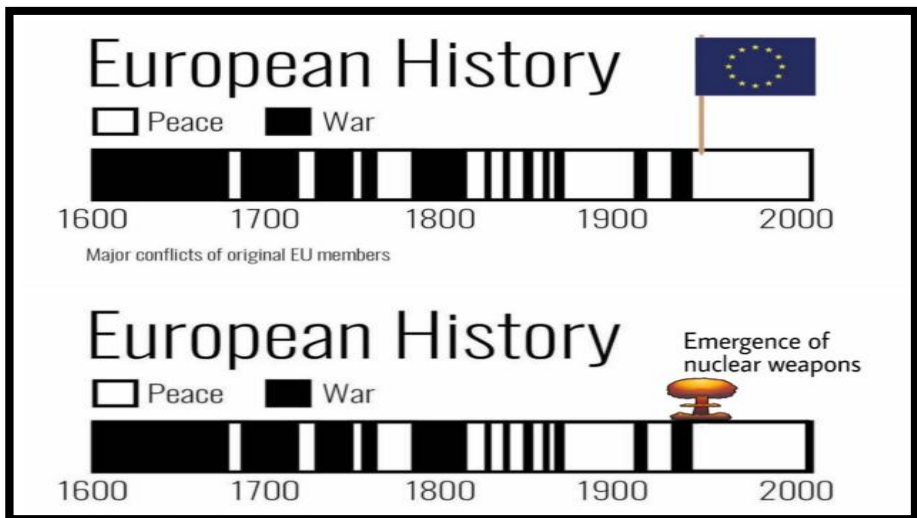


the agreements which convey that the emphasis was to prevent the situation from escalating to the 1962 era.

**Grey Areas in Existing Military CBMs:** A genuine process of Sino-Indian CBMs has enabled the adversaries to exchange information and to participate in training with each other's officers and men. This has delayed escalating the low-level friction into major conflicts. In addition, these CBMs also prepared the grounds for many agreements and engagements in other fields like culture, education, sports, bilateral trade and technology. However, the CBMs failed to establish trust while keeping the relationship at cordial levels. The recurring incidents of skirmishes, face off, intrusions at military level and opposition for India's membership at NSG or UN Security Council have highlighted the differences. Thus, it can be safely deduced that the Sino Indian Agreements were more in the domain of 'Conflict Avoidance' than 'Confidence Building Measures'.

#### Section IV: Successful CBMS in South America

The maximum bloodshed has been witnessed in the Europe in the past few centuries. Wars, Revolution, Civil Wars and the deliberate displacement or destruction of entire ethnic and cultural communities characterized much of the continent from early 1800s to the early 1950s. Today the entire region is relatively peaceful. The end of the Cold War was followed by the extraordinarily peaceful integration of Europe - a process that continues till date (Nair & Basu, 2021).



**Periods of Peace and War in Europe:** The South American countries took a cue from the prosperity and progress which Europe had achieved primarily due to trade interdependencies resulting in increased trust, leading to lasting spell of peace during the cold war era in Europe. They realized that it is difficult to

decouple from the strong economic bonding, which is one of the pillars for peace while promoting active cooperation through CBMs. Hence, MERCOSUR was created in 1991 between Argentina and Brazil, which were then two recent and fragile democracies with on-going disputes over sharing of natural resources and borders. These disputes still exist, but have not escalated into military conflicts, which can, at least partly, be attributed to the CBMs enacted between the countries and the free bilateral trade mechanism existing in the South American continent.

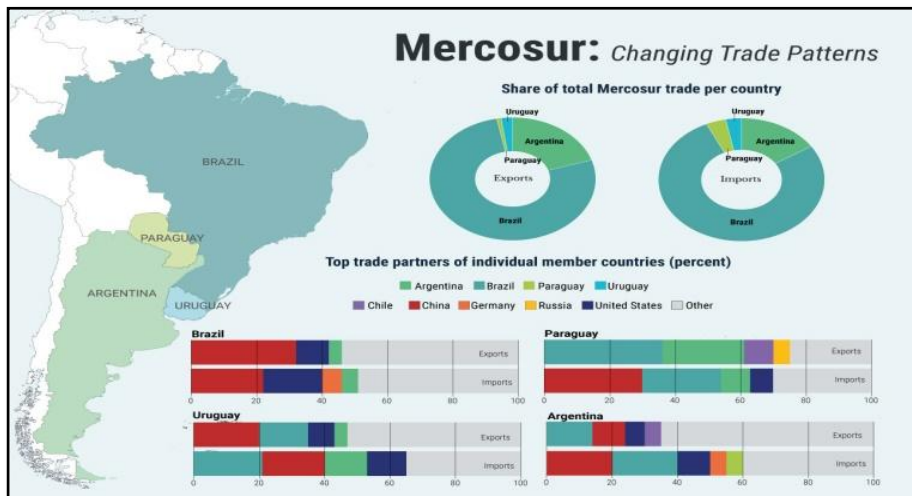
Thus, it can be safely deduced that Confidence Building Measures if enacted in the right spirit contribute to maintaining Peace and tranquillity in a relationship between two countries. Countries have adopted different forms of CBMs to maintain Peace and tranquillity on the borders.

**Chile-Peru CBMs:** Confidence-building measures between these two countries included military cooperation, especially meetings of high-ranking officers as well as negotiations and agreements on border disputes. Invoking the Declaration of Ayacucho, the Foreign Ministers of Chile and Peru agreed in November 1985 to begin a process of consultation and negotiation leading to an increase in mutual confidence. The topics of discussion had primarily focused on the curtailment of arms acquisitions and military expenditure.



**Arica Port Boundary:** In January 1992, Chile and Peru commissioned a group of experts to negotiate and resolve issues pending from the Treaty of 1929, dealing primarily with the use and administration of port facilities, customs, and railroads constructed by Chile in Arica for Peruvian use. Two months later, a bi-national commission was established, headed by the former Peruvian Ambassador and the Chilean Undersecretary (Horne, 2004). Arica, being the port city of Chile was frequented by both the population of Chile and Bolivia. As per the treaty of Lima of 1929, Arica was claimed by both Bolivia and Peru which subsequently led to all parties approaching ICJ (International Court of Justice). However, the dispute was resolved through negotiations with economic activities in Arica being accessed by all the three countries.

**Brazil–Argentina CBMs:** One basic CBM has been the periodic meetings of senior representatives of the General Staffs of their Militaries to discuss matters of common interest and plan for specific measures of military-to-military cooperation such as exchange of information and joint arms manufacturing. These meetings stemmed from the 1985 Iguazu Declaration, and began as bilateral meetings. Since then, they have included Paraguay, Uruguay and Chile as observers, with plans for including these countries as full members. The meetings are now being called as Strategic Mercosur.



The MERCOSUR and Changing Dynamics (Kaneev, 2022).

**The Strategic MERCOSUR:** Strategic MERCOSUR is a collective term attributed to the peaceful security environment provided by the alliance or union, thereby providing common breeding ground for flourishing of trade, commerce and economies of the member countries. MERCOSUR was born as a political project reflecting the foreign policy interest of Argentina and Brazil in early 1990s. It succeeded in generating unprecedented levels of intra-regional trade while furthering a high degree of commitments, both in the fields of Strategy and Diplomacy. By virtue of being a union, it also attempted to provide a counter weight to the growing US clout in the continent. Since its creation, its main objective has been to promote a common space that generates business and investment opportunities through the competitive integration of national economies into the international market.

**The H-Bomb of Argentina and Brazil:** In 1970s, both the neighboring countries were facing a deficiency of electricity. The Itaipu dam on the Parana River was the heated discussion point amongst the two countries. The incompatibility in reaching common grounds over the various tech parameters of the dam led to more cooperation between Brazil and Argentina in the fields of the nuclear energy. Itaipu Dam is a hydroelectric dam on the Parana River located on the border between Brazil and

Paraguay and Argentina. The construction of the dam was first contested by Argentina, but the negotiations and resolution of the dispute ended with setting up the basis for Argentine–Brazilian integration later on. The Itaipu Dam's hydroelectric power plant produces the second largest electricity output in the world as of 2020, only surpassed by the Three Gorges Dam in China. Brazil plans to build five hydroelectric projects totalling 10,000 MW with neighbours Argentina and Bolivia. Three hydro projects are under consideration with Argentina and two with Bolivia.

The Itaipu Dam (GF, 2021).

### Reasons for Success of CBMs in South America

The last major war fought in the South American continent was Falklands War (Malvinas Island War) between the UK and Argentina. The continent has been relatively peaceful since 1984 with the exception of a localized skirmish of Cenepa or Alto Cenepa (1995) between Ecuador and Peru owing to border issues. However, the countries of the continent are plagued with



internal conflicts primarily due to law-and-order problems especially due to drug trafficking and its associated cartels. Thus, it could be deduced that CBMs enacted in the continent have been relatively successful in keeping the area stable and free of any major conflicts. Some of the reasons for the same have been elaborated in the subsequent paragraphs.

**CBMs enacted in Military domain:** Post the Falkland's war of 1984, numerous CBMs were signed between the Argentina and UK especially with respect to conduct of military exercises. Each side was mandated to notify the opposite country in the event of any special military activities undertaken. The establishment of Hot lines as well as diplomatic channels being opened further reduced the probability of inadvertent escalation due to accidents or mischievous incidents. The resultant environment created due to faith in the CBMs ensured lasting peace in the region.

**Strategic MERCOSUR and Trade Interdependencies:** The creation of a strategic dialogue promoted trade amongst the countries of South America, which led to increased confidence as well as assurances for avoiding conflicts or skirmishes. The very fact that trade and commerce was booming in the continent further reduced the chances of the violence. In fact, the promotion of business and financial activities gave boost to the CBMs.

**Personal Involvement of Political Leaders:** The personal involvement of the top political leaders of the countries further demonstrated the resolve to implement the CBMs enacted in letter and spirit especially as seen in the Argentinian - Brazilian relations. The top-down approach followed by the country's political and diplomatic personalities ensured little room for junior level officers to digress from the core issues of maintaining peace and stability between the warring nations (Hydro Review, 2008).

**Strategic Equilibrium:** The mere fact that all the nations of South America especially Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Peru, being emerging Economies and Developing Nations, have been able to maintain peace is because of Strategic Equilibrium being attained by them. The aspect of maintaining the Power Balance in the form of peaceful rise and co-habitation led to the success story of the CBMs in South America. It also provided a common ground and platform for the South American Nations to peacefully resolve the differences amongst themselves and achieve progress and prosperity.

**Territorial Status Quo:** The South American nations attempted to adopt the Westphalian model of code of conduct and tried to maintain the territorial status quo. The various border disputes which existed were peacefully resolved by dialogue for which suitable grounds were prepared by negotiations for the implementation and enactment of the various CBMs between the two sides, classic example being the resolution of the Arica conflict between Chile and Peru.

**Convergence of Track One and Track Two Diplomacy:** In the current environment, Track One and Track Two diplomacy should ideally support the good work done by various eminent personalities, NGOs and Activists in promoting harmony and trust which are breeding grounds for successful implementation of the CBMs.

## **Section V: Suggested Future CBM Strategy**

**Development of Relations:** Both India and China need to follow four key tenets for developing cordial relations and building platform for resolution of the disputes as under:

- a) **Leading:** It means to reach a consensus and guide the direction of the development of bilateral relations under the guidance of leaders from both nations. Leaders of both the states need to take the initiative in forming a consensus on issues.

**Transmitting:** It means to transmit the leaders' consensus to all levels and translate it into tangible cooperation and outcomes. The ideas and decisions need to be percolated at all levels to include political, diplomatic and military to facilitate seamless execution and implementation.

- b) **Shaping:** It means to go beyond the mode of managing differences, shape bilateral relations actively and accumulate positive momentum. The consensus has to be reached with an aim to strengthen the bilateral relations keeping in view the mutual interest at top.
- c) **Integrating:** It means to strengthen exchanges and cooperation, promote convergence of interests and achieve common development.

### Strategy For Border Management

The Indian strategy has to take into consideration the current expansionist attitude of China where in China is revising its claims more frequently and exerting psychological pressure in the form of renaming of border townships and construction of new villages. It is recommended to be comprehensive and inclusive of diplomatic and military measures at all levels (tactical, operational and strategic). It requires adopting the under mentioned four-pronged strategies to find resolution in definite terms.

- a) **Revision of Existing Agreements and Border Tranquility Measures.** The existing Military CBMs to include 1993, 1996, 2005 as explained earlier need to be revised and made more objective. The current scenario has proved them to be irrelevant. The line which India believed to be the LAC according to the 1993 agreement may not have been akin to the Chinese thought process. The LAC needs to be clearly demarcated and understood by both sides. The line needs to be first identified on ground and duly marked on the ground and map with mutual consent through extensive recce and survey.
- b) **Extensive Infra Development:** The poor infrastructure which has been a major bottleneck in the forward deployment of troops and surveillance of the land border on the Indian side needs to be ramped up. A comprehensive road map needs to be drafted to develop strategic lines of communication along the border enabling the forces to make physical claim to the areas. The road map should adhere to the timelines and cater to the demands of all the stakeholders to include locals, civil administration, Industry and military.
- c) **Media Campaign:** A strong media campaign needs to be formulated and launched at all levels to build not only the claim and desired deterrence against the Chinese supporters on the claimed areas but also to erect a collective narrative so that it ultimately becomes a solid foundation and backing to the claims. The process is slow but needs

intensity at global levels and supported by political will. A serious national effort involving all stakeholders is required right from the formulation of the strategy to executing the campaign in multiple domains.

- d) **Review of Agreements in other Arenas:** The Chinese rhetoric of core interests, which first appeared in its diplomatic discourse around the context of Taiwan in 2003-2004, is becoming shriller and is most pronounced in the domain of territorial claims. For far too long, the narratives of keeping the boundary question separate from developing other facets of the relationship, not allowing differences to become disputes, of India and China sharing long term strategic relations and the need to look at the 'big-picture', have lulled us into the temptation of seeking short-term fixes to what are in fact bilateral disputes. The current unprecedented Chinese transgression needs to be seen as a watershed moment, where the fundamental dichotomies in the relationship must be addressed in the best interest of long-term relations. The Settlement of the boundary question, in other words, the departure of the Chinese from military CBMs and molding them as per their convenience must be kept in mind before finalizing agreements in other fields. The existing economic and trade agreements which accrue benefits to the Chinese must be reviewed to keep influence and pressure on them so as to become fundamental to the normalization of bilateral relations.

## Conclusion

One can assess that CBMs are important means which can build trust in a relatively low cost and low risk manner. As trust is an essential pre-requisite, CBMs can help to initiate or deepen negotiations. In various stalled peace processes between adversaries, where communications have broken down, but both sides are willing to engage, CBMs can help to improve the relations. Modestly speaking, some form of contact is always better than nothing. Mostly it is observed in various conflict resolution negotiations that, isolation tends to increase the hardening of logic and distrust as well as has potential for escalation. It is also a point to be kept in mind that CBMs are not magic bullets which will resolve the conflicts in seconds. For a CBM to be successfully implemented, a precondition which is a must is the willingness of the parties to change the status quo and engage with each other in a useful negotiation. Most of the CBMs executed around the world are poorly designed and further execution of the same leads to stalling of the Peace Building process. Therefore, it is necessary to keep the CBMs simple with effective procedures of checks and balances, otherwise, the entire issue may boomerang into a more serious problem. CBMs have played a critical role in bringing peace and harmony in global order in case of conflicts between states or power blocs for many centuries in one form or other. However, the concept of modern CBMs in particular needs deliberations as these have not been able to regulate/resolve the

differences in totality. There can be other means as an alternative for CBMs, which can be looked at like forming a commission having a member from a neutral state along with other member states. This Commission can be made responsible for framing, implementation and modification of decisions. It could be made into a legal body with binding strategies on the lines of International Court of Justice. Only then would Agreements/CBMs between Nation - States have a chance to succeed and stand the test of time.

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## South China Sea Arena: A Challenge to US-Based Regional Order

-Bhawna Sharma and Hans Raj

### Abstract

At end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the US finds itself as a single superpower around the globe. US has approximately half of global military expenditures and had the most extensive cultural and educational soft power resources, and after the cold war the globe has introduced from the age of American unipolarity. In the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century, the equation is changed and the world pays itself in a multipolar system. In the present scenario, the situation is changed for the US in Southeast Asia as well as in the whole world with the rise of China, the US faces a threat to its regional hegemony as well as maritime security and its economic interests in the south asian region. US finds itself under pressure because of rising China, and perceive Nine-dash line as a great Wall of Sand in the South China Sea (SCS) for itself. Unfortunately, many aspects of the debate remain unresolved. A confrontation between these countries marks the region flashpoint of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. If analysts writing on US military strategy toward the region want to aggravate the public debate, these analytical gaps must be filled.

**Keywords:** *South East Asia, Hegemony, Multipolar, Nine-dash line, Great Wall of Sand*

### Introduction

The beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is with an uneven distribution of power. US accounted for a quarter of the world economy with 5% of the globe's population. The US has roughly half of the world's military expenditures and had the mass extensive cultural and educational soft power resources. The US is just not a powerful state it is an inventor of world order. For a long time with more other states, the US introduced a distinctly open and rules-based malleable international order. In the shadow of the cold war, this order has built with European and East Asian partners, and organized open markets,

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multilateral cooperation, security alliances, and democratic community has made a foundation for modern world politics, and most of nations are part of this extensive world order. The US is located in the centre of this tangible liberal order (Lkenberry, 2005). These facts are still true, but US hegemony is a debatable issue<sup>0</sup>. Most of the international observers analysed the 2008 world financial crisis as the start of US decline. National intelligence projected that in 2025, “the US will remain the preeminent power, but that American dominance will be much diminished” (Nye, 2010). The Afghan crisis is one of the examples of the US declining hegemony in the world (Chotiner, 2021) The Ukraine crisis is another example of the failure of the US-based regional order, America did not even get tired of drumming whose chants on the other hand future of next generation is at stake.

The present balance of power fabricates a challenge for the US in East Asia. The rise of China challenged the regional hegemony that was established by the US. In Asia, there is no state that challenges China’s rise and balances the equations. A balance of power in East Asia is based on US involvement in the region (Ross, 2013). During the Obama regime, the US took the initiative to strengthen its presence in East Asia to follow US “pivot” toward East Asia, with this policy US enhanced its cooperation with East Asian countries to make traditional allies and security partners in the region. In East Asia (in particular) SCS is becoming an arena of struggle for power between US and China (Kochhar, 2016). In East Asia SCS sea is hub of commercial activities due to its geopolitical location. After coming of the European traders in the SCS, the region became a vibrant core of economic as well as political activity (Bhattacharya, 2017, p.14). It contains some of the world’s most important shipping lanes. In the present context the United States (US) and the People Republic of China (PRC), as well as other littoral states, are compelling for hegemony in the evolving multi-polar world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the SCS, with all its wealth and strategic significance, lies in the middle of that struggle. Multiple boundaries disputes between the coastal nations and US involvement, for maintaining the rule-based order and freedom of sea lanes of communication as well as US-China competitiveness making the region more controversial. US and China competing for power in the SCS region. Sometime region’s power balance tilted in the favour of China. But US want to preserve and enhance stable and diversified US-led security order in the region. China continually challenges US and its allies in the region with its proactive presence and militarization of the region. For this reason, administration of Donald Trump labelled China as “strategic competitors” and “revisionist powers.” US find China’s increasingly assertive actions in SCS as a threat to Indo-Pacific area (Turkcan, 2020).

In response of China’s activeness in the region, US has been working closely with its allies in Southeast Asia to counter China’s efforts and enhance its deterrence in the region (Shicum, 2021). China claims most of the area in

SCS on the bases of Nine-dash line which was published in 1946. Other countries like Brunei, Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia, and Vietnam also claim the region and part of it on the bases of history and the UNCLOS EEZs (Tonnesson, 2002). and these claims marking a boundaries dispute between the nations and making more tangible situations.

### Geo-Strategic Importance of South China sea

Geostrategy, a part of geopolitics that deals with strategy, is a type of foreign policy guided primarily by geographical factors as they inform, constrain, or affect political and military planning. As usual, meaning of the term geo-strategic is an abstract, vague, and often misused concept, deriving its modern meaning, geo-strategy in the geographical direction of a state's foreign policy. "Geostrategy could be defined as applying strategy by governments based on geography, especially resources of states" (Anderson, 2000).

The geostrategic location is the main reason behind the fact that China, US and other territorial parties are contesting to gain control over these maritime lanes. Establishing sovereignty over the SCS or some part of its, provides to the nation's significant seat in world trade activity. The SCS provides the predominant path for oil from the Strait of Malacca to the Strait of Taiwan across the Pacific Ocean (PO) and sea lanes of communication and their strategic position mark the region as crucial for international fraternity (Rourke, 2022)



**Source:** <https://www.researchgate.net/figure/South-China-Sea-Oil-LNG-trade-routes-Source-Quoted-from-The-South-China-Sea-is>

Moreover, the struggle between two superpowers of the world, the US and China are racing for hegemony in SCS, with all its resources and strategic importance, lies in the centre of that struggle. Advancements in China's naval and reassertion of its sovereignty claim over islands in the SCS develop antagonism in China-US relations. The SCS has an extensive array of

geopolitical, military, and economic significance for the involved nations in specific as well as the world in general (Mehbbob, 2018). Therefore, in order to properly understand the conflict, it is imperative to understand the underlying claims and the overall value of these maritime zones as a neutral observer. US confrontational attitude against China in the region has grab the world's attention as a dangerous nuclear flashpoint (Jahangir, 2020).

Some writings on SCS evaluated that \$ 5.3 trillion worth of goods travelling through SCS annually. But "China power project" constructed new data on SCS trade routes in 2016, and these statistical evaluations showed that SCS maritime trade routes accounted for one-third of the total of global shipping. This shipping traffic and the cargo on it had a value of approximately US\$3.4 trillion in the capital. The most interesting thing about these numbers is that these US\$3.4 trillion in shipping goods comprise about 40% of China's total trade. Similarly, the US also conducts a total of 6% of its global trade through the maritime trade line of the SCS. In addition, 90% of the petroleum imported by major countries such as China, Japan, and South Korea passes through the SCS. All these aspects highlight the strategic imperative of the SCS for global trade routes (EIA, 2017).

### **China's Claim and Rationale of US Involvement in South China Sea**

SCS region has had experienced the predominance of extra-regional power since the early colonial period and over the decade sea has become a pivot of powerful world activities for several reasons. The most strategically important trade routes of the world passes through this region (Bhattacharya, 2017, p. 13). It holds critical sea lanes through which petroleum and many other commercial resources passes from the Middle East and South East Asia to Japan, Korea, China as well as for US. Dependence on oil will continue to increase in the future and therefore there will be rivalry between major countries for economic interests in the SCS region (Malhotra, 2013).

China is the most active claimant in SCS, China's claim based on the Nine-dash line. The Nine-dash line has its origins in ancient records and maps of the Xia and Han dynasties, drawn up in 1947, known as the Eleven-dash line (Dutton, 2011). The claim covers most of the territory, including the Pratas Islands, Macclesfield Bank, and the Paracel and Spratly Islands, which China recaptured from Japan after World War II. China pumping sand on sea for building artificial islands in coral reefs and some of them submerged area, and paving over them with concrete. The US reject China's claim in the region and stated that China's most of the activities in the region is unlawful. There are two reasons behind it first US sees China as a security threat in the region for its commercial activity as well as for the world. The second, US found China as a challenger in the region who want to demolish US hegemony in the region (Griffin, 2015). This is the fact that these artificial islands build by China are not visible on world map but through these

artificially built islands China asserts its military capabilities and strengthen its claim over SCS.

The notion of “energy security” is one of the major reasons for China’s claims over SCS. As in contemporary times energy resources help to grow the economy and decrease the dependence on offshore oil and gas. That independence, then, can be used as justice for modernizing the Chinese armed forces (Zha, 2001). On the other hand, China’s interests in the SCS can be divided into four levels. On the first level, the territorial sovereignty of the SCS islands and the derived territorial seas, Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ), as well as other rights formed in the course of history, is China’s fundamental interest in the SCS. Second, given the role of SCS as a natural “maritime moat,” both (the Paracel and Spratly) islands and the water-air space play a vital role in China’s national security strategy. Third, the SCS is crucially relevant to China’s domestic economic growth, especially since China is the world’s largest commodity exporter and oil importer, of which more than 60% and 80%, respectively, are transported through the SCS. For the fourth level, it is also in China’s interest to formulate rules to constrain the behaviours of all parties and establish a sustainable and stable development environment for the surrounding areas (Jahangir, 2020).

The US has had a long presence in the region. Because of its commercial activity, the region is crucial to the US, and the US has also played an important role in the region by assuring freedom of passage and lawful behaviour. Furthermore, Japan and other nations, such as India, have always supported Freedom of Navigations (FON) in the region and have played a significant role in combating illegal activity. For decades, the US has been increasing its presence in the region to combat China's presence. The US is one among the countries that rely on SCS lanes for economic operations. The fact that the US commerce fleet passes through the SCS demonstrates how seriously the US takes freedom of passage in the region (Jahangir, 2020). A total of US\$ 208 billion of US trade moves through the area. SCS sea lanes are essential for US economic activity since the US accounts for 24.5 % of global GDP and the majority of trade goes through these vital sea lanes. The US owns 5.72 % of South China Sea trade, with the SCS carrying the majority of US oil cargo. The SCS is becoming increasingly important for the US due to China's challenge to the liberal rules-based system that America has advocated since the Pacific War. The US Navy undertakes freedom of navigation operations in the SCS to confront China and maintains the status quo (Buszynski, 2017). But all these raises various questions worthy to be considered on priority.

### **China-US Rivalry in the South China Sea**

US and China competing for the hosting role in the SCS. The US increase their military cooperation with its allies countries like India, Japan, and Australia as

well as developed its relationship with Southeast countries to counter China in the region and established maritime power in the region. China's assertion plays a critical part in causing instability in the area. SCS's strategic location makes it much more vital for China. In terms of trade, the SCS is also a significant conduit for China, nearly 64% of China's foreign trade and 60% of China's oil imports comes through South China Sea. SCS is a strategically important region for China, US, and surrounding nations (Shicun, 2021). According to the ASEAN Secretary-General Surin Pitsuwan, "The South China Sea has long been considered a flashpoint for regional tensions in East and Southeast Asia. Tensions are so high the maritime territory is at risk of becoming Asia's Palestine" (Vagg, 2012). China's intention behind such high-level defence spending on the region is to return America's encroachment to its territorial backyard. As the rising China wants to revise the rules of the game according to its own benefits. This makes the existing hegemon insecure and because of this existing hegemon US favour the status quo.

### **US Indo-Pacific Strategy**

The US has long recognised the Indo-Pacific as vital to security and prosperity. The US seeks a stable security environment and a regional order rooted in economic openness, peaceful resolution of disputes, and respect for universal rights and freedom. To achieve the desired agenda US took initiative for rebalancing the Asia through "Pivot to Asia." Strengthening alliances will be done by selling arms and military equipment to its allies and making US military bases in its allies' territory like South Korea, Japan, Philippines etc. this is a sort of strategic rebalancing of US interest from Europe and middle east toward East Asia.

Barack Obama initiated a fundamental, global strategy toward Asia called "Asia Pivot" and mark Southeast Asia as his primary target. This strategy toward Asia-Pacific develops new circumstances in the SCS region. US clear his attention to other countries in SCS the freedom of navigation, concern about disputes, and willingness to play active role in disputes is the major interest of US toward the region. The US's main focus in the region is to strengthen its relationship with South East Asian nations and explore its involvement in regional multilateral institutional structures (McLaughlin, 2020).

US program of free passage of vessels in their claimed international waters of SCS, indirectly hinting that SCS is international water and not a sovereign part of China or any other State. In Article 87 of the Convention of UNCLOS, the high seas are open to all states with FON, freedom of fishing, freedom of over-flight and freedom of scientific research, freedom to lay submarine cables and pipelines, (UNCLOS, 1994). In addition, the US has also invited countries like India, Japan, Australia, France, and United Kingdom, to conduct FON in SCS (Holmes, 2014).

The most important tangible stake in the SCS concerns the preservation of a regional “rules-based” order promoted by US power. This order embodies certain primary political principles respect for international law, a refusal to legitimate unilateral territorial expansion, preservation of the real sovereign independence of regional states, and the unconditional acceptance of the sea lanes as a global common. Conservation values and the protection of marine habitat against illegal, and unusual despoliation are also important. This concept of regional order links tightly to a broader set of values, interests, and institutions embodied in the post-World War II international system, a system that shows US values, consonant with US interests and US leadership (Ott, 2019).

The American strategy to impede the rise of China is a loose proposition. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States allies called Five Eyes and Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad), two forums that were already instituted have failed to stop the expansion of Chinese influence in Southeast and South Asia. The newly developed partnership between the US, Australia, and United Kingdom called “AUKUS” pact for the future strategic balance toward Asia, and it clearly signals a hardening of the U.S. position toward China and a significant raising of the strategic stakes (Wilkins, 2021). The “AUKUS” alliance is important for Southeast Asia, a region that lies at the centre of the geographic region the “Indo-Pacific” that is the primary focus of the new alliance. So far, the regional governments have remained silent about the announcement.

### **China’s Dominant Role and Desire in South China Sea**

The rise of Chinese power after a five-hundred-year collapse is the major development of this decade “The rise of China” if it continues, in the same manner then it maybe the most important development in the world of the present century. And in fact, on the economic side, China’s suspectable turned surprised the world in last fifteen years. Hamza Ahmed, head of the Malaysia Institute of Maritime Affairs, Ahmed declared in October 1993 that it seems that China wants to replace the US and Russia and become the major military power of the region. “China should not try to revive the middle hoping for the state’s mindset and tribute from South East Asia” (Gallagher, 1994).

Not only in the SCS region, China has the most modern defence equipment, as well as in the world also. US also playing a catch-up role to China’s increasing political and economic influence in Southeast Asia, and that gap is expanding day by day. According to a report by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, China’s edge over the US in political and economic influence in South East Asia, respondents were split in their perception towards Beijing. Meanwhile, 98% of respondents named China as one of the three countries that hold the most economic power and influence in South



East Asia (Lee, 2020). US feels the pressure of a rising China, and views the Nine-dash line of China in SCS as a Wall of Sand and preparing to expand its own Monroe Doctrine. John Mearsheimer believes that China is likely to dominate Asia the way, the US dominates the Western Hemisphere (Mearsheimer, 2006, p. 162).

## Conclusion

The confrontation between the superpower in Southeast Asia specially the confrontation in SCS attracts world attention in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The US finds China as a threat in South East Asia for its regional hegemony as well as for maritime security. In South East Asia, no one state has a position to counter China. The rationale of US involvement in the region is the free and open Indo-Pacific for all. US finds itself as a balancer, during the time when China tries to change the equations and established its position as a superpower and try to maintain the previous ground position in the region. China's proactive presence in the region gives a challenge to US and surrounding countries, and they feel pressure from these activities. US tries to develop new alliances in the region like AUKUS to counter the Chinese presence in South East Asia.

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## **The Menace of Gun Running and Militarism in the United States of America**

**-Manan Dwivedi & Sandip Kumar Singh**

### **Abstract**

The United States of America is known for its strong commitment to individual rights and freedoms, including the right to bear arms. However, this right has been abused in recent years with the rise of gun running and militarism, leading to devastating consequences. Gun running, or the illegal trafficking of firearms, has become a major problem in the United States. These weapons often end up in the hands of criminals and gang members, leading to increased violence and crime in communities. This illegal trade also contributes to the proliferation of firearms in conflict zones around the world, exacerbating global security threats. Militarism, or the glorification of military power and the use of military force, has also become a concerning issue in the United States. The glorification of military power can lead to a culture of violence and a belief in the use of force as a solution to problems, both domestically and internationally. It can also lead to the increased militarization of police forces, which can lead to increased violence against marginalized communities. The combination of gun running and militarism has resulted in increased violence and fear in communities across the United States. Mass shootings have become a tragic and all too common occurrence, with innocent lives lost and communities left traumatized. The militarization of law enforcement has also resulted in instances of excessive use of force, particularly against communities of colour. To address these issues, there must be a concerted effort to stem the flow of illegal firearms and to demilitarise communities. This can be achieved through stricter gun control laws, increased enforcement of existing laws, and a shift away from militaristic attitudes and policies. The menace of gun running and militarism in the United States of America poses a serious threat to the safety and security of communities across the country. It is imperative that steps are taken to address these issues and create a safer, more peaceful society for all Americans.

**Keywords:** *United States, Gun Culture, Mass Shooting, Militarism, Communities*

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## Introduction

Gun running and gun related mob violence especially at offices, schools and Malls has become a *bête noire* for the most powerful nation in the larger international system. All the way from the Sandy Hook killings in 2011 to the Uvalde avalanche of violence in the last few days have left the American homeland dazed and the American President Joe Biden too has a take on it as it ideally should be. One can latch onto the scenario in the Chicago city where-in the isolated mansions and apartments which are home to immense shrubbery and have scattered gun shops in the localities. The condition of gun trade was much worse in the yesteryears when any individual could literally walk into the shop and buy automatic and semi automatic weapons without the need of a psychiatric check or an age certificate. The scenario in gun trade has changed but with the piling up of the incessant cases of “shooting fat the kids” it is clearly manifested that much needs to be done by the Government of the day in tandem with the NRA (National Rifles Association) and the very powerful and all pervading realm of the Gun lobby in United States.

Earlier on, struggling against drug abuse, marijuana usage and tobacco consumption received a great deal from the legal fraternity, but, now on a similar strain the entire cavalcade of preventing mass massacres at the hands of deranged shooters makes one sit up and take up due notice. All in all, in the contemporary American context, a few law firms and the American legal fraternity have filed suits against the norms through which guns have entered the stable and peacenik lives of the American neighborhood with dogged impact. Akin to anti cancer initiatives, the anti Gun lobby too has been spawned with vast resources of funding but not in the same bracket as the National Rifle Association and the attendant Gun lobby.

President Joe Biden too in a state of exasperation has contended that, “When in God’s Name are we going to stand up to the Gun Lobby?” (Miller, 2022). The first lady and the President Joe Biden visited shooting site in Uvalde and empathized with the families of the victims as the first couple contended that they can very readily relate to the sense of loss felt by the bereaved families as they too had lost a son in a car accident though not in a shooting frenzy.

Al Jazeera reports about the fundamental contours of the Gun lobby in the American homeland very pithily and tersely. The New portal contends that, “The so-called gun lobby in the US is a broad term that encompasses efforts to influence both state and federal policy on guns, usually through supporting candidates who have pledged opposition to gun control measures. It includes direct contributions to legislators, efforts to independently support elected officials, and campaigns to sway public opinion on issues related to firearms.

Such lobbying is often carefully calibrated to navigate US election finance laws. Several investigations have shown that major anti-gun control lobbying groups—notably the most prominent, the National Rifle Association (NRA) – have close ties with the multibillion-dollar firearms industry in the US.” It has also been investigated and research has shown that the National Rifle Association is in cahoots with the firearms industry in United States and it utilizes every massacre with a deft legerdemain of media management to boost the sales of the firearms industry. The initial trajectory of action of the Gun lobby is that they ignore the protestations of the gun control lobby at the first go. But, if the recriminations and protestations do not die out on their own then the NRA launches forth on an all-round offence which is unbridled and unmitigated in nature, content and expanse all across the length and breadth of the United nation’s gun-running firmament.

The Gun lobby counter attacks by contending that how can the gun control lobby vitiate the political ecosystem of the larger nation and its hoi polloi by adding a political tinge to the larger spectrum of events. Thus, the Gun lobby lobs the accusation of politicization upon the vestiges of protestations and contestations adhered to by the gun control groups. The second amendment was also being utilized in the past by adhering to the larger dictum of harking back to the right of the American citizens to own and bear arms in self defense. A significant shift in the approach of the White House occurred a few years back when the all rankling theme of psychiatric checks being undergone by prospective gun owners before owning a weapon, were made as part and parcel of the entire gamut of the Gun debate in the besieged United states.

Jonathan M. Metzl and Kenneth T. Maclesh contend in the American journal of Public Health that, “Four assumptions frequently arise in the aftermath of mass shootings in the United States: (1) that mental illness causes gun violence, (2) that psychiatric diagnosis can predict gun crime, (3) that shootings represent the deranged acts of mentally ill loners, and (4) that gun control “won’t prevent” another Newtown, Connecticut school mass shooting. Each of these statements is certainly true in particular instances.” What needs to be understood and incisively comprehended is the idiom that the Medical veneer of gun violence is the key factor underpinning the scourge of Gun running in the American homeland. The often-deft striving to relegate the term “Medical condition” and “Psychiatric checks” under as compartmentalization of public health defeats the objective of the medical illness factor in the context of larger gun violence witnessed since the last decade in the United States. Both the newspapers of the order of New York Times and Washington Post have contended that undiagnosed *schizophrenia* and *man slaughter*, are terms which are not given the kind of required

preponderance in developing a process of mitigating and constraining the menace of incivility in the form of gun-violence.

It has been recorded that 44% of the Republicans and Republican adherents of the political ilk contend that they are proud and fortunate owners of Guns. While in the same trending proportionality, 20% of the Democrat party members and Democrat leaner's contend that they too won guns. Thus, it's all ingrained and embedded in the larger political debate of the American nation that a mainstream, corporate and nationalist ethics pave the way for a reformed and controlled gun culture in the nation. How can a nation forget the crack of guns and the echo of the horses' hooves as and when a Cowboy marches across daintily and disdainfully upon the terrain of the Oregon Trail (Dwivedi, 2017)?

Also, the scintillating remembrance of gun touting Patriots arranging for Guns and engaging the British Colonists in the marshlands of Pennsylvania, has become part and parcel of the Patriotic zeal of the nation all anointed by the halo of the revolutionaries who fought under the iconic leadership of George Washington. The National Instant Criminal Background check system has recorded that gun sales have been augmented during the Covid pandemic and a stellar fillip to the Federal Government, reports have reflected that background checks on prospective and present day gun owners have to responded equally vigorously keeping in view the novae vigor of the White House as Prez Biden has initiated a clarion call for new gun laws in the aftermath of the "worst day in the life of Uvalde" (ANI, 2022).

### **Militias in United States**

In the context of United States of America, militias were always present in the nation which were finally mobilized by the Patriots in order to confront the exploitative and suppressive regime of the British Colonists. Amy Cooler writes in Scientific American that, "I have learned that there is important variation across militia groups. They fall on a spectrum. At one end are units whose activities are largely limited to outings for "grown-up Boy Scouts," as several members described themselves at the Field Day event I went to years ago. At the other end are units that are openly angry, whose members plot violence against government officials and advocate overt white supremacy. Some of the latter stormed the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021. The more extremist militia bands tote guns in public, wear military garb and endorse various conspiracy fantasies. They have confronted racial justice activists and protested pandemic public health measures in many states. In Michigan, people in one militia splinter group were arrested in 2020 and charged with plotting to kidnap Governor Gretchen Whitmer in retaliation for a perceived failure to uphold individual liberties" (Cooter ,2022).

Let's move towards the environment and the ecosystem of the larger context of gun running and the militia movement in the American homeland. It can be argued that the unofficial and the Robinhood nature of the American militias imparts them a genre of romanticism and hallowed aura which makes them an entity to reckon with in the larger social and political context of the United States of America. One of the snippets put of the charged ecosystem from a militia base camp can be reproduced here. The Scientific American reports that, "this is Field Day?" I asked through my car window on a chilly, rainy April morning in central Michigan in 2008. A lone man dressed in head-to-toe camouflage, whose hand was casually resting on an AK-47 rifle strapped across his chest, nodded and stepped aside on the narrow road. I drove ahead to a parking area next to an old, red brick farmhouse and several acres of soybeans. About 50 people were gathering at a spot where the fields met a wooded bog. I was outside the village of Bancroft, at what was indeed the Michigan Militia's annual Field Day event. The group described it as a family and public outreach opportunity, held on private land that was owned by a World War II veteran" (Cooter, 2022).

Amy Cooter further writes that, 'Wood smoke drifted through the air from a campfire; some members were already loudly joking about the unpleasantness of the weathered, tarp-covered outhouse at the site, good-naturedly bemoaning the decision to not rent portable toilets as they had done the year before. A few of the men were already tearing open MREs - meals ready to eat that are packaged, high-calorie food typically issued to soldiers but also available at military surplus stores and on eBay". Still, despite the visitation of one of the American militias reminds us that something is brewing up in the American homeland. It can be observed as a student of American Affairs that aggression and vitiating violence is a hallmark of the American context and societal culture. This would be an overstatement to make as in the nation militated against the British Colonial rule and engaged in rebellious patriot warfare so the preparation for the war still exists as a martial tradition in the United States without alleging that United States has an ingrained propensity for war and incessant and perpetual conflict.

