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Editor's Note

In the present scenario the role of social sciences has assumed much greater significance than before on account of increased uncertainties and chaos catapulted to the fore by the forces of ethnicity, deglobalisation and now pandemic. The magnitude of the problems partially owes to the failure of the social scientists in meeting the normative lags, ecological requirements, inadequacies in the development and governance paradigms and coming out with more viable and realistic alternatives. The responsibility gets doubled with the emergence of several new issues surfacing at the socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental levels.

Over the decades social scientists have wrestled over several issues emerging out of the interplay of different factors. The technological advances and the information and communication revolution have transformed the nature of traditional challenges into the newer modes. We are faced with a complex of global issues which must be addressed so that a healthy and sustainable future could be ensured to the mankind. In order to meet these challenges the thinking community of scientists, social scientists, engineers and researchers have to join hands across disciplines to come out with appropriate answers. Since the evolutions of social problems have sometimes distinct territorial faces the resolutions too are limited making the universal alternatives difficult and the problems sustain. And when the problems have universal properties the solutions work and relieve the social scientists significantly. Therefore, the research has to follow a double route- the limited territorial and the universal which makes qualitative research more significant.

The disruption of the quest in social issues and the observing of social realities after the positivist promulgations led to the empiricizing of the social disciplines and quantification of the data in order to obtain the problem resolutions. The success has been noticed in the areas where the information was available in the shape of statistics but in rest of the disciplines the quest had its limitations primarily due to the problems in observing human nature and its changing properties, also known as 'hawthorne effect'. Less maneuverability and non-cooperativeness of the subjects in humanities make the problems under observation more complex. The challenge in quantifying the qualitative matter and lack of availability of tool applications further distanced the realities from theory. This distance has over the decades narrowed down with considerable progress made in the area of statistical techniques.

Since the social problems have myriad of dimensions they require to be observed from different angles where the role of the investigator becomes more

scrupulous. The consistent interventions from different corners destabilize the investigation but the value neutrality and scientific temperament are required to keep the study rigorous and honest. Contestation and refutation of the observed reality and findings of the analysis is the crux of social science research. Conjectures, refutation and new conjectures interrogate available evidences as well theories from multiple angles, dimensions and perspectives. They generate hypothesis for further research. The criteria of social theory are 'falsifiability, or refutability, or testability'(Shah 2012). Since democracy has become the word of the day the social issues and challenges compounded with ecological and technological issues have surfaced and shaped the text and texture of the problems. The governmental planning and policy formulation expect sincere pathways and courses from social scientists. Here the social science research becomes a part of general public discourse and since the level of expectations rises the morality to bring out prolific answers and viable solutions also increase. The problems for scholars in the authoritarian states are more since they have to meet the prioritized objectives.

The corporatization of education and knowledge centres and the decreased role of governments in limiting the private monopoly further challenge the task of social scientists. While lucrative incentives may lead to genuine progression in research it is also shadowed by the guided financing and grants that influence the research outputs. The corporatization of education, remarks Noam Chomsky omens 'the death of American universities' as the society is divided into 'plutonomy' and 'precariat' an essential to survive the business model of education. The renowned sociologist Benjamin Ginsberg in *The Fall of the Faculty: The Rise of the All-Administrative University and why it Matters* alarms against the intrusion of the business style of massive administration and levels of administration. In India too we saw the induction of high profiled faculties into the administrative posts on unexpected remunerations at the cost of academic freedoms leading to stifling of the views or resignations recently.

Of late the question of communications and language has also been forwarded in social science research. Today all the hegemonic structures and principal ideologies are now open to interrogation and established theories are now read discursively. Science has been objected to become yet another kind of dominant ideology. Like the 'protective Brahmanism' that conserves the knowledge for its long term dominance, a kind of social capitalism lingering in India till date, the knowledge system requires to pilfer into all the sections of the society. Instead of divulging away from these monuments of knowledge people should stick up to them, try to gain more access and become part of it. In the process the established social, economic and political institutions that supply oxygen to the prevalent mode require to be plugged.

After its initiation in the year 2011 *Himachal Pradesh University Journal: A Multi-disciplinary Journal of Himachal Pradesh University* has now been rechristened *Himachal Pradesh University Journal: Humanities & Social Sciences* since June 2020. The decision has been taken by Prof. Sikander Kumar, Vice Chancellor, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla to make it more focused and articulate in presenting the views and research outcomes from the social sciences