These are one the reasons why United States of America is such a strong, malleable and aggressive nation in the realm of external relations, foreign policy and its attendant Diplomacy. Still, the filtering of the aggression with gun crazed psychos running rampage in the public spaces and public institutions such as schools and markets, malls is a trend which needs to be reversed if the Supremacy of the American homeland has to be maintained in the larger international ecosystem as a regulator, philanthropist and a do-gooder nation and it would be amounting to an unbaked comment to say that

US loves wars and conflicts owing to its internal homeland's societal and cultural construct.

New York Times reports that, "Emboldened by President Trump's campaign platform of law and order, militia groups have bolstered their strength before Election Day by attracting military veterans who bring weapons and tactical skills viewed as important to the organizations" (Stenhaur, 2020). The American national daily further reported that, "The role of veterans in the newly proliferating militia groups — which sometimes are steeped in racism and other times steeped simply in anti-government zealotry — has increased over the last decade, said a dozen experts on law enforcement, domestic terrorism and extremist groups. Although only a small fraction of the nation's 20 million veterans joins militia groups, experts in domestic terrorism and law enforcement analysts estimate that veterans and active-duty members of the military may now make up at least 25 percent of militia rosters. These experts estimate that there are some 15,000 to 20,000 active militia members in around 300 groups" (Stenhaur, 2020).

When one refers to the scourge of Gun running and the phenomenon of historic Militias in the US, the Capitol Hill carnage in the context of the electoral victory of President Joe Biden in 2021 naturally becomes an add on to the allegations being labelled at the aggressivism of the American homeland both in the context of the internal and external relations. Most of the global observers, analysts, media commentators and mandarins are taking a long view of the insurrection which occurred at the Capitol Hill on January 6, 2021. The key motif was that former President Donald Trump refused to accept the electoral victory of candidate Joe Biden who had won at the hustings. Now, the quizzing of Trump's aides at the White House, along with the abortion debate, has touched a raw nerve in the larger political vortex of the US.

Personages such as Steve Bannon, Meadows and former Governor of New York City Rudy Giuliani have been interrogated and have deposed before both the Senate Hearings Committee and a historical enquiry undertaken by the US Justice Department. Interestingly, the US Justice Department states that the enquiry initiated by it has no precedence in the US keeping in view the nature and scope of the posers on the aggrieved ethos of democracy in the US.

### **Capitol Hill Inquest**

After the enquiry in the case study of President Nixon's impeachment, it is the first instance of both the Senate and the Justice Department taking up the task of quizzing the highly seated perch of Trump. Even his daughter Ivanka and Jared Kushner, her husband, have not been spared the exigencies of the Justice Department enquiry. Such is the high pedestalled mandate of the hearings on the Capitol Hill insurrections, which brings yet another tumult in



the political circus in the US Capitol Hill in the United States of America. Capitol Hill stands tall as a symbol of power, self and representative Democracy not only in the United States of America but for the sake of the entire panoply of Democracies in the United States of America. The riots which took place in the precincts of Capitol Hill besmirched the image of the nation in the eyes of the world comity of nations as the democracy personified. The ideals of President George Washington as the custodian of people's liberty, life and pursuit of happiness became the global governing ethos which stratified US as a first world leader of the Demos in the larger international community.

The Economist informs us that, "For the many regimes around the world that resent being lectured by America about human rights and democracy, the overrunning of the Capitol by rioters on January 6th at the instigation of President Donald Trump is the gift that keeps on giving. The State Department at first ordered its diplomats not to make any public comment "out of respect for the unacceptable events that occurred on January 6" (Economist, 2021). "The Economist further writes that, "This prompted dozens of them to draft a formal cable of dissent. The department's staff have since been equipped with guidance on how to respond to awkward questions. The bromides include: the events "show once again that there is a right way and a wrong way for the citizens of a democracy to express themselves." It may seem uncontroversial to argue that rioting in the national legislature is one of the "wrong" ways. But in recent decades American politicians have cheered on pro-democracy demonstrators as they have stormed parliaments in Chisinau, Hong Kong, Moscow, Taipei and Tbilisi."

The visage of the Great Eagle seal lying in rubble at the Capitol Hill speaks volumes about the leadership pedestal of United States of America in the larger rubric of liberal democracy. The visage of a Black American mom running around in her double bedroom house, alternating between applying a face mask on her face as a facial and feeding sandwiches to her four rotund cherubs in her small apartment stayed as the hallowed reflection and personification of the grandiloquent, inclusive, assimilative and the rags to riches, American dream. All that took a beating in the aftermath of the Capitol Hill riots reactions abounded from glee to embarrassment all across the global polity.

"The first primetime hearing from the House select committee investigating January 6 presented gut-wrenching footage of the insurrection, and a range of testimony to build a case that the attack on the Capitol was a planned coup fomented by Donald Trump. After a year and half investigation, the committee sought to emphasize the horror of the attack and hold the former president and his allies accountable" (Guardian, 2021). Here are some key takeaways from the night:

“Presenting an overview of the hearing and the ones to come, the House select committee chair, Bennie Thompson, and vice-chair, Liz Cheney, presented their findings that the violent mob that descended on the Capitol was no spontaneous occurrence. Video testimony from Donald Trump’s attorney general, his daughter and other allies make the case that the former president was working to undermine the 2020 election results and foment backlash. “Any legal jargon you hear about ‘seditious conspiracy’, ‘obstruction of an official proceeding’, ‘conspiracy to defraud the United States’ boils down to this,” Thompson said. “January 6 was the culmination of an attempted coup. A brazen attempt, as one rioter put it shortly after January 6, to overthrow the government. Violence was no accident. It represented Trump’s last stand, most desperate chance to halt the transfer of power” (Guardian, 2021). Thus, the Committee has submitted after preliminary investigations and summary interrogations that the Capitol Hill rioting was not a one-off incident but one that involved a great deal of planning and programming. The rest of the world has grown up the steady dole outs of American images and symbols where things cannot go wrong in any aspect. This invincibility and political correctness of United States of America reached lowest ebb after the embarrassing rioting which made several American standpoints untenable and difficult to embarrass.

## **Conclusion**

It would be rhetorical and indulging in amateurish diatribe if one associates only rancour and political violence with the American Dream. There is much more to the American Democratic leadership than mere political violence and militarism. We have calibrated a trajectory weaving together the tradition of gun running, Militia culture and the 2021 January 6, Capitol Hill Insurrections in order to draw out a canvas chronologically in order to reflect upon the changes that are appearing as fault lines in Us as a response to the transformation being seen in the world in the light of “Reformed Multilateralism” in the larger global polity. The world is changing with despotic rulers coming to the mantelpiece of power and Democracy being strafed with a multitude of challenges. Thus, it’s in the larger macro context of the changes coming around in the international system that the aggression spurts in the United States of America have to be comprehended and in my view, all is still well with US as these are the characteristics of an internal churn which is engulfing the American political culture.

The violence associated with the gun culture in United States is a threat to the American Dream which militates against the melting pot culture of the American homeland. Efforts are in place both by the civil society and the Government of the day in order to stem the rising and insidious tide of violence in the American firmament. Still, gun running remains one of the single most lethal challenges to peace and stability in the American nation

with multiple influences acting to weaken the American experience as a stable and powerful nation in the context of the larger international system.

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## **Decoding Dharma, Religion-Mazhab within the Framework of the Two World-Views**

**-Ripu Sudan Singh**

### **Abstract**

This article is an attempt to understand Dharma and how it is different from Religion and Mazhab. How the tradition of Dharma is deep rooted in the India World-View and how it differs from Abrahamic traditions of Religion-Mazhab as developed through Judaism, Christianity and Islam? The decoding of the above terms is very essential as this was one of the reasons behind the partition of India on the basis of Two-Nation theory on the basis of Religion- Mazhab paradigm. If these terms would have been understood and addressed properly, the partition of Bharat i.e., India would have been avoided. Even after 75 years of partition, issues in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh are not settled and often flare up in the form of communal unrest and protests under different banners. The dilemma has even put a large chunk of Muslim population in perpetual identity crisis and religious conflicts. Thus, this article aims to decode the mystery surrounding Dharma and Religion-Mazhab archetype dichotomy in the sub-continent. This will help understand the importance of the land where people suddenly become alien and strange as they convert to a different faith. Conversion to other faith does not mean losing once nationality and shifting loyalty from the land of birth to the land of faith.

**Keywords:** *Dharma, Religion, Mazhab, Nation, identity, faith, nationality etc.*

There is widespread misunderstanding about the use of term regarding Dharma, Religion and Mazhab at local and global level. Scholars have misunderstood and misinterpreted the meaning of the above words by assuming them as synonyms of each other. If there is perplexity about any concept, then all the interpretations made from it become flawed and detrimental. All the three words are used so often and interchangeably that it results into social pandemonium, political squabble and intellectual incomprehension. It is essential to develop clear ideas about all the three

words to understand social realities at the grassroots. Dharma originated and developed in an entirely different time and space than Religion and Mazhab. The history of Religion (Judaism and Christianity) dates back to seven hundred years B.C and first century A.D respectively. The birth of Mazhab (Islam) took place in early 7<sup>th</sup> century. The difference of time and space makes all the three entirely different from each other. To differentiate, it is necessary to know the knowledge-tradition of the two most important *world-views* prevalent since long. The two world-views are *India world-view* and the *Abraham's world-view*. To properly understand them, it requires knowing the context and the geographical location in which both views were born and developed. Thus, it is an attempt to decolonize, de-Christianize and de-Islamize the mindset of those who study Dharma as religion and Mazhab and to develop a scientific understanding of Dharma.

Thus, this article is an attempt to examine the above raised hypothesis and to get an answer to all the questions. The distinction between the two opposite views will help understand the psychology, attitude and approaches of an individual and community towards life and the world. For a better and clear understanding, let us first examine *India World-View*. It is also known as *Bharat World-View* and is related to the ideas developed in the Indian sub-continent since prehistoric times. Dharma<sup>1</sup> is the most important characteristics of the *India-World View*. The Abrahmic view propagates religion and Mazhab as Faith, creed, doxy and sect. Faith can be changed and converted but the Dharma can neither be changed nor converted. The tradition of Dharma is very old and its roots are spread in remote history. On the other hand, the history of *Abrahmic Religion* dates back to 1000 years BC. One of the most important distinctions is the geographical location in which the two world-outlooks were born. *Bharat World-View* was born in Indian sub-continent where Nature has bestowed all richness in the form of rivers, mountain, forest, all types of climates, long coastal lines, seas and oceans and all kind of minerals and other natural resources. India was self-sufficient in every walk of life and never needed to invade and colonize any country. On the other hand, Abraham philosophy was born in one of the most difficult terrains of the present-day Middle East i.e., Israel; full of deserts, dead seas and widespread scarcity that made this outlook highly negative and aggressive. This led to develop an imaginary world of hell and heaven and people were promised all those facilities in the after-death life (Torah, 1992). These negative-pessimistic outlooks still continue in the same manner. The best example is the events taking place in Afghanistan.

Thus, the two broad prevalent views are *India World-View* and *Abrahmic World-View*. Other ancient civilizations such as Chinese, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Sumerian, Mesopotamian and Persian lost their essence and existence in the course of history. China also fell to Leninist-Stalinist totalitarian

ideology born and developed in Europe. These totalitarian ideologies were also highly influenced by Abrahamic negative-pessimistic approach. Roman Empire under the Rule of Constantine in the 4<sup>th</sup> Century was the first Empire falling prey to the faith of Christianity. Later Egypt, Sumerian, Persian and other lost their culture and civilization to Islamic invasion and expansion. The same thing happened in India in 712 A.D. by an Arab Mir Qasim's invasion of India. The invasion was resisted by King Dahir of Sindh in which he lost his life and his two daughters were captured and taken by Mir Qasim to Kabul. After as a gap two centuries' invasions again started under Gazani who invaded India several times between 1009 to 1027 A.D. India finally fell to Islamic offensive in 1175 when Mahmud Ghauri defeated Prithvi Raj Chouhan, the ruler of Delhi and established his rule. Consequently, the first Sultanate was established in 1206 by the Slave Dynasty. Later India got colonized by the Europeans such as Portuguese, Dutch, French and finally British. Abrahmic outlook swept over India. One basic question arises as to how India could save its culture and civilization and what cost it paid for that?

The religious faith tradition was started by Abraham, the *Patriarch of Judaism, Christianity and Islam*. All the three religions share the same Abrahmic tradition with minor ideological differences. Abraham's second son Isaac, born to his first noble wife Sarah, started the Jewish Religion, but the first son Ismail, born to Hagar, the second wife of the lower status, was a descendant of the Arabs. In the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Muhammad Ib Abdullah Al Hasim, born in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, declared himself a Prophet at the age of 40 in 610 A.D, started the Mazhab of Islam in Arabia. He declared that God (Khuda) has revealed the verses of Quran to him. It is surprising to note that 60 to 70 literature and most of the basic concepts such *Faith in One God* (Monotheisms), *concept of Prophet* (Messianism), *Roza (fasting) Namaz (Prayer)*, *Qurbani (sacrifices)*, *Qayamat (dooms day)*, *resurrection of Dead and the Final Judgment* (judgment after death), *Concept of heaven and hell*, etc have been taken from Judaism and Christianity in the Quran.

Around seven hundred years back in the first century before the advent of Islam, Jesus Christ was born a Jew in Bethlehem, one of the places in Palestine, who proclaimed himself the son of God, his followers declared him the last *Messiah of God*, which the Jews did not tolerate and blamed him for blasphemy. They put pressure on the Roman soldiers to crucify him. Since the inception of Religion & Mazhab, violence has been used to impose its views on the opponents professing different methods of worship. Later, three religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam emerged from the ideas of Abraham, the Patriarch. Question arises why violence became an inseparable part of those religions, why peace and tranquilly are most sought after and they had to ride on the back of Crusade and Jihad to propagate and implement their version of Faith.

Throughout human history, they have fought against each other and killed themselves. In the First World Wars, estimated to be 10 million military dead, 7 million civilian deaths, 21 million wounded, and 7.7 million missing or imprisoned. In Second World War, over 60 million people were killed. Estimated deaths range from 50-80 million. 38 to 55 million civilians were killed, including 13 to 20 million from war-related disease and famine. From 1945 to the end of cold war in 1991 and after 1991 till date, they have carried out wars in Korea in 1950, Vietnam from 1965 to 75, Afghanistan from 1979 to 1989 and against from 2001 to 2021, Gulf war-I in 1992 and Gulf War II in 2002, Ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, thousands of million people have lost their lives. During partition of India 1947, around 21 lacs people lost their lives for a theocratic Islamic State called Pakistan and in 1971 in the liberation of Bangladesh.

In 1989, American Political Scientist Samuel P. Huntington (1996) came out with a thesis called *Clash of Civilization* in which he predicts about potential threat the West is going to face would be a direct clash between Christian West and Islamic East. For them, life has no meaning as traditionally human being was never in the Centre of their thinking and Abrahamic philosophy was talking about the destruction of this world which would provide opportunity to all dead people to emerge alive from the graves and on the final day of Judgment, they will be sent to Heaven if they strictly followed the holy books. In the Indian World-view, wars are necessary for defensive purpose and not for offence. This is just opposite in the Abrahamic tradition. This riddle can be explained through making a clear-cut distinction of the two World-Views.

It, however, becomes very essential to understand the above-mentioned world-views. It will help remove the confusion enfolding around all the philosophical conceptions in the world. India World-view can be understood in the following manner;

### India's World View

| Key Feature   | Distinguishing feature   | General properties  |
|---|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Universe Centric</li> <li>• Nature Centric</li> <li>• Human Centric</li> <li>• Life Centric</li> <li>• Reason Centric</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Polytheistic</li> <li>• Multi-lingual</li> <li>• Multi-center</li> <li>• Multi Book</li> <li>• Multi-Dharma</li> <li>• Multi-dimensional</li> <li>• Multi-polar approach</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dharma-centered</li> <li>• Perpetuity (Sanatanta) of Dharma</li> <li>• Aneeshwarvad (Godlessness), Anitvvaad (Impermanece) and Anatmvaad (Soullessness)</li> <li>• God and subjectivist view</li> <li>• Ever changing</li> <li>• Accommodative, Inclusive &amp; democratic</li> <li>• Objective and scientific</li> <li>• It is pluralistic</li> </ul> |

**Abrahamic worldview**

| Key Feature   | Distinguishing feature  | General properties   |
|---|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• God Centric Approach</li><li>• Faith Centric Vision</li><li>• Prophetic Approach</li><li>• Book Centric Vision</li><li>• Sky-Heaven Centric Vision</li><li>• After-death philosophy</li></ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Monotheistic</li><li>• Single Language</li><li>• Single Sect</li><li>• Uni-dimensional</li><li>• Uni-Polar approach</li><li>• Authoritarian &amp; autocratic</li><li>• Regimental &amp; organized</li></ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Monistic</li><li>• Continuity of Faith</li><li>• Eternal &amp; Unchanging</li><li>• Non-accommodative</li><li>• Exclusive behaviors</li><li>• Non- Democratic</li><li>• Subjective &amp; Un-scientific</li></ul> |

Thus, there is continuity and perpetuity of Dharma in the Indian world-view. This approach is multi-god, multi-culture, multi-language, multi-faceted and multi-dimensional. Brahma in the framework is the expression of this Brahmand (Universe). Brahma lives in every particle of the Universe. Dharma takes all the instructions from nature and the universe including the outer space. Dharma is the duty and a way of life everyone has to embrace and practice. It is formless and colorless. No one can claim copyright on it. In this framework, question & counter-question, argument & counter-argument & consent-dissent, agreement & disagreement are possible, encouraged and welcomed. It examines truth in its totality and sometimes transcends it also. It does not speak of the ultimate or absolute truth but talks about bigger and greater truth. At the same time, Dharma does not deny the possibility of the ultimate truth either. In this world-view, Dharma can be attained by following any means and methods. It is both a means and an end in itself. It is scientific and democratic, it is inclusive, and it has no sense of me and other. This is the reason why anyone who came to India was welcomed here.

On the other hand, the Abrahamic philosophic and religious tradition, faith in one God and single book revealed to a Messiah or messenger by God is the base. The books give details of Heaven-Hell, Dooms Day and the Last or Final Judgment. Since God lives in the seventh sky and sends all information from a book kept with him in the heaven, the views are messianic and prophetic. According to the belief, in the distant past, Adam-Eve (Aadam-Hauwaa in Arabic) was invited by God to live in the Heaven and they were instructed to enjoy all the facilities available there with a clear instruction for not having sex. They live for a long time but a day comes, they indulge in sexual activity. This was reported to God and as a result they were sent to the earth as a punishment as they had committed gravest sin and had disobeyed God. The only solution was that the children born to them (Adam & Eve) in



future on the earth should follow all the words of given in the holy book God literally. Then on the last judgment day, God will give judgment to all human beings according to their actions, so that they will be freed from this sinful condition forever. Karma here is meant actions not done according to Dharma but according to the holy books of Bible and Quran. The final judgment will be based on actions performed by people on this earth according to Bible and Quran? In this way a great plan of faith is prepared by Abraham and religion is combined with the institution of state and its expansion. Temporal power (earthly power) would be perfectly combined with divine power (sky power) and then a holy or profane alliance of state and religion-Mazhab would be formed and it would be communicated to the people through churches and mosques. At the center of Dharma in India's world-view is human being, nature and ultimately the entire Universe. Nature includes all flora and fauna. In the Indian culture, trees, mountains and animals have been given importance and even worshipped.

Thus, as soon as Dharma is treated as religion and Mazhab, the basic spirit and essence of Dharma gets destroyed. Dharma has to be adopted, embraced and inculcated in human conduct and practices. Conversion from *Dharma* renders an individual *Adharmik* (Anti-Dharmic) which means one is immoral, dissolute, decadent and debauched. Hence, one can embrace Dharma by upholding righteousness and good conduct. Conversion is possible in the matter of Religion and Mazhab only where one can switch over from one faith to other faith. Conversion is the change of belief system. Dharma transforms a human being whereas Religion-Mazhab converts individual from one opinion to other. *Dharayati Yaa Dharma* i.e. dharma has to be imbibed in one's own conduct which is expressed in the form of justice (justice), truthfulness, righteousness, virtues and eternal-universal values like compassion, love, companionship, charity, pardon etc. Manusmriti lays down 10 features of Dharma such as Dhrti (patience), Kshama (forgiveness), Dhama (self-control), Asteya (non-stealing) Shaoca (cleanliness), Indriyanigraha (control over organs), Dhii (benevolent intellect), Vidya (spiritual knowledge), Satyam (benevolent truthfulness), Akrodha (non-anger).<sup>2</sup> The Dharma as the law of Nature and expression of the Universe has been imbibed by animal and plant worlds themselves. It has been recommended by almost all Shastras (all books) for the human being also. But it (Dharma) has to be embraced willingly and not by force or greed. It helps human being to remain connected with Brahma i.e., Universe and Nature that help them to remain vibrant and contended physically, mentally and spiritually.

The Abrahamic philosophy born in the deserts of Israel (Middle East) is one-sided, restricted, prejudiced, oppressive, expansionist and colonial. Abrahamic world-view flourishes on ruse, intimidation, duress, voracity and

self-indulgence. The Indian world-view, on the other hand, spread throughout Asia and other countries without the use of force, violence, deception and conspiracy. Question arises as to how religions originated from Abrahamic world-view invaded and colonized the rest of the world. They used Religion-Mazhab to plunder, conversion and enslavement of vulnerable people on the basis invented, fictitious and fabricated faith. The Christians and Jews of Europe could liberate themselves from Abrahamic religions after the continent went through the Renaissance-Enlightenment, Scientific and Industrial Revolution in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They carried out various reforms in every walk of life and could establish a religion-free society (secular state). The state was untied from the clutches of the Church. But as soon as colonialism started in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, the rulers of secular Europe used religion as a pawn in the chessboard of global politics to consolidate and expand their colonies. They used missionaries and established Churches. The condition of West Asia did remain unchanged as the entire society did not undergo any drastic reformist movements and no question was raised to question the authenticity and objectivity of Islamic concepts given in Quran and Hadith. No enlightenment and scientific revolution could start as it happened in medieval Europe which kick-started scientific revolution. Renaissance in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was a kind of reawakening and consciousness of people towards the old literature before Europe converted to Christianity in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. They revived the old literature of Greek and Roman philosophers and old values such as pluralistic way of live, paganism and diversities of ideas. This led them to use reason and rationality to verify reality in the world. This led Europe to achieve modernity.

The Quran was seen as the Last word and command of Khuda (God) and the same was followed blindly. The Ottoman Empire could not burgeon and expand its borders as it was remained bound by medieval-feudal-religious thoughts and kept itself away from modern scientific knowledge. The faith tradition and the sky-god and the book still continues to dominate life in the Middle East and in most of the states run as Islamic state. On July 4, 204 Iraq Jihadi leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi appeared in a mosque in the city of Mosul, delivered a sermon announcing that he would henceforth be known as *Caliph* Ibrahim, emir of the faithful in the Islamic state. The Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is giving false assurances of the restoration of the Caliphate and the Ottoman system in 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is not surprising that Taliban reemerges in Afghanistan supported by Pakistan in the month of September 2021 to declare it as a Islamic Emirate ruled by Sharia. All the events are interconnected (Kuran, 1999).

India world-view pervaded through Vedas, Puranas, Upanishads, Dharmashastras, Mahabharata, Ramayana, Tripitika, Patanjali's Yog Sutra,

Charak Sanhmita, Ramcharitmana, Kabir and Guruvaani to the ideas of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Vivekanand, Arbindo Ghosh, Tilak, Rahul Sankrityayan, Ambedkar's Dharma (Dhamma). Dharma is riding on the back of Chakra (Wheels). Thus, Dharma has neither a beginning nor an end. It came with the existence of the universe, is associated with it and will continue with this universe. That's why it's optimistic. In this framework, God or Parmatma or Ishwar resides in each particle of this universe. It is all-encompassing in every living and non-living being. The Abrahamic worldview, on the other hand, is negative and distressing in its thinking (negative-pessimistic) with God as a creator. He cannot be represented in any form in this universe. He is perceived as a creator and not a part of this Universe. Abraham believed that the creation on the earth begins with the advent of Adam and Eve, which will culminate in Dooms Day when everything will end and on the Day of Judgment there will be the Resurrection of Dead, and a final meeting will be held under the chairmanship of God, in which the faith of the living-dead will be examined and whoever would be found to have lived their lives according to the book of God-Khuda will be sent to Heaven and whoever did not follow the Faith, will be sent to the Hell.

Thus, India's worldview is transformational, positive and life-oriented. It is scientific in its interpretation and democratic in nature. Dharma keeps developing in every age and enriches itself. It is a continuous process. It is this richness of thoughts that helped Indians away from Covid-19 and many other problems from time to time. It is surprising to note that this pandemic provided an opportunity not only to Indian but to the rest of world to look for alternatives available in the form of Yoga, Aurveda and Indian philosophies engrained in Dharma. *Charak* is known as the father of Ayurveda or the father of Ayurvedic medicine. He wrote a book named *Charak Samhita*, on medicine which contained the description of a large number of diseases and discusses their treatment. *Patanjali* was of the greatest Gurus of Yoga. He immensely contributed to the study of Yoga with *Yogsutra*. Patanjali is known as the Father of Modern Yoga. He wrote the Yoga Sutras which tell about the different theories and practices that come under the ancient Yogic Sciences. The eight limbs of yoga are yama (abstinences), niyama (observances), asana (yoga postures), pranayama (breath control), pratyahara (withdrawal of the senses), dharana (concentration), dhyana (meditation) and samadhi (absorption)."

Some other well-known scientists and researchers of ancient India are *Baudhayana* who was the first one to calculate the value of pi. The Pythagoras theorem was already written by him in his book *Sulva Sutra*, even before the actual theorem was established. *Aryabhatta* was a mathematician, astronomer, astrologer, and physicist by profession. He wrote a book named *Aryabhattachiya* at the age of 23 about mathematics. He

discovered zero and proved that it was not just a number but a symbol and concept too. He contributed a lot to the field of astronomy and the first Indian satellite was named after him. *Bhaskaracharya* who wrote the remarkable book on mathematics known as *Siddhanta Shiromani*. The book has four topics including algebra, arithmetic, sphere, and mathematics of planets. *Nagarjuna* was a scientist in the 10th century. His written work named *Rasaratnakara* includes the processes for the extraction of precious metals like gold, silver, etc. He believed in alchemy; his studies and researches are still used to make imitation jewelry. Another Scientist name *Susruta* was a major pioneer in the field of medicine. He was known as the father of surgery and Charak was known as the father of Ayurveda. Similar to Charak, Susruta also wrote a book named *Susruta Samhita*. In his book, he has discussed the methods of preservation of dead bodies. He greatly contributed to the fields of plastic and cataract surgery.

While concluding, it is obvious that India World-View roughly covers a long history of 5000 years which include different philosophies, disciplines of science and variety of other subjects that prepares a positive mindset Indians automatically inherit. It was this mindset that creates a way of life that an ordinary people in India experience. This was this richness of thought and way of life that Abraham World-View lacks. This life oriented, nature imbued and cosmic thinking saved Indians from the clutches of civilization trap. The common people in India lead their life as per the prevalent customs, traditions and practices that helped them to keep morale high and alive. The above explanation amply makes it clear that India World-View is positive in its outlook and carries a very long tradition of rich experience that makes it qualitatively different from the Abraham approach born in a very difficult geographical location of Middle East. On the other hand, the Nature bestows everything to India that makes it a golden bird and a country where rivers of honey and milk flow. But there are challenges to India world-view of superstitious and unscientific thinking. It has to decolonize, de-Christianize and de-Islamize their mind but at the same time holding and safeguarding its essence of scientific thinking. Getting connected to the long Indian tradition is entirely different from going to the past and denouncing the present world of progress and prosperity. Hence, there is a great need to introduce various courses to study India world-view to make it more useful and long lasting. This really made Indian philosophy pluralistic, inclusive, accommodative and all embracing.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Dharma in Indian literature is one which one has to adopt and embrace. It is not a mere faith as Abrahamic religions consider and propagate. What one has to embrace is righteousness and virtue. It is not dictated and governed by single book. It is not monotheistic which gets all dictation from one God or the messenger and messiah of

the God from the sky. God cannot be represented in any form on this Earth. Contrary to it, Indian approach to Dharma is polytheistic and, in this framework, God is the expressions of this Universe itself and can be represented in every part of the Universe. It transcends this planet and universal in its approach. It believes that the life is made of five elements i.e. water, fire, air, sky and earth. It is scientific in its approach and subject to change as per reason and logic. In Abrahamic approach, no change in the words of God is permissible and anyone differing to it may be declared agnostic and infidel.

<sup>2</sup> Manu smriti 6.92

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## **An Analysis of Growth, Structure and Affiliations of Trade Unions in Punjab Since 1991**

**-Sukhram Singh, Balwinder Singh and Sarbjeet Singh**

### **Abstract**

This paper examined the growth, structure and affiliations of trade unions in Punjab during the period of LPG regime 1991 to 2017 by using secondary data. The analysis revealed that over the period of time, there was considerable growth of registered number of unions but not any notable growth in the number of unions submitting the returns. The declined percentage of unions submitting returns pointed out that the unions have shown little concern for this obligation. As at the national level, small sized unions predominate in the State of Punjab also. The smaller size of unions is the weakness of unions. The results highlighted that over the years the percentage of small size unions had decreased, while it had increased for the unions of the size of 10000 or above. The number as well as percentage of both the number of unions and the membership affiliated with AITUC and CITU had increased. The percentage of unions with BMS shown a positive trend up to 2006, but then it followed a declining trend. It was found that the average size of BMS unions was small and it was always lower than the average of total membership of all unions.

**Keywords:** *Trade Unions, Workers, Membership, Political Affiliations.*

### **Introduction**

Indian Trade Union Act, 1926 defines 'Trade Union' as any combination, whether temporary or permanent, formed primarily for the purpose of regulating the relations between workmen and employers or between workmen and workmen, or between employers and employers, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, and includes any federation of two or more trade unions (Act, 1926). In general, a trade union is defined as an association or combination of workers in a

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trade, group of trades, or profession formed to protect and promote their mutual interests through collective bargaining. Therefore, a trade union is also used sometimes as synonym to the labour union, which, through its leadership, bargains with the employer on behalf of union members and negotiates labour contracts with employers.

Trade unions were born at a time when Industrial Revolution was started in England. The Industrial Revolution which took place in the middle of 18<sup>th</sup> century in England brought great sufferings to the working class. Labour problems become important because of industrial maladjustments. The factory system caused problems like long working hours, employment of women and children even for manual heavy work, low wages, heavy workload, no compensation for injuries, miserable living and working condition, inhuman treatment of workers in the factories, etc. (Basu, 2006). The workers were helpless to stand before the management in bargaining individually for their terms of employment and working conditions. They formed themselves into groups to combat the evils of industrialization and to achieve their objectives. Such groups or organisations are commonly designated as trade unions which served as an important platform for putting up the demands of workers (Maruthakutti, Kaliappan & Reddy, 1991).

The origin of trade unionism in Punjab was late as compared to other industrially developed provinces because of the late and slow development of industries in Punjab. Trade union movement in Punjab began mainly on the eve of First World War. Further, the volatile circumstances created by the enactment of the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and the imposition of Martial Law resulted in the aggressive trade unionism in Punjab. The enactment of Indian Trade Union Act, 1926 was a milestone in the history of trade unionism in India. The calls for strikes during the freedom struggle facilitated the growth of trade unionism. The leadership of trade unions was in forefront of the movement for independence, therefore the trade unionism had roots in the freedom struggle (Sharma, 1993). After independence, the trade union movement in Punjab got an impetus from different political parties and the unions were divided along with the political parties. The green revolution brought the new phase of agricultural development in the State. The agricultural development also led to development of industrial sector and therefore, the trade unions also experienced new dimensions in Punjab.

The economic scenario of the country has been tremendously influenced by the new economic policies of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG). The organizational set-up has experienced a major change after the adoption of structural adjustment programmes. The globalization process has adversely affected the labour and trade unions (Sodhi, 2013; Sundar, 2006).

The declining and weakening position of unions during the era of globalization is widely acknowledged (Bhangoo & Singh, 2008). At the national as well as state levels, the unions are facing new challenges in the new economic environment since 1991. In the present study, an attempt has been made to analyse the growth, structure and affiliations of trade unions in Punjab since 1991.

**The specific objectives of the present study are:**

- i. To examine the growth of total registered unions and unions submitting returns in Punjab.
- ii. To analyses the trends of membership and structure of unions.
- iii. To look into the affiliations of trade unions in Punjab with different Central Trade Union Organisations (CTUOs).

**Methodology**

The present study is based on the secondary data which have been collected from various issues of Statistical Abstract of Punjab and the Office of Labour Commissioner of Punjab, S.A.S. Nagar. The time period for the present study is taken from starting of the LPG regime 1991 to 2017. The simple average and percentages have been used for data analysis.

**Limitation of the Study**

There are three types of unions on the basis of registration and submission of returns. First there are unions registered under the Trade Unions Act and they submit the annual returns to the government. Secondly, there are unions registered under the Act but do not submit annual returns to the government. These unions are statistically visible but the data about membership, size, funds, etc. are not available about these unions. Thirdly, there are unions which are neither registered under the Trade Unions Act nor submit the returns. Therefore, these are statistically invisible and no data are available about these unions. The limitation of secondary data is that data are available only about the first type of unions and not available for the second and third types of unions. Therefore, second and third types of unions are excluded in the present analysis. Another problem in the data analysis is that there is no regularity in the submission of returns by the unions, therefore there are variations in the number of unions submitting returns over the period of time.

**Result and Discussions**

The data pertaining to the total number of registered trade unions, number and percentage of unions submitting returns, total and average membership of unions are presented in Table 1.



**Table 1: Number of registered trade unions, percentage of unions submitting returns and their membership during the period from 1991 to 2017 in Punjab**

| Year           | Number of registered trade unions | Number of unions submitting returns | Percentage of unions submitting returns | Total membership | Average membership |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|------------------|--------------------|
| 1991           | 1806                              | 477                                 | 26.41                                   | 397984           | 834                |
| 1992           | 1876                              | 415                                 | 22.12                                   | 347729           | 838                |
| 1993           | 1927                              | 407                                 | 21.12                                   | 393970           | 968                |
| 1994           | 2004                              | 467                                 | 22.30                                   | 494596           | 1059               |
| 1995           | 2075                              | 417                                 | 20.10                                   | 431629           | 1035               |
| 1996           | 2097                              | 446                                 | 21.27                                   | 445399           | 999                |
| 1997           | 2158                              | 426                                 | 19.74                                   | 443487           | 1041               |
| 1998           | 2226                              | 449                                 | 20.17                                   | 459503           | 1023               |
| 1999           | 2297                              | 523                                 | 22.77                                   | 660226           | 1262               |
| 2000           | 2380                              | 540                                 | 22.69                                   | 517002           | 957                |
| 2001           | 2430                              | 460                                 | 18.93                                   | 565705           | 1230               |
| 2002           | 2479                              | 532                                 | 21.46                                   | 713464           | 1341               |
| 2003           | 2500                              | 528                                 | 21.12                                   | 678811           | 1286               |
| 2004           | 2534                              | 491                                 | 19.38                                   | 419929           | 855                |
| 2005           | 2568                              | 455                                 | 17.72                                   | 382776           | 841                |
| 2006           | 2605                              | 543                                 | 20.84                                   | 562646           | 1036               |
| 2007           | 2639                              | 482                                 | 18.26                                   | 577413           | 1198               |
| 2008           | 2680                              | 460                                 | 17.16                                   | 1020589          | 2219               |
| 2009           | 2708                              | 485                                 | 17.91                                   | 1105832          | 2280               |
| 2010           | 2741                              | 514                                 | 18.75                                   | 1229892          | 2393               |
| 2011           | 2777                              | 586                                 | 21.10                                   | 1461365          | 2494               |
| 2012           | 2833                              | 467                                 | 16.48                                   | 1343409          | 2877               |
| 2013           | 2890                              | 345                                 | 11.94                                   | 946567           | 2744               |
| 2014           | 2945                              | 364                                 | 12.36                                   | 1145630          | 3147               |
| 2015           | NA                                |                                     |   |                  |                    |
| 2016           | NA                                |                                     |   |                  |                    |
| 2017           | 3017                              | 460                                 | 15.24                                   | 1294693          | 2815               |
| <b>Average</b> | <b>2448</b>                       | <b>470</b>                          | <b>19.18</b>                            | <b>721610</b>    | <b>1537</b>        |

**Source:** Statistical Abstract of Punjab, Various Issues.

**Note:** NA = Not Available

The data show that there was considerable growth of registered number of unions as the number was 1806 in 1991, which rose to 2380 in 2000, 2741 in

2010 and further to 3017 in the year of 2017. But on the other side, with some variations, there is not any notable growth in the number of unions submitting the returns. The number of unions submitting returns was 477 in 1991, which marginally increased to 540 in 2000 but declined to 460 in the year of 2017. The percentage of unions submitting returns to the total number of registered unions was 26.41, 22.69, 18.75 and 15.24 for the respective years. It is obligatory for registered trade unions to submit the annual returns with Registrar of unions, but the results pointed out that the unions have shown little concern for this obligation and the percentage of unions submitting returns have declined over the period of time. One reason for the low submission of returns can be the soft punishment under the Act in case of failure of union to submit the returns. The Act provides very small amount of fine in case of non-submission of returns and submission of false information.

Further, there is a considerable growth in the total membership of unions as it was 397984 in 1991, which increased to 517002 in 2000, 1229892 in 2010 and then 1294693 in 2017. The highest noted membership was 1461365 in the year of 2011, when the highest number (586) of unions submitted their returns. There are variations in the average membership of unions, but over the years it has increased as it was 834 in 1991, 957 in 2000, 2393 in 2010 and 2815 in the year 2017. During the study time period, the average number of registered unions was 2448, whereas the average number of unions submitting returns was 470 and the average percentage of unions submitting returns was only 19.18. Further, the average total membership was 721610 and the average membership per union was only 1537.

The data regarding the distribution and structure of trade unions (submitting returns) according to different groups of membership size for different years (from 1991 to 2017) in Punjab have been given in Table 2. The unions are divided into nine groups on the basis of membership size from the smallest size of union as below 50 to the largest size of union as 10000 or above. In the year 1991, the highest number of unions, 147 (30.82 per cent), fall in the group of membership with 100 or above but below 300 and the lowest number of unions, 6 (1.26 per cent) fall in the group of membership with 10000 or above. But if we look at the membership, as many as 30.82 per cent unions had only 6.33 per cent membership of total unions and on the other side the larger size unions with membership of 10000 or above had the highest, i.e., 27.26 per cent of total membership of unions. Similarly, 28.78 per cent unions with 100 or above but below 300 membership had only 4.97 per cent of total membership of unions in 1995. On the other side, 1.44 per cent unions with 10000 or above membership had 40.72 per cent of the total membership of unions. Over the years, the distribution of membership of unions followed the similar trend.

**Table 2: Distribution of trade unions according to their membership size for the different years**

| Year                 |                  | Group of Members |                           |                            |                            |                             |                              |                              |                               |                    | Total               |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
|                      |                  | Below 50         | 50 or above but below 100 | 100 or above but below 300 | 300 or above but below 500 | 500 or above but below 1000 | 1000 or above but below 2000 | 2000 or above but below 5000 | 5000 or above but below 10000 | 10000 or above     |                     |
| 1991                 | Number of unions | 53<br>(11.11)    | 77<br>(16.14)             | 147<br>(30.82)             | 59<br>(12.37)              | 73<br>(15.30)               | 24<br>(5.03)                 | 28<br>(5.87)                 | 10<br>(2.10)                  | 6<br>(1.26)        | 477<br>(100.00)     |
|                      | Membership       | 1677<br>(0.42)   | 5292<br>(1.33)            | 25176<br>(6.33)            | 22360<br>(5.62)            | 48113<br>(12.09)            | 32421<br>(8.15)              | 85775<br>(21.55)             | 68688<br>(17.26)              | 108482<br>(27.26)  | 397984<br>(100.00)  |
| 1995                 | Number of unions | 59<br>(14.15)    | 70<br>(16.79)             | 120<br>(28.78)             | 54<br>(12.95)              | 49<br>(11.75)               | 24<br>(5.76)                 | 25<br>(6.00)                 | 10<br>(2.40)                  | 6<br>(1.44)        | 417<br>(100.00)     |
|                      | Membership       | 1805<br>(0.42)   | 4915<br>(1.14)            | 21455<br>(4.97)            | 20362<br>(4.72)            | 34535<br>(8.00)             | 32299<br>(7.48)              | 82426<br>(19.10)             | 58093<br>(13.46)              | 175739<br>(40.72)  | 431629<br>(100.00)  |
| 1999                 | Number of unions | 60<br>(11.47)    | 69<br>(13.19)             | 174<br>(33.27)             | 64<br>(12.24)              | 62<br>(11.85)               | 31<br>(5.93)                 | 40<br>(7.65)                 | 13<br>(2.49)                  | 10<br>(1.91)       | 523<br>(100.00)     |
|                      | Membership       | 1936<br>(0.36)   | 4858<br>(0.74)            | 29254<br>(4.43)            | 24573<br>(3.72)            | 41964<br>(6.36)             | 44791<br>(6.78)              | 133416<br>(20.21)            | 83964<br>(12.72)              | 295470<br>(44.75)  | 660226<br>(100.00)  |
| 2003                 | Number of unions | 72<br>(13.64)    | 74<br>(14.02)             | 163<br>(30.87)             | 58<br>(10.98)              | 70<br>(13.26)               | 30<br>(5.68)                 | 38<br>(7.20)                 | 8<br>(1.52)                   | 15<br>(2.84)       | 528<br>(100.00)     |
|                      | Membership       | 2081<br>(0.31)   | 5289<br>(0.78)            | 29157<br>(4.30)            | 21115<br>(3.11)            | 45190<br>(6.66)             | 41534<br>(6.12)              | 116912<br>(17.22)            | 51248<br>(7.55)               | 366285<br>(53.96)  | 678811<br>(100.00)  |
| 2007                 | Number of unions | 59<br>(12.24)    | 68<br>(14.11)             | 158<br>(32.78)             | 53<br>(11.00)              | 67<br>(13.90)               | 27<br>(5.60)                 | 31<br>(6.43)                 | 8<br>(1.66)                   | 11<br>(2.28)       | 482<br>(100.00)     |
|                      | Membership       | 1746<br>(0.30)   | 4979<br>(0.86)            | 29252<br>(5.07)            | 20224<br>(3.50)            | 43187<br>(7.48)             | 37564<br>(6.51)              | 98417<br>(17.04)             | 51288<br>(8.88)               | 290756<br>(50.35)  | 577413<br>(100.00)  |
| 2011                 | Number of unions | 62<br>(10.58)    | 77<br>(13.14)             | 153<br>(26.11)             | 62<br>(10.58)              | 90<br>(15.36)               | 51<br>(8.70)                 | 56<br>(9.56)                 | 12<br>(2.05)                  | 23<br>(3.92)       | 586<br>(100.00)     |
|                      | Membership       | 1852<br>(0.13)   | 5300<br>(0.36)            | 26228<br>(1.79)            | 23958<br>(1.64)            | 58678<br>(4.02)             | 70968<br>(4.86)              | 168850<br>(11.55)            | 75599<br>(5.17)               | 1029932<br>(70.48) | 1461365<br>(100.00) |
| 2014<br>(2015<br>NA) | Number of unions | 43<br>(11.81)    | 58<br>(15.93)             | 80<br>(21.98)              | 60<br>(16.48)              | 49<br>(13.46)               | 28<br>(7.69)                 | 27<br>(7.42)                 | 9<br>(2.47)                   | 10<br>(2.75)       | 364<br>(100.00)     |
|                      | Membership       | 1724<br>(0.15)   | 4899<br>(0.43)            | 18909<br>(1.65)            | 24818<br>(2.17)            | 41296<br>(3.60)             | 36221<br>(3.34)              | 59813<br>(5.22)              | 58978<br>(5.15)               | 896972<br>(78.30)  | 1145630<br>(100.00) |
| 2017<br>(2016<br>NA) | Number of unions | 51<br>(11.09)    | 76<br>(16.52)             | 110<br>(23.91)             | 67<br>(14.57)              | 59<br>(12.83)               | 31<br>(6.74)                 | 44<br>(9.57)                 | 11<br>(2.39)                  | 11<br>(2.39)       | 460<br>(100.00)     |
|                      | Membership       | 3391<br>(0.26)   | 8539<br>(0.66)            | 26576<br>(2.05)            | 29484<br>(2.28)            | 44046<br>(3.40)             | 56350<br>(4.35)              | 63313<br>(4.89)              | 96022<br>(7.42)               | 966972<br>(74.69)  | 1294693<br>(100.00) |

**Source:** Statistical Abstract of Punjab, Various Issues.

Note: NA = Not Available

If we add the first five groups, we can see that 85.74 per cent of unions with membership below 1000 had only 25.79 per cent of the total membership of unions in 1991. Similarly in 2003, 82.77 per cent of unions with membership below 1000 had the share of only 15.16 per cent of total members of unions. In the year 2017 also if we add the groups, 78.92 per cent unions with membership below 1000 had only 8.65 per cent of the total membership of unions. On the other side, only 2.39 per cent unions with 10000 or above membership shared the 74.69 per cent of total members of unions. Overall, the highest percentage of unions fell in the group of membership of 100 or above but below 300, but if we see the membership then the highest percentage of membership fell in the group of membership of 10000 or above. The table clearly indicates that about three-fourth of unions had membership below 1000. In 1991, the group of 10000 or above membership had 27.26 per cent of total membership, but it increased to 40.72 per cent in 1995, 44.75 per cent in 1999 and further to 50.35 per cent in 2011 and which reached at the highest of

78.30 per cent in the year 2014. So, over the years the percentage of membership has increased in this largest membership group with membership of 10000 or above.

In the State of Punjab small sized unions are predominate as these are at national level. The table clearly indicates that about three-fourth of unions had membership below 1000. The smaller size of unions is also the weakness of unions. But in this study we find that over the years the percentage of small size unions had decreased, while it had increased for the unions of the size of 10000 or above. Secondly, the average size of unions also had increased over the years. Therefore, these are the positive signs for the strength of trade unions in Punjab.

Trade unions are not only the economic actors, these are political actors as well. As economic actors they perform the function of collective bargaining and fight for economic issues of workers. Trade unions also perform the political actions to obtain political power, influence the government to formulate labour legislation, represent the workers in advisory institutions and bodies, to develop the militancy and revolutionary urges and politically educate the workers. Although the trade unions in India are not permitted to officially affiliate to any political party, but they are not away from politics because majority of the unions have close association with political parties. In practice, the formation, organisations well as day-to-day functioning of trade unions are guided by the political parties (Das, 1979).

Second type of affiliation is the affiliation of local or state level unions with the Central Trade Union Organisations (CTUOs) and this affiliation is officially permitted and recognised. The political associations of unions had contributed to the growth and formation of trade unions. The affiliations of trade unions were supported by union leaders and also favoured by a large majority of workers in Punjab (Bhangoo & Singh, 2008). In Punjab majority of the unions are affiliated with the CTUOs and these organisations are associated with different political parties. The political association of major CTUOs is given below:

- **INTUC-** Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) was established on May 3, 1947 and it is the trade union wing of the Indian National Congress.
- **AITUC-** All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was founded on October 31, 1920 and it was associated with the Communist Party of India (CPI) after the major split in 1947.
- **BMS-** Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) was founded on July 23, 1955 and it is politically affiliated to the Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP). It is the

labour wing of the right-wing organisation Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS).

- **HMS-** Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) was formed on December, 29 1948 by socialists and it is dominated by the Praja Socialist Party.
- **CITU-** Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU) was established on May 28-30, 1970 and became the labour-wing of Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M).
- **PMD-** Punjab Mazdoor Dal (PMD) was formed in 1970 as a labour organisation of the regional political party Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD). It is a state level trade union and not associated with any CTUO.
- **Other Unions-** United Trade Union Congress (UTUC) associated with Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP), Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA), All India Central Council of Trade Unions (AICCTU) associated with Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Liberation, Indian Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) associated with Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist, New Democracy) and Trade Union Centre of India (TUCI) associated to Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

Table 3 shows the number and percentage of trade unions affiliated with different CTUOs in Punjab. In the year 1991, total 477 unions submitted returns and 65 (13.63 per cent) unions were affiliated with INTUC, 75 (15.72 per cent) with AITUC, 172 (36.06 per cent) with BMS, 10 (2.10 per cent) with HMS, 39 (8.18 per cent) with CITU, 3 (0.63 per cent) with PMD and 113 (23.69 per cent) unions were either independent or affiliated with other central trade union organisations. The right-wing political party BJP affiliated trade union federation BMS had the highest percentage of total unions and the regional political party SAD had only three trade unions in 1991. If we see the unions with INC affiliated INTUC, its share was 13.63 per cent in 1991, which decreased to 7.67 per cent in 1995, again increased to 13.15 per cent in 2000, but declined to 12.31 per cent in 2005, 10.89 per cent in 2010 and then 4.57 per cent in 2017. So there are fluctuations in the number of affiliated unions over the years and the number as well as percentage of unions affiliated with INTUC declined over the period of time. It is important to note that the number one position of BMS is explained by the fact that as the data analysed and discussed relate only to unions submitting returns and it was found that almost all the affiliated unions of BMS submit returns and most of the unions affiliated to INTUC, AITUC and CITU did not submit returns to the Registrar of trade unions (Bhangoo & Singh, 2008).

The percentage share of CPI affiliated AITUC unions was 15.72 in 1991, which increased to 18.23 in 1995, but declined to 11.85 in 2000, 8.13 in 2005 and finally increased to 18.26 in 2017. After many ups and downs, there is about 3 per cent increase in unions with AITUC form 1991 to 2017. The data further highlight that the BMS had 36.06 per cent unions in 1991, which increased to 46.52 per cent in 1995, 46.48 per cent in 2000, 48.25 per cent in 2010, but declined to 39.57 per cent in the year 2017. HMS had only 2.10 per cent of unions in 1991 and 2.16 per cent in 1995, but declined to 1.67 per cent in 2000 and only one union (0.29 per cent) in 2013. In 2014 and 2017, not even a single union of HMS had submitted returns. The CPI-M affiliated CITU had 39 (8.18 per cent) unions in 1991, 41 (7.59 per cent) in 2000 and 66 (12.84 per cent) unions in 2010, but increased to 62 (13.48 per cent) in 2017. Over the years, one or two unions of PMD had submitted returns and after 2010 not even a single union of PMD had submitted returns.

**Table 3: Number and percentage of trade unions affiliated with different central trade union organisations during the period from 1991 to 2017 in Punjab**

| Year | Name of Central Organisation with which Affiliated |               |                |              |               |             |                | Total Number of Unions |
|------|--|---------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|------------------------|
|      | INTUC  | AITUC         | BMS            | HMS          | CITU          | PMD         | Others         |                        |
| 1991 | 65<br>(13.63)                                      | 75<br>(15.72) | 172<br>(36.06) | 10<br>(2.10) | 39<br>(8.18)  | 3<br>(0.63) | 113<br>(23.69) | 477<br>(100.00)        |
| 1992 | 38<br>(9.16)                                       | 56<br>(13.49) | 164<br>(39.52) | 6<br>(1.45)  | 49<br>(11.81) | 5<br>(1.20) | 97<br>(23.37)  | 415<br>(100.00)        |
| 1993 | 42<br>(10.32)                                      | 63<br>(15.48) | 177<br>(43.49) | 5<br>(1.23)  | 13<br>(3.19)  | 3<br>(0.74) | 104<br>(25.55) | 407<br>(100.00)        |
| 1994 | 66<br>(14.13)                                      | 75<br>(16.96) | 174<br>(37.26) | 10<br>(2.14) | 34<br>(7.28)  | 1<br>(0.21) | 107<br>(22.91) | 467<br>(100.00)        |
| 1995 | 32<br>(7.67)                                       | 76<br>(18.23) | 194<br>(46.52) | 9<br>(2.16)  | 23<br>(5.52)  | 1<br>(0.24) | 82<br>(19.66)  | 417<br>(100.00)        |
| 1996 | 29<br>(6.50)                                       | 74<br>(16.59) | 199<br>(44.62) | 7<br>(1.57)  | 46<br>(10.31) | 2<br>(0.45) | 89<br>(19.96)  | 446<br>(100.00)        |
| 1997 | 30<br>(7.04)                                       | 64<br>(15.02) | 196<br>(46.01) | 10<br>(2.35) | 37<br>(8.69)  | 2<br>(0.47) | 87<br>(20.42)  | 426<br>(100.00)        |
| 1998 | 29<br>(6.46)                                       | 66<br>(14.70) | 233<br>(51.89) | 6<br>(1.34)  | 33<br>(7.35)  | 2<br>(0.45) | 80<br>(17.82)  | 449<br>(100.00)        |
| 1999 | 93<br>(17.78)                                      | 68<br>(13.00) | 232<br>(44.36) | 12<br>(2.29) | 27<br>(5.16)  | 3<br>(0.57) | 88<br>(16.83)  | 523<br>(100.00)        |
| 2000 | 71<br>(13.15)                                      | 64<br>(11.85) | 251<br>(46.48) | 9<br>(1.67)  | 41<br>(7.59)  | 1<br>(0.19) | 103<br>(19.07) | 540<br>(100.00)        |

|                |                       |                       |                        |                      |                      |                     |                       |                         |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 2001           | 54<br>(11.74)         | 36<br>(7.83)          | 251<br>(54.57)         | 9<br>(1.96)          | 25<br>(5.43)         | 2<br>(0.43)         | 83<br>(18.04)         | 460<br>(100.00)         |
| 2002           | 79<br>(14.85)         | 61<br>(11.47)         | 225<br>(42.29)         | 13<br>(2.44)         | 56<br>(10.53)        | -<br>(0.00)         | 98<br>(18.42)         | 532<br>(100.00)         |
| 2003           | 61<br>(11.55)         | 61<br>(11.55)         | 269<br>(50.95)         | 10<br>(1.89)         | 44<br>(8.33)         | 1<br>(0.19)         | 82<br>(15.53)         | 528<br>(100.00)         |
| 2004           | 49<br>(9.98)          | 28<br>(5.70)          | 240<br>(48.88)         | 11<br>(2.24)         | 65<br>(13.24)        | 1<br>(0.20)         | 97<br>(19.76)         | 491<br>(100.00)         |
| 2005           | 56<br>(12.31)         | 37<br>(8.13)          | 205<br>(45.05)         | 13<br>(2.86)         | 60<br>(13.19)        | 3<br>(0.66)         | 81<br>(17.80)         | 455<br>(100.00)         |
| 2006           | 59<br>(10.87)         | 63<br>(11.60)         | 241<br>(44.38)         | 13<br>(2.39)         | 70<br>(12.89)        | 1<br>(0.18)         | 96<br>(17.68)         | 543<br>(100.00)         |
| 2007           | 41<br>(8.51)          | 64<br>(13.28)         | 221<br>(45.85)         | 11<br>(2.28)         | 46<br>(9.54)         | 2<br>(0.41)         | 97<br>(20.12)         | 482<br>(100.00)         |
| 2008           | 57<br>(12.39)         | 31<br>(6.74)          | 236<br>(51.30)         | 9<br>(1.96)          | 49<br>(10.65)        | -<br>(0.00)         | 78<br>(16.96)         | 460<br>(100.00)         |
| 2009           | 49<br>(10.10)         | 61<br>(12.58)         | 244<br>(50.31)         | 10<br>(2.06)         | 42<br>(8.66)         | 2<br>(0.41)         | 77<br>(15.88)         | 485<br>(100.00)         |
| 2010           | 56<br>(10.89)         | 42<br>(8.17)          | 248<br>(48.25)         | 30<br>(5.84)         | 66<br>(12.84)        | 1<br>(0.19)         | 71<br>(13.81)         | 514<br>(100.00)         |
| 2011           | 66<br>(11.26)         | 82<br>(13.99)         | 283<br>(48.29)         | 12<br>(2.05)         | 61<br>(10.41)        | -<br>(0.00)         | 82<br>(13.99)         | 586<br>(100.00)         |
| 2012           | 64<br>(13.70)         | 40<br>(8.57)          | 219<br>(46.90)         | 3<br>(0.64)          | 62<br>(13.28)        | -<br>(0.00)         | 79<br>(16.92)         | 467<br>(100.00)         |
| 2013           | 16<br>(4.64)          | 62<br>(17.97)         | 172<br>(49.86)         | 1<br>(0.29)          | 38<br>(11.01)        | -<br>(0.00)         | 56<br>(16.23)         | 345<br>(100.00)         |
| 2014           | 37<br>(10.16)         | 63<br>(17.31)         | 161<br>(44.23)         | -<br>(0.00)          | 49<br>(13.46)        | -<br>(0.00)         | 54<br>(14.84)         | 364<br>(100.00)         |
| 2015           | NA                    |                       |                        |                      |                      |                     |                       |                         |
| 2016           | NA                    |                       |                        |                      |                      |                     |                       |                         |
| 2017           | 21<br>(4.57)          | 84<br>(18.26)         | 182<br>(39.57)         | -<br>(0.00)          | 62<br>(13.48)        | -<br>(0.00)         | 111<br>(24.13)        | 460<br>(100.00)         |
| <b>Average</b> | <b>50<br/>(10.68)</b> | <b>60<br/>(12.68)</b> | <b>216<br/>(45.67)</b> | <b>11<br/>(2.36)</b> | <b>45<br/>(9.64)</b> | <b>1<br/>(0.31)</b> | <b>88<br/>(18.58)</b> | <b>472<br/>(100.00)</b> |

Source: Statistical Abstract of Punjab, Various Issues.

The unions that were either independent or affiliated with other CTUOs were 82 (19.66 per cent) in 1995, 103 (19.07 per cent) in 2000, 81 (17.80 per cent) in 2005, 71 (13.81 per cent) in 2010 and further increased to 111 (24.13 per cent) in 2017. Overall, the number as well as the percentage of unions affiliated with AITUC, CITU and BMS had increased, whereas the unions

with INTUC, HMS and PMD had declined during 1991 to 2017. Over the period of time, the average number of unions affiliated with different CTUOs reveals that 50 (10.68 per cent) unions were affiliated with INTUC, 60 (12.68 per cent) with AITUC, 216 (45.67 per cent) with BMS, 11 (2.36 per cent) with HMS, 45 (9.64 per cent) with CITU, while only 1 (0.31 per cent) with PMD and 88 (18.58 per cent) were affiliated with others.

The membership of unions in Punjab affiliated with different CTUOs is given in Table 4. The given data clearly indicate that there are many fluctuations in the membership over the years. The INTUC had 65963 (16.57 per cent) membership in 1991, but declined to 19992 (4.63 per cent) in 1995 and it was 49188 (9.51 per cent) in 2000 and 20626 (5.39 per cent) in 2005. It reached to the highest 621745 (56.22 per cent) in 2009 and 548392 (42.36 per cent) in the year 2017. Over the years, although the percentage of number of unions affiliated with INTUC had declined but the percentage of the total membership increased. AITUC had 62796 (15.78 per cent) membership in 1991, increased to 131902 (30.56 per cent) in 1995, decreased to 123448 (23.88 per cent) in 2005, further decreased to a very low level 12413 (3.24 per cent) in 2005 and then increased to 223426 (18.17 per cent) in 2010 and reached at the highest, i.e., 314778 (24.31 per cent) in the year 2017. So the number as well as percentage of both the number of unions and membership affiliated with AITUC had increased over the period of time.

**Table 4: Membership of trade unions affiliated with different central trade union organisations during the period from 1991 to 2017 in Punjab**

| Year | Name of Central Organisation with which Affiliated |                   |                   |                  |                  |                |                   | Total Membership   |
|------|--|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|
|      | INTUC  | AITUC             | BMS               | HMS              | CITU             | PMD            | Others            |                    |
| 1991 | 65963<br>(16.57)                                   | 62796<br>(15.78)  | 144578<br>(36.33) | 30992<br>(7.79)  | 9852<br>(2.48)   | 2989<br>(0.75) | 80814<br>(20.31)  | 397984<br>(100.00) |
| 1992 | 16943<br>(4.87)                                    | 36250<br>(10.42)  | 118095<br>(33.96) | 40236<br>(11.57) | 46386<br>(13.34) | 1738<br>(0.50) | 87991<br>(25.30)  | 347729<br>(100.00) |
| 1993 | 24641<br>(6.25)                                    | 59767<br>(15.17)  | 124898<br>(31.70) | 47620<br>(12.09) | 33654<br>(8.54)  | 1355<br>(0.34) | 102035<br>(25.90) | 393970<br>(100.00) |
| 1994 | 80614<br>(16.30)                                   | 127626<br>(25.80) | 132824<br>(26.86) | 36657<br>(7.41)  | 36007<br>(7.28)  | 1421<br>(0.29) | 79447<br>(16.06)  | 494596<br>(100.00) |
| 1995 | 19992<br>(4.63)                                    | 131902<br>(30.56) | 127924<br>(29.64) | 34513<br>(8.00)  | 27759<br>(6.43)  | 836<br>(0.19)  | 88703<br>(20.55)  | 431629<br>(100.00) |
| 1996 | 17749<br>(3.98)                                    | 137156<br>(30.79) | 123158<br>(27.65) | 32436<br>(7.28)  | 34356<br>(7.71)  | 1485<br>(0.33) | 99059<br>(22.24)  | 445399<br>(100.00) |
| 1997 | 13643<br>(3.08)                                    | 123967<br>(27.95) | 148148<br>(33.41) | 28476<br>(6.42)  | 27668<br>(6.24)  | 1591<br>(0.36) | 99994<br>(22.55)  | 443487<br>(100.00) |
| 1998 | 8594<br>(1.87)                                     | 122747<br>(26.69) | 201749<br>(43.87) | 6254<br>(1.36)   | 37893<br>(8.24)  | 1491<br>(0.32) | 81175<br>(17.65)  | 459503<br>(100.00) |
| 1999 | 139776<br>(21.17)                                  | 125876<br>(19.07) | 209838<br>(31.78) | 41915<br>(6.35)  | 39782<br>(6.03)  | 1482<br>(0.22) | 101557<br>(15.38) | 660226<br>(100.00) |



|                |                           |                           |                           |                         |                         |                        |                          |                            |
|----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 2000           | 49188<br>(9.51)           | 123448<br>(23.88)         | 199168<br>(38.52)         | 27371<br>(5.29)         | 46369<br>(8.97)         | 973<br>(0.19)          | 70485<br>(13.63)         | 517002<br>(100.00)         |
| 2001           | 175555<br>(31.03)         | 14897<br>(2.63)           | 227367<br>(40.19)         | 29748<br>(5.26)         | 7545<br>(1.33)          | 1165<br>(0.21)         | 109428<br>(19.34)        | 565705<br>(100.00)         |
| 2002           | 173294<br>(24.29)         | 119029<br>(16.68)         | 232396<br>(32.57)         | 31311<br>(4.39)         | 47245<br>(6.62)         | -<br>(0.00)            | 110189<br>(15.44)        | 713464<br>(100.00)         |
| 2003           | 147347<br>(21.71)         | 35407<br>(5.22)           | 288905<br>(42.56)         | 31621<br>(4.66)         | 40358<br>(5.95)         | 250<br>(0.04)          | 134923<br>(19.88)        | 678811<br>(100.00)         |
| 2004           | 31531<br>(7.51)           | 14474<br>(3.45)           | 197515<br>(47.04)         | 19368<br>(4.61)         | 51730<br>(12.32)        | 630<br>(0.15)          | 104681<br>(24.93)        | 419929<br>(100.00)         |
| 2005           | 20626<br>(5.39)           | 12413<br>(3.24)           | 192455<br>(50.28)         | 26781<br>(7.00)         | 66090<br>(17.27)        | 402<br>(0.11)          | 64009<br>(16.72)         | 382776<br>(100.00)         |
| 2006           | 38572<br>(6.86)           | 39296<br>(6.98)           | 247810<br>(44.04)         | 57282<br>(10.18)        | 74540<br>(13.25)        | 80<br>(0.01)           | 105066<br>(18.67)        | 562646<br>(100.00)         |
| 2007           | 134564<br>(23.30)         | 52508<br>(9.09)           | 182456<br>(31.60)         | 37020<br>(6.41)         | 38260<br>(6.63)         | 865<br>(0.15)          | 131740<br>(22.82)        | 577413<br>(100.00)         |
| 2008           | 550280<br>(53.92)         | 35903<br>(3.52)           | 245252<br>(24.03)         | 30175<br>(2.96)         | 69000<br>(6.76)         | -<br>(0.00)            | 89979<br>(8.82)          | 1020589<br>(100.00)        |
| 2009           | 621745<br>(56.22)         | 73902<br>(6.68)           | 200673<br>(18.15)         | 27023<br>(2.44)         | 65185<br>(5.89)         | 19982<br>(1.81)        | 97322<br>(8.80)          | 1105832<br>(100.00)        |
| 2010           | 568077<br>(46.19)         | 223426<br>(18.17)         | 229547<br>(18.66)         | 10007<br>(0.81)         | 89957<br>(7.31)         | 51<br>(0.01)           | 108827<br>(8.85)         | 1229892<br>(100.00)        |
| 2011           | 551092<br>(37.71)         | 250390<br>(17.13)         | 314098<br>(21.49)         | 107118<br>(7.33)        | 132912<br>(9.10)        | -<br>(0.00)            | 105755<br>(7.24)         | 1461365<br>(100.00)        |
| 2012           | 553619<br>(41.21)         | 298833<br>(22.24)         | 252499<br>(18.80)         | 4561<br>(0.34)          | 139468<br>(10.38)       | -<br>(0.00)            | 94429<br>(7.03)          | 1343409<br>(100.00)        |
| 2013           | 527028<br>(55.68)         | 53443<br>(5.65)           | 163809<br>(17.31)         | 3791<br>(0.40)          | 119850<br>(12.66)       | -<br>(0.00)            | 78646<br>(8.31)          | 946567<br>(100.00)         |
| 2014           | 537359<br>(46.91)         | 304909<br>(26.61)         | 108312<br>(9.45)          | -<br>(0.00)             | 120796<br>(10.54)       | -<br>(0.00)            | 74254<br>(6.48)          | 1145630<br>(100.00)        |
| 2015           | NA                        |                           |                           |                         |                         |                        |                          |                            |
| 2016           | NA                        |                           |                           |                         |                         |                        |                          |                            |
| 2017           | 548392<br>(42.36)         | 314778<br>(24.31)         | 137131<br>(10.59)         | -<br>(0.00)             | 168912<br>(13.05)       | -<br>(0.00)            | 125480<br>(9.69)         | 1294693 (100.00)           |
| <b>Average</b> | <b>224651<br/>(31.13)</b> | <b>115806<br/>(16.05)</b> | <b>190024<br/>(26.33)</b> | <b>29691<br/>(4.11)</b> | <b>62863<br/>(8.71)</b> | <b>1551<br/>(0.21)</b> | <b>97040<br/>(13.45)</b> | <b>721626<br/>(100.00)</b> |

Source: Statistical Abstract of Punjab, Various Issues.

The membership of BMS was 144578 (36.33 per cent) in 1991, which declined to 127924 (29.64 per cent) in 1995 and further increased to 199168 (38.52 per cent) in 2000, 192455 (50.28 per cent) in 2000. It declined to 108312 (9.45 per cent) in 2014 and again increased to 137131 (10.59 per cent) in 2017. The data show that the percentage of membership of BMS increased up to the year 2006, but after that it started to decline. In 2017, it had 39.57 per cent of total unions but the membership was only 10.59 percent of total membership of unions. The membership of HMS was 30992 (7.79 per cent) in 1991, which increased to 34513 (8.00 per cent) in 1995, but declined to 27371 (5.29 per cent) in 2000 and 3791 (0.40 per cent) in the year 2013. It shows that the membership of HMS has declined over the years. The membership of CITU was 9852 (2.48 per cent) in 1991, increased to 27759 (6.43 per cent) in

1995, further to 46369 (8.97 per cent) in 2000, 66090 (17.27 per cent) in 2005 and finally reached at the highest, i.e., 168912 (13.05 per cent) in 2017. The results point out that the number as well as percentage of both the number and membership of unions affiliated to CITU had increased over the period of time. The table shows that the membership of other unions was 80814 (20.31 per cent) in 1991, which increased to 88703 (20.55 per cent) in 1995, but declined to 70485 (13.63 per cent) in 2000, 64009 (16.72 per cent) in 2005 and it was 125480 (9.69 per cent) in 2017. So, the percentage of membership of other unions has declined over the period of time.

The average of total membership of unions shows that the INTUC had the highest average membership as 224651 (31.13 per cent of total membership of unions). Although the percentage of average number of unions affiliated with INTUC was only 10.68, but these unions had the highest percentage share in the average total membership. On the other side, the BMS had the highest percentage share (45.67) in the average number of unions, but its percentage share in the average membership was only 26.33. The share of AITUC, HMS and CITU in the average total membership was 16.05, 4.11 and 8.71 per cent respectively. Generally, it is said that the workers prefer to join the unions that are affiliated to ruling political parties, but in case of Punjab it was not true because the data about the number of unions and membership had not shown any relation with the CTUOs of ruling parties. The leading regional political party had a negligible percentage share in the number of unions and membership. It was due to the fact that the party membership mainly concentrates in rural areas and the agrarian sector of the state. Secondly, the strength of leftist unions had increased over the period of time because the Punjab was ruled by INC for a long time and the working class fought against the pro corporate policies of INC. Further, opposing the anti-labour new economic policies, the leftist unions gained strength at national level and it benefitted the unions in Punjab also.

Overall, the results show that over the period of time the leading CTUOs had 81.42 per cent unions (86.55 per cent membership) and unions with other CTUOs or independent unions were only 18.58 (13.45 per cent membership). It can be explained with the fact that the workers prefer to join the major and large size CTUOs. These major CTUOs actively raise the issues of working class and they unite at the national level.

Table 5 shows the average membership size of trade unions affiliated with different central trade union organisations in Punjab. The table clearly indicates that there are fluctuations in the average membership of unions over the years.

**Table 5: Average membership (per union) of trade unions affiliated with different central trade union organisations during the period from 1991 to 2017 in Punjab**

| Year | Name of Central Organisation with whom Affiliated |       |      |      |      |      |        | Average of Total Membership |
|------|---|-------|------|------|------|------|--------|-----------------------------|
|      | INTUC   | AITUC | BMS  | HMS  | CITU | PMD  | Others |                             |
| 1991 | 1015  | 837   | 841  | 3099 | 253  | 996  | 715    | 834                         |
| 1992 | 446   | 647   | 720  | 6706 | 947  | 348  | 907    | 838                         |
| 1993 | 587   | 949   | 706  | 9524 | 2589 | 452  | 981    | 968                         |
| 1994 | 1221  | 1702  | 763  | 3666 | 1059 | 1421 | 742    | 1059                        |
| 1995 | 625   | 1736  | 659  | 3835 | 1207 | 836  | 1082   | 1035                        |
| 1996 | 612   | 1853  | 619  | 4634 | 747  | 743  | 1113   | 999                         |
| 1997 | 455   | 1937  | 756  | 2848 | 748  | 796  | 1149   | 1041                        |
| 1998 | 296   | 1860  | 866  | 1042 | 1148 | 746  | 1015   | 1023                        |
| 1999 | 1503  | 1851  | 904  | 3493 | 1473 | 494  | 1154   | 1262                        |
| 2000 | 693   | 1929  | 793  | 3041 | 1131 | 973  | 684    | 957                         |
| 2001 | 3251  | 414   | 906  | 3305 | 302  | 583  | 1318   | 1230                        |
| 2002 | 2194  | 1951  | 1033 | 2409 | 844  | 2416 | 1124   | 1341                        |
| 2003 | 2416  | 580   | 1074 | 3162 | 917  | 250  | 1645   | 1286                        |
| 2004 | 643   | 517   | 823  | 1761 | 796  | 630  | 1079   | 855                         |
| 2005 | 368   | 335   | 939  | 2060 | 1102 | 134  | 790    | 841                         |
| 2006 | 655   | 624   | 1028 | 4406 | 1065 | 80   | 1094   | 1036                        |
| 2007 | 3282  | 820   | 826  | 3365 | 832  | 433  | 1358   | 1198                        |
| 2008 | 9654  | 1158  | 1039 | 3353 | 1408 | 0    | 1154   | 2219                        |
| 2009 | 12689   | 1212  | 822  | 2702 | 1552 | 9991 | 1264   | 2280                        |
| 2010 | 10144   | 5320  | 926  | 125  | 1363 | 51   | 1533   | 2393                        |
| 2011 | 8350  | 3054  | 1110 | 8927 | 2179 | 0    | 1290   | 2494                        |
| 2012 | 8650  | 7471  | 1153 | 1520 | 2249 | 0    | 1195   | 2877                        |
| 2013 | 32939   | 862   | 952  | 3791 | 3154 | 0    | 1404   | 2744                        |
| 2014 | 14523   | 4840  | 673  | 0    | 2465 | 0    | 1375   | 3147                        |
| 2015 | NA  |       |      |      |      |      |        |                             |
| 2016 | NA  |       |      |      |      |      |        |                             |
| 2017 | 26114   | 3747  | 753  | 0    | 2724 | 0    | 1130   | 2815                        |

Source: Statistical Abstract of Punjab, Various Issues.

In 1991, the HMS had the highest average membership of 3099 and CITU had the lowest membership size of 253. The average membership of INTUC, AITUC, BMS, PMD and others was 1015, 837, 841, 996 and 715 respectively and the overall average of total membership of unions was 834. The average membership size of INTUC declined to 625 in 1995, 693 in 2000, further to only 368 in 2005, but after 2006 it improved to 3282 in 2007, 12689 in 2009 and further increased to 32939 in 2013. Among all the unions, the INTUC had the highest average membership of 26114 in 2017. The average membership of AITUC was 1736 in 1995, but declined to only 335 in 2005 and it increased to 3747 in 2017. The BMS had the lowest average size of membership, which was 659 in 1995 and it marginally rose to

793 in 2000, 939 in 2005, 926 in 2010 and further declined to 753 in the year 2017. It is important to note here that the BMS had affiliated more than 40 per cent of total number of unions, but the average membership size of BMS was always lower than the average of total membership of all unions. It means the BMS unions are smaller than the average size of unions. The HMS had very less number of unions, but the average membership of the HMS unions was very high as compared to other unions. The average membership of HMS unions was 3835 in 1995, 3041 in 2000, 2060 in 2005 and 3791 in 2013. The average membership of CITU was lowest in 1991, but it increased to 1207 in 1995 and it further decreased to 1131 in 2000 and 1102 in 2005. Thereafter, it rose to 1363 in 2010 and 2724 in 2017. PMD had submitted returns regularly only up to 2010. The average membership of PMD was 836 in 1995 and 973 in 2000, but it was only 134 in 2005 and 433 in 2007, but the given data show a very higher value of 9991 in regard to average membership for the year 2009 and for the next year 2010 it was only 51. The average membership of other unions was 1082 in 1995, which rose to 1533 in 2010 but declined to 1130 in 2017. The table also shows that over the years the average of total membership of unions had increased. It was 834 in 1991 and 1035 in 1995, but it declined to 841 in 2005, while it increased to 2393 in 2010 and 2815 in 2017.

### **Concluding Remarks**

It is clear from the analysis that there was considerable growth of registered number of unions but the number of unions submitting returns had not shown any positive trend, rather the percentage of unions submitting returns declined over the period of time since 1991. The total membership as well as the average membership of unions has increased during 1991 to 2017. It shows a positive sign of the existence of unions in Punjab. The size distribution of unions shows that about three-fourth of unions had membership below 1000. Over the years, the highest percentage of unions fell in the group of membership of 100 or above but below 300, but as far as the membership is concerned then the highest percentage of membership fell in the group of membership of 10000 or above.

There are fluctuations in the number and membership of unions affiliated with different CTUOs. Although the percentage of number of unions affiliated with INTUC had declined but the percentage of the total membership increased. The number as well as percentage of both the number of unions and the membership affiliated with AITUC and CITU had increased over the period of time. The percentage of unions with BMS shown a positive trend and the percentage of membership has increased to 44.04 per cent in 2006, but then it followed a declining trend and reached to 10.59 per cent in 2017. It is clear from the data that the average size of BMS

unions was small and it was always lower than the average of total membership of all unions. The PMD had negligible number and percentage of unions and their membership declined over the period of time.

It is widely acknowledged that the nature of the new economy is not hospitable to the trade unions and it has made position of trade union much more vulnerable than at any time in the past. This study makes it clear that the new economic environment after 1991 gave a set back to the strength of trade unions as the total membership as well as average membership of unions have not shown any significant positive trend, but after the year of 2007 there was significant increase in the total membership as well as average membership of unions. From this, it can be concluded that the strength of trade unions has increased after 2007.

The argument that the unions are no longer necessary has lost its cogency. As the unions and movements have historically played an important role to protect the workers, they are important vehicles for workers to fight against the inevitable consequences of new market economy also (Yates, 2001). So long as the poverty, destitution, deprivation and injustice exist in the society, trade unions' presence is vitally needed and relevant for protecting the interest of working class.

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## **Empowerment of Rural Women through MGNREGS-A Study of District Mandi, Himachal Pradesh**

**-Sanjay Bhagwati and Dinesh Sharma**

### **Abstract**

Women empowerment is a multidimensional concept and it means increasing the social, economic and political strength of women. Gender equity is inevitable for any nation if it wants inclusive growth especially for a developing nation like India. Social investment, economic investment and political investment in women can help any nation particularly India in realizing its goal of being a developed nation. For the first time in the history of planning, the eleventh plan (2007-12) made an attempt to recognize women as an agent of sustained socio economic growth and change. The eleventh plan emphasized on inclusiveness and this inclusiveness is reflected in the adoption of 26 monitorable targets at the national level and one of them was women and children. A major initiative of the government of India i.e. MGNREGS though was not specifically launched with the rural women empowerment in mind, though it had provisions which were aimed at women specifically like 33% employment to women etc, which helped in empowering women socially, economically. The present paper is an effort to study the impact of the MGNREGS on women empowerment in Development block Chauntra and Seraj of district Mandi, selected on the basis of low and high performing blocks in terms of expenditure incurred.

**Keywords:** *Women Empowerment, Gender Equity, MGNREGS, Inclusiveness*

### **Introduction**

The word Empowerment has typically three dimensions attached to it, social empowerment, economic empowerment and political empowerment. The women empowerment means creating enabling atmosphere for them so that they can freely choose and decide upon things/matters/issues etc. which impact their social empowerment, economic empowerment and political empowerment. Since independence many programmes were launched for the development of rural areas which had alleviating rural poverty and women empowerment in mind like IRDP, SGSY, JGSY, EAS, MWS, SGRY,

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DWACRA, NSAP, BETI BACHAO BETI PADHAO, however one such scheme is MGNREGS which was notified on September 7, 2005 in 200 rural districts of India in first phase and in 2007-08 it was extended to additional 130 districts. On April 1, 2008 it was extended to the remaining districts of India.

MGNREGS made a paradigm shift from the earlier wage employment programmes by giving guarantee for employment. Some of the important features of the MGNREGS were Right based design (which was inherited from Maharashtra employment guarantee Act, 1977), Right to work, legal Guarantee for 100 days of employment, Unemployment allowance, Payment of wages within fifteen and in case of delay provision of delay compensation.

Women specific features of the scheme which have enabled in increasing the impact of scheme on women empowerment are Provision regarding one third of the beneficiaries of the scheme have to be women, No discrimination on ground of gender, Equal wages for men and women, Providing work site facilities like crèche, Provision regarding giving work within 5 kms of beneficiaries home and 10% extra wage if work is provided outside this limit, this enabled women to balance their domestic work and child care.

## **Review of literature**

Review of available literature has been done to further deep understanding on the selected topic i.e., the impact of MGNREGS on women participation and their empowerment and briefly discussed herein. MGNREGS stand apart from employment and poverty alleviation programmes in significant ways. It is the first national programme of consequence which has woven transparency and accountability norms into the mundane fabric of daily interaction of people with government. MGNREGS gives an opportunity to break the feudally enforced silence of its victims (Benni & Nagaraj, 2017). Since the introduction of scheme there have been positive changes at the participation level of women in MGNREGS, but there also challenges that limit women participation at certain levels of women empowerment through employment opportunities (Gyanseswar, 2016). It has become an important tool in the path of women upliftment (Rani and Pokhriyal, 2016). MGNREGS has benefited women individually because they are able to earn independently, spend some money for their own needs, contribute in family expenditure etc. The gained benefits of women as community can be understood by increased presence in gram sabhas, increasing number of women in speaking out in the meetings, increasing capacity of interactions etc. (Kaur, 2016). The linkage between MGNREGS and national rural livelihood mission may have the ability to build capacity among female beneficiaries of MGNREGS by providing them not only with a guaranteed employment, but also access to information, skills, finance, as well as opportunities to leverage their limited resources through collectivization

(Curry, 2019). MGNREGS has led to women empowerment but in less obvious ways and this empowerment cannot be attributed solely to schemes and a number of factors including culture and tradition play an important role (Malhotra et al, 2019).

## Objectives

The objectives of the paper is to study the performance evaluation of MGNREGS, to study the economic and social empowerment of women through MGNREGS, to study the creation of durable and productive assets and their impact on women empowerment and to study inclusion of women in process of ensuring transparency, accountability and financial inclusion.

## Data and Material

After going through the literature review and identification of the objectives for the present study, the district and blocks have been selected on the basis of sampling methods. District Mandi of Himachal Pradesh was selected being among the 200 districts where MGNREGS was implemented in second phase. Then two development blocks namely Chauntra and Seraj being high performing and low performing blocks respectively within the district have been identified based on the secondary data. A sample of 100 women workers is selected from each block based on purposive sampling. The primary data collected from the 200 selected samples has been processed with the help of SPSS and analyzed based on simple percentile methods.

## District Profile: Mandi

The present District Of Mandi was formed with the merger of two princely states Mandi and Suket on 15th April 1948, when the State of Himachal Pradesh came into existence. Ever since the formation of the district, it has not witnessed any changes in its jurisdiction. District Mandi is located in outer Himalayas which are commonly known as Shivalik range. In this District, there are 10 Administrative Sub Divisions, 7 Urban local bodies, 13 police stations, and 13 community development blocks.

**Table: 1 Profile of District Mandi**

|    |                  |                          |
|----|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | Total population | 999777                   |
| 2. | Male             | 498065                   |
| 3. | Female           | 501712                   |
| 4. | Area             | 3950 Sq Km               |
| 5. | villages         | 3374                     |
| 6. | Major religions  | Hindu, Sikh              |
| 7. | Language spoken  | Hindi, Pahari, Mandiyali |

Source: <https://hpmandi.nic.in/>



**Table: 2 Women employment in District Mandi under MGNREGS in Last Five Years**

| Sr. | Parameter                     | 2020-21           | 2019-20            | 2018-19            | 2017-18            | 2016-17            |
|-----|-------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1.  | HH provided employment        | 152477            | 133825             | 137200             | 125792             | 136588             |
| 2.  | Employment provided to women  | 137160<br>(89.9%) | 120239<br>(89.8%)  | 122791<br>(89.4%)  | 111097<br>(88.3%)  | 120786<br>(88.4%)  |
| 3.  | Total Persondays generated    | 8271722           | 6284972            | 7224872            | 5603904            | 6566694            |
| 4.  | Persondays generated by women | 5785256<br>(70%)  | 4598634<br>(73.1%) | 5341577<br>(73.9%) | 4063035<br>(72.5%) | 4843898<br>(73.7%) |
| 5.  | Families completed 100 days   | 20561<br>(13.4%)  | 10859<br>(8.1%)    | 16648<br>(12.1%)   | 3838<br>(3.0%)     | 3413<br>(2.4%)     |

Source: [https://nrega.nic.in/netnrega/homestciti.aspx?state\\_code=13&state\\_name=himachal%20pradesh](https://nrega.nic.in/netnrega/homestciti.aspx?state_code=13&state_name=himachal%20pradesh)

The above table depicts women constitute majority of employed under MGNREGS and their percentage has increased from 88% in the year 2016-17 to 89 % in the year 2020-21, which shows that women are steadily showing more interest than their men counterparts in MGNREGS employment. The persondays generated by women have decreased from 73.7% in the year 2016-17 to 70 % in the year 2020-21. However, whereas, the women employed under MGNREGS are more than their men counterparts but the persondays generated by them are less than their men counterparts. Another thing is families completing 100 days under MGNREGS have increased from 2.4 % in the year 2016-17 to 13.4% in the year 2020-21, which is a good sign but is a very minuscule percentage as compared to the total families working under MGNREGS.

**Table:3 Socio-Economic Profile of the Respondents**

| Sr. No. | Parameter            |              | Block |         | District Mandi<br>N=200 |         |
|---------|----------------------|--------------|-------|---------|-------------------------|---------|
|         |                      |              | Seraj | Chautra | No.                     | Percent |
| 1.      | Age groups in years) | 18-25        | 3     | 0       | 3                       | 1.5     |
|         |                      | 26-35        | 38    | 28      | 66                      | 33      |
|         |                      | 36-45        | 30    | 50      | 80                      | 40      |
|         |                      | 46-55        | 11    | 12      | 23                      | 11.5    |
|         |                      | 56 and above | 18    | 10      | 28                      | 14      |

|    |                          |                                      |     |     |     |      |
|----|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|
|    |                          | Total                                | 100 | 100 | 200 | 100  |
| 2. | Educational Background   | No formal education                  | 18  | 3   | 21  | 10.5 |
|    |                          | Primary                              | 15  | 9   | 24  | 12   |
|    |                          | Middle                               | 11  | 20  | 31  | 15.5 |
|    |                          | Matric                               | 24  | 34  | 58  | 29   |
|    |                          | Plus Two                             | 31  | 33  | 64  | 32   |
|    |                          | PG and above                         | 1   | 0   | 1   | 0.5  |
|    |                          | Graduation                           | 0   | 1   | 1   | 0.5  |
|    |                          | Total                                | 100 | 100 | 200 | 100  |
| 3. | Category                 | SC                                   | 29  | 24  | 53  | 26.5 |
|    |                          | ST                                   | 0   | 7   | 7   | 3.5  |
|    |                          | OBC                                  | 4   | 2   | 6   | 3    |
|    |                          | General                              | 67  | 67  | 134 | 67   |
|    |                          | Total                                | 100 | 100 | 200 | 100  |
| 4. | House Condition          | Kachha                               | 72  | 23  | 95  | 47.5 |
|    |                          | Pucca                                | 20  | 51  | 71  | 35.5 |
|    |                          | Some part Kachha and some part Pucca | 8   | 26  | 34  | 17   |
|    |                          | Total                                | 100 | 100 | 200 | 100  |
| 5. | Landholding (in bigha)   | 0-1                                  | 56  | 29  | 85  | 42.5 |
|    |                          | 1.1-2                                | 16  | 43  | 59  | 29.5 |
|    |                          | 2.1-3                                | 7   | 13  | 20  | 10   |
|    |                          | 3.1-5                                | 15  | 11  | 26  | 13   |
|    |                          | 5.1-8                                | 2   | 2   | 4   | 2    |
|    |                          | 8.1 and above                        | 4   | 2   | 6   | 3    |
|    |                          | Total                                | 100 | 100 | 200 | 100  |
| 6. | Separate Toilet Facility |                                      | 91  | 94  | 185 | 92.5 |
| 7. | Separate kitchen         |                                      | 53  | 77  | 130 | 65   |

Source: Field Study, 2021

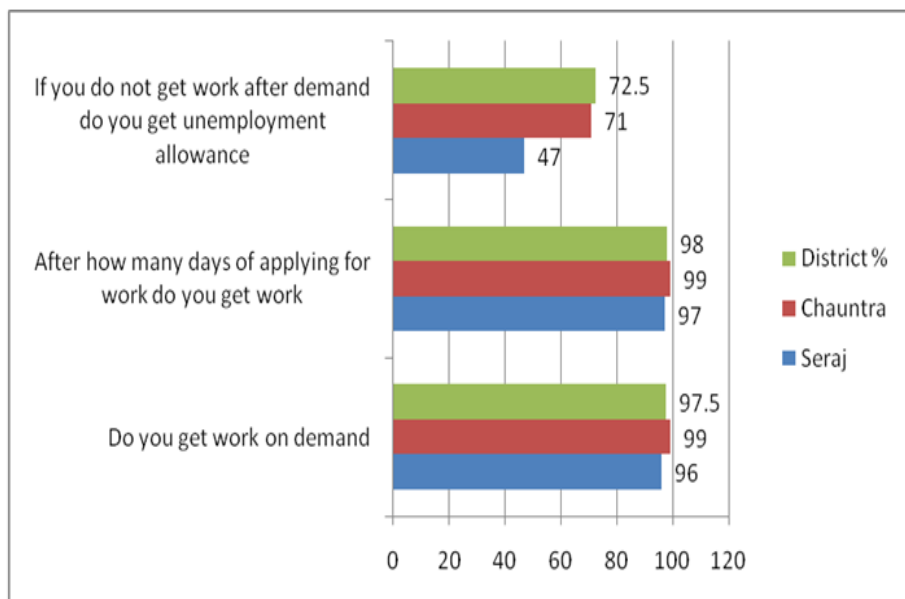
Table shows that 73 % of the respondents belonged to age group of 26 to 45 years out of which 33% had age between 26-35 years and 40% had age between 35-45 years, 56.5% had qualification between primary and matric out of which 12% had primary education, 15.5% had middle education and 29 % had matric education and general category constituted 67% of the

respondents, 26.5% constituted SC, 3.5% were ST and 3% were OBC, 17% had mix house condition i.e. some part of their house had kuchha material and some had pucca material and 3 % had landholdings above 8.1 bigha and 97 % had less landholdings than 8 bighas out of which 42.5 % had less than one bigha, 29.5% had less than two bigha but more than one bigha, 10% had land more than 2 but less than three bigha, 13 % had land more than three but less than 5 bigha and 2% had land more than 5 but less than 8 bigha, 92.5% replied that they has separate toilet facility and 65% replied that had separate kitchen facility.

### 1. Performance evaluation of MGNREGS implementation:

Performance evaluation has been done on the basis of parameters job card, works under MGNREGS, Wages, Muster rolls, Worksite facilities, Assets constructed, Transparency, Grievance redressal and social audit.

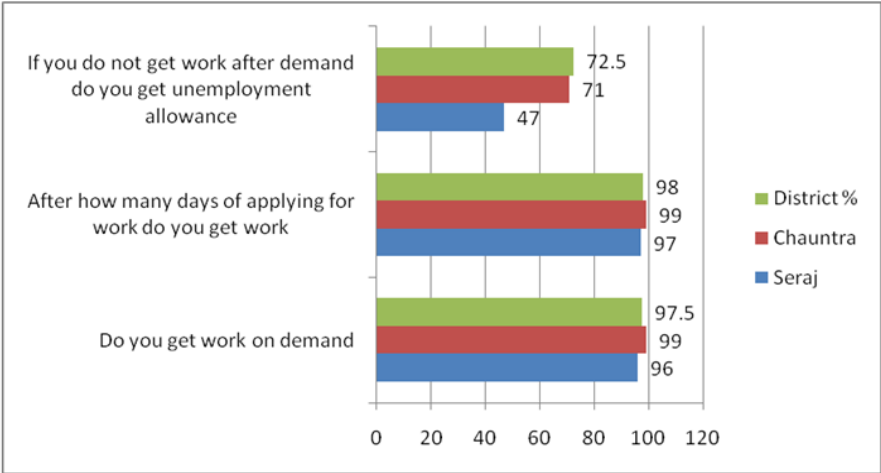
**Figure: 1 Job card**



Source: Field Study, 2021

The Primary survey revealed that 98.5% are getting job card within 15 days, 92% replied that job card remains with them and 100% replied that they have knowledge that job card if somehow lost can be again made. The responses regarding awareness part of job card provisions shows that there is a good awareness regarding job card provisions. Overall, the Seraj block respondents scored over the Chauntra block regarding awareness on job card provisions.

Figure: 2 Work

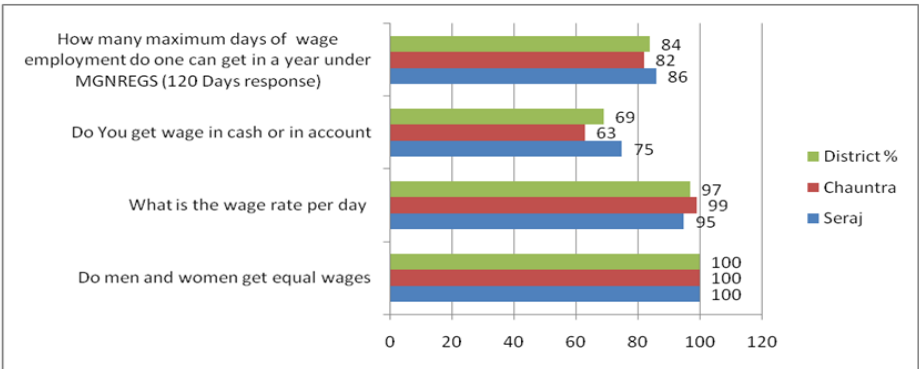


Source: Field Study, 2021

Primary survey reveals that 97.5 % are getting work on demand, 98 % replied that they are getting work within fifteen days of demand, 72.5% replied that they get unemployment allowance if they do not get work after demand.

The responses reveal that most of the respondents knew that work has to be provided on demand and within fifteen days of demand it has to provided, however only 72.5% of the respondents knew that unemployment allowance has to provided. Overall, the respondents from Chauntra block scored over Seraj regarding work provisions.

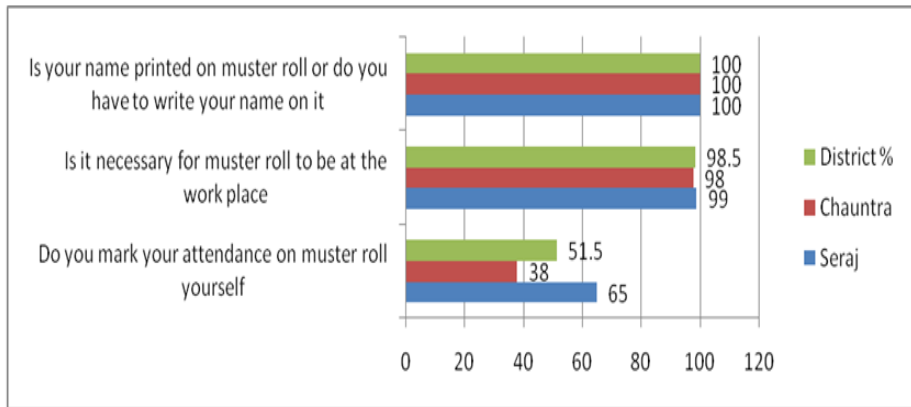
Figure: 3 Wages



Source: Field Study, 2021

The 100% respondents knew that men and women get equal wages, 97.5 % knew the prevailing wage rate and only 84% knew the exact a number of days available for employment per year, and 69 % replied that they get wage in their accounts. The responses regarding wage shows that respondents had good knowledge regarding provision of equal wage to men and women and the prevailing wage rate, however the knowledge regarding the maximum days of employment available is poor and the responses regarding wage being credited into account shows that more IEC in this regard is still required.

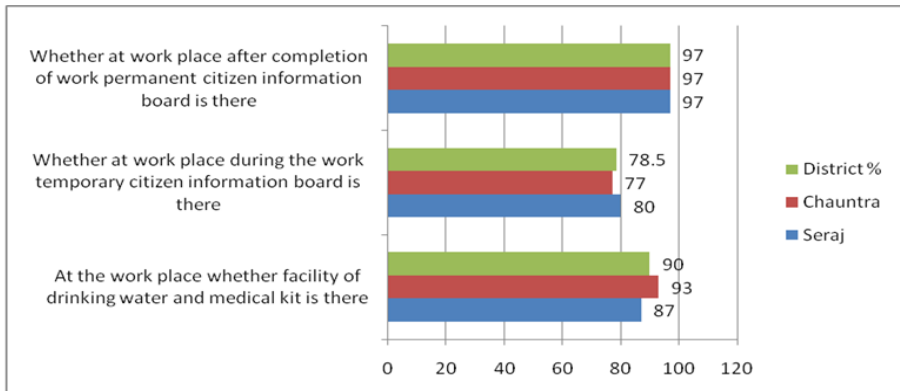
**Figure:4 Muster roll**



Source: Field Study, 2021

Only the 51.5% respondents replied that they mark their attendance on the muster rolls themselves, 98.5% replied that muster roll is necessary at the workplace, and 100% replied that their names are printed on the muster roll. The responses regarding the marking of attendance on the muster roll shows the more IEC is required in this regard and calls for initiative/interventions for realtime attendance to be implemented immediately.

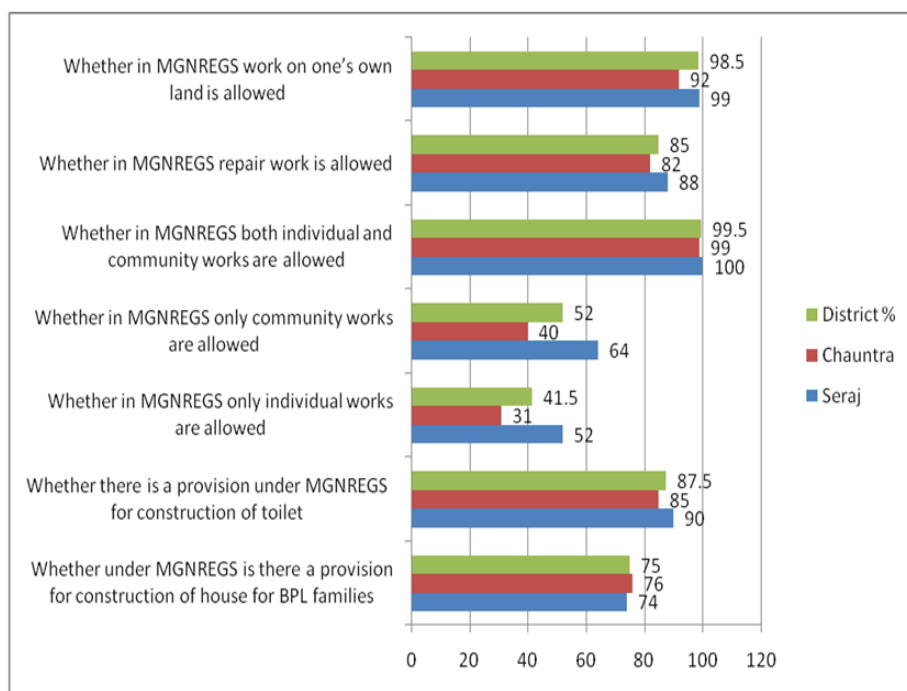
**Figure: 5 Worksite facilities/provisions**



Source: Field Study, 2021

The 90% replied that worksite facilities are available at the worksite, 78.5 % replied that temporary citizen information boards are available at the site during the duration of work and 97% replied that permanent citizen information boards are available at the site after the work is completed. The responses in this regard show that official machinery has delivered in this regard and respondents are fully aware of the worksite facilities to be provided, however transparency measures regarding putting temporary citizen information board during the execution of work requires improvement.

**Figure:6 Assets constructed under MGNREGS**

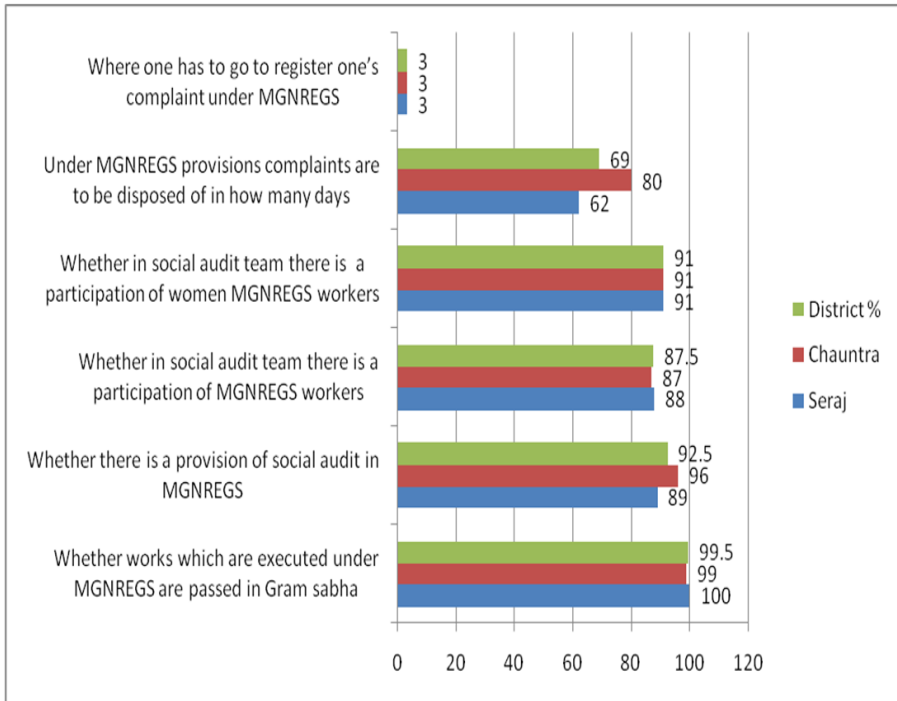


Source: Field Study, 2021

The responses showed that 75% knew that provision for construction of house for BPL is there, 87.5% knew that provision for construction of individual toilet is there, 99.5 % knew that both individual and community works are allowed under MGNREGS, 85% knew that repair works are allowed and 98.5% knew that work on one's own land is allowed under MGNREGS. The responses showed that women workers have reasonably good knowledge about the works which can be taken up under MGNREGS,

however awareness regarding construction of house, toilets and repair is very less.

**Figure:7 Transparency, grievance redressal and social audit**



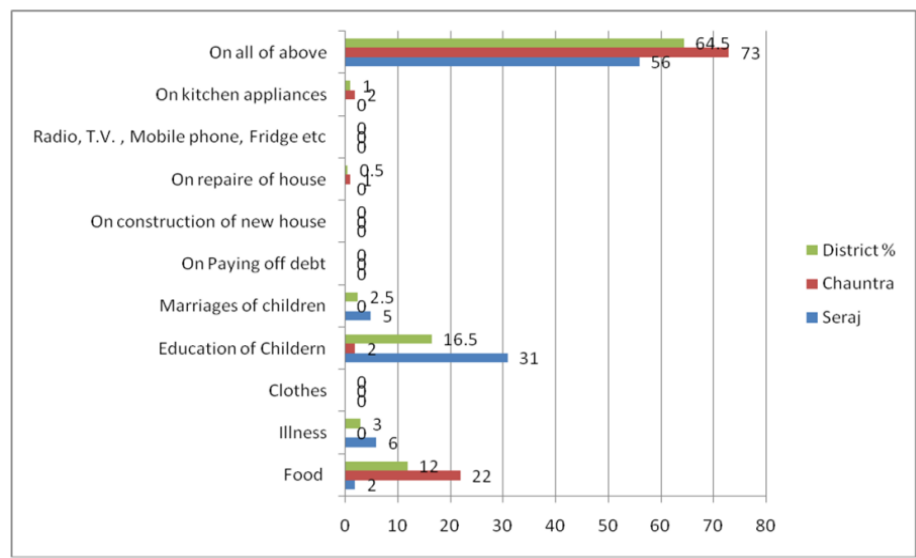
Source: Field Study, 2021

The 99.5% replied that they knew regarding the passing of works in MGNREGS, 92.5% knew the provision of social audit under MGNREGS, 87.5 % knew that MGNREGS workers participate in the social audit team, 91 % knew that women workers participate in the social audit team, only 69 % knew that complaints under MGNREGS have to be settled within seven days and only 3% knew where to register their complaints. The responses showed that social audit provisions knowledge is yet to pick up among the women workers the consequence of that is necessarily going to affect the transparency under MGNREGS and further that only awareness regarding complaint redressal requires further IEC in this regard.

## 2. SOCIO ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT

Socio economic empowerment has been analyzed on the basis of expenditure on items, time taken earlier to look for employment outside village, Wage employment role, Works contribution, earnings and economic independence, social empowerment and financial literacy.

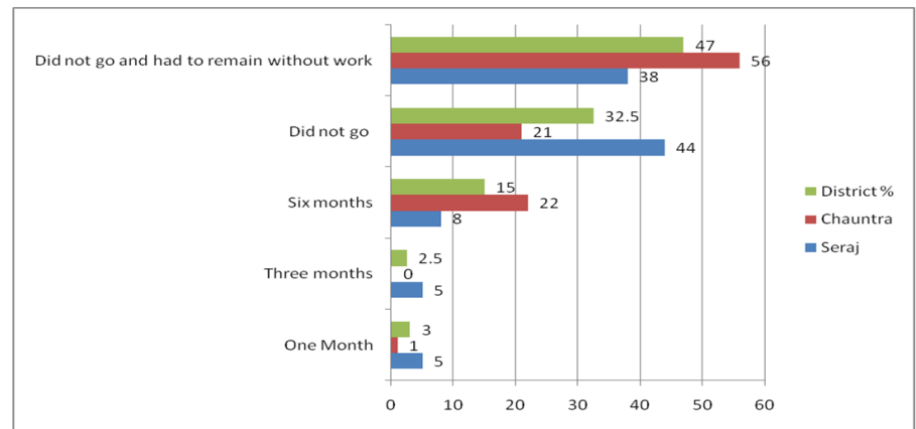
**Figure:8 On which one of the following you have spent your wages earned under MGNREGS**



Source: Field Study, 2021

The responses in this regard showed that 64.5 % replied that MGNREGS earning are spent on food, illness, clothes, education of children, marriage of children, paying off debt, construction of house and on buying household items. The replies showed that MGNREGS earnings are coming handy for those households who are working under MGNREGS.

**Figure: 9 Before MGNREGS women used to go outside their villages for wage employment for how many days**

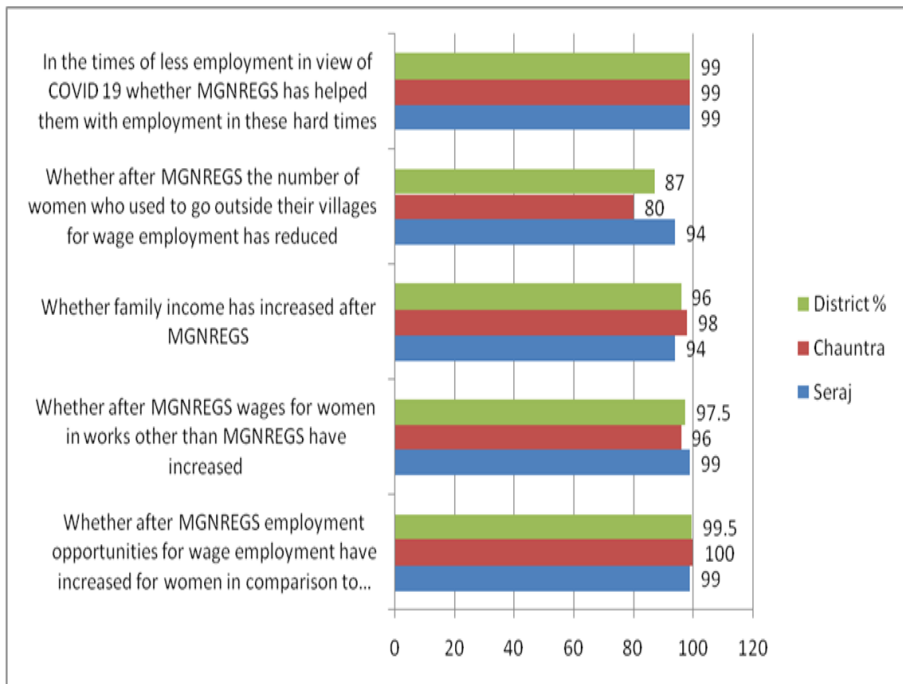


Source: Field Study, 2021



Primary survey shows that 3% women used to migrate for one month outside for work before MGNREGS, 15 % women used to migrate for six month outside for work before MGNREGS, 32.5 % replied that they did not migrate outside for work before MGNREGS and 47 % women workers did not go outside their villages for work and had to remain without work before MGNREGS. This shows that MGNREGS has certainly proved to be a paradigm shift for women employment and consequently women empowerment in rural areas.

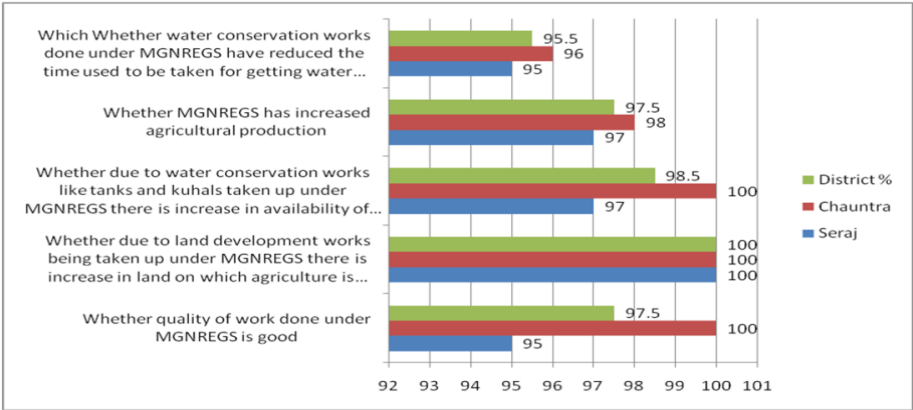
**Figure: 10 Wage employment**



Source: Field Study, 2021

The Primary survey reveals that 99.5% of respondents feel that after MGNREGS the employment opportunities for women have increased, 97.5 % of respondents revealed that wages for women in works other than MGNREGS have increased after coming of MGNREGS, 87% revealed that migration of women for work has reduced after MGNREGS and 99% replied that MGNREGS has in COVID 19 times has immensely helped them in finding work whereas all other option at that time were closed. This shows that MGNREGS has proved to be a boon regarding women employment, equal wages for men and women in rural areas and has thereby considerably enhanced the women empowerment.

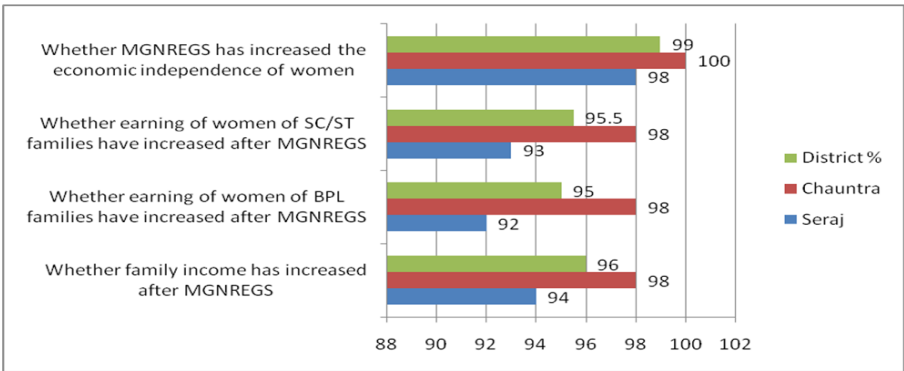
Figure: 11 Works



Source: Field Study, 2021

Primary survey reveals that 97.5% respondents feel that quality of works under MGNREGS is good, 100% responded that area of land on which agriculture was practiced has increased due to land development works taken up under the MGNREGS, 98.5% responded that water availability for agriculture has increased after the water conservation, irrigation works have been taken under the MGNREGS, 97.5% revealed that after MGNREGS agriculture production has increased and 95.5% responded that MGNREGS has reduced drudgery i.e. time taken to get the water has been reduced after the taking up of water conservation works under the MGNREGS. This shows that area under agriculture has increased; water availability has increased thereby increasing crop production which has led to overall economic empowerment especially.

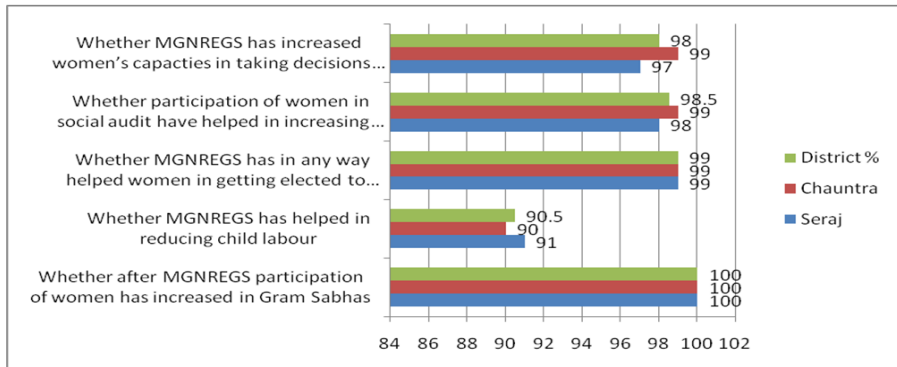
Figure: 12 Earnings and economic independence



Source: Field Study, 2021

Primary survey reveals that 95% responded that earnings of BPL women have increased after MGNREGS, 95.5 % revealed that earnings of SC/ST women have increased after MGNREGS, 99 % feel that economic independence of women has increased after MGNREGS and 96 % feel that family income as a whole increased after MGNREGS. This shows that MGNREGS has considerably empowered the rural women economically more than anything else.

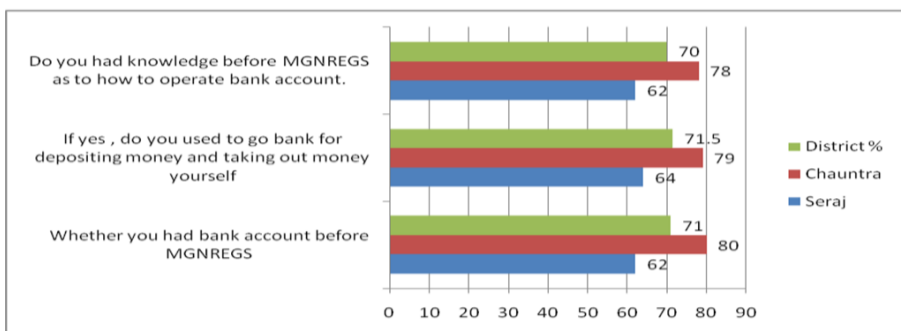
**Figure: 13 Social empowerment**



Source: Field Study, 2021

Primary survey revealed that 100 % replied that participation of women has increased in Gram sabhas after MGNREGS, 90.5% revealed that child labour has been reduced after MGNREGS, 99 % replied that MGNREGS has helped them in getting elected to panchayati raj institutions, 98% replied that MGNREGS has increased their decision taking capabilities both at household and at community level and 98.5 % replied that participation in social audit has helped in women empowerment. This shows that MGNREGS and social audit provisions have increased their participation in the gram sabhas and in the PRI institutions and this has led to empowering them socially.

**Figure: 14 Financial Literacy**



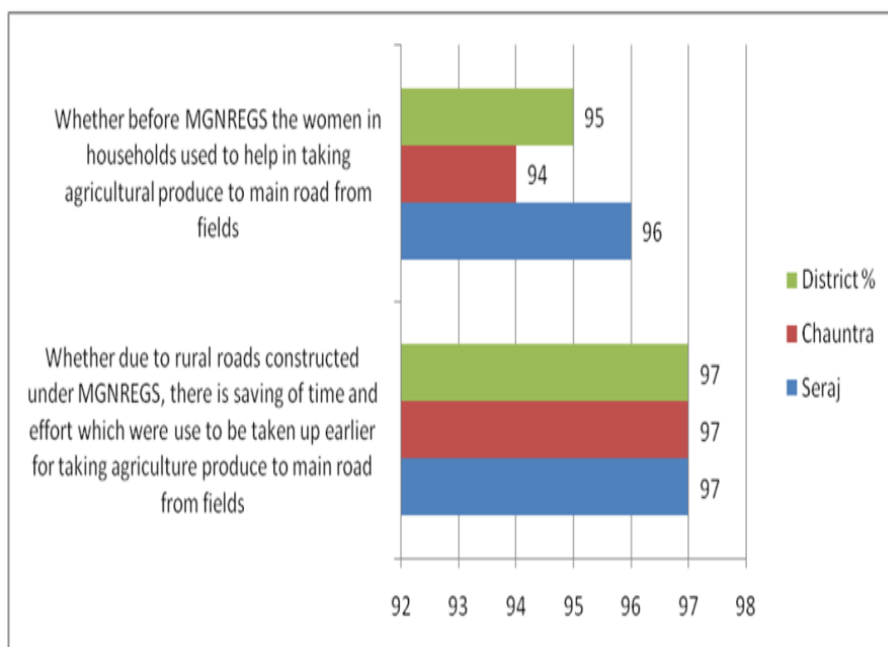
Source: Field Study, 2021

Primary survey revealed that 71 % replied that they had bank account before MGNREGS, 71.5 % replied that they operated their bank accounts themselves and 70 % replied that even before MGNREGS they knew how to operate bank account. This shows that MGNREGS has led to increasing the level of financial literacy among the women especially as now under MGNREGS wages are transferred in bank accounts therefore compulsorily all women workers are required to have bank account beforehand.

### 3. Asset creation and their impact on women empowerment

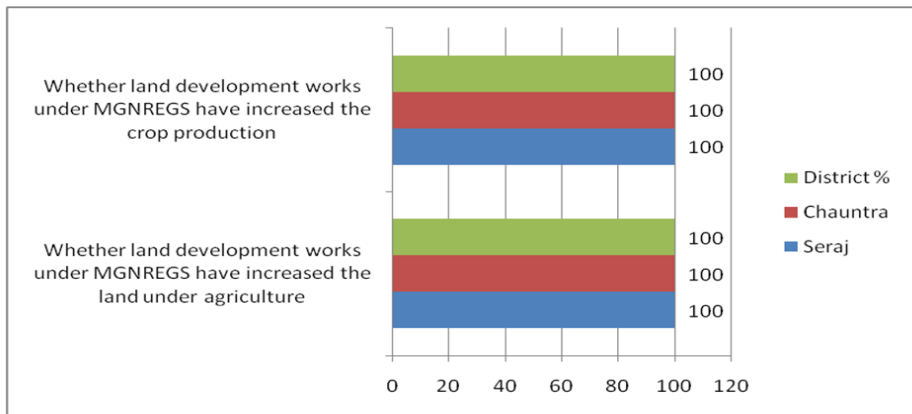
Asset creation and its role on women empowerment has been analyzed taking into consideration the rural connectivity works, Land development works, Water availability, Impact of cattle sheds, Toilet construction, Vermi-composting pits.

**Figure: 15 Rural connectivity works**



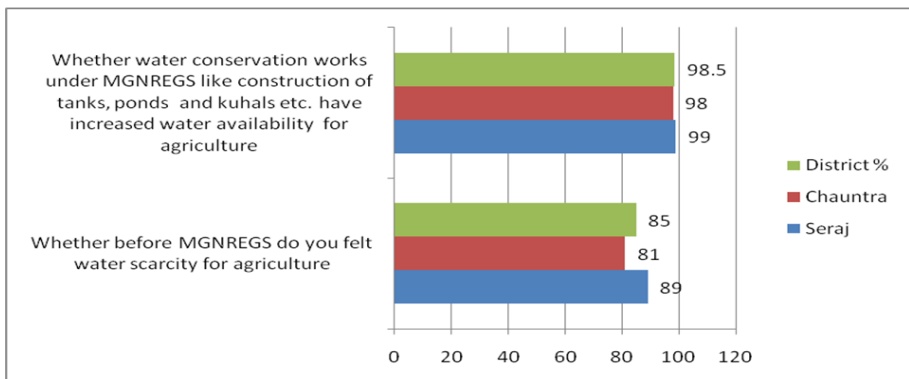
Source: Field Study, 2021

Primary survey shows that 97 % feel that after the rural connectivity works under MGNREGS the drudgery has been reduced as time taken earlier for taking agricultural produce to roads has been reduced and 95 % feel that earlier women used to take the agricultural produce to the road head side for its transportation. This shows that rural connectivity works have reduced the drudgery of women especially with regard to agricultural works.

**Figure: 16 Land development works**

Source: Field Study, 2021

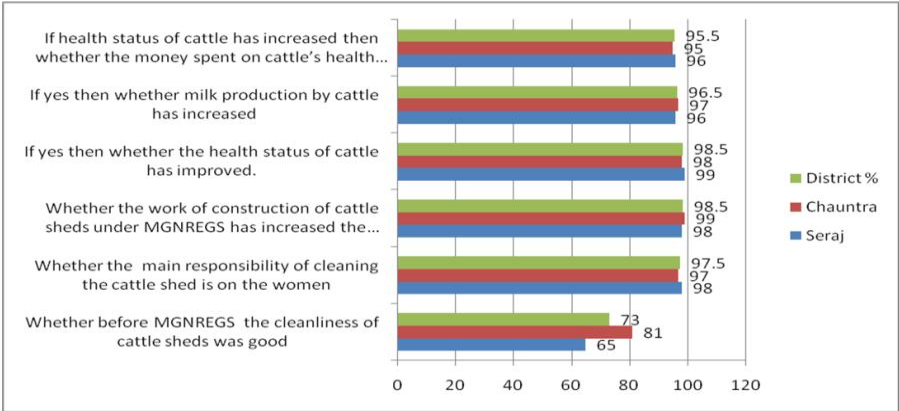
Primary survey revealed that 100 % replied that land development works under MGNREGS have increased the area of land under agriculture as compared to earlier times before MGNREGS and 100 % replied that land development works have increased the crop production. This shows that land development works under MGNREGS have led to increase in area under crops and in increasing crop production.

**Figure: 17 Water Availability**

Source: Field Study, 2021

Primary survey reveals that 85 % feel that before MGNREGS there was water scarcity for agriculture and 98.5% feel that water conservation works and irrigation works have increased water availability for agriculture. This shows that MGNREGS works especially like water conservation works and irrigation works have increased the availability of water for agriculture and reduced the drudgery w.r.t efforts earlier used to get water for agriculture.

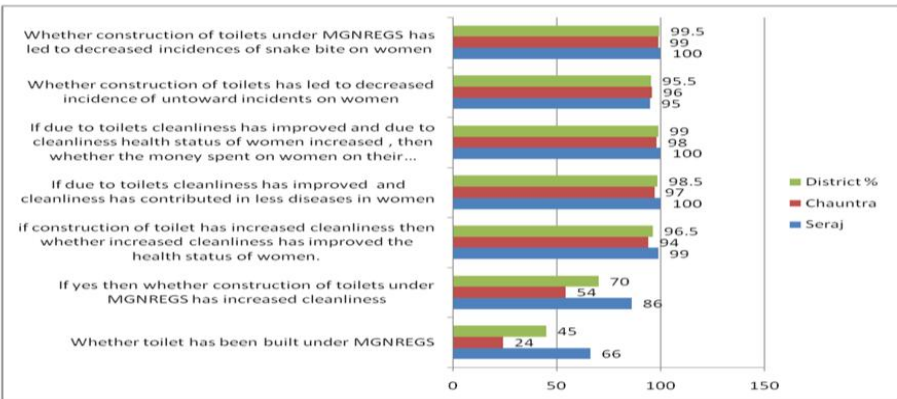
Figure: 18 Impact of cattle sheds



Source: Field Study, 2021

Primary survey revealed that only 73% replied that before MGNREGS the cattle shed cleanliness was good, 97.5 % replied that it was women responsibility to keep the cattle shed clean, 98.5% replied that after cattle shed work under MGNREGS the cleanliness of cattle shed has increased, 98.5% replied that as a result the health status of cattle has also improved, 96.5% replied that resultingly the milk production has also increased and 95.5% replied that as a result health of cattle has increased and accordingly money spent on health upkeep of cattle has also decreased. This shows that cattle shed work under MGNREGS has helped in women in reducing their effort/time which they earlier used to do to keep the cattle shed clean, further it has helped in their economic empowerment as the production of milk grew and expenditure on cattle due to cattle diseases was reduced.

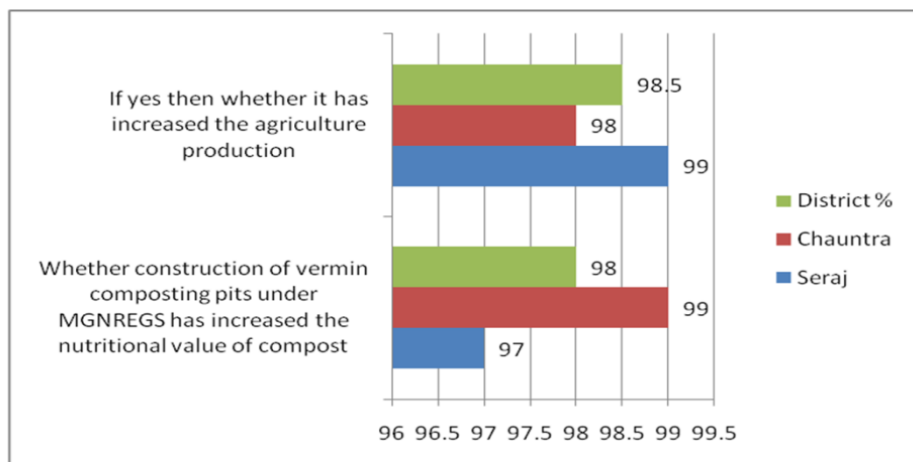
Figure: 19 Impact of toilet construction



Source: Field Study, 2021

Primary survey shows that 58% replied that toilet has been built under MGNREGS, 98% replied that construction of toilet under MGNREGS has improved the cleanliness, 92 % replied that as a result of cleanliness the health status of women has improved, 97.5% replied that as a result of cleanliness the women are facing less diseases, 98 % replied that as result of cleanliness and less diseases now the money spent on women diseases has decreased, 96.5 % replied that construction of toilets has decreased the incidence of untoward incidents on women and 93.5% replied that construction of toilets has led to decreased incidence of snake bite which women faced earlier. This shows that toilets construction under MGNREGS has helped in increasing the health status of women and now due to increased status of health the spending on women diseases was reduced and apart from empowering economically it has empowered them socially also as they are now feeling safe from untoward incidents.

**Figure: 20 Impact of construction of vermin composting pits**



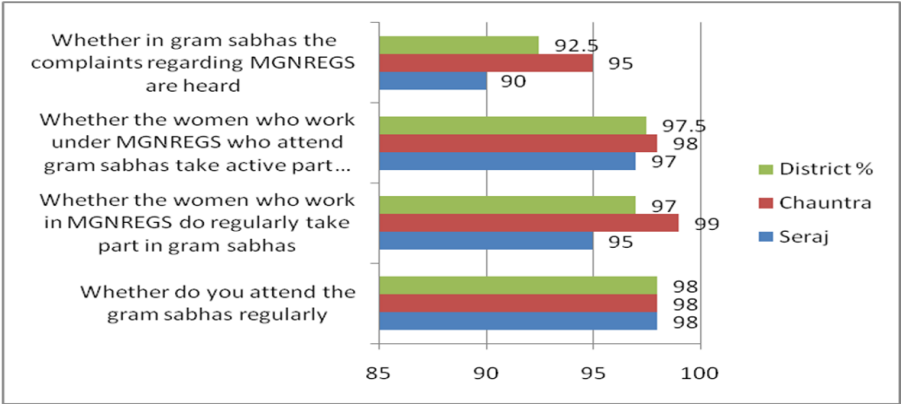
Source: Field Study, 2021

Primary survey shows that 98% replied that construction of vermi-composting pits under MGNREGS has increased the nutritional value of compost and 98.5% replied that as a result the agriculture production has increased. This shows that vermi-composting pits have increased the quality of compost thereby increasing both the quality and quantity of produce.

#### **4. Transparency, accountability and financial literacy**

Transparency, accountability and financial literacy has been analyzed on the basis of participation in gram sabhas, social audit, grievance redressal and financial literacy.

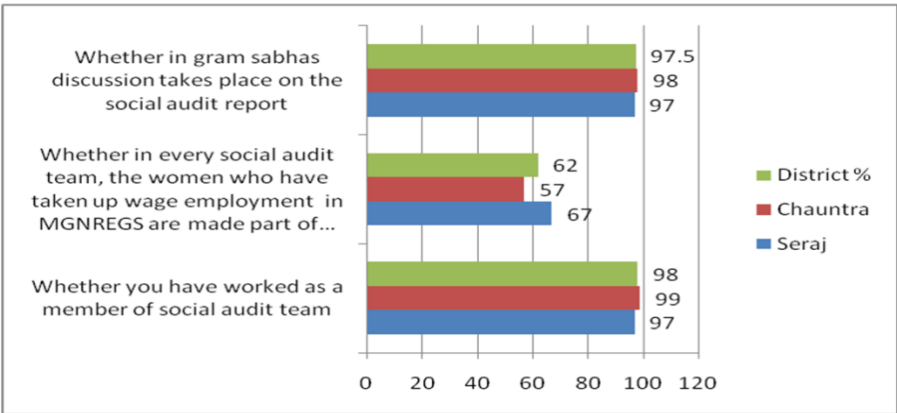
**Figure: 21 Gram sabhas**



Source: Field Study, 2021

Primary survey shows that 98% replied that they attend gram sabhas regularly, 97% replied that they take part in gram sabhas regularly, and 97.5 % replied that they also take active part in discussion in gram sabhas and 92.5 % replied that in gram sabhas the complaints are also heard. This shows that MGNREGS has increased their participation and also their active participation in the gram sabhas.

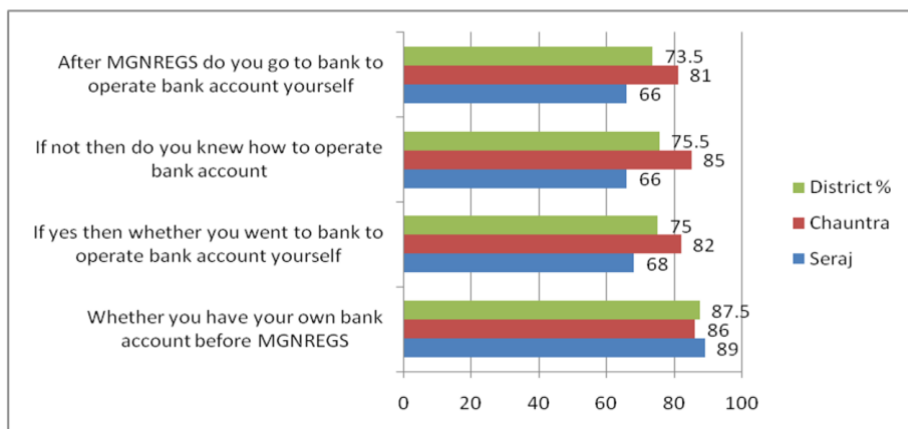
**Figure: 22 Social audit**



Source: Field Study, 2021

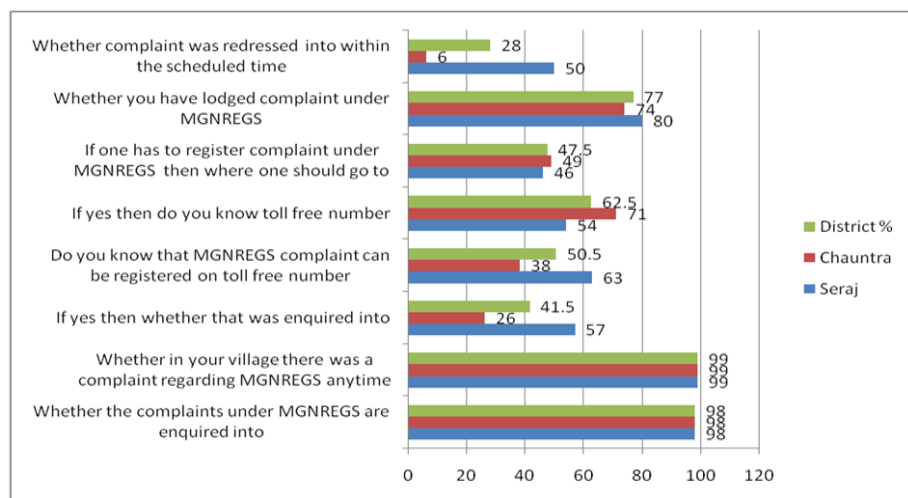
Primary survey shows that 97.5% replied that in gram sabhas the social audit report is discussed, 98 % replied that they have worked as a part of social audit team and 62 % replied that in every social audit woman MGNREGS workers are made part of that team. This shows that participation in the gram sabhas and social audit has considerably empowered the women socially.



**Figure: 23 Financial Literacy**

Source: Field Study, 2021

Primary survey shows that 87.5% replied that before MGNREGS they had their own bank account, 67.5% percent replied that they operated bank accounts themselves, 75.5% replied that though they did not have bank account before MGNREGS but they knew how to operate bank account and 73.5 % replied that after MGNREGS they operate bank account themselves. This shows that MGNREGS has considerably improved the financial literacy as now every women working under MGNREGS is supposed to possess bank account as wages are only transferred in bank account of wage earner.

**Figure: 24 Grievance redressal**

Source: Field Study, 2021.

Primary survey shows that 98% replied that MGNREGS complaints are inquired into, 99% replied that in their village MGNREGS complaint was there, 41.5 % replied that the same complaint was enquired into, 50.5% knew that there is a toll free number for complaint registration, % 62.5replied that knew the toll free number, 47.5 % knew where to lodge the complaint,77% replied that they had lodged complaint under MGNREGS and 28 % replied that the complaint was enquired into. This shows that there is a lot scope for improvement in this regard as though 99% replied that complaint was there in village but only 41.5%replied that complaint was enquired into and only 47.5% knew where to lodge complaint physically.

## **FINDINGS**

- Regarding performance evaluation part some more intensive IEC work in this area is desired if the scheme has to deliver its maximum potential and to root out the obstructions which are hindering the implementation of scheme and its transparent working along with grievance redressal mechanism.
- Regarding social and economic empowerment it was found that it has shown considerable impact in empowering the women economically and socially and their participation in gram sabha and social audit has given them necessary confidence to go out and participate in the election process of PRIs and getting elected However, economic empowerment is more than social empowerment as active participation of women in gram sabha yet to achieve its optimum level and social audit is yet in its infancy stage and yet to catch up though has started delivering.
- Regarding the assets under MGNREGS it was found that individual assets like land development, construction of water conservation like tanks, construction of cattle shed, and construction of toilet and community assets especially rural connectivity works have gone a long way in empowering the women economically and in reducing their drudgery. Here again the MGNREGS works have gone to empower the women folks more economically than socially though economic empowerment has also hastened their empowerment socially also. Another remarkable thing which has happened is that MGNREGS works have reduced the drudgery of womenfolk. As very less households have been able to achieve guaranteed 120 days per year therefore, some new initiatives particularly work which have considerable impact on livelihood are the need of hour in this regard.
- Regarding the transparency, accountability and financial it was found that much action is desired in the area of transparency and accountability, though financial literacy has increased by leaps and

bounds. A concerted action on many areas of scheme in a mission mode is required if the scheme has to deliver on this aspect.

### **Suggestions**

- Though it is argued that a lot of IEC has been done and people more or less now know MGNREGS quite well but the study points out that IEC efforts are desired and PRIs/NGOs /CBOs etc should be aggressively used.
- There should be an analysis and monitoring wing in each State managed by professionals which can carry out studies.
- The gender approach at the planning stage is missing, therefore, when the shelf is being prepared at the Gram sabha and up gram sabha stage the gender sensitive approach and the livelihood security needs of women be included.
- The social audit setup needs to be strengthened with the staffing of adequate personnel upto the level of Gram panchayat and thorough training of staff along with appropriate MIS setup just like of MGNREGS so that anyone from anywhere can see the details in this regard.
- If the ratio of labour material ratio is changed from present 60:40 to 50:50, more durable assets which address the women livelihood security issues could be implemented.
- Many Technological interventions introduced in the MGNREGS since beginning have made this scheme a leader in the transparency, however there are still many areas like realtime attendance, selection of work, planning of work on the basis of Geospatial mapping which require more work in this regard.

### **Conclusion:**

MGNREGS is one of the well thought out and one of the well implemented programmes and is far better programme than any of the programmes implemented since independence which addresses the issues of wage employment, poverty, assets creation, natural resource management along with asset creation and women empowerment effectively. Through its strong transparent MIS mechanism, it allows anyone from anywhere to be a part of monitoring system as one can see from anywhere anytime the status of work, muster roll, payment of wage and material, vouchers/bills workwise material wise etc.

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## **An Analysis of National Green Tribunal**

**-Ruchi Gupta & Tanvi Sharma**

### **Abstract**

The present paper attempts to throw some light on the legal and judicial perspective in protection of environment through mechanism of national green tribunal set up in India. Under the National Green Tribunal Act 2010 national green Tribunal deals with environment related disputes involving multiple issues. The paper briefly mentions the jurisdiction and kinds of matters the tribunal can take up and also with special focus on judicial role and perspective on protecting the environment. Various judgments passed by the tribunal from time to time have also been cited. A brief analysis of the judicial role is also being presented in the paper. What was the need of such act and setting up of tribunal attempts to answer these questions?

**Keywords:** *NGT, Jurisdiction, National Green Tribunal Act 2010, Judicial, Environment.*

### **Introduction**

In today's scenario it is a bitter truth that our planet is suffering from so many pollutions and it's like a disease which is spreading at a fast pace. As environment dispute is very complicated in nature and increasing transnational in nature. It has been warned by scientists, environmentalist and activists to think of alternative means of fulfilling the demands of people rather than relying absolutely on non-renewable sources. So, when one person delivering a judgment on environment, he/she needs to be an expert in biology, zoology, biodiversity or nature related to deal with this problem. Therefore, there was a need of an hour to make a special court as our courts are already overburdened with the pending cases and the government of India has formed the National Green Tribunal in 2010 to deal with the environment related issue. Earlier there were two bodies National Environment Tribunal Act and National Environment and Appellate Authority to deal with this issue. These tribunal were granted with extensive

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powers to arbitrate the cases of preservation and protection of the natural resources our environment and the legal rights of people so infringed by the economic development and violation of laws under the various laws like the Water Act, 1974, the Air Act, 1981, The Environment Protection Act, 1986, Forest Conservation Act and the Biological Diversity Act, 2002. Therefore, Refining the environmental rule of law, contact to justice and environmental clash firmness is essential for achieving the UN's 2030 agenda for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) while talking particularly regarding SDG Goal 16 'to provide access to fairness for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. To achieve this goal, establishing specific courts and tribunals dealing entirely with environmental matters is becoming essential. All over the world, more than 1200 environmental courts and tribunals are working in various countries, and more such courts have been planned for the future.

Also, India is a signatory to the 2 United Nation Conferences which was related to environment related laws and problems. First was Stockholm Conference 1972; which was related to the safeguarding and preserving the natural resources and to provide relief to the victim of pollution. And second was Rio De-Jenerio in 1992 in which it was declared that there must be effective laws related to environment. Then in 186<sup>th</sup> Law Commission Report, India declared that there must be one court to deal with the environment related problems (Vivek Dubey, 2019).

### **National Green Tribunal**

NGT is a quasi-judicial body, established with the apex bench in Delhi and followed by four other zonal benches and known as Environment/Green Court of India. These four benches are located in Chennai, Pune, Bhopal and Kolkata. The Preamble of the Act declared that the NGT been set up to carry out, *inter alia*, the constitutional obligations under Article 21. Article 21 of Indian Constitution provides protection to the life and personal liberty of every individual. Therefore, by Keeping in mind, the government of India has formed the NGT to deal with environment related issue. NGT is a specialized environmental body, consisting of judicial as well as expert members who are having in-depth experience of environment related issues. It provides compensation to the aggrieved parties which have to be paid by the polluter for causing the damages. This tribunal has jurisdiction of only environment related problems. It is based on the principles of natural justice (Vivek Dubey, 2019). The aim of NGT is to lessen the burden of litigation in the courts as Indian courts are already overburdened with the cases from apex court to lower courts (The National Green Tribunal Act, 2010).

## **Objectives of National Green Tribunal**

1. There should be speedy disposal of cases that are related to the protection and conservation of the environment, forests, and other natural resources.
2. To give compensations for the damages caused to aggrieved parties.
3. To handle various environmental disputes that involves substantial question of law.
4. Its main aim is to reduce the burden of court.
5. To deliver early and effective disposal of cases and Firstly, litigant fulfilment and Secondly, sustainable development with the due protection of environment.
6. To arrange for restoration of ecology with the help of polluter pay principle and precautionary principle and environmental doctrines (Swapna & Krishna, 2014).

## **Features of National Green Tribunal**

While referring to the *Composition*, according to the Section 4 of the Act, NGT consist of full-time *Chairman*, who is appointed from the judge of the Supreme Court or the Chief Justice of the High-Courts. Justice Adarsh Kumar Goel was appointed as a chairperson of the National Green Tribunal (NGT) in 2018. He is a retired judge of Supreme Court and has been appointed for five years. He is the third chairperson of the NGT. The Chairman has a power to appoint or invite any expert relating to environment issue to help in solving the case. The expert should have experience of minimum fifteen years inclusive of five years practical experience in the field of environment related issues. The chairman and Union government of the country has been given the powers to lay down the rules and procedures for the Green Court of the country. The composition of *Members* should not be less than ten and a maximum of twenty full-time judicial members. It also provides for a maximum of twenty and a minimum of ten full-time expert members who could give advice on the cases brought to the NGT. Generally, the judges of Supreme Court and High Courts are appointed as a judicial member of the Tribunal (Research Gate). The term of the members is five years and they are not eligible for re-appointment. The need of NGT is for the speedy and expeditious disposal of environmental cases, due to ever increasing burden of pending cases. Decision of tribunal should be taken by the majority of the opinion (Gill, 2010, pp. 461-471).

National Green Tribunal is India's first devoted environmental court with a wide jurisdiction to deal with not only violations of environmental laws, but also to deliver for compensation, relief and restoration of the ecology in

accordance with the statutory principles stated under Section 20 of the National Green Tribunal Act, 2010 which are 'Polluter Pays' Principle 'Precautionary Principle' and Sustainable Development. The Tribunal's dedicated jurisdiction in the field of environment has provided expeditious justice. It has disposed of nearly 82% of the instituted cases within the year their institution.

Many countries have established green courts to protect environment and to deal with environment related cases specifically. India is among the developing nations who have established green court to tackle the problems of environment violations effectively and speedily. National green tribunal established in India in 2010 under the constitutional mandate article 21 which speaks of right to life and it includes right to healthy and clean environment.

The government of India started the new green courts to specifically take up environmental matters. It is a fast-track mechanism to ensure effective and speedy justice to the aggrieved. The tribunal Act provides for compensation to the aggrieved by the polluter for the losses and irreparable damages. The National Green Tribunal follows principle of natural justice it is not bound by the technical procedure of CPC. By establishing the green courts in different parts, the vision is to reach the maximum parts of the country so that everyone can have remedy. Principal bench as well as regional benches of the Green Tribunal is currently in function. Beside this, another major purpose for the establishment of green court in different cities, aimed to reduce the burden of litigation in the general courts. Indian courts are already overburdened with the cases in every court from lower to upper courts (National Green Tribunal). The present research paper contains the observations on following queries:

What is necessity of National green tribunal act 2010, how far did we get benefitted by the enactment? What are judicial concerns?

National green Tribunal has passed so many important orders in various cases giving relief in respect of ban on illegal sand mining, restricting noise pollution in Delhi, protection and preservation of biodiversity in western Ghats, protection of wildlife in Kaziranga National Park, many environmental clearances has been questioned and stopped, rapid and haphazard industrialization has also been checked and so on. The NGT is doing well in imparting justice where effective disposal of litigations are required. Maybe it is not all-round solution to the environment problems but it is doing great in handling and responding to the problems to some extent. Beside this it will lead us to better mechanism and experiences (Reddy, 2021)



## **Strengths of NGT**

1. During past years, National Green Tribunal has emerged as a critical player in environmental guideline passing strict orders on issues ranging from pollution to deforestation to waste management.
2. National Green Tribunal offers a path for the development of environmental jurisprudence by setting up an alternative dispute resolution mechanism.
3. It helps reduce the burden of litigation in the higher courts on environmental matters.
4. It plays crucial role in restricting the environment-damaging activities. The Chairperson and members are not eligible for reappointment; hence they are likely to deliver judgments independently, without yielding to pressure from any sector.
5. The NGT has been instrumental in ensuring that the Environment Impact Assessment process is strictly observed.

## **Challenges of NGT**

- Two important acts - Wildlife (Protection) Act, 1972 and Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 have been kept out of NGT's jurisdiction.
- This restricts the jurisdiction area of NGT and at times hampers its functioning as crucial forest rights issue is linked directly to environment.
- This is one of the weaknesses of the Act as there is lack of clarity about what kind of decisions can be challenged; even though according to the NGT Act, its decision can be challenged before the Supreme Court.
- Decisions of NGT have also been criticised and challenged due to their repercussions on economic growth and development.
- The absence of a formula based mechanism in determining the compensation has also brought criticism to the tribunal.
- The decisions given by NGT are not fully complied by the stakeholders or the government. Sometimes its decisions are pointed out not to be feasible to implement within a given timeframe.
- The lack of human and financial resources has led to high pendency of cases – which undermines NGT's very objective of disposal of appeals within 6 months.

- The justice delivery mechanism is also hindered by limited number of regional benches.

### **Landmark Judgements**

It is important to observe that there is a very sensitive line between the orders passed by the

National Green Tribunal and by the Hon'ble Supreme Court. National Green Tribunal has succeeded in bridging the gap between a Tribunal and the Apex Court of the country. The Judgements are particularly focused on the three principles of Environment legislation – Polluter Pays, Precautionary Principle and most importantly Sustainable Development. Government bodies like MoEF should take this opportunity provided by the tribunal to take cognizance of these matters and restructure Environmental laws. Also, the decisions of the NGT are binding. The Tribunal's orders are enforceable as the powers vested are the same as in a civil court under the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908.

In 2012 *Almitra H. Patel vs. Union of India case*, NGT gave judgment of complete prohibition on open burning of waste on lands, including landfills – regarded as the single biggest landmark case dealing with the issue of solid waste management in India.

The NGT, in 2017, imposed an interim ban on plastic bags of less than 50-micron thickness in Delhi because “they were causing animal deaths, clogging sewers and harming the environment”.

In *A.P. Pollution Control Board vs. M.V. Nayudu* (National Environment Appellate Authority Act, 1997) The Supreme Court referred that there is a need for establishing Environmental Courts which would have the benefit of expert advice from environmental experts/qualified persons, as part of the judicial process, after an elaborate discussion of the views of jurists in various countries.

Therefore, In the short span of 10 years, the Tribunal has given some important judgments that changed the course of environmental law and protection in India. The Judiciary has always been the defender of the environment.

One such case is *Manoj Mishra v. Delhi Development Authority & Others*, 2016 (National Environment Appellate Authority Act, 1997) (popularly known as the Art of Living Case). NGT's recent decision with respect to pollution of Yamuna flood plains by the Art of Living Foundation is considered to be a controversial case where the Tribunal applied absolute liability principle and polluter pays principle in making the foundation responsible for the pollution. The Art of Living (AOL) Foundation

conducted the World Cultural Festival from March 11-13, 2016 on the banks of the river Yamuna. Before the festival, an environmentalist, Mr. Manoj Mishra, had approached the NGT and sought stoppage of the ongoing construction for the event in Yamuna flood plains citing irreversible environmental degradation. The NGT allowed the conduct of the festival citing fait accompli even after an inspection by an appointed expert who also reported massive damage to the plains. Initially, the Tribunal imposed a fine of Rs. 5 crores on the AOL Foundation. However, an NGT appointed expert panel recommended a fine of Rs. 42 crores for the physical and biological rehabilitation of the flood plains. But the Tribunal in its final decision held the AOL foundation responsible for the damage caused and directed the already paid fine of Rs. 5 crores to be utilised for restoration activities by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA). It also held the DDA responsible for failing to do its statutory duties. The liability on AOL Foundation was based upon absolute liability principle and polluter pays principle.

Another case is *Prafulla Samantray Vs. Union of India and Others, 2011 (POSCO case)*(AIR1996)

Pohang Iron and Steel Company (POSCO) is another case is Prafulla Samantray Vs. Union of India and Others, 2011 (POSCO case). Pohang Iron and Steel Company (POSCO) is a Korean business enterprise and it is the global's 4th biggest steel maker business enterprise. It signed an MoU with the Odisha authorities to install a steel plant in Jagatsinhpur district of Orissa. Total said funding of the venture turned into 51,000/-crore (about 12 million US Dollars) and it turned into project that the plant could produce 12 million Tonns of metal per annum. It turned into a totally massive appeal for the media insurance of the complete global as it turned into certainly considered one among the largest Foreign Direct Investment carried out via way of means of an overseas business enterprise in India. But NGT being genuine to its goal of status quo and maintaining its agenda for saving the surroundings intact ordered a suspension of Odisha Government's order of organising the plant thereby relieving the locals and the neighbourhood surroundings of the intense harm to the ecology device of that area. (OA 65/2016)

*In Re: Water Pollution by Tanneries at Jajmau, Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh: Water Pollution at Rania, Kanpur Dehat & Rakhi Mandi, Kanpur Nagar, Uttar Pradesh* (Application No.8/2011) bench led by the chairman A. K. Goel directed the authorities of Uttar Pradesh to pay the fine of Rs. 10 crores as reimbursement for inflicting harm to the surroundings. The case turned into associated with the discharge of poisonous fabric discharge of untreated sewage containing poisonous Chromium into River Ganga. The NGT being genuine to its running and determination to keep the surroundings, imposed fine at the authorities and in addition to this strictly ordered, a closing down of all of the tanneries that brought about harm to the River Ganga. (Vinayak Gupta, 2020)

In *Ms. Betty C. Alvares vs. The State of Goa and Ors.*, 2014 The Tribunal stated: Article 21 of the Constitution guarantees life of a person. It is not restricted to guarantee of life only to a citizen of India. The applicability of Article 21 can not be restricted only to a citizen of India as stated by the tribunal. In this case it was assume that Applicant- Betty Alvares isn't the citizen of India. Yes, the Application is maintainable. The NGT made clear that overseas nationals too have locus standi the court when the matters are filed under article 21. Interpreting Section 2 (j), the Tribunal found that the word 'person' deserves to be construed not in a narrow sense to include an individual, whether a national or a person who is not a citizen of India. The Court stated that the details of Betty's nationality is not required. (Rosencranz & Sahu, 2016)

In *Môn Region Federation and Ors. vs. Union of India and Ors* (Rosencranz & Sahu, 2016) There was a construction of hydropower electric dam on river named as Naymjung Chhuu and the federation Save Mon has challenged the environmental clearance on this point. The Federation said that it was a fault of the expert where they are lacking scrutiny of the project in the environmental impact assessment procedure. The National Green Tribunal said that It is true to say that hydel strength provides enough eco pleasing renewable supply of strength and its improvement is essential but it has been taken into consideration that without any loss to nature such improvement should to be sustainable improvement. The NGT put off the environmental clearance till the Ministry of Environment, Forests and Climate Change undertakes an environmental drift. All research needs to be furnished to the general public for session. Thereafter the EAC need to make a clean appraisal of the dam venture, with the brand-new statistics and public feedback in mind. (Save Mon Region Federation v. Union of India). It additionally had different endangered species consisting of the red panda, snow leopard, etc. The tribunal gave orders to droop the clearance for the venture. It additionally directed the EAC to make a brand-new thought for environmental clearance. The tribunal additionally directed the Ministry of Environment and Forest in the country to prepare a study on the protection of the birds involved in this case

In the case of *Krishan Kant Singh Vs. National Ganga River Basin Authority* (2014), National Green Tribunal focused and directs the defaulting industrial division to pay a compensation of Rupees seven crores to the concerned State Pollution Control Board based on the Polluter Pays Principle for undertaking remedial activities to ensure river conservation. In another similar case, (*R K Patel Vs. Union of India*, judgement delivered on 18 February 2014), the NGT heading for environmental compensation of Rupees Ten Lakhs to the aggrieved farmers at Gujarat due to the hazardous waste pollution (OA 509/2015).

In *Saloni Ailawadi versus Union of India & Ors* (Significant Interventions, 2019).

Issue: Action against Volkswagen India Private Limited for employing 'deceit devices', Date: 07.03.2019 .

Impact: a conservative sum of damages against Volkswagen India to the tune of Rs 100 crores due to lack of methodologies for calculating the overall impacts of NOx on the environment and the health by the expert committee constituted by the Tribunal. However, the Tribunal the fine was raised to Rs 500 crores because apart from actual damage by a conservative estimate, deterrent element has to be considered, especially in view of international unethical practice by the auto manufacturer.

In *Braj Foundation v. Govt. of U.P* (OA 1030/2018) The National green tribunal's Principal Bench presently gave its verdict in this case and changed situation into an aid of using the Braj Foundation, and their argument changed into that there must be instructions to be issued to the Government to implement the memo of accepting for the afforestation of land in Mathura (Vrindavan).

The Tribunal gave the order in opposition to held that the MoU is not legally enforceable. It changed into considered that the industrial issued with the resource of the usage of the Forest Department changed into an 'invitation to treat' and could not be a ground to position into impact contractual obligations. However, the Tribunal went a step forward and gave commands to the Government itself to make sure proper afforestation. One of the maximum considerable ones changed into keeping at least a one-hundred-meter prolonged stretch of the Bra Parikrama direction as a 'no development zone'.

News item published in "The Times of India" Authored by Vijay Pinjarkar Titled

*"String of new road projects in Maha to cut off tiger corridors"* (Significant Interventions, 2019)

Issue: Obstruction of tiger corridors by new road projects in the State of Maharashtra.

Date: 26.03.2019

Impact: In December 2018 the Tribunal had sought an expert report from the joint Committee comprising representatives of Ministry of Road Transport and Highways, Government of India, National Highways Authority of India, Public Works Department, State of Maharashtra, State Forest Department and Director of Project Tiger, MoEF & CC. However, a report has been submitted by the Principal Chief Conservator Forest (Wildlife), Maharashtra

on 28 February 2019 which only states that mitigation measures are required for roads but there is nothing to show whether such measures have been identified, incorporated in the plan and adopted. Taking a serious note of the omission, the Tribunal directed the Maharashtra government to furnish an action taken report before 30 May 2019.

In *T. Murugandam v. Ministry of Environment & Forests* wherein the importance of proper analysis and collation of data and application of mind by the EAC was stressed upon. Questions of the jurisdiction of the Tribunal have also been fairly recurrent.

In *Nobert Lawrence and others v. Kottukal Grama Panchayat and others*, the Kerala High Court upheld an order issued by the competent authorities for demolition of buildings which were constructed in violation of Coastal Regulation Zone norms. (Appeal No. 50/2012)

In *Srinagar Bandh Aapda Sangharsh Samiti & Anr. v. Alaknanda Hydro Power Co. Ltd. & Ors.* Petitioner No. 1 and another filed a petition raising several issues seeking directions to the first Respondent, Alaknanda Hydro Power Co. Ltd. to compensate to the tune of INR 9,26,42,795 against the damage suffered by the members of the Petitioner Samiti in terms of life and property. The 2013 Uttarakhand floods which caused mass destruction of life and property is the backdrop of this case. The case of the Applicants was that the first Respondent had dumped a huge quantity of ‘muck’ generated during construction of the Srinagar Hydro Electric Project without taking the prescribed measure to secure such much from the floods. Due to heavy rains when the reservoir of the Project got filled, due to the opening of the gates of the dam, all the muck got carried to the villages resulting in huge loss to the life and property of members of the Samiti. The Tribunal held that damage to the property as alleged by the applicants was incurred as a result of flood water, which brought along soil and muck, entering residential premises. There was contribution of Phyllite, which is a product generated by digging of tunnel and canal and through power house excavation downstream the barrage in question. Thus, clear contribution of the project could be noticed. The Tribunal noted that although the 2013 Uttarakhand floods were the result of a cloud burst, the damage caused to the residential area was not the result of Act of God. The muck was about 30 percent, which clearly was the footprint of Respondent No.1’s involvement in the damage. And even if it was an Act of God, the Tribunal saw the invocation of the ‘No Fault Liability’ under Section 17(3) of the National Green Tribunal Act, 2010 justified, which principle made the Respondent No. 1 liable to pay the claimed compensation along with Rs. 1 lakh each to the applicants along with costs. This is one of those judgments, whereby the NGT has directly relied on the principle of ‘polluter pays’ and made a private entity liable to

pay a compensation, making them subject to a code of environmental jurisprudence (WP (C) 5482/2007).

Throwing light on some other instances:

### **Baghjan oil well fire Case**

In May 2020, a blowout was reported by a government-owned company Oil India Limited (OIL), the blowout was reported at one of its gas-producing wells in Tinsukia, Assam, near the Dibru Saikhowa National Park. After a few days, the damaged Baghjan oil well, which had been gushing gas uncontrollably for a few days, was engulfed by a large fire. This resulted in three deaths, widespread local evacuations, and environmental damage to the surrounding Dibru-Saikhowa National Park (DSNP) and Maguri-Motapung Wetland. Furthermore, the chemicals discharged as a result of the disaster are said to have devastated land and plants, are dangerous to people's health, and have harmed the livelihoods of individuals who work primarily in agriculture, fishing, and animal husbandry.

The National Green Tribunal took cognizance of this matter when few NGOs approached the tribunal. The National Green Tribunal's primary bench, chaired by Justice AK Goel, formed a committee, led by retired Justice BP Katakey, to look into the cause and consequences of the disaster. OIL was also directed to deposit an initial amount of Rs. 25 Crores with the District Magistrate, Tinsukia District, Assam, and to abide by any further orders of the Tribunal, in light of the prima facie case made out against OIL on the extent of damage caused to the environment and biodiversity, damage to both human and wildlife, and public health. The Bench also constituted an eight-member committee to investigate this disaster and had to submit its preliminary report to the Tribunal within 30 days. The committee was asked to inspect the following details:

The cause of the leakage, the harm caused to the public; the magnitude of pollution due to oil spill to the Dibru river water; whether OIL implemented any mitigating measures to counteract accidents like Baghjan; any kind of pollution to the water, air or soil in the region of the oil well and its surrounding region. The extent of the loss and devastation to human life, animals, and the ecosystem; to get air quality monitoring, samples of the Dibru river oil spill, soil, and also groundwater of the area tested; People responsible for the fire and blowout and reasons for their failure to prevent it; Assessing the compensation for victims and the cost of reparation for property and environmental damage; Preventive and remedial measures.

A few days later, a report was submitted by Justice Katakey on the continuing inquiry into the source and consequences of the gas leak. In this report, Justice Katakey recommended legal action against OIL for violating

the Air, Water, and Environmental Protection Acts. The mandatory consents, such as the Consent to Establish/No Objection Certificate and/or the Consent to operate under the Water Act, Air Act, and/or the Hazardous Waste [Management, Handling, and Transboundary Movement] Rules, 2016, were not obtained by OIL. OIL claims to have obtained the essential environmental and industrial permits to operate near the DSNP, but OIL was found to have broken the terms of the clearance it had received from the Supreme Court to extract hydrocarbons from the area.

The Katakey Committee also reported that The Assam State Biodiversity Board have confirmed that OIL was unable to perform the Biodiversity Impact Assessment Study as mandated by the Hon'ble Supreme Court. The Committee asked to take an action whether through the Assam State Biodiversity Board or any other agency, as OIL continued the contempt of the directives given by Supreme Court of India to OIL which gave conditional clearance to continue extracting hydrocarbons from the authorized wells, including the Baghjan-5 well.

The Committee also stated that OIL had disobeyed the Central Pollution Control Board's directions (CPCB). As a result, further hydrocarbon production surrounding the DSNP was classified as a Red category project, and its designation as an eco-sensitive zone would put it in direct contravention of the Government of Assam's notice. The Committee instructed PCBA to pursue legal action against OIL for breaking several environmental and industrial standards. The Committee has recommended payment of Rs 25 Lakh to 173 families and Rs 20 lakh to 439 families identified by the district administration.

### **Firecracker ban**

In the year 2020, the National Green Tribunal under the principal bench headed by Justice Adarsh Kumar Goel has directed a total ban on the sale and bursting of crackers in the cities where ambient air quality falls under the 'poor' and above category and also to limit the use of firecrackers to green crackers and for no more than two hours in cities/towns where air quality is 'moderate' or 'lower'.

### **Vizag gas tragedy**

A huge gas leak from a chemical facility in Visakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh, happened early Thursday and quickly spread to areas within a five-kilometre radius, killing at least eleven people; children were also among the deceased. A large number of household animals, cattle, and plants were harmed as well. As they sought to flee the noxious fumes, several of them slumped to the ground. Hundreds of individuals were observed to be unconscious on the sidewalks, beside the ditches, and on the lane, hours after the leak, sparking



worries of a huge industrial disaster. The manufacturing factory used styrene monomers to make expandable polymers and it should be kept at a temperature of less than 20°C. The factory was temporarily shut down due to the lockdown because of COVID-19 except for maintenance tasks that were completed within a defined time range.

The National Green Tribunal took a suo moto cognizance of this tragedy and registered a case. The National Green Tribunal formed a five-member committee to visit the site and submit a report to it within 10 days in response to the tragic chemical gas leak in Vizag, Andhra Pradesh. The Tribunal under the chairmanship of Justice Adarsh Kumar Goel also directed LG Polymers India Pvt. Ltd., the owner of the facility where the gas escaped, to deposit payment of Rs.50 crore with the District Magistrate of Visakhapatnam. The Tribunal also said that leakage of hazardous gas at such a scale adversely affects public health and the environment, clearly attracts the principle of 'Absolute Liability' against the enterprise engaged in hazardous or inherently dangerous industry and for the loss of life and public health in the gas leak incident at its plant in Visakhapatnam.

### **Criticism**

1. It probably takes away from mainstream jurisdictions and transfers to and from the mainstream courts could become complicated.
2. Like the current happening on Yamuna floodplains, this saw rampant clearing of the vegetation cover and construction. On the other side instead of taking stringent action National Green Tribunal just imposed a fine for this and did nothing to prevent the spoiling of this fragile ecosystem.
3. Access to justice is denied by two means in National Green Tribunal: firstly, by the provision of limitation period and secondly, by virtue of NGT being located in only big cities spread across India.
4. National Green Tribunal has been accused of overstepping its jurisdiction and taking actions for which, it has not been empowered under the National Green Tribunal Act.
5. There is a lack of environmental delicacy of its expert members because the expert members are experts of any one particular field of environment and not of environment as a whole.
6. Pendency of cases in NGT as another reason for the institution's failure to address environmental matters. Despite the prompt steps taken by them, there has been little change in the ever-rising pollution levels.

## Conclusion and Suggestions

Judiciary is playing an effective and key role in implementing the environmental law. The constitution 42<sup>nd</sup> amendment for the protection of the environment got constitutional status through directive principles of state policy. Article 48 A and Article 51 A (g) of the constitution deals with the environment and makes it obligatory for the states to take care of environment through proper legislations and policies. Even before the enactment of the Act of 2010 it was through judiciary that landmark work has been done in the area of protection of environment is it fine, punishments or regulations imposed on authorities and polluters. The cleaner planet is still something which is an aim for the world future. This objective can be fulfilled by making our laws and judiciary stronger while implementing them. Therefore, Along with the similar line of environmental court established in the developed countries for example in Australia and New Zealand, India has started Green Tribunal in 2010. The tribunal is a special fast-track quasi-judicial body consists of equal number of judicial and subject experts. It is expected that, the combination of both types of professionals will ensure environmental justice and quick disposal of cases. National Green Tribunal is working quite well and ensuring its mandate to impart justice in environment related litigations Therefore, it is expected that the National Green Tribunal is certainly going to benefit Indian natural landscape to a great extent.

## Suggestions

- We must strengthen it by giving it more powers and by investing in strengthening its infrastructure.
- Judicial review is an important power that must be given to National Green Tribunal.
- NGT needs to establish principles and criteria to estimate fines, damages and compensation.
- It should also identify institutions and experts who can help it to scientifically estimate environmental damages/ compensation/fines on a case-to-case basis.
- NGT must put internal checks and balances for efficient and transparent delivery of justice.
- Suomotu jurisdiction has to be an integral feature of NGT for better and effective functioning.
- Public participation and role is equally important in fully realising the benefits from the legislation.
- There is a need for the central and state governments to work in collaboration with the National Green Tribunal for an effective outcome.

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## Review: Diversity of Anti-Carcinogenic Compounds in Vegetables

-Vivek Pandey, Shivali Sharma and Prakash Mahala

### Abstract

The compound found in vegetables contain the anti-cancerous properties. There are at least eight to ten main compounds found in different parts of vegetables, which help us to control the cacogenic properties. Nowadays, people are very health conscious and vegetables are fateless, nutritive as well as rich source of minerals. It contains Sulforaphane, Glucosinolates, Indole-3-carbinol, Allyl isothiocyanate, Lycopene and many other components which make us healthy. These compounds are found in different parts of a vegetable like leaf, fruit, curd, root and stem.

**Keywords:** *Anti-Carcinogenic Compounds, Glucosinolates, vegetable, compound.*

### Introduction

As we know that vegetables are the richest source of minerals and vitamins apart from that, it also contains chemical compounds which reduces and control cancer effect. As vegetable contain very low amount of sugar and are also fatless, the populations across the world where intake of vegetable is high, the prevalence of the most common cancers is low. The components of vegetables are certainly strong antioxidants and modify the metabolic activation and detoxification of carcinogens. According to an estimate, nutrition or diet related factors resulted in approximately one third of cancer death, similar to the impact of smoking (Doll and Peto, 1981). They attributed roughly 35% cancer deaths to dietary/nutrition related factors although the plausible contribution of diet ranged from 10% to 70%. In a recent report of the expert panel assembled by the American Institute for Cancer Research (1997), a protective role of fruits and vegetables intake was ascribed for four tumor sites: oral-pharynx/esophagus, lung, stomach and

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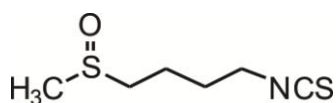
**Dr. Prakash Mahala**, Scientist (Vegetables) Punjab Agricultural University, Regional Research Station, Abohar pmhorti@gmail.com

colon. In a large population sample study, the daily consumption of five or more fruits and vegetables reduces the risk of developing different types of cancer. (Gescher et al. 1998; American Institute for Cancer Research, 1997).

**The various chemical compounds discussed below mostly found in vegetables which shield the body against the cancerous growth by different mechanisms.**

### Sulforaphane

The Sulforaphane (SFN) is a naturally occurring isothiocyanate derived from the consumption of cruciferous vegetables like broccoli, cabbage and kale. Because of the efficacy, safety, nontoxicity, lack of side effects and low cost, bioactive SFN is widely recognized as a promising chemopreventive agent. It is widely used against many kinds of cancers such as cervical (Cheng et al. 2016), breast (Peng *et al.* 2015), bladder cancer (Leone et al. 2017), lung cancer (NSCLC) (Wang et al. 2017), colon and prostate cancers (Clarke et al. 2008). It is produced when the enzyme myrosinase transforms glucoraphanin, a glucosinolate, into sulforaphane upon damage to the plant (such as from chewing), which allows the two compounds to mix and react. Young sprouts of broccoli and cauliflower are particularly rich in glucoraphanin. Additional evidence supports that epigenetic modification is an important factor in carcinogenesis and cancer progression, as epigenetic alterations often contribute to the inhibition of tumor-suppressor genes and the activation of oncogenes, which enables cells to acquire cancer-promoting properties. Studies on the mechanisms underlying the anticancer effects of SFN have shown that SFN can reverse such epigenetic alterations in cancers by targeting DNA methyl transferases (DNMTs), histone deacetyltransferases (HDACs) and noncoding RNAs (Su *et al.* 2018).

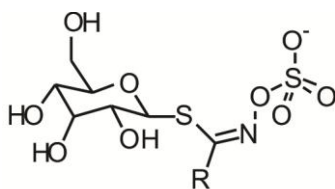


Sulforaphane

### Glucosinolates

The Glucosinolates constitute a natural class of organic compounds that contain sulfur and nitrogen and are derived from glucose and an amino acid. They are water-soluble anions and belong to the glucosides. Glucosinolates belongs to unique class of secondary plant products containing  $\beta$ -D-thioglucose and sulphonated oxime moieties which are commonly found in the seeds, roots, stems and leaves of plants. These include thioglucosides, characterized by side chain with varying aliphatic, aromatic and heteroaromatic carbon skeletons. Glucosinolates get converted into various degradation products (isothiocyanates, thiocyanates, indoles etc.), when vegetables containing them are cut or chewed

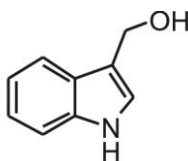
because during this process they come in contact with the enzyme myrosinase which hydrolyses them. The glucosinolates are natural components of many pungent plants such as leafy mustard, cabbage and cauliflower. Glucosinolate-degradation products (GS-degradation products) i.e isothiocyanates (ITCs, for example: sulforaphane (SFN), allyl-isothiocyanate (AITC), phenethyl-isothiocyanate (PEITC), iberin (IB), 4-pentenyl-isothiocyanate (4PI)), indoles (for example indole-3-carbinol (I3C)), nitriles and epithionitriles (Wagner *et al.* 2013) are believed to be responsible for the anticancer effects of cruciferous vegetables. Beneficial role of BITC, PEITC and SFN was widely studied against various cancers such as breast, brain, blood, bone, colon, gastric, liver, lung, oral, pancreatic and prostate. Furthermore, they could improve the efficacy and reduce side-effects of chemotherapy. Antagonistic activity of BITC, PEITC and SFN against cancer was related with the direct/indirect interaction with (nuclear factor erythroid 2) Nrf2 protein. All three ITCs able to disrupts Nrf2-Keap1 complex and translocate Nrf2 into the nucleus.



Glucosinolates

### Indole-3-carbinol

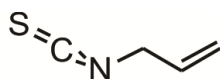
The Indole-3-carbinol is produced by the breakdown of glucobrassicin, a glucosinolate found in vegetables of the family Brassicaceae, known as cruciferous vegetables. The enzyme, myrosinase catalyzes the hydrolysis of glucosinolates in intact plant cells (Zhao *et al.*, 2015). I3C is more abundant in certain cruciferous vegetables such as broccoli, cabbage, green peas, cauliflower, brussels sprouts. Indole-3-carbinol played major role against skin, breast, colon, prostate and blood cancer by different mechanisms. It has the ability to stimulate the production of many DNA repair proteins and to induce cell cycle arrest (Singh *et al.* 2021). These indole derivatives have been shown to suppress the proliferation of various cancer cell lines at the concentration range of 50-100uM, by targeting a wide spectrum of signaling pathways governing hormonal homeostasis, cell-cycle progression, and cell proliferation. (Aggarwal *et al.* 2005, Aggarwal *et al.* 2006, Kim *et al.* 2005)



Indole-3-carbinol

## Allyl isothiocyanate

The Allyl isothiocyanate (AITC; 3-isothiocyanato-1-propene or 2-propenyl isothiocyanate) belongs to a family of naturally occurring isothiocyanates (ITCs) and are also known as mustard oil. It is one of the promising cancer preventive agent and occurs in many common cruciferous vegetables such as brussels sprouts, broccoli (Kensler *et al.* 2005), cabbage (Rungapamestry *et al.* 2006), kale and radish (Kushad *et al.* 1999 and Fahey *et al.* 2001). Isothiocyanate ( $-N=C=S$ ) is a group of naturally occurring compounds that are primarily synthesized and is mainly responsible for the pungent flavor of these vegetables. AITC is synthesized and stored as sinigrin (a glucosinolate) and is subsequently generated from the glucosinolate through myrosinase-catalyzed hydrolysis of sinigrin. AITC played major role against prostate cancer, colon cancer, bladder cancer, pancreatic cancer, breast cancer and lungs cancer. The inhibitory effects of ITCs have been shown to be mediated through modulation of various cancer related critical pathways (e.g., enzymatic detoxification, apoptotic induction, oxidative stress generation, signal transduction, epigenetic induction, etc.) and they seem to be more potent against cancer than normal cells. The most important and well characterized pathway associated with the protective effect of ITCs is the Nrf2 pathway, which is associated with the detoxification and elimination of carcinogens from the body. (AITC as anti-cancer)

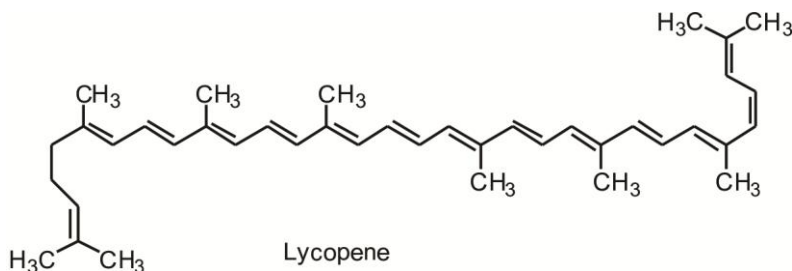


Allyl Isothiocyanate

## Lycopene

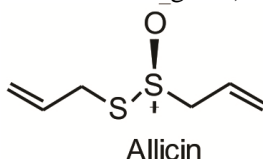
The Lycopene is the important compound from the family of carotenoid pigments. Lycopene is the natural colored pigment and is known to impart red color to many fruits and vegetables. In tomatoes, lycopene is found at higher levels, but is also found in guavas, watermelons, papayas, mangoes, etc. Lycopene is the tetraterpene carotenoid compound, which is made up from the eight units of isoprene. Generally, the naturally occurring state of lycopene is *trans* form, which provides much stability to the compound. Lycopene has been reported to inhibit the growth of cervix, prostate cancer, lung cancer and breast cancer. It has the ability to decrease the effect of ROS, and hence prevents the damage. This bioactive component is able to arrest the G1 phase of cell cycle of cancer cells and hence results in their reduced cellular proliferation (Palozza *et al.* 2011). Lycopene is known to increase the formation of phase II detoxifying enzymes. These enzymes increase the antioxidative function, and therefore prevent the cancer cell formation (Wang, 2012). The health benefits of lycopene have been

attributed to its antioxidant properties, although other mechanisms of lycopene action are possible, including the modulation of intercellular communication, hormonal and immune system changes, and enhancement of gap junctional communication. Lycopene administration may reduce proliferation and increase apoptosis in human prostate tissue where lycopene is the predominant carotenoid. Lycopene, an antioxidant that can destroy free radicals in the body due to smoking, pollution and ultraviolet light.



### Allium vegetables

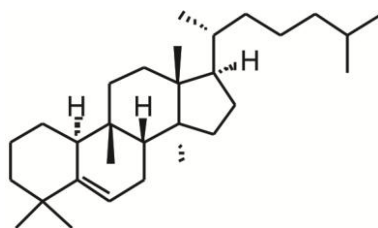
The Allium genus vegetables are of the most interesting herbs in restricting cancers that includes garlic (*Allium sativum*), onions (*Allium cepa*), leeks (*Allium tuberosum*), chives (*Allium schoenoprasum*) and shallots (*Allium hirtifolium*). Allium plants contain powerful antioxidants, sulfur, and numerous phenolic compounds that have attracted much attention in the food industry (Beretta et al. 2017, Sultan et al. 2014). These contain organosulfur compounds responsible for the odor and taste of these vegetables (Fenwick and Hanley, 1985). They are also highly reactive biologically, influencing both Phase 1 (carcinogen activation) and Phase 2 (carcinogen detoxification) enzymes. Like the compounds in crucifers, agents in *Allium* sp. can modify the activation of carcinogens. These played major role in inhibition of colon cancer, esophageal cancer, stomach cancer, prostate cancer, mouth and pharynx, lung cancer. Various mechanisms including inhibition of cell cycle progression and genotoxicity, histone modification, inhibition of angiogenesis and metastasis and induction of apoptosis have been attributed to the anticancer activities of them (Druesne et al. 2004; Herman-Antosiewicz & Singh 2004, Nakagawa et al. 2001, Türkoğlu, 2012). Allyl 2-propenethiosulfinate or diallyl thiosulfinate, allicin and allylsulphide is the principle bioactive compound present in the derivatives are known to eliminate free radicals from the body (Asemani et al 2014). When garlic is chopped or crushed, allinase enzyme is activated and produce allicin from alliin (present in intact garlic).





## Cucurbitaceae

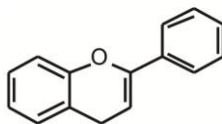
The Cucurbitaceae belongs to large family of plants known as cucurbits, with 130 genera and 800 species. Cucurbits come from a big and meaningful group of vegetables, and the most common are pumpkin, melon, watermelon, and cucumber. Seeds from cucurbits have one of the highest food values because they are rich in protein and minerals, such as copper, phosphorus, zinc, iron, and magnesium. The seeds are also a good source of carotenoids and tocopherols, particularly  $\alpha$ - and  $\gamma$ -tocopherol. Owing to the high content of carotenoids, phytochemicals and terpenoids cucurbits have demonstrated antioxidant and anticancer properties Cucurbitacins have shown an antitumor effect because they induce apoptosis in cancer cells by stopping cell cycles at the G2/M phase (Montesano *et al.* 2018, Kaushik *et al.* 2015).



Cucurbitaceae

## Flavonoids

Flavonoids are polyphenolic compounds synthesized in plants as bioactive secondary metabolites (Nabavi *et al.* 2018) responsible for their color, flavor and pharmacological activities (Scarano *et al.* 2018). The main flavonoid sources are found in broad beans (Mejri *et al.* 2018), olives (Romani *et al.* 1999), onions (Slimestad *et al.* 2007), spinach (Pandjaitan *et al.* 2005) and shallot (Fattorusso *et al.* 2002). There is accumulating evidence that many flavonoids exert anticancer activity, The ability of flavonoids to scavenge free radicals, regulate cellular metabolism, and prevent oxidative stress related diseases have been demonstrated in numerous studies [Rodriguez-Garcia *et al.* 2019, Yahfoufi *et al.* 2018, Abotaleb *et al.* 2018) colon cancer, breast cancer, ovarian cancer, bladder cancer, esophagus cancer (Perez-Vizcaino and Fraga 2018, Gorlach *et al.* 2015).

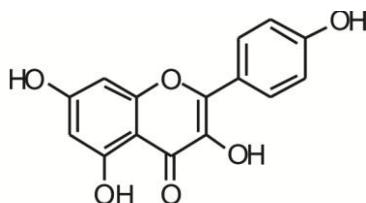


Flavonoids

## Kaempferol

The Kaempferol is an ordinary natural compound, the most common flavonoid, which is widely existed in vegetables and fruits. It has been reported to have various anticancer activities, including breast cancer, prostate cancer,

bladder cancer, cervical cancer, colon cancer, liver cancer, lung cancer, ovarian cancer, leukemia, etc. It was found that kaempferol mainly produced anti-cancer effects in three following ways:(1) inhibiting the growth of cancer cells; (2) inducing the apoptosis of cancer cells; (3) inhibiting migration and invasion of cancer cells (Wang et al. 2012).



Kaempferol

| Sr. No | Name of crop   | Family         | Chemical compounds                               | Part used     |
|--------|--|----------------|--|---------------|
| 1      | Broccoli ( <i>Brassica oleracea</i> var. <i>italica</i> )          | Crucifereae    | Sulforaphane                                     | Flower bud    |
| 2      | Brussels sprouts ( <i>Brassica oleracea</i> var. <i>gemifera</i> ) | Crucifereae    | Sulforaphane                                     | Showlen stem  |
| 3      | Cabbage ( <i>Brassica oleracea</i> var. <i>capitata</i> )          | Crucifereae    | Glucosinolates<br>Indole-3-carbinol              | Head          |
| 4      | Cauliflower ( <i>Brassica oleracea</i> var. <i>botrytis</i> L.)    | Crucifereae    | Glucosinolates<br>Allyl isothiocyanate           | Curd          |
| 5      | Radish ( <i>Raphanus sativus</i> L.)                               | Crucifereae    | Vitamins A, B-6, C, K, riboflavin and folic acid | Root          |
| 5      | Tomato ( <i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i> Mill)                      | Solanaceae     | Lycopene   | Fruit         |
| 6      | Eggplant ( <i>Solanum melongena</i> L.)                            | Solanaceae     | Glycoalkaloids                                   | Fruit         |
| 7      | Chillies ( <i>Capsicum frutescens</i> )                            | Solanaceae     | Vitamins E and B group                           | Fruit         |
| 9      | Potato ( <i>Solanum tuberosum</i> L.)                              | Solanaceae     | Carotenoid                                       | Modified stem |
| 10     | Bell Peper ( <i>Capsicum annum</i> )                               | Solanaceae     | Vitamin C  | Fruit         |
| 11     | Purple Sweet Potato ( <i>Ipomoea batatas</i> (L) Lam.)             | Convolvulaceae | Anthocyanins                                     | Roots         |
| 12     | Garlic ( <i>Allium sativum</i> L.)                                 | Amarlidaceae   | Allicin  | Bulb          |

|    |   |                |   |          |
|----|---|----------------|---|----------|
| 13 | Onion ( <i>Allium cepa</i> L.)  | Amarilidaceae  | Quercetin.                                | Bulb     |
| 14 | Pumpkin <i>Cucurbita moschata</i> (Duch.) Poir)   | Cucurbitaceae  | Beta carotene                             | Fruit    |
| 15 | Watermelon <i>Citrullus lanatus</i> Thunb.)   | Cucurbitaceae  | Lycopene<br>Glutathione                   | Fruit    |
| 16 | Squash (summer and winter) – ( <i>Cucurbita pepo</i> L.) ( <i>Cucurbita maxima</i> Duch.) | Cucurbitaceae  | Carotenoids, such as Lycopene and Lutein, | Fruit    |
| 18 | Asparagus <i>Asparagus officinalis</i> L.   | Liliaceae      | Antioxidant<br>Glutathione                | Leaf     |
| 19 | Parsely ( <i>Petroselinum crispum</i> Mill.)  | Umbelliferae   | Monoterpenes, Phthalides, Polyacetylenes  | Leaf     |
| 20 | Artichokes (Cynara) ( <i>Cynara scolymus</i> L.)  | Compositae     | Silymarin,                                |          |
| 21 | Carrots – ( <i>Daucus carota</i> L.)  | Umbelliferea   | Flavonoids, like Luteolin, and Retinoids. | Root     |
| 22 | Spinach and watercress – ( <i>Spinacia oleracea</i> L.)                                   | Chenopodiaceae | Retinoids<br>Lycopene.<br>carotenoids     | Leaf     |
| 23 | Beetroot ( <i>Beta vulgaris</i> L.)   | Chenopodiaceae | Betalains,                                | Root     |
| 24 | Ginger – <i>Zingiber officinale</i>   | Gingeberaceae  | Gingerols                                 | Rhizomes |

## Conclusion

From the above data it was concluded the vegetable are the richest source of antioxidant, mineral and vitamin which play a very important role in our body to make us fit.

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## **Women Welfare in Himachal Pradesh with Special Reference to Elderly Woman**

**-Munish Dulta and Natisha Sharma**

### **Abstract**

Today's India offers a lot of opportunities to women with women living a voice in everyday life, the business world as well as in political life. While on one hand India has seen an increased percentage of literacy among women and women are now entering professional fields the practice of the female infanticide poor health conditions and lack of education still persist. A nation's progress and prosperity can be judged by the way it treats its women folk. There is a slow and steady awareness regarding giving the women their dues, and not mistreating them, seeing them as objects of possession. Despite progress the very fact that women along with being achievers also are expected to fulfill their roles as wives or mother, prioritizing home against anything. This point of the view has not changed much. Statistics says that close to 245 million Indian women lack the basic capability to read and write, which is a large number. Only 13.9 percent women are employed in the urban sector. The sex ratio of India shows that the Indian society is still prejudiced against female. Thus, if on one hand women are climbing the ladder of success, on other hand they are mutely suffering the violence affected by her own family members. As compare to the past, women in modern times have achieved a lot but in reality, still they have to travel a long way. In this context, Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao (BBBP) scheme has been launched to improve the child sex ratio, ensure gender equality and women empowerment. The general women have to make her way through all the social prejudices against her, and the men yes have to alone and accept the women to be equal participants in the country's way forward.

**Keywords:** *Women, Equality, Infanticide, BBBP.*

### **Introduction**

The status of women in any society must examine the social organization of that society, which in turn is based on primary economic relations (Tharakan

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and Tharakan, 1975). Traditional history has tended to focus on areas of human activity in which men were dominant- politics, wars, diplomacy-areas in which women had little or no role. The women receive little or no attention in traditional history (Basu, 1991). India is vast and complex capitalist society, said to be the largest liberal democracy in the world with a population of over 1 billion. Viewed through a western perspective, it can often seem an impenetrable place. Often, we see the Indian women cast as a victim of religious control. Images of the instances of sati and stories of mass, act of killing a fetus or causing an abortion feticide have helped form in the western mind the stereotypical ignorant and backward Indian women. This history has a direct link to the women of today and we can see how the Indian women's movement is a vibrant and complex movement that includes millions, yet is also diverge and often of a contradictory nature (Moase, 2008). The historical analysis of the position of women ancient India shows that women did not shares an equal position with men. Women were recognized only as wives and mothers. Their position was as subordinate to men. The Indian patriarchal society that dominates the social, political and economic life of people in the country has never encouraged women in any field, except kitchen, Indian women are relatively disempowered and they enjoy lower status than that of men from times immemorial (Srivastava, 2013).

### **Social Welfare and Women**

Social welfare administration is a process through which social policy is informed into social service. The word welfare is a multi-dimensional and multiracial. The determination of the periphery of welfare is not an easy task. The whole society has been segmented into various target groups like- women, children, aged persons, widows, poor, blinds and the people falling in all other categories who by any reason and unable to maintain themselves and require the aid and assistance of others, Govt. have created ministry of social welfare at the center and state levels, they are planning and implementing various social welfare schemes (Shukla, 2007). Social welfare is income security, health housing, education and the personal social services (Inns, 2002). Social welfare system provides assistance to needy individuals and families. The type and amount of welfare available to individual and families vary depending on country, state and region. Women are also important part of our society. The importance of women in family, society and the country can never be ignored.

### **Constitutional Provisions**

The constitution of India not only, grants equality to women but also empowers the state to adopt measures of positive thoughts about women and their rights. It is also a tool for eradicating the problem of Women in India.

- Article-15(3): The state is empowered to make any special provision for women. This provision enables the state to make affirmative discrimination in favor of women.
- Article 39 (d): The state secure for men and women equal pay for equal work.
- Article 42: The state shall make provision for securing just and human conditions of work and maternity relief.
- Article 51A(e): It shall be the duty of every citizen of India to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women.
- Article 243D (4): The offices of the Chairpersons in the Panchayats at the village or any other level shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes the Scheduled Tribes and women in such manner as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide.
- Article 243-T (3): Not less than one third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Municipality shall be reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality (Pohekar, 2015).

### **Status of Women in Himachal Pradesh**

They are up before the sun and work all the day, in their homes, in the field, tending to their children and the men in their families and the livestock. And they do this high in the Himalayas, up and down on single footpaths, carrying on their back heavy loads of produce and fodder (Karthikeyan, 2014). Gender based development has been a major concern in the recent years. As far the state of Himachal Pradesh is concerned, this state has gone through a long journey and Himachal Pradesh is ranked third in women empowerment index. Therefore, we can say they have improved a lot in terms of women's condition, status and development. The state is yet to improve the key areas (UK, 2018). Himachal Pradesh has 7 lakh persons aged 60 years and above, constituting 10.2% of its total population, which is higher than the national average of 8.6% (Census, 2011). Between 1991 and 2011, overall population in the state increased 37%; the 60+ population increased 67%; and the 80+ which is the fastest growing age segment, increased by 87%. The elderly population is estimated to grow 3.1% annually and is expected to reach 1.1 million by 2026, which would be about 15% of the state's total population by that year.

## **Importance of the Study**

While a majority of the women still face discrimination in the last few decades, the number of women successful in politics, technology and business etc. is definitely on the rise. Society has started seeing women in a different perspective. In many centuries women have been subjected to exploitation and torture, physically, sexually and mentally. Elderly women also face many problems keeping these aspects into consideration present study will be conducted so that factors responsible for creating unsafe environment can be identified and strategies can be formulated for the elderly women for their safety and security.

## **Objective of Study the Study**

1. To study the awareness of women about safety provisions made by the government.
2. To gain knowledge about the problems and challenges found by the women and elderly women.
3. To study historical background of women in India and Himachal Pradesh.

## **Research Methodology**

Present study is descriptive and analytical type and has tried to analyses the conditions of elderly women in Himachal Pradesh and also analyses the development of elderly women. Study area is based on Mandi district of Himachal Pradesh. In order to fulfill the objectives, one Panchayat i.e. Gram Panchayat Chandyal out of 58 Panchayats of Balh block of district, based on the highest female voters has been selected.

## **Hypothesis of the Study**

1. Women are not getting actual benefit of the welfare activities implemented by the Govt.
2. Elderly women are not aware about the welfare schemes.
3. There is a lack of coordination between state, district and block level officials and non- official representation.

## **Result and Discussion**

During the study the historical background of women is observed with respect to the status of women in Indian society. The constitutional provisions for Indian women have been discussed.

**Table: 1 Age Distribution of respondents**

| Sr. No. | Age Group    | No. of Respondents | Percentage |
|---------|--------------|--------------------|------------|
| 1.      | 60-65        | 32                 | 45.71      |
| 2.      | 66-70        | 14                 | 20         |
| 3.      | 70-75        | 08                 | 11.43      |
| 4.      | 76-80        | 16                 | 22.86      |
|         | <b>Total</b> | <b>70</b>          | <b>100</b> |

*Source:* Primary Probe

Table 1 shows the distribution of the respondents in different age groups. The maximum respondents of the study were the age group of 60 to 65 years old.

**Table: 2 Marital Status of the Respondents**

| Sr. No. | Marital Status | No. of Respondents | Percentage |
|---------|----------------|--------------------|------------|
| 1.      | Married        | 29                 | 41.43      |
| 2.      | Single         | 00                 | 00         |
| 3.      | Divorcee       | 00                 | 00         |
| 4.      | Widow          | 41                 | 58.57      |
|         | <b>Total</b>   | <b>70</b>          | <b>100</b> |

*Source:* Primary Probe

Table 2 shows that the marital status of respondents. It reveals that (41.43) percent respondents were married and (58.57) percent were widow and there were no respondents single and no one was divorcee.

**Table: 3 Education Status of the Respondents**

| Sr. No. | Education       | No. of Respondents | Percentage |
|---------|-----------------|--------------------|------------|
| 1.      | Illiterate      | 42                 | 60         |
| 2.      | Primary/Middle  | 25                 | 35.72      |
| 3.      | Higher Sec.     | 02                 | 2.86       |
| 4.      | Graduation/P.G. | 01                 | 1.42       |
|         | <b>Total</b>    | <b>70</b>          | <b>100</b> |

*Source:* Primary Probe

Table 3 indicates the distribution of respondents by this educational status of elderly women. Table shows that in the total 70 sample, (60) percent respondents were illiterate. Among the primary or middle standard educated respondents (35.72) percent. Higher level educated (2.86) percent respondents and in my research only (1.42) percent respondents was graduated.

**Table: 4 Occupational Status of the Respondents**

| Sr. No. | Occupation Status      | No. of Respondents | Percentage |
|---------|------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| 1.      | Agriculture            | 68                 | 97.14      |
| 2.      | Retired from Govt. Job | 02                 | 2.86       |
| 3.      | Private job            | 00                 | 00         |
| 4.      | Business/Self emp.     | 00                 | 00         |
|         | <b>Total</b>           | <b>70</b>          | <b>100</b> |

*Source:* Primary Probe

Table 4 gives the detail of the occupation status of shows that (97.14) percentage respondents were engaged in agricultural work, these ladies are work in the fields. Here we can see only (2.86) percent respondents were retired from the govt. job, and there was no respondent in private job and no one had their own business.

**Table: 5 Income Distribution (per month) of the Respondents**

| Sr. No. | Income (per month) | No of Respondents | Percentage |
|---------|--------------------|-------------------|------------|
| 1.      | Less than 2000     | 63                | 90         |
| 2.      | 2,000-5,000        | 02                | 2.85       |
| 3.      | 6,000-10,000       | 02                | 2.85       |
| 4.      | Upto 10,000        | 03                | 4.3        |
|         | <b>Total</b>       | <b>70</b>         | <b>100</b> |

*Source:* Primary Probe

Table 5 shows that the income distribution of the respondents. Table shows that income of (90) percent respondents was less than 2,000 rupees per month, while (2.85) percent respondents having per month income 2,000 to 5,000, (2.85) percent respondents having per month income was 6,000 to

10,000 and (4.3) percent respondents having income was up to 10,000 rupees.

**Table: 6 Source of Income of the Respondents**

| Sr. No. | Source of Income                   | No. of Respondents | Percentage |
|---------|------------------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| 1.      | Agriculture                        | 11                 | 15.72      |
| 2.      | Business                           | 00                 | 00         |
| 3.      | Pension                            | 18                 | 25.72      |
| 4.      | Agriculture + other work           | 02                 | 2.86       |
| 5.      | Pension + other work               | 02                 | 2.86       |
| 6.      | Pension+ Agriculture               | 33                 | 47.14      |
| 7.      | Pension + Agriculture + Other work | 04                 | 5.7        |
|         | <b>Total</b>                       | <b>70</b>          | 100        |

*Source:* Primary Probe

Table 6 reveals the fact that as an under developed economy most of the women are engaged in agriculture. Out of the total respondent's 15.72 percent are directly engaged in agriculture. 25.72 percent ladies take pension and only 2.86 percent ladies take pension and do more thing to run the house hold expensive and 47.14 percent ladies do field work and with taking their pension and 5.7 percent are do the agriculture work with other work and taking their pension and 2.86 percent do the ladies field work with other work.

**Table: 7 Take old age pension by the respondents**

| Sr. No. | Pension Scheme  | No. of respondents | Percentage |
|---------|-----------------|--------------------|------------|
| 1.      | Old age pension | 28                 | 40         |
| 2.      | Widow pension   | 34                 | 48.57      |
| 3.      | Other pension   | 8                  | 11.43      |
|         | <b>Total</b>    | <b>70</b>          | <b>100</b> |

The table 7 shows that how many respondents take pension. The table reveals that 40 percent women are take old age pension and 48.57 percent take widow pension and 11.43 percent take other type of pension.

## **Hypothesis Testing**

Most of the elderly women are aware about the reservation policy. This hypothesis is disproved. Most of the elderly women are aware about pension schemes, which are started for their welfare. This hypothesis is disproved. Most of the elderly women have not knowledge about the meeting of gram Sabha and all the activities of Gram Panchayat. This hypothesis is proved.

## **Recommendations**

Government should adopt a multi-pronged administrative strategy to ensure that the constitutional, legal and administrative provisions made to end discrimination against the women are implemented in letter and spirit.

There is need to place a positive duty on public authority for the promotion of social and communal harmony and prevention of discrimination against the women.

There is a need to spread awareness about the laws and the measures to punish discriminations and atrocities. It is necessary to launch well targeted awareness campaign in areas where the awareness level is low.

There should be training programmers for the law enforcement agencies to suitably sensitise them to the problems of the women and the need of strict enforcement of law.

The local government should be activity involved in various programmes concerned with effective enforcement of various social legislations.

## **Conclusion**

Women are the most important part of our society. The importance of women in the family and our society cannot be ignored. The ideology in India is that a woman is important but she cannot be more valuable than a man. During the Vedic Period women were treated equally. Women who are called as Jannani in Vedas means the birth giver the mother of life, all this sounds great and these words clearly depicts that she is the one who is to be given the highest respect in the society, but the truth lies somewhere really far from this statement. In the present time women are independent, take their decisions, stand up for their right and walk the path of success. Women are playing an important role in the country's progress. After independence, the government has taken several steps for the welfare of women. The government is enacting several laws to protect the rights of women and improve their position in society. This is the reason that today women have surpassed men in the race for progress in many fields, but despite this, many women in our country are suffering from illiteracy disease and imprisonment in domestic boundary wall and ancient ideology. There are great needs for welfare and developmental services for this large numbers of women. A number of programs and schemes are being made by the government for the benefit of women. For example- "Beti Bachao Beti Padhao" and many

other schemes have been launched by the government for the upliftment of the girl child and women and elderly women. The central government state governments and many other institutions and organizations are working for the welfare of women.

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## District Good Governance Index: Initiatives of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu Kashmir

- Baldev Singh Negi

### Abstract

The role of governance indicators is vital because governance, or at least good governance, is essentially demand driven, other things being equal, the governed will get the quality of governance that they demand. Governance will be democratic, responsive to the needs and interests of the governed, honest, transparent and accountable if, and only if, citizens from all significant social groups demand that it be so. However, governance indicators have primarily been used at the international level by international donor organisations but they have been adopted by the governments of various countries to assess their governance and contribute directly to improved governance. Present paper is an effort to highlight the good governance indexes adopted in India and some selected states and union territories namely Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and analyse the sectors and indicators accommodated in respective district good governance indexes.

**Keywords:** *Good Governance Index, District Good Governance Index, India, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir.*

### Introduction

The word governance derives from the Greek verb κυβερνάω [kubernáo], which means to steer and was used for the first time in a metaphorical sense by Plato. It has been defined as supremacy, ascendancy, domination, power, authority, control etc. Governance is the act of governing. It relates to decisions that define expectations, grant power, or verify performance. Over the years, there have been many definitions propounded by experts for governance (Kumar, 2013). The concept of governance is not new to the world and is being used in a variety of ways covering institutions/organisations working in both public and private domains in the contemporary world. Good governance personates the idea of transforming

the lives of people especially in the context of developing countries via models which follow the Rule of Law and where the public will be provided with transparent, fair, judicious, accountable, participatory, responsive, well-managed and efficient institutions. Former United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan also described good governance as “perhaps the single most important factor for eradicating poverty and promoting development” (Annan, 1998). United Nations Development Program (UNDP) promotes good governance, as it ensures the application of key features such as participation, transparency, accountability, effectiveness, and equity, in the public sectors of a country. Thus, good governance is about the processes for making and implementing decisions. It’s not about making “correct” decisions, but about the best possible process for making those decisions.

### **Good Governance Index Initiatives in India**

The purpose behind developing a comprehensive index, termed as Good Governance Index (GGI), is to create a tool which can be used uniformly across the state, and eventually district-level, to assess the status of governance and impact of various interventions taken up by Central and State Governments including Union Territories (UTs). Good Governance Index is a comprehensive and implementable framework to assess the state of governance in all States and UTs which enables ranking of States/Districts and present a comparative picture. Evaluating the governance good governance index is recent initiative which started with Public Affairs Index (PAI) by Public Affair Centre (PAC) and then by designed and adoption of Good Governance Index by Department of Administrative Reforms Public Grievances (DARPG), Government of India.

### **Public Affairs Index: PAC**

The Public Affairs Index (PAI) is a recent product of PAC, it can be defined as an ambitious attempt to rank the states of the country, culturally, economically and socially diverse as they are, into a common, data driven framework so as to enable an interstate comparison. Based on a detailed examination of ten broad themes of governance, it analyses data available in the public domain, to arrive at scores and ranks for each of the states of the country. The aggregation and analysis of the 68 carefully selected indicators revealed the nature and quality of governance in the states of the country. The report was first released on the 12<sup>th</sup> of March 2016 by the former Chief Justice of Supreme Court of India Justice Shri M. N. Venkatachaliah. Thereafter, the report received wide attention in the national and state level press. The Public Affairs Index is a scientifically rigorous, data-based framework that measures the quality of governance at the subnational level and ranks the states and Union Territories (UTs) of India on a Composite Index (CI). States are classified into two categories- large and small- using population as the criteria (Public Affair Centre, 2016).

## **Good Governance Index: DARPG**

The objective behind developing GGI is not to use the assessment results with a carrot and stick approach to pressurise and reward State Governments but to provide useful information for the States as well as Central Ministries/Departments concerned, enabling them to formulate and implement suitable strategies for improving living standards of the citizen. It is envisaged that the results would lead to healthy and more informed policy discussions between different tiers of Governments, as well as all political, bureaucratic, academia, civil society and all stakeholders. The assessment of the States using the GGI would mark a shift to a data driven approach to result-oriented approaches and management and promote healthy competition among States.

Another significant contribution of the GGI would be contributing in tracking the progress of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at state-level. The identified sectors and indicators are directly linked to some of the critical SDG indicators from overall governance point of view (DARPG, 2018). The GGI takes into consideration ten sectors on total 50 indicators. Difference indicators are given different weightage under one Governance Sector to calculate the value. The states and UTs are ranked on all indicators separately, at the same time composite ranking is also calculated for these states and UTs under their respective groups based upon these indicators.

## **District Good Governance Index: Himachal Pradesh**

District level Good Governance Index (DGGI) was conceived when state was ranked first among 12 small states (with less than 2 crore population) consistently in 2016, 2017 and 2018 on the Public Affairs Index (PAI) by the Public Affaire Centre, PAC Bangalore on 82 and 100 indicators respectively. PAI is a statistical instrument to measure the quality of governance that ranks small & large Indian states from a governance perspective. After the 2017 awards it was felt that this measure could be applied at the sub state level to evaluate performance of all districts in the state so that the good governance agenda is pushed to the grassroots. A pilot study was launched in two districts namely Kangra and Shimla and report was released in early 2018 by PAC. The first report on District Good Governance Index (DGGI) was prepared by PAC in April, 2018 under the guidance of state administrative reforms department and secondary data of all the districts was collected by the state department of economic and statistics on broad 7 themes, 18 focus subjects and 45 indicators to assess the comparative performance of all districts. In this way Himachal Pradesh became the first state in country to measure the quality of governance in vital sectors as the first final reports on District Good Governance was launched on the occasion of Civil Service Day i.e., 21<sup>st</sup> April 2018.

The DGGI has made annual exercise in the state of Himachal Pradesh and DGGI was compiled and published independently by the department of economics and statistics in 2019 then in 2020 and next is due. In the budget speech 2020-21 it was announced by the state to take the exercise of assessment of the governance to sub-state level and announced award to top three ranked districts i.e., First, Second & Third as Rs. 50 Lakh, Rs. 35 Lakh and Rs. 25 Lakh respectively. The district good governance index adopted in Himachal Pradesh is based on following seven (7) themes, eighteen (18) focus subjects and forty-five (45) indicators which are as under:

In theme one, “Essentials Infrastructure” have four focus subjects namely power, water, roads and housing which are assessed on seven indicators such as Percent of House electrified, Per capita consumptions of power, Households with access to safe drinking water, Surfaced roads as a percent of total roads, No. of Pucca houses as percent total households, Slum population as percent of urban population, Percent of households with improved toilet facilities.

In theme two “Support to Human Development” covers two focus subjects education and health and to assess governance there are eight indicators such as Percent SC enrolment out of total SC target population, Percent ST enrolment out of total SC target population, Retention rate at primary level, Transition rate from upper primary to secondary level, Percent of children aged 6-14 enrolled in Private school, Percent of children aged 6-14 not enrolled in school, Standard 3<sup>rd</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> learning level: a.) Percent of children who can read standard-1<sup>st</sup> level text b.) Percent children who can at least do subtraction, Standard 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> learning levels: a.) Percent of children who can read standard-2<sup>nd</sup> level text b.) Percent of children who can at least do division. IMR, Average population served per Government allopathic doctors, Full Immunisation, Death registered in hospitals Sex ratio at birth (No. of girls born per 1000 boys born), Proportion of pregnant women aged 15-49 years who are anaemic.

Theme three is “Social Protection” in which there are four focus subjects’ public distribution system, social justice and empowerment, minority welfare and employment for which are eight indicators which includes Allocation and off take of grains under PDS, Percent of pension beneficiaries of the total population above 60 years, Percent of households with no land, Incidence of crime against SC/ST, No. of minority children given pre-metric scholarship, Average days of employment provided per households: MGNREGA, Average wage rate per day per person: MGNREGA, Women participation in labour.

Theme four “Women & Children” has same focus subjects with seven indicators like crime against children, percent of beneficiaries under ICDS, child sex ratio (0-5 years), percent of malnourished children, percent of severely malnourished children and institutional delivery.

Fifth theme “Crime, Law and Order” has two focus subjects’ violent crimes and atrocities these are assessed on four indicators like Rapes per 1000 population, Murders per 1000 population, Dowry deaths per 1000 population, Atrocities committed against women.

Sixth theme is “Environment” which has two focus subject environment violation and forest cover evaluated on two indicators such as No. of environmental violation in the state and increase or decrease in forest cover.

The last theme is “Transparency and Accountability” and indicators are No. of service provided under e-governance plan, No. of Anti-corruption bureau cases (ACB) cases disposed as a percent of total cases registered, Social Audit under MGNREGA: percent of GPs covered.

### **District Good Governance Index: Jammu & Kashmir**

The union home minister has released the composite ranking of the first ever District Good Governance Index (DGGI) in Jammu and Kashmir. DGGI, launched throughout Jammu and Kashmir's 20 districts. It's a framework document with 58 indicators and 116 data points that track performance across ten governance sectors. Each of the Districts went through a rigorous and thorough data collection, screening, and validation procedure before adopting the criteria. Based on the 'Behtar e-Hukumat - Kashmir Aelamia' resolution adopted in July 2021, the index was created by the Department of Administrative Reforms and Public Grievances in partnership with the government. The index will have a significant impact on inhabitants of Jammu and Kashmir since it will strive to enhance district machinery, make districts more result-oriented, and strengthen their delivery mechanisms. The department of administrative reforms and public grievances (DPRPG), Government of India is guiding and providing financial support for the exercise. CGG, Hyderabad is roped in for extending technical support. The J&K Institute of Management for Public Administration and Rural Development (IMPARD) with active collaboration of Directorate of Economics and Statistics (DES), Govt. of J&K are playing a pivotal role in developing this index. As mentioned, the DGGI in Jammu & Kashmir is based on seven sectors and 58 indicators which are as under:

***Agriculture & Allied Sector:*** Growth of production of food grain, growth in production of major horticulture produce, Growth in Milk Production, Growth in Meat Production, Growth in Poultry Production, Percentage of Mandis Linked to e-Mandis (e-NAM), Crop Insurance, Percentage Increase in Agricultural Credit, Percentage of Kisan Credit Card (KCC) Issued, Percentage of Soil Health Card (SHC) Distributed, % of Animals Vaccinated,

**Commerce & Industry (including Tourism):** Increase in No. of Establishments Registered under GST, Percentage Change in No. of MSME Units Registered under Online Udyog Aadhar Registration, Percentage Increase in credit to handicrafts and allied sectors, increase in credit for self-employment, Increase in Tourist Footfall.

**Human Resource Development:** Gender Parity Index at Secondary Level, Retention rate at Secondary Level, Enrolment Ratio of SC, Enrolment Ratio of ST, Pupil Teacher Ratio (RTE Specified), Percentage of Schools with Drinking Water, Separate Toilet and Electricity Facilities, Percentage of Schools with Access to Computers, No. of Children served Mid-Day Meals, Skill Trainings Imparted to Students.

**Public Health:** Percentage of Institutional Delivery, Percentage of Sub-centers / PHCs converted into Health & Wellness Centers (HWCs), Proportion of Anganwadis with own buildings, Percentage of Pregnant Woman Received 4 or More Complete ANC check-ups + TT2/Booster + 180 IFA, Proportion of Functional FRUs (First Referral Units) against the norm of 1 per 500,000 Population (1 per 300,000 in hilly areas), Percentage of Golden Card Issued under ABPMJAY / SEHAT Scheme.

**Public Infrastructure & Utilities:** Housing for All under PMAY Urban and PMAY Grameen, Percentage of Households with Access to Safe Drinking Water, Percentage of Households with Improved Sanitation Facility, Percentage of Households Electrified to Total Households, Cumulative number of Kms of all-weather Road Work Completed as a Percentage of Total Sanctioned Kms in the District under PMGSY, Percentage Increase in Black Top Roads as Percentage of Total Roads.

**Social Welfare & Development:** Percent of Aadhaar seeded Ration Cards, Off-take of Grains, Average Days of Employment provided per household under MGNREGA, Atal Pension Yojana: No. of Beneficiaries per 1 lakh population, Number of Enrolments per 1 lakh population under- Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana (PMSBY) and Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana (PMJJBY), Percentage of Beneficiaries under NSAP and ISSS Scheme.

**Financial Inclusion:** Financial Inclusion under Jan Dhan Yojana, Total Disbursement of Mudra Loan per one lakh population, Total Disbursement (in Lakhs) on Self-employment Schemes, Number of Road Accidental Death per 1 lakh population, Incidence of Crime against Women, Incidence of Crime against Children, Conviction Rate.

**Environment:** Change in Forest Cover, Water Bodies and Wetland Protection.

**Citizen Centric Governance:** Status of Grievance Redressal, Percentage of Govt. Services Provided to Citizens Online to total services as per Guarantee Act, Percentage of Government offices converted to e-office,

### **Discussion:**

Districts being a basic unit of field administration performing various functions, inter alia, regulatory functions such as law and order, land revenue / reforms, excise, registration, treasury, civil supplies and social welfare; coordinating and monitoring District / Sub-district level offices of the line departments of the State Government and their agencies like irrigation, health, Public Works Department (PWD), industries; etc., and supervising the local bodies (Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) and Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) and other authorities) measuring their performance becomes important for proper assessment and planning which will lead to the development of the Districts and region as a whole. It is true that based on the local administrative, political, economic and geographical conditions the themes/sectors, focal subjects and indicators may vary from state to state but still there are some indicators which should be somewhere in the sectors/theme such as the performance of RTI implementations in both cases i.e., Himachal as well as Jammu & Kashmir.

The Public Service Guarantee Acts (PSGA) have been implemented in Himachal Pradesh and J&K in 2011. Implementation of PSGA could be an important indicator for evaluating the governance level that how big is the basket of services and its users flows of application, appeals etc. In some form it has been included in the indicators of J & K but not in Himachal Pradesh. There is possibility to incorporate the data related to employment other than MGNREGA in DGGI which can be compiled from various sources. In the case of Himachal Pradesh there is one flagship programme for the redressal of public grievances through Jan Manch or open hearing/meeting. The records of which is kept online so the records of the same grievances and redressal can be included in the DGGI indicators. There is scope of evaluating the state of governance on the basis DGGI by ensuring the citizen involvement in this process because the common citizen the direct beneficiaries of good governance and various flagship programmes and utilities also the sufferer of bad governance.

### **Conclusion:**

In a democratic and developing country like India to adopt every possible tool to evaluate its governance level to ensure the accountability of the responsible bodies. The Good Governance Index at international level tells the nations where it stands and where area it needs to improve or invest its resources likewise the adoption of same at national level reveals the state of governance in different states & UTs. The structuring and adoption of

District Good Governance Index is further good initiatives to the governance of sub-state level. Himachal Pradesh who introduced first in 2019 and J&K became second that adopted DGGI in January 2022. This initiative should be adopted by the others states and effort should be made to make this DGGI more inclusive by involving all the key stakeholders in whole process.

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## **Marginalised and the Modern Indian Literature**

**- Snigdha Bhatt**

Modern Indian literature is witnessing a new wave of writing about the social issues in the recent era. A new genre of Dalit, Adivasi and Feminist literature –written by authors coming from the backgrounds about which they write – have emerged as a popular form of literature. As the stories are written, from the perspective of the politically, economically and socially marginalized individuals. There has been a huge socio-political movement which has brought about the materialization of marginalized literature. Marginalization is not a sudden event but happens when a person is cornered, alienated and driven to the wall by the society. It is a systematic process, a type of conspiracy woven like a web with the underlying characteristic features of dominance and subordination forcing the individual into submission. Various texts concerning to Women, Dalit, Adivasi and Peasants came up with the aim of giving a voice to the issue of identity in the society. Their stories were usually formed of oral tales that were passed down the generations by the word of mouth, and had a rich cultural and traditional heritage. It is only in the past few decades that these stories were penned down by various writers, giving them a voice and identity in the modern world. The short stories, poems, and essays, as well as autobiographical texts, are often published in significant literary journals. Efforts to recognize the new voice can be seen in form of samples of writings being seen as a part of the syllabi of various educational institutions. It is in the fitness of things that marginalization of individuals, their predicament and their struggle for identity in finding their own space are taken up and adequately exposed which are the core elements of this trend. Not only is there a bloom of new writing but also there is a lot of work done in the field of translating literature from other languages into English, in order to give a voice to the voiceless. These developments are related to wider processes of social representation, discovery of identity and educational success. The notorious social discrimination and economic marginalization of Adivasis, Dalits and Females continues, but at the same time literature has become an important tool of expression for them, indicating a strengthened social identity.

By the end of nineteenth century and the beginning of twentieth century, Indian writers started to move towards social realism and inculcated a spirit of cultural nationalism. The Cry of an Untouchable (Ek Achut ki Aah) a poem written by Hira Dom, in 1914, is often considered as an early example of Modern marginalized writing in India, despite the identity of the author and the context of writing the poem remain unclear. It became an important text for the emergence of a new discourse on ‘uplifting of the untouchable’ of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, this in turn became an important aspect of Mahatma Gandhi’s political philosophy and national movement. Sisir Kumar Das talks about the difficulty of writers to reconcile their pride for Hindu social organizations with the idea of equality, in his chapter on the ‘narratives of suffering’ in Indian literature in the late colonial to early post-colonial epoch.

Literature of the marginalised represents the collective consciousness of social, political, economic, and racial discrimination, suffered by the marginalised groups of our society for hundreds of years. Marginalised writing is more of a post-independence phenomenon. The emergence of marginalised literature has a great historical significance. Dalit, Adivasis and females were always on the marginalized side of Indian society. Literature of these marginalised groups is that literature in which a writer shows the agony of the marginalised and their painful perplexities: the family deterioration, poverty, humiliation, and improvised condition.

Often the term marginalized is used for the Dalits and Adivasis in India as they are thought to be the two categories that have been economically as well as culturally marginalized over the ages. In the process of defining marginalized on the basis of caste and class divide we tend to forget about the women in our society who are deprived of their rights within their own community, not having a voice of their own. The Dalits, Adivasis, and Women are fighting not only for the economic benefits, but also for cultural representation and a distinct identity of their own. One can find frequent mention about the fate of marginalized groups in the short stories and novels of the famous hindi writer Munshi Premchand. His famous novel *Godan* provides and insight into the systematic exploitation of the poor within the binary framework of rich and poor, as well as the framework of caste. The story revolves around Hori and Dhaniya who are the representatives of smallholding farmers from a marginalized background. *Chappar* written by Jayprakash Kadam is a response to Premchand’s *Godan*, it is by far one of the eminent pieces of work done on Dalit writing. The protagonist (Chandan) who is the cultural hero in the novel, is comparable to Premchand’s Hori, who despite being trapped in financial problems wants to donate a cow to a Brahmin, as he thinks it’s the only way to live a meaningful life.

*The Untouchable* written by Mulk Raj Anand which is considered as the starting point of Indian novels in English, has an approach of social reform similar to that of Premchand and Jayprakash Karam. The main character of his novel is Bakha who is a sweeper (bhanghi). He is unable to develop any form of social consciousness, as he is incapable of understanding the discrimination he experiences at the hands of people. He thinks that only the technical advancement which might lead to development of new water closets can set him free from this job of cleaning the toilets, which he strongly dislikes.

When it comes to authors becoming the voice of the marginalized (both for Dalits and Adivasis) their writings mostly have a gendered voice embedded in them. Male marginalized writings have often addressed the plight of females through the lens of their understanding of female hardships. There is a tendency of bringing a positive male protagonist or hero in the story. The portrayal of sexual violence- mostly the public stripping and rape of women – is evident in their writings by a process of ‘scripting atrocities’. The novel *Aj Bazar Band Hai* by Mohanadasa Naimisaraya for instance talks about the selfless intervention of an innocent journalist Sumit, in inspiring the prostitutes to restore their honour, by challenging their fate and escaping their immoral ways of life. He depicts prostitutes as the ‘daughters of the nation’. *Ahalya* is an example of prototypical short story written by Surajpal Chauhan, which refers to a mythical female character who was turned into stone by the fury of Lord Indra. A compassionate, cross-sexual solidarity can be seen flowing through the verses of an adivasi poem written by Ram Dayal Mumda: ‘Just like you, I too’: ‘Just like you, I get cow dung as fuel for the oven’ here ‘you’ is reference to the narrator’s aged grandmother.

The marginalised women write differently yet have somethings in common with the male marginalized writings. The strings of similarity are also attached to non- marginalized female writings. The common male perspective and inherent tactful pretention of it being non-gendered is challenged by Baisantri in her autobiography *Dohra Abhishap (Double Curse)*. This text holds a mirror to the society, which in turn helps in defining the contradictions to male female relationships being categorically different in Dalit society and in the upper caste Hindus. The male characters of the autobiography including Baisantri’s husband fits very well into the category of being male chauvinists in many aspects.

Labour proves to be a diverging point between the women belonging to the marginalized class of the society and the women belonging to the non-marginalized class of society. A woman belonging to the marginalized community is much more exposed to the outside world and is a part of the economic structure of her family as she similar to the male members of her family generates income by working. This exposure and independence makes a marginalized woman more vulnerable, but also more assertive, as compared to the middle-class women taking care of the household chores and her family

while her husband earns money for the family. This assertiveness of a non-educated working-class dalit woman can be seen in the autobiographical text *Viramma*. On being interviewed by a French anthropologist she reveals how even though she has never been to school, yet she know as how to live her life in village while negotiating her position during conflicts, helping her retain an individual identity of her own. She also shares with her interviewee the minute details about her life including the repercussions of the assertiveness in her relationship with her husband. Thus revealing to the readers that the Husband-wife relationships among the rural working class are much less hierarchical than middle-class marital relationships.

Dalit writing defined by the social identity of the author has been promoted as an important genre since about 1992 in writings of Indian diaspora. The dalit and Adivasi authorship under the Indian diaspora is defined by the categorical divide between two closely related terms, ‘empathy and compassion’ (shanubhuti) and ‘experience’ (anubhuti). Non-marginalized authors writing about the marginalized is at times denied by the marginalized writers on basis of the lack of firsthand experience of the former. The echoes of the issues related to ‘male’ and ‘female’ in feminist writings are found in debates about Dalit issues in fiction, which come to the fore front as a result of the polemical binary terms anubhuti and sahanubhuti. The literature of the marginalized is superficial if not wholly an illusion and can never compete with ‘experience’. Hence ‘empathy’ on its own is not enough for it.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the Dalits began to organise themselves into protest movements in different parts of India. The focus of these regional level movements was primarily against the unclean, defiling, unpaid or underpaid and hazardous occupations ascribed to the Dalits, and the notion of untouchability attached to them.

These movements included the Satnami Movement (1820-1830) of Madhya Pradesh; the Adi-Dharm Movement (early nineteenth century) of Punjab; the Ezhavas or Iravas Movement (early nineteenth century) of Kerala; the Nadar Movement (1920s) of Tamil Nadu; Ambedkar’s Movement (from 1920 onwards), and the Dalit Solidarity Programme (from 1992) as an All-India movement. These are the movements in which not only the initiators or the leaders were Dalits but the members or the participants of these movements were also Dalits. The participation of non-Dalits in these movements has been minimal and most often nil.

Although all these regional level movements attempted to uproot the notion of untouchability, the advocates of these movements differed in their perception of the problem and in the strategies they adopted. Some felt that the caste system per se was not bad, but the practice of untouchability being sanctioned in the caste system was bad. Their focus, therefore, was only to uproot

untouchability and not the caste system itself. Those who perceived so were often the non-Dalits.

Yet some others also perceived that caste per se was not bad, but they felt that the position given to Dalits in the caste ladder was bad. They, therefore, strove to elevate the Dalits from the given position in the caste hierarchy. They felt that they are to be placed much above in the caste hierarchy. They felt that by elevating the Dalits to a higher position in the caste hierarchy, they could come out of the notion of untouchability attached to them. The approach of the Nadar Movement of Tamil Nadu, and the Ezhavas or Iravass Movement of Kerala is examples to such attempts. Though both the Nadars (traditionally known as Chanan) and the Ezhavas were toddy tappers, the strategies they adopted in their struggle differed. The Chanan of Tamil Nadu labelled themselves as Nadar (ruler) and claimed the Kshatriya status in the caste hierarchy, and also concentrated much on enhancing not only their economic status but also their political power. As a result, the notion of untouchability attached to them disappeared. They are no more identified as untouchables. They have become a role model for other Dalits (Hardgrave, 1969, p. 81). The non-Nadar or Chanan Dalits, who have migrated to urban areas tend to identify themselves as Nadars as a means to conceal their stigmatised untouchable identity.

The claim of Jatavas, an untouchable caste of Agra, for Kshatriya status by the end of nineteenth century was also an attempt to undo their stigmatised identity. But this movement did not last for a longer period and could not succeed in achieving its goals. There were also attempts to imitate the lifestyles of upper castes by the lower castes as a means to protect themselves from the notion of untouchability (Ambedkar, 1979; Lynch, 1969).

Yet some others felt that the caste system, in itself, was bad and, therefore, had to be uprooted. This was and is the perception of most of the Dalits and their movements. They feel that as long as there is a caste system, there would be upper castes and lower castes and also unjust distribution of power and status between the two caste groups. Some Dalit movements looked back at their roots and identified themselves as a separate cultural entity and attempted to associate themselves with their 'lost' identity disassociating from and protesting against their present identity as untouchables under the Hindu fold. An example of this kind of attempt was the Adi-Dharm Movement. The Adi-Dharm Movement was the movement of the Churas of Punjab. Dissatisfied with the social status accorded to them in the Hindu social order, the Churas, one of the SCs, identified their roots with what was known as 'Adi-Dharm'. It was an independent religion-like system, found in the early twentieth century. The members of this movement demanded that they should be recognised as Adi-Dharmis and not as Hindu untouchables. But this again turned out to be another unsuccessful movement since there emerged a division among them

on the basis of sub-castes. And many renounced their association with Adi-Dharm and embraced other egalitarian religions.

For the same reason of uprooting the caste system and the notion of untouchability, some other Dalits created a religion of their own which was different from Hinduism. The Satnami Movement, founded between 1820 and 1830, is an ideal example. Its founder, Ghasi Das, a Chamar by caste (SCs), returned to his fellow caste people one day after the traditional sojourn in the wilderness bearing certain dramatic revelations. He said that all individuals were equal irrespective of caste, and there was only one God – the God of the true name or ‘Satnami’. He appointed himself as the head priest and forbade the worship of Hindu deities, the rituals associated with it and consumption of liquor, tobacco and meat. The popularity of this movement came down drastically after the death of Ghasi Das in 1850. No significant effort was made in this movement to enhance the economic status of its followers. It could not sustain a long lasting impact on the Chamars’ stigmatised identity.

The Pulayas of Kerala resorted to conversion as a means to end their problem of untouchability. The Pulayas’ conversion to Christianity began by the seventeenth century and got strengthened by the early twentieth century. They resorted to protest against the practice of untouchability in the early twentieth century. Influenced by the Nadar Movement and also by the Ezhavas Movement, the Pulayas protested not only against the inhuman practice of untouchability and political disenfranchisement but also against economic exploitation. They took shelter under the umbrella of Christianity in large numbers for their physical, economic and social security. But even conversion did not help them much to come out of the tyranny of the caste system and the notion of untouchability (Mathew, 1986, pp. 97-119).

Out of the very many things that Ambedkar, a Mahar Dalit, did for the cause of his fellow Dalits, his conversion to Buddhism, was an important decision. He felt strongly that there would be no scope for Dalits to have a dignified social life as long as they remained within the fold of Hinduism. He did so with a view to rescue the Dalits of Maharashtra from the notion of untouchability. He renounced Hinduism and embraced Buddhism at the fag end of his life on October 14, 1956, at Nagpur, Maharashtra, along with thousands of his fellow Dalits. But even after conversion the condition of Dalits remain very much the same today. These converts are now identified as neo-Buddhists which, in another word, is nothing but untouchables. However, Ambedkar’s contribution to Dalits in general and to the Mahars in particular to assert for their rights, self-respect and dignity is immense and laudable (Rao, 1979, p. 216). It may, however, be noted that most of those who embraced Buddhism were Mahars and others did not resort to this means. It therefore, merely remained a Mahar conversion movement.

The Pallars, one of the militant Scheduled Castes in Tamil Nadu, resorted to conversion to Islam as the last resort not only to put an end to the innumerable indignities inflicted on them but also to come out of the stigmatised untouchable identity imposed on them by the CHs. The Pallars of Meenakshipuram in Tirunelveli District, and of Attiyuttur and Kooriyur in Ramanathapuram District embraced Islam renouncing their mechanical affiliation with Hinduism. The Pallars from Thanjavur and Kanyakumari Districts and Gudiyattam taluka also followed the same path. Though the Dalits who have converted to Islam enjoy an extent of social respect much more than that of their fellow Dalits remaining in Hinduism, they are not fully integrated into the Muslim community where a caste like system is already operating from within. In order to keep up the newly achieved social status as Muslims, the Pallars have to keep a distance from their close relatives and fellow Dalits. In that sense, the Dalits converted to Islam also do not have access to free social interaction, and suffer from the notion of untouchability. The experience of all these movements, in fact, reiterates the fact that even 'conversion' has not been found to be the correct means to free the Dalits from the notion of untouchability imposed on them.

Mohandas Naimisray's *To Each His Own Cage (Apne-Apne Pinjare)* which was published in 1995 became a starting point for publication of short stories, poems, and essays of the marginalized. Dalit writing entered the mainstream Indian literary journals followed by Adivasi writings in early 2000s (early twenty first century). Some of the sample of literature of the marginalized has started to show its presence in the syllabi of educational institutions, which in turn is helping in putting in line of the mainstream Indian literature. Becoming a part of the educational canon is the first step in expanding its reach in the narrow vicinities of the society.

The misconception of all marginalized literature being autobiographical in nature is driven by its focus on anubhuti. This is also one of the reasons that publishers prefer autobiographies of the marginalized rather than the fictional literature of the marginalized. Autobiographies being considered more authentic as compared to other forms of literature makes this notion unquestioned by many readers. It is interesting to observe, however, that Adivasi literature has not yet produced a comparable number of autobiographies.

When we talk about the literature of the marginalized, authors of these writings come from different social and regional backgrounds, which leads to development of different and sometimes contrary opinions. An example of such developments was seen when the question on necessity of conversion to Buddhism rose and Dr. B R Ambedkar formally converted to Buddhism in 1956, a large number of Dalits in Maharashtra and eventually all over North India started the process of conversion like a chain reaction in search of respect and a voice of their own. The cultural and religious history of the marginalized

though being wide written and read about has just developed a sophisticated methodology and scope. A very step in forming a conclusive image of history of the marginalized and reconfiguring their identity is the rediscovery of Nirguna Bhakti: devotion to and worship of the divine as formless.

In the contemporary writings Dalit writing is to some extent metropolitan literature, where as in spacial terms the Adivasi literature is in the vicinity of village, nature and agriculture. When we talk about metropolis the cities like Delhi provide a space for the middle-class Dalits to engage in different forms of interactions that are not lead by the caste issue but go beyond caste while they also enjoy a certain degree of anonymity. The new generations of authors writing about the marginalized realities are coming to the forefront, these writers reflect on the middle-class urban identities thereby developing new forms of narratives giving up the social realism of their predecessors. A very strong example of the new narratives can be seen in the writings of Ajay Navariya who is one of the pioneers in exploring the narrative spaces beyond social realism.

The thing about social experience is that it is never static, it always changes from time to time and from one person to another as it gets conditioned over time according to situations. A certain gap always exists between experience as such and the experience as it is reflected upon and fictionalized. Marginalised writers often belong to social groups that have gained access to education a few decades ago and some only recently. The term ‘mud-house authors’ used by Gopal Guru for the writers coming from the marginalized backgrounds no longer exists as a prominent category today. Most of the experiences that these authors write about are the experiences they had during their childhood or as young adults. Omprakāś Vālmīki told about his mother’s reaction to an incident where, as a young boy, he was asked by members of his caste to join in skinning a pig; she responded by saying that, ‘Omprakāś doesn’t have to do this kind of work!’ This shows how the mother of a future Dalit author was reluctant to let his son do things that the other uneducated boys and men of his community did, since he was one of the first boys of their community to go to school and have access to education. The education however does not ensure that the individuals coming from the marginalized communities would be shielded from or will not face any social discrimination based on their identity as members of a marginal group.

Due to the evolution of their experience and gaining education the new generation of marginalized authors question the dominance of autobiography, which at times is seen as an opposition to the older generation. They like the other writers want to focus on new forms of narrative such as: Magic realism used by Ajay Navariya in his short stories and Melancholic poetic imagery of Jasinta Kerketta. Despite the evolution of experiences and identities relating to them, over time and across generations,



the challenges faced by them have formed a fertile ground for the blossoming of the literature of the marginalized in the recent decades.

The contents of Dalit, Adivasi and female experiences in the writings have been impacted by the linguistic choice of English instead of the mother tongue. This switch from the regional language to a global language – e.g. Chinese, French, English, Portuguese, or Spanish – does not mean that the prejudiced character of discourses automatically changes together with the linguistic medium.

The Indian literature has profited to a great extent from the amalgamation of marginalized literature and its contribution in the recent years. The conventional forms of writing are being continuously challenged by the new voices, this helps to enrich the Indian literature and it also helps in enriching the composite culture of India as a whole with new forms of communication and expression.

The new emerging identities of communities that were socially and economically marginalized throughout history are being expressed by the marginalized literature. The discourse on Marginalized literature and identity must be looked at within a larger framework of contraction of a new Indian identity as a whole, which takes into account not only social but also economic marginalization in general. Dalit, Adivasi and Female authors in India are fighting against the evils of discrimination and marginalization, developing narratives of their own, and demanding their rights in a nation-state that, by the virtue of the constitution of India, strives to provide equal opportunities to all its citizens.

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## Role of Literature, Language, Traditions and Society

-Vandana Thakur

### Abstract

Literature reminds us of stories, epics, sacred scriptures, and classical works of ancient and modern times. Literature is defined as the body of written works of a language, period, or culture. Literature is not merely a depiction of reality; it is rather a value addition. Literary reading always implies both a text and a reader in a reciprocal experience at a particular time and place. Literature and society are closely related to each other since literature is the mirror of society. Sometimes literature and society inspire and even influence each other. The polished richness and delicacy of any language are presented in its literature and not in its oral idiom-for literature feeds the tree of language. The idea of language is considered somewhat similar to life. Language is a natural human growth; to some extent mental as well as physical. It remains to change incessantly; hence the nature of language is dynamic. It always undergoes a process of development.

**Keywords:** *Literature, Language, Communication, Culture, Beliefs, Values, Human Nature, Traditions, Society.*

### Introduction

C. S. Lewis opines “Literature adds to reality, it does not simply describe it. It enriches the necessary competencies daily life requires and provides; in this respect, it irrigates the deserts that our lives have already become” (Holmer, 1976, p. 28). This is the most appropriate description of the importance of literature in our lives. Literature reminds us of stories, epics, sacred scriptures, and classical works of ancient and modern times. Literature is defined as the body of written works of a language, period, or culture, produced by scholars and researchers, specialized in a given field. Literature is not merely a depiction of reality; it is rather a value addition. Literary reading always implies both a text and a reader in a reciprocal experience at a particular time and place. In such a fluid exchange, both text and reader are mutually modified. Thus, from this perspective, although the purpose of literature is only one - to be transformative - it might have different expressions or different forms. Literary works are

portrayals of the thinking patterns and social norms prevalent in society. They are an illustration of the different facets of a common man's life. Literary works serve as food for thought and a tonic for imagination and creativity. Exposing an individual to good literary works is equivalent to providing him/her with the finest of educational opportunities. On the other hand, the lack of exposure to literary works is equal to depriving an individual of an opportunity to grow as an individual. "...literature acts as a facilitator for culture, language, and critical thinking" (Wengel, 2005, p. 74).

In the course of the development of the new-style language degree courses over the last ten years, the role of literary study has often been a center of controversy and discussion. On the one hand, we have seen traditionalists vigorously defending the position of literature.

"literature as a natural and necessary companion to the study of a foreign language, and resenting inroads made by other disciplines into the time devoted to it; on the other hand, the extreme position of the reformers and innovators is one which has tended to identify literary study with an outmoded structure of learning which should be cleared away completely - for them, reading literature is at best a luxurious and at worst a totally irrelevant activity in the study of a modern society and its language" (Findlay, 1980, p.2).

## **Literature**

Literature is a group of words of art. Most are written, but some are passed by word of mouth. Literature usually means works of poetry and prose that are very well-written. The word Literature comes from the Latin word which literally means learning, literature, and grammar. Even imaginative or creative Literature is considered to be good literature. Before the spread of literature, oral literature did not always survive well, though some texts and fragments have persisted. Many texts handed down by oral tradition over several centuries before they were fixed in written form are difficult or impossible to date. August Nitschke sees some fairy tales as literary survivals dating back to the ice age and Stone Age narrators. The earliest literary author is a Sumerian priestess known by the name of Enheduanna dates back to 2400 BCE. Certain literary texts such as the Egyptian's Book of Dead and Sumerian's Code of Urkagnia are very old. These old Literature texts have been very helpful in knowing the language, culture, and system the people had in those days. These texts are the foundations of language and literature that we are having today. At the point when we read literature, we find normal human methods of getting a life. We find comparative messages, bits of knowledge, and exercises. We read about firmly related encounters. We likewise find comparative slip-ups and find critical contrasts. This permits us to investigate another's message or life, even those isolated from us by time and social boundaries. To peruse literature is an exercise in perspective. We frequently

figure out how unique others are in conditions and way to deal with life, just as experience the ways event contrasts with what people accept. Literature is brimming with human reactions and responses – in sonnets, expositions, journals, stories, and the characters of accounts. As we react to and break down these, we can increase more noteworthy information on the human mind. Simultaneously, we can increase information on ourselves and our own reactions since we should unavoidably contrast our lives with those in literature. As we look into, different creators' perspectives as well as our own perspectives and those of others, we extend our feeling of human responses and our own self-reactions. We have the chance of getting further, increasingly mindful individuals. When we do this, we have the open door for finding pride in our locale and culture, picking up regard for others, and for learning quietude as we communicate across societies. However, being more profound and progressively mindful requires certain ethics, specifically, a feeling of regard and quietude. Great exchange requires confidence, expectation, and love: confidence that correspondence can really happen between individuals; trust that something may happen to our endeavors; and love for our kindred people in the entirety of their assorted variety, unpredictability, and assortment. We don't generally concur with what we read, or we concur to a limited extent. We read literature to test the reality of a message against our perspective. Literature cannot in itself make us a superior individuals, yet it can help us as individuals. Astuteness can be characterized as aptitude in living. By looking at artistic literature, its accounts, and its messages, we can increment in our comprehension of how to live. We figure out how to perceive what is solid and damaging on the planet, and we are tested with shamefulfulness and its results. Literature may even provoke us to ask what we will never really end the issues it pictures. Literature offers us the magnificence of words and stories, and all things considered, mirrors the greatness of God present in language, accounts, and the stuff of creation. Literature can engage us. Literature then becomes a process of identification, a communion with the creative spirits of the past, and criticism takes on strongly biographical tinges. There was another author to sum up, this position "Creativity, identification, timelessness, re-creation, empathy, illusion, aesthetic pleasure - the seven-headed hydra of the academic swamp" (Benjamin, 1931, pp. 450-456). The history of literature dates back to the dawn of human civilization. Societies were formed by human beings with the objective of fulfilling human needs and aspirations. Both have remained inseparable from each other, for literature cannot sustain without society, and likewise, the society too cannot be unnoticed in literary pieces in one way or another. Literature provides insight into the minds of other human beings, into the mind of the author, and the minds of the character he or she brings to life. It provides one with the opportunity to further one's education to continuously learn new things and be exposed to a plethora of ideas. Literature is the study of human nature. We see

human nature through tragedy and romance, joy and sorrow, in epiphanies and denial, moments of heroism, and moments of cowardice. Literature teaches us to analyze a character and allows us to reach inside his or her mind so we see what drives a character, what shapes his or her beliefs, and how one relates to others. In a literal sense, the word literature means ‘things made from letters’. Literature is the source of human knowledge and the documentation of human experience. Literature helps to understand the world around us and preserves the morals of peoples. Some of the great literary works like the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, and the *Bible* are considered the treasure houses which provide society with the guiding principles of life. “Through literature, the human being can explain (natural sciences), understand (humanities) and preserve (history) his environment, hone his intellectual abilities (relating to other relevant disciplines as well) and exercise and express his spiritual needs (religion)” (Wengel, 2005, p. 80). Literature has, in fact, a special value in the analysis of a historical moment, firstly, it has the unusual quality of being a verbal structuring of values and meaning which takes place within the historical context itself; so literature preserves, reveals and even analyses the actual processes of thinking of a given period in time, in a way which few historical ‘documents’ can do for us, and which no history written after the event can do. But, secondly, literature is more than simply a direct product of the material forces of a given epoch, it does more than reproduce ideological structures; it may also be held to constitute an area of relative freedom, expressing not only determined consciousness, but also the fantasies, aspirations, alternatives, the ‘utopian mode’ of consciousness which can subvert and refashion dominant ideology.

What occurs in the general public is reflected in artistic works in some structure. The strict significance of literature is the specialty of composing work in various structures, for example, verse, plays, stories, composition, fiction, and so forth. It might likewise comprise literature dependent on data just as creative minds. The general public is a gathering of individuals identified with one another through their consistent and continuous relations. It is likewise a gathering of like-minded individuals to a great extent represented by their own standards and qualities. Human culture, it is watched, is described by the examples of the connection between people who offer societies, conventions, convictions, qualities, and so forth. In the event that one glances at the historical backdrop of society, one will find that the idea of various social orders has experienced changes from the Paleolithic time frame to the current period of Information Technology. The people’s living styles, religions, convictions, societies, and so on have never remained consistently steady. With the progression of time, attributable to changes occurring in conditions and with the rise of new advancements, we see that the social orders have not stayed obstinate concerning their standards and qualities, the impressions of which can be found in various types of literature.

## Language

Literature and society are closely related to each other since literature is the mirror of society. Sometimes literature and society inspire and even influence each other. The philosophical or social movements illustrated through narratives add deep insight into human knowledge. The literary works reflect the nature and spirit of the particular time. While surveying history, one finds that the religious facets are incorporated in medieval literature, whereas Renaissance reveals the advancement in the fields of art and science. Similarly, the Romantic Movement concentrated on the importance and creativity of the individual, and Modernist literature represents the place of the individual in an era of industrialization and the menace of nuclear annihilation. Linguists regularly remind us that oral language is the living language and that the written word is only recorded language. This may be true, but certainly, these two aspects of our language are so interrelated and interdependent as to be almost inseparable. The oral pattern of speech influences what is written and the written word greatly enriches the spoken one. Language may be developed without knowledge or understanding of its written record, but the polished richness and delicacy of any language are presented in its literature and not in its oral idiom-for literature feeds the tree of language and helps it to establish deep roots and fragile blossoms. The idea of language is considered somewhat similar to life. Language is a natural human growth; to some extent mental as well as physical. It remains to change incessantly; hence the nature of language is dynamic. It always undergoes a process of development. Language is human in its characteristics since only humans possess it. Though animals possess a system of communication, it is not developed accurately. A child learns the language of the society in which he/she lives in. The entire frame of culture and civilization fully depends upon language. It defines the approach to human behavior. Language generates thoughts and leads the entire frame of culture and civilization. All human beings are blessed with this precious gift. The history of human development justifies the importance of language. It has brought the gradual development of human life from the Stone Age to the Modern Era. Literature increases vocabulary and develops language sensitivity.

## Society

Literature has majorly affected the improvement of society. It has molded civilizations, changed political frameworks, and uncovered foul play. Literature gives us an itemized review of human encounters, permitting us to associate fundamental degrees of want and feel. In any case, similarly, as it has built social orders, the compositions and works of specific creators have corrupted social orders to their most crude structure. We all know that literature mirrors society. What happens in a society is reflected in literary works in one form or another. The literal meaning of literature is the art of written work in different forms, such as poetry, plays, stories, prose, fiction,

etc. It may also consist of texts based on information as well as imagination. A society is a group of people related to each other through their continuous and uninterrupted relations. It is also a group of like-minded people largely governed by their own norms and values. Human society, it is observed, is characterized by the patterns of relationships between individuals who share cultures, traditions, beliefs, values, etc. If one looks at the history of society, one will find that the nature of different societies has gone through changes from the Palaeolithic period to the present age of Information Technology. The people's living styles, faiths, beliefs, cultures, etc. have never remained uniformly consistent. With the passage of time, owing to changes taking place in the environment and with the emergence of new technologies, we observe that societies have not remained stubborn with regard to their norms and values, the reflections of which can be found in different forms of literature. Kalidas, a great poet, ever born in Indian history, is first afraid of the uncertain attitude of the people, but then pleads his own points of view that provide us union of the old and the new. In *Malavikamitam*, his first play, the poet shows his humility and becomes uncertain whether people would accept his play. Therefore, at the beginning of the play, he pleads, *Puranamityek Nasadhu sarvam, Nachapikavayamnavmityavadyam* "Every old poem is not good because it is old; nor is every new poem to be blamed because it is new; sound critics, after critical examination, choose one or the other, the blockade must have his judgment, guided by the knowledge of his neighbors" (Tawney, 1891, p. 3). In other words, everything old is not bad; nor is everything new bad. There may be something, which may not be of much use in the old, and the new may also be good. That is what great men and wise people say and follow to become good at all times. With respect to literature we notice that it has remarkably gone through changes with regard to its theme and style. The subjects of literature have been changing as they cover multiple spheres of life and society. So has been the case with the language of literature also. Language is one of the tools or mediums of expressing ideas and thoughts, both in oral and written forms. Different societies have used and are still using different languages for the fulfillment of individuals 'and societies' aspirations. Sometimes it is noticed that many charges are labeled against literature as well as society. Literary writing is banned because an opposite section of society finds it mirroring beliefs and norms against that society. The examples of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* and Taslima Nasrin's *Lazza* provide testimony to such charges. The paintings of Maqbul Fida Hussain were banned and burnt by a section of Indian Hindu society with the charge of tarnishing their religious devotion. In the world of the film industry, both in India and abroad, many films have been banned; there have been protests and demonstrations against the films for wrongly presenting the themes and using undesired language which appears hostile to the feelings of a section of society.

## Traditions

Literature in a society is not only banned or attempted to be banned because of mirroring the norms and values, not found in conformity with that society, it is sometimes marginalized or vehemently opposed due to another form of language it is written by, and which is different from what people have been using. In the context of depicting or portraying the Epics in a language commonly used by the people during that period, examples of strong opposition by a different section of society, who not only use the conventional or traditional form of language, but they feel proud of it considering themselves as an elite group, can be seen the world over. In India, for example, Tulsidas's *Ram Charit Manas* was looked down upon and disallowed by the then Pundits of Varanasi, who had been using Sanskrit as the only medium of literary and religious expression. In Europe, too, the literature written in native languages had received a marginalized position in comparison to Greek and Latin until the native languages were widely used by the writers and accepted by the people after the Renaissance. Bacon's essays, first written in Latin and then re-written in English, exemplify this observation. Another question that strikes our mind is if literature reflects only the events taking place in society. Do the occurrences taking place in persons' lives become a catalytic agent in literary creations? In India, Adi Kavi Valmiki composed his first poetry only when saw something happening which ought not to happen. It is said that he while taking bath and performing his religious rituals on the bank of river Tamsa, saw a female Krounch lamenting at the killing of her male partner. His heart was so deeply overwhelmed with grief that he could not bear it and spontaneously uttered a few line lines in the form of poetry: "maa nishhaada pratishthaamtva | magamah shaashvatiih samaah | yat krauncha mithunaat eka | mavadhih kaama mohitam ||"

"Oh! Ill-fated Hunter, by which reason you have killed one male bird of the couple, when it is in its lustful passion, thereby you will get an ever-lasting reputation for ages to come" (Valmiki, 2004).

Here, poetry, one of the forms of literature, comes out naturally and without deliberated form immediately after the events take place in life and nature. The poetry of Wordsworth is based on memory. He thinks of past events and comes under the impact of past impressions with a high degree of emotions and feelings. For him, as he himself says in his *Preface to Lyrical Ballads* (Wordsworth, 1802) "Poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings; it takes its origin from emotions recollected in tranquility". In all such and many other cases, the emergence of literary creativity is followed by the acts and events in life and nature. However, the poet sometimes becomes so much imaginative that he thinks of the events to be followed by his literary composition, and in some cases, it happens true. This is because of the high level of imaginative excellence of a writer that what he thinks,



though possibly unreal, is reflected in his writing. One may put a charge on him saying what he has written is largely based on fancy and personal hallucination. His/her observations are more psychic than real. But as an individual, he is also a part of the society he lives in.

## Conclusion

Literature has the ability to sparkle a light on a general public's convictions and practices. It powers pursuers to pose inquiries, start discussions, and search for answers, regardless of whether one genuine answer doesn't exist. The topics, characters, and exercises in literature are ones that would all be able to be contrasted with the individuals and occasions perusers find in reality. In that sense, literature is an impression of society. Therefore, apparently, society acts as a backup for the culture and convention of the individuals it reflects upon and the occupants of a gathering of society share certain likenesses as to, suspicions, convictions, standing, belief, fantasies, religion, and so forth. Literature, when joined with culture and different features – both conceptual and cement - of society, not just presents vague subjects like estrangement, digestion, and change in the public arena yet, in addition, mirrors the substantial issues, for example, chronicled, political and social realities. Thus, it appears that society acts as a backup for the culture and tradition of the people it reflects upon and the inhabitants of a group of society share certain similarities with regard to, assumptions, beliefs, caste, creed, myths, religion, etc. Literature, when combined with culture and other facets –both abstract and concrete--of society, not only presents impalpable subjects like alienation, assimilation, and transformation in society but also reflects palpable issues, such as historical, political, and social facts.

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## Cultural Syncretism and Gugga: A Folkloristic Analysis

-Jyoti Yadav

### Abstract

Indian folk landscape is full of figures representing syncretic heritage derived from various communities, religions and regions. These cult figures have never been part of the official history of India but play a vital role in preserving a unique heritage of South Asian life. Commemorated in songs and folk theatres, they are part of folk life which bestows on them charisma and celebrates them through selected episodes from their life. The present paper seeks to delve into the empirical reality of incidents related to Gugga, a north Indian folk deity, by exploring the significance of his 'imagined reality' on the cultural body of the region as a living, still-existing reality. The story of Gugga is explored concerning the diversity of faiths and beliefs, which make the legend of Gugga possible and give him relevance in contemporary times. Hence an attempt is made in the present discussion to analyse incidents of Gugga's life in their temporality and universal significations.

**Keywords:** *Syncretism, Gugga, Svanga, Yogi, Folklore, Culture.*

### I

Syncretism has its genesis in the Greek word συγκρητισμός (*synkretismos*), which was first applied by Plutarch in his essay 'Fraternal Love' and stood for Cretans' attempts at reconciliation between opposite camps against a common enemy. Syncretism in matters of religion and culture may denote attempts of reconciliation between two co-existing cultures in the shared geographical and temporal plane or the process by which mainly a defeated culture absorbs specific cultural characteristics of the victorious culture. At the same time, syncretism can happen in the reverse direction; that is, the influential culture may get affected by the politically weak culture and, in turn, may modify its cultural landscape through the process of accretion.

Syncretism has notable associations with religious structures and their value judgments. G. van der Leeuw in *Phänomenologie der Religion*

(Phenomenology of Religion) finds ‘transposition’ as the critical aspect of syncretism and asserts that in the process, while only the meanings are transferred from one structure to another, most of the time, the form remains constant. H. Kraemer in *De Wortelen van het Syncretisme* investigates conscious and unconscious syncretism and locates the roots of syncretism in monistic religions, which are seen as opposite to revealed, prophetic religions. J.H. Kamstra presents the view that all religions are syncretistic in one sense. Syncretism is a general human trait defined as “the coexistence of elements foreign to each other within a specific religion, whether or not these elements originate in other religions or, for example, in social structures” (Droogers, 1989, p.10). M. Pye modifies Kamstra’s definition of syncretism and finds it a system which can be seen as “the temporary ambiguous coexistence of elements from diverse religious and other contexts within a coherent religious pattern” (Pye, 1971, p. 93). According to him, the ambiguity of the situation is temporary and demands resolution. The pull of resolution in syncretism is based upon the theory of cognitive dissonance, which posits that things move from clash to harmony. The assumption of movement from dissonance to harmony can be questioned on the grounds that it is based on the ethnocentric model of considering the mind as a written page which needs clarity, order and harmony as the governing traits. Rituals and languages are more context-based operations that deny this linearity, and the co-existence of different elements is possible without any apparent contradiction. C. Colpse discovered three fundamental laws governing syncretism: “the previous autonomy of components brought together in syncretism; a balance between autonomy and integration; and a certain guarantee of historical continuity” (Droogers, 1989, 11). Advancing his theory of structural laws governing syncretism, U. Berner offers a structure model to explain the syncretic formation process. For him, syncretism is a natural compromise between divergent systems. According to him, “religions are systems, with a certain function, composed of elements also serving specific functions. These systems, when in contact, may threaten each other’s functioning. Syncretism is one of the possible reactions to such a confrontation. It strives to diminish the insecurity by dissolving the boundaries between the systems, thus ending competition” (Droogers, 1989, p.12).

Though syncretism has a long history of use, it is worthwhile to remember that as a positive aspect of the cultural process, syncretism has been part of only modern and post-modern thinking. As a part of the social, cultural and religious process, the concept has been studied diligently. Still, as a laudable goal, it got sanction only in the modern era, wherein syncretism was seen as a movement away from the rigidity of social, cultural and religious structures. The promise of syncretism lies in presenting an ideal that can challenge the hegemony inherent in social formations. It also betokens a correct picture of the social processes through which human civilisations and cultures act and react over each other and inhabit a shared space in ‘real’ life.

## II

Guru Gugga, Goga, or Gugga Pir, also known as Zahir Pir or Zahir Zinda Pir, is a famous folk legend of Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. Gugga is supposed to be a folk god, i.e., a deity who is both benevolent and malignant. Songs of varied lengths are sung in praise of this folk deity. These songs, accompanied by music, facial expression and action, bring them closer to the performance tradition. The *svang* 1 of Gugga is performed at the Holi festival in Ambala district; the procession of *Gugga Chadi* is organised in Bhadrapad month in Southern Haryana and Rajasthan and in November and December in Himachal Pradesh. The story of Gugga is presented as an oral epic depicting the heroic deeds of Guru Gugga. It is challenging to assign the legend of Gugga a particular date and time in historical chronology. Some songs align Gugga with the history of Rajputana and give it the period of 1369-1412 A.D. Others put his death at 1024 A.D., citing the reason that he died defending his country against Mahmud of Ghazni during his last expedition in 1024 A.D. Another version mentions Gugga as fighting Firoz Shah of Delhi, who reigned between 1282-1296. In certain songs, Firoz Shah Tughlaq is mentioned who reigned between 1351-1388.

A synopsis of the tale of Gugga, as presented by R.C. Temple and interspersed with other sources, can drive home the point regarding the kind of society in which the story is situated. Gugga was born in Dadrewa in the Churu district, and his Samadhi is located in Gogameri in the Sri Ganganagar district of Rajasthan. His history is intertwined with the Muslim invasion and consolidation of Islam in India, and William Crooke calls him a product of a time when "Indian hagiolatry was at its zenith." (Crooke, 1894, p.133) and that he was "another instance of the curious mixture of Hindu and Musalman hagiology." (Crookes, 1894). Gugga's father ruled over Bagar, which was "the wild tract of half desert country extending from Hansi to the Satlaj on the west and to Bikaner on the South West" (Cunningham, 1882, pp.80-81). The capital of this country was Dadrewa, where Jewar, father of Gugga, ruled, and he had two queens, Bachhal and Kachhal, who had no children. The queen Bachhal, whose birthplace is considered to be Sirasawa, serves Gorakhnath faithfully and asks for a boon regarding a son.

*Hath jor binti karun; suno, Guruji , bat.*

*Main to bina aulad ki hun,, beakul din rat.*

*Hun beakul din rat; rahi tan ki sudh jati.*

*Hath malun, sir dhunnun, nahi kuchh par basati.*

With joined hands I pray thee: hear, Saint, my words.

I am without a child, miserable day and night.

Miserable day and night am I: pleasure hath left my body.

I wring my hands, I dash my head, I have no resource (Temple, 1884, p.132)

Queen Kachhal, the sister of Bachhal, also desires to have a child when she comes to know about the arrival of Gorakhnath. Gorakhnath, happy with the devotion of Bachhal, agrees to give her a boon and asks her to visit in the night/morning. At an appointed hour, however, Kachhal deceives him by donning the disguise of Bachhal and receives two fruits/grains of barley from him. He warns her not to come again as women are never satisfied with their longing for sons. When Bachhal reaches the garden to seek boon as promised by Gorakhnath, she is abused by him roundedly as he thinks that he has already given her enough blessings. Queen Bachhal informs him that somebody has deceived him in her garb.

Gorakhnath, when he realises he has been deceived, now blesses her with a son by gifting her Guggal and curses Kachhal that she will die at the birth of her sons/or her sons will serve that of Bachhal. Many alternative stories describe Bachhal sharing her Guggal with her mare, her sister-in-law, her Brahmini, her slave woman Luna and a sweeper woman from whom the companions of Gugga are born. These five companions of Gugga, viz. his horse Javadiya/Nilaghora, Bala, Narsingh Pande, Bhajju Kotwal and Ratanvir, belonged to different castes and were celebrated in the final battle of Gugga wherein most of them attained martyrdom. Sabir De/Chabbil De, the sister of king Jewar, accuses Bachhal of putting family honour at stake by going to the 'jogi' in the garden at inappropriate hours:

*He Bachhal ! Is jagat men tain di laj ganwae*

*Jogi rakha bagh men: nit uth us par jae*

0 Bachhal Thou hast destroyed thy honor in the world!

Thou didst keep the jogi in the garden, always going to him (Temple, 1884, p.143).

She incites her brother Jewar against the inappropriate behaviour of his wife, whom she accuses of consorting with Yogis. Raja Jewar attempts to take out a sword to kill Bachhal, but with the blessings of Guru Gorakhnath, the blade does not leave the scabbard. Alternatively, it is Raja Umer Rao, the father-in-law of Bachhal, who banishes her to her father's home. On her journey home, she asks the coachman to stop for some time. The coachman takes his bullocks to drink water in the river. A serpent on the bank of the river bites the bullocks, who die on the spot. The coachman accuses Bachhal of being ill-fated and that she was the reason for his loss of bullocks. Bachhal, in her misery, starts crying, then Gugga speaks from her womb and asks his mother to cut one branch of the neem tree standing near the carriage, take the name of Gorakhnath and put one taka as an offering on the name of Guru Gorakhnath. It will make the poison ineffective. When Bachhal does it and sings in praise of Gorakhnath, the bullocks come alive. After reaching home, when her mother asks her the reason for her sad plight, Bachhal narrates the intrigues of her sister-in-law.

Gugga is not born even when it is the twelfth month of his being in the womb. When Bacchal holds the child unlucky, then Gugga prays from the womb to Gorakhnath to relieve his mother of her sorrows. Gugga does not want to take birth in his mother's house. (Temple, 1884, p.204). In Dadrewa, Jewar becomes repentant over his decision to banish Bachhal. His minister tells him that if he does not bring back the queen, all the Chauhans will become his enemy, and he may also lose his life. Raja Jewar leaves to get back his wife, and when Jewar escorts his wife back. In another version of the tale referred to by John Campbell Oman, it is Bachhal who, at the advice of her unborn son Gugga, leaves her parental home to go back to her in-law's home. Gugga asks his mother to search for two oxen named Sona and Mona to be used in the cart when Bachhal expresses her fear that her father would not allow her to return to her husband in that condition. The only available blind carpenter miraculously gains his sight with blessings from Gugga. When Bachhal is going back to her in-law's house, her oxen and the driver are bitten by the serpent messenger of the king of snakes, whose underground abode is disturbed by the vibrations caused by the moving cart. Gugga, on his mother's complaint, revives both the cart driver and the oxen.

The marriage of Gugga plays a central episode in the *svang* of Gugga. Sriyal, the daughter of Raja Sanja, king of Kamrup in Assam, was betrothed to Gugga when Jewar was alive. After the death of Jewar, Sanja refuses to marry his daughter to Gugga and queen Bachhal feels sorrowful about this turn of events. When Gugga comes to know of it, he makes a flute and starts playing 'rag Bhairvi', 'six ragas' and 'thirty-six ragnis' on his flute. The flute's voice disturbs Bask, who sends tatig nag to go and enquire who dared to wake the snakes. On the question of Tatig regarding the reason for his playing on the flute, Gugga speaks of his broken betrothal. Tatig informs Basak about the matter, and Basak says that since Gugga is a disciple of Gorakhnath, he should follow the orders of Gugga. Tatig takes the form of a Brahmin and goes to the garden of King Sanja, where Sriyal is playing with her maidens. Tatig asks for alms, and Sriyal gives him her 'nine masha' ring covered with dirt. Tatig finds it a suitable chance to bite Sriyal, and Sriyal becomes unconscious after seeing him as a snake.

The scene shifts to the lake where Sriyal has gone to take a bath with her friends. Tatig goes into the water and bites Sriyal. There is great sorrow in the palace. Tatig asks a water bearer why she has not put on her ornaments. She replies that no charmer can nullify the effect of poison. Tatig sends a message to king Sanja through the water bearer that he will remove poison from Sriyal. The king brings him, and Tatig makes the king write a bond that if Sriyal is made alive again, he will marry her to Gugga. When Sriyal becomes conscious, Sanja asks Tatig to bring Gugga in seven days to marry Sriyal. Since the time is short, Gugga is worried and prays to Guru

Gorakhnath to preserve his honour. Hem Nath and Khem Nath, guru bhai of Gorakhnath, assemble elephants, carriages and palki, which are uncountable in number as *barat* of Gugga. Raja Sanja is afraid to see so large a procession. The marriage is solemnised, and Guru Gorakhnath brings Gugga and Siriyal to Bachhal. Coming on the heels of Gugga's wedding, the conflict between Gugga and his cousins Arjan and Sarjan precipitates. Sarjan asks Gugga for his share in the property and wants half of his claim. Bachhal calls this world an illusion, and Surjan asks Bachhal to give him his share of the property. He also urges Gugga to go for hunting. During the hunt, when Gugga becomes thirsty, Urjan beguiles him with sweet words while Surjan strikes him with a sword. Gugga remembers guru Gorakhnath and attacks and kills Urjan. He takes the dead body of Urjan to his mother, who is so angry with it that she asks Gugga not to show her his face. In another and more famous account of the story, when refused, Arjan and Sarjan enlist the help of the king of Delhi, variously called Prithviraj/Abuphar/Anangpal. In the consequent fight, Arjan and Sarjan are killed by Gugga thought at the cost of the death of all his companions except his horse. When Gugga shows the heads of his cousins to his mother, she, in anger, refuses to see his face again. Gugga prays to goddess earth to take him or take his curse on her, and he will follow her command. Mother earth asks him to go to Rattan Haji and learn Muslim Kalima, after which she will accept him. She asks Gugga to go to Ajmer, where he must meet saint Kwaja Khizar and should not lie to him. Rattan Haji teaches kalima to him, and then Gugga returns to Goddess earth, who accepts him now.

### III

The syncretic tradition of saints/yogis/naths<sup>2</sup>/sufis is located in the underbelly of Hindu tradition, which finds heroes at unusual places and reveres them for incidents based on some vague historical claim. It puzzles a student of social history why certain people are immortalised in popular memory and on what basis their claim for sainthood rests. One common thread that runs through this 'little saint tradition' is the absence of boundaries between the religions and cults as they are understood nowadays. These saints and yogis crisscross easily from one faith to another, from one caste to another, which even to an enlightened person of today seems marvellous. Like Kabir, they are claimed by many communities as their spokesman, and their ultimate revelation is their alchemy into a bunch of flowers. This ability to transcend narrow boundaries of caste and creed also sometimes leads to a puzzlement characteristic of colonial bewilderment when faced with a phenomenon which resisted all their attempts to classify and give separate nomenclature to the lived reality of caste and religion in India. In a way, the organising zeal of Europeans to dissect and codify a social reality which was fluid and myriad led to the creation of the same

categories which were used to defame and denounce Indian society as reactionary and rigid. Karan Singh rightly notices in the context of the colonial application of Eurocentric social concepts on the Indian situation: “The specific binaries between aristocracy/ commoners, cultural/rustic, which were part of the European culture, were unhesitatingly applied on the Indian situation too. In this process, the absence of class-based stratifications within the Indian social matrix, the role of caste-based communities in preserving theatrical skills and the porosity of categories such as sacred/vulgar, instruction/entertainment and so on were neglected” (Singh, 2020, pp.12-13).

The two interrelated aspects can be discerned here in the context of the failure of European imagination to categorise folk deities like Gugga. Firstly, the inability of the European Reformative mind based on a particular concept of ‘sacrifice’ and ‘mercy’ to fallen humanity as well as on the distinctness of religions to understand the claims of Sainthood to the saints like Gugga who are not sufficiently ‘sacrificial’ in the received sense of the word as well as do not follow the trajectory of ‘mercy’ in its Christian connotations. For instance, Eliot, writing towards the later half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, comments regarding Gugga that “his claims to saintship are not very distinct” (Eliot, 1869, p.256). Related to it is the persistence of a communal space in the tales of saints like Gugga, which is hybrid and transcultural.

Gugga is a part of the superstructure of the Indian cultural landscape, which is peopled by saints, yogis, dervish and pirs who have become part of people’s popular culture. They defy the boundaries of established religions and undercut their delimitations through their existence in the grey areas of their synthesis between different cults. By their very existence, they challenge the conventional definitions of Hinduism or Islam and exist betwixt and between, riding on people’s daily life and removing the hurdles that may befall them through their intercession. Their connection is less with the religious sacraments than a functional one. It is not what they are which is essential for their adherents but what they do which makes them part of the daily life of a peasant or a shopkeeper. Syncretism is so much a part of their universe that any attempt to put them within well-demarcated categories is bound to be misleading and partial. For instance, although Gugga is known as belonging to a clan of Hindu Chauhan Rajputs residing in the Bikaner district of Rajasthan state, at the same time, Gugga is also claimed by “a clan of Musulman Chauhans even now resident in the neighbourhood of his tomb” (Eliot, 1869, p.256). Similarly, although Chauhans are considered a race of the solar dynasty, one of the four original races of Rajputs who were born out of the sacrificial fire, the symbol of Gugga, his ‘chari’ is taken in procession by low caste people who are his wandering minstrels: “In the Eastern portion of these Provinces [...] it is usual for the Bhangis to carry



round the sacred symbol of the Pir in the month of Bhadon” (Eliot, 1869, pp.256-257).

The standard of Gugga which consists of “a long bamboo tricked out with scrapes of gay coloured cloth, having at the top of it a sort of huge brush, covered on the outside with peacock’s feathers. Along the length of the pole are suspended bunches of Cocoa-nuts, with fans and morchels (fly whisks)” (Oman, 1908, p.74) is a living emblem of Gugga. It presents Gugga as a bridegroom and his devotees as his horse. The standard, in its anthropomorphic representation of Gugga on his horse, depicts a frozen moment of his glory and a visual symbol of his memory: “To the initiated the huge broom adorned with flags, fitted to a gigantic handle, and carried by a man, is transfigured into a bridegroom dressed out in his wedding garments, and seated on horseback. It represents Zahir Pir himself on the memorable occasion of his return home with his bride, the occasion on which he slew his half-brothers and incurred the displeasure of his mother” (Oman, 1908, p.74). The ceremonial dressing of the standard, the nomenclature of ‘ghora’ (horse) to bhagats who carry the staff and the use of coconuts as a symbol of severed heads of the brothers of Gugga make the standard a highly symbolic one.

The worship of Gugga by Lalbagis of Mehtar or sweeper class and Bhagats who are entitled to carry the standard of Gugga to different localities represents the connection of this sect with lower classes with whom Gugga is identified. The custodians of the tomb of Gugga are Muslims responsible for the upkeep and administration of Bhagats<sup>3</sup>. Crooks see the connection between the low caste minstrels of Gogga and Hinduism as proof of “the association of his worship with some early non-Aryan beliefs” (William Crooke, 1894, p.134). The syncretism of the cult of Gugga can be located in its adherents who live on the periphery of both Hinduism and Islam. They are fringe people who find themselves neither entirely Hindu nor Muslim. In the words of Oman:

Like a race of outcasts, they haunt the outer courts of the temple of both religions to pick up such crumbs of comfort as they may be permitted to appropriate. [...] Although neither Hindus nor Muslims, they take part in many festivals peculiar to the two creeds, and have succeeded in finding for themselves a patron saint who combine in himself the double advantage of having belonged at different times to both religions, having been, as stated before, born a Hindu and dying a good Muslim (Oman, 1908, p.79).

According to one version of the story, the name Zahir Pir was given to the child Gugga when he put a cobra’s head into his mouth and sucked it. Here ‘Zahir pir’ stands for a saint controlling poisonous snakes, with ‘Zahir’ a mutated version of ‘Zahar’ meaning poison. Another interpretation, as

enumerated by Cunningham, is that the name Zahir Pir refers to the manifestation of Gugga before his wife after his death, so 'Zahir Pir' is interpreted as 'manifested saint.' The epithet 'pir', which under Islam Sufi tradition denotes 'saint', is claimed by some as an aberration of 'bir' or 'vir', thus associating Gugga with forces against Islamic incursions in India and thus rejecting conversion of Gugga to Islam as later day fabrication. Cunningham reports this variation of the legend of Gugga: "he was killed in battle with the Muhammadans in one of Mahmud's invasions, and as everyone who dies a violent death is worshipped as a Bir or demon, so Bachhal's son was made into Gugga Bir, amongst the Hindus, which by a trifling change become Gugga Pir amongst the Muhammadans" (Cunningham, 1882, p.84).

The tale of Gugga represents the confluence of diverse elements from the reigning religious beliefs of the time. It is worth remembering that Gugga, whose parents were Chauhan Rajput, was born by the intercession of Gorakhnath, a Nath Yogi. His conversion to Islam brings another powerful religious current of the time into play, making him part of all the important religious movements of his time. This easy movement from one religious consciousness to another without apparent conflict points to the co-existence of religious experiences. Further, it reflects the easy accessibility of diverse sacred repertoire to ordinary people, a process which was interrupted by the arrival of Europeans in India, which with all its modernising impact, also led to rigidifying of categories through classification and charting out of boundaries between belief systems which were open and permeable. William Crooks noticed the syncretism of Gugga's sect amid the rising tendency of sectarianism:

This worship illustrates the extreme receptivity of popular belief admirably. We have here a body of saints many of whom were deadly enemies of the Hindu faith who are now worshipped by Hindus. The peculiarity of the cults is its extreme catholicity. [...] at the Muharram celebrations and at the pilgrimages to tombs like those of Ghazi Miyan a large number of the votaries are of Hindus. In many towns the maintenance of these Muhammadan festivals mainly depends on the assistance of the Hindus (William Crooke, 1894, pp.127-28).

As early as 1894, William Crooke found it disturbing that the rising trends of the communal divide are creating a schism between Hindus and Muslim faiths, which has "interrupted the tolerant and kindly intercourse between the followers of the rival creeds" (William Crooke, 1894, p.128).

The tale of Gugga, like other contemporary saints such as Pabuji and Dev Narayan, challenges the caste system's rigidity by selecting the saint's

companions from all classes. These companions attest to the relationship between the deity and his followers, often found in low classes. Gugga, as discussed earlier, is situated in those classes which felt alienated from the caste-bound social order represented by Brahmanism and sanctioned by classical texts. Such classes found a reflection of themselves in a hero who represented their aspirations. But as a linkage with classical structure was essential to earn approval from those classes which were part of the classical worldview, these heroes were linked to the heroes of the classical past through the creation of a tenuous relationship with them. That is how Gugga gets connected with Janmejaya, and his claims to have a broader significance got sanctioned through him. Hence there is never a simple confrontation of classical Brahmanism in these texts. There is more of an adaptation and cooptation between the great and little tradition, thus giving that semblance of flexibility and Catholicism to Hinduism, which is seen as its most distinguishing attribute. Further, heroes like Gugga are part of ordinary people's lives and participate in their daily activities by saving them from diseases, removing ill fate and giving them succour in difficulties. They are removed from the superstructure of classical gods and goddesses in their function and meaning. Their development from Bhomia<sup>4</sup> to a sect covering a large area presents their strength to mutate with time and acquire syncretic traits while retaining some of its features. A portion of Gugga's relevance lies in his immersion in the concerns of the day-to-day life of ordinary people. He exists at a level of 'little tradition', which complements and sustains a mutually beneficial relationship with the classical upper crust of Indian culture.

Gugga's conversion to Islam through the earth's refusal to allow him space, due to his being a Hindu shows a marked confluence between the two faiths and their mutual recognition at the level of ordinary people. The readiness of this conversion and the nature of demands upon Gugga shows that the impulse for conversion was not actuated by any material gain but rather by his obedience to his mother. Further, the lack of any protest on the part of his followers shows that the conversion was taken as a sacrifice for a higher cause. The parable also becomes a mirror of the political ascendancy of Islam, wherein Northern Indian kings and princesses were converted to Islam for various reasons. It is obvious that the establishment of Islam within the Indian landscape, after some initial conflicts, led to the rise of a culture wherein only a few tenets of the old faith were revised. The ordinary people at the ground level retained this syncretic faith as part of the mutual exchanges. It is this syncretism which gives a meaning to the tale of Gugga through its immersion within socio-religious and political dimensions.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Svang/Swang/Saang is a performative folk tradition of North India. Its relation with the regional folk cults like Naths makes them part of the cultural repertoire of little traditions of Hinduism. For its association with gender and politics of culture, see Karan Singh, 2019.
- <sup>2</sup> Naths were a transnational movement in the Indian Middle Ages. Naths, also known as yogis, trace their origin to Gorakhnath, the founder of the sect in the eleventh century. The Nath movement existed at the border of various religions such as Hinduism, Islam and tantra. For a more comprehensive analysis of Naths, see Briggs 1973.
- <sup>3</sup> At present, the tomb of Gugga has been rechristened as ‘mandir’ and attempts have been made to see Gugga in terms of the defenders of Hinduism against the invading Islam through chapbooks, and devotional music.
- <sup>4</sup> Bhomiyas were the local defenders of cattle, usually cows, against the invaders in Rajasthan. They are often represented as riding a horse and are credited with fighting even after their heads are severed from their bodies.

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## Book Review

Rajesh Bhat (2018). *Radio Kashmir: In times of peace and war*. Stellar Publishers.

### **Book Review:** Binesh Bhatia

Kashmir has been assiduously attempted to weave a cohesive social and cultural fabric, and diligently counter the malicious propaganda across the borders says Rajesh Bhat. The significance of Kashmir in India and South Asia is not unknown and the volume under review *Radio Kashmir* is the one that explores the inner dimensions of the public discontent from journalist perspective. The book is not just a history of Radio Kashmir, it is also an examination of the role of media in a contentious political environment. At a time when journals and television channels were all controlled by the Indian government, Radio Kashmir was a vital outlet for the people of Kashmir. Radio Kashmir is a relevant and timely book that unravels several interesting accounts about the inner dynamics of the valley. It's a story of a radio station in a troubled region and is a reminder of the power of media to both inform and dissent. The book is very well organized and easy to read. Book extensively covers how media plays a significant role in safeguarding the strategic interests of the government issues which concerns the national security and prosperity of the country.

The Kashmir is termed as 'Heaven on Earth' and the reason to always remain a bone of contention among India-Pakistan relations. The Author's doctoral work in the Public Service Broadcaster has covered the role of Radio Kashmir since 1947 in the times of both peace and war. It is an attempt to weave a cohesive social fabrication and a thorough opinion to counter the malicious propaganda of Pakistan's electronic media. Since its influence was coming out from across border with a veiled territorial ambition, Pakistan fought historic wars with India. The book also covers why 'Radio Kashmir' is a strategic tool despite being an integral part of All India Radio. Book extensively covered the narrative of Radio Pakistan and its notorious Radio Trarkhal radiated for the malicious propaganda against India. Radio Trarkhal targeted the psychology of Kashmiri people to create unrest like situation in Kashmir while playing with their emotional sentiments and identity. Radio Kashmir also highlighted the 'Operation Topac' launched by Pakistan's intelligence agency ISI through radio stations. Author mentioned that its area of influence mostly covered the area along the Indo-Pak border to bombard airwaves with hostile anger of Pakistan. Rajesh Bhat underlined that Radio Pakistan and 'Azad Kashmir Radio' acted as a bridge in establishing

communication channels between the infiltrators and their masters. The author draws attention towards the neglect of Radio Kashmir, especially during the proxy war launched by Pakistan in the 1990's when its shenanigans were at peak, spreading anti-India canards in Kashmir. Hence, he pitches for the imperative need to have a concrete media contingency plan, a mechanism to plug the loopholes to restore the pristine glory of Radio in Jammu & Kashmir amidst numerous attacks on newsmen and media organizations in the State. Radio Kashmir has comprehensively produced the unique distinction of people serving for the nation in a conflict-ridden region. It has potential to encourage and strengthen democratic institutions of the state, as it promotes 'people to people' liaison by historically shared popular plays and cultural music broadcasts between India and Pakistan in Urdu, Punjabi and Gojri languages. Furthermore, this volume dwells upon certain tactical measures and techniques that could possibly mitigate the gnawing friction through this medium, since India and Pakistan share a cultural lineage. As Radio is a repository of rich cultural ethos with a mass base, it could and should ably lend a hand in border areas and tough terrains, to redefine the future relationship of India and Pakistan. Radio Kashmir is a unique document. It tells the story of a radio station through the lens of its own troubled history. In times of peace and war, Radio Kashmir has been the dependable voice of hope, information, and dissent. Beginning with the station's establishment in 1984, the book covers the tumultuous years leading up to the insurgency in Kashmir. Rajesh Bhat deftly weaves together the history of the region with the drama of the insurgency. Radio Kashmir was an important channel of communication during the early years of the conflict, and its voice was a critical voice of dissent.

Radio Kashmir is a memoir by a journalist Rajesh Bhat, who has covered the conflict in Kashmir for over two decades. The book is divided into two parts. Part one covers Bhat's time as a reporter in the early days of the insurgency and the subsequent years of peace. The second part covers the Kashmir War of 2018, in which Bhat was embedded with the Indian army. Radio Kashmir is a riveting account of the conflict in Kashmir, written by one of the region's most respected journalists. Bhat covers the early days of the insurgency and the subsequent years of peace, as well as the Kashmir War of 2018, in which he was embedded with the Indian army. Whether recounting the horrors of the violence or the heroism of the troops, Radio Kashmir is an essential read for anyone interested in the history of Kashmir or the ongoing conflict there. *Radio Kashmir: In Times of Peace and War* is an excellent book that sheds light on the history and politics of the region. The book provides a comprehensive look at the radio station, its impact on the development of Kashmir, and the various conflicts it has been a part of. It also discusses the current state of the station and its importance in times of peace and war. Overall, the volume is a comprehensive and interesting account that provides a unique perspective on the history and politics of the Kashmir region.

## Book Review

Shivashankar Menon (2016). *Choices: Inside the making of India's foreign policy*. Penguin Random House, pp. 243.

**Book Review:** Harish K Thakur

Twenty first century has its own baggage of offerings on the social, economic and political landscape. The first two decades have witnessed some spiteful events in the shape 9/11, anti-immigration movements, increased racist violence, voices for restoration of the past by the orthodox, deglobalisation, the great depression of 2008 and the identitarian crisis. Besides these a new geo-strategic alignment is on the evolution that tends to redefine the world order and power relationship. What is significant about the new happenings around is that the western centric international system has been giving way to the Asia centric one where the trade and economics are far outreaching the west while science and technology are at war sooner or later preparing for the final promulgation. While the notion of the developed west feels challenged the newly emerging powers, economically, technologically and militarily are shaping new patterns of relationships. Politically, a new world image has been emerging in the twenty first century with the issues like Islamic militancy spearheaded by ISIS; regressive Russia egging upon Czarist tendencies; withering NATO and European Union; Turkey's alienation from NATO; the Syria question; eroding US influence among the Latin American states; drifting Africa towards Asia especially China and India; South China sea and Taiwan question, the insane North Korean regime; the diplomatic ASEAN; the QUAD and BRICS; the energy and environment questions and the over pressured international monetary system etc. still alarm the world.

From the Indian perspective there have been some worthy contributions in the field of foreign policy and strategic thinking in the last few decades. *Choices* is one such volume by former National Security Advisor and Foreign Secretary Shivshankar Menon that tends to give the view of India's prime choices in the last few decades like not to use overt military force against Pakistan after 26/11; the civil nuclear deal with United States; the border agreement with China; the response to the last months of Sri Lanka's civil war and the thinking that lies beneath the policy of 'No First Use Nuclear Policy' of India. People engaged with such departments and having

diplomatic experience with firsthand knowledge of the events and alternatives offer more incisive presentations and accounts of policy making and Menon doesn't disappoint the reader.

Choices has six chapters on Border agreement with China, nuclear deal with United states, Mumbai attack and cross border terrorism, the Sri Lankan civil war, India's No First Use policy and the overall assessment and counsel. The 1993 Peace and Tranquility Agreement is considered a watershed development between the bilateral ties of India and China. The agreement for the first time laid down the foundation of de-hyphenating the border with the trade and economics, destined to take their relations to a new height. Only recently in December 2022 with the firing of the warning shots at border by Chinese forces that this agreement found breached since it also lays for non-adoption of violent means in dealing at borders. Menon notices a transformation in China's policy towards India in the post-financial crisis period and its gearing up defence preparedness around the borders. It undertakes a scrutiny of China's policy behavior from Zhou's commitment to LAC as LOC since 1959 through Deng's twenty four character strategy to the recent Chinese moves. The possibility of 'theatre change from land to Indian ocean has also been discussed briefly.

The Indo-US nuclear deal provides a platform from where the changed the direction of Indian foreign policy. The deal not only needed the era of tension due to cold war imperatives but also brought the two natural partners closer. According to Menon the nuclear deal initiative was the outcome of the US necessity to build better partnership with India in view of its strategic needs. As early as in 2000 Condoleezza Rice had argued and counselled Bush government to pay more attention to India to keep regional balance and as an element in US calculations of China. The deal not only removed the detritus of the past from bilateral relationship but also opened the way for the transfer of dual-use technology and enhanced cooperation on defence. "All in all, the initiative showed that India was willing to make risky choices if its strategic purposes were served but remained cautious and negotiating and implementing those choices" (85).

Shivshankar Menon discusses why the decision not to retaliate militarily against Pakistan in the wake of 26/11 was right. The event was one in the series of flopping the developments and restoring normalcy between the two states by democratic regimes. This time it was Asif Zardari who committed to start from where president Musharraf had left and settle Kashmir. There was discussion and agreement with Pranab Mukerjee over overt action against LeT headquarters in Muridke or camps at POK but the idea was dropped in favour of the 'choice of restraint'. The attack would have united the divided Pakistan behind its army, weaken the civilian government there and halted the strong economic growth that India was registering. The



option, 'more was to be gained from not attacking Pakistan than from attacking' prevailed to garner world support against Pakistan and India succeeded in it. However, personalities matter and India may react differently in the same situation under a different leadership.

Sri Lankan tragedy for Menon was partly self created and partly circumstantial. India had two main worries in the mid-1980s. The first was rise of Tamil separatism in India as the sentiment had been aired in 1960s and the second was the possibility of extra-territorial intervention in so far as a peripheral state and this has happened as feared by many. During the end-situation of Tamils in Sri Lanka the Indian options were limited and the new regime was bound to deviate from its traditional policy. The Sri Lankan civil war is one of the few instances, holds Menon, which I can think of where terrorism was successfully eradicated purely by military means. The social costs of Sri Lankan war were immense and the current state of things in Sri Lanka partly owes to this.

Indian nuclear policy has received a serious attention as according to Menon it has duality of expression. "India is the only NWS that is a full-throated advocate of nuclear disarmament". The message is clear the India programme doesn't threaten rather deters the offensive and Indian approach of disarmament is rational. "All in all, no other Nuclear Weapon State (NWS) faces as complex a combination of factors in its deterrence calculus as India. And it is the uniqueness of India's situation that explains the uniqueness of India's nuclear doctrines and postures" (177).

Menon doesn't agree with the possibility of Indian inability to retaliate as it happened in the case of 26/11 and hopes that it will respond to the similar situations in future strategically and militarily. India needs to balance the exigencies of its 'strategic culture' based on 'ideational factors' with the material realist equations of the state. It should follow the policy of 'speak softly and carry a big stick' in its foreign policy dealings. The volume sums up the Indian prospects in the words of Menon, "At the risk of disappointing those who call on India to be a 'responsible power' – meaning they want us to do what they wish - and at the risk of disappointing Indians who like to dream of India as an old-fashioned superpower, I would only say, as Indira Gandhi once said, 'India will be a different power' and will continue to walk its own path in the world. That is only responsible way for us" (205).

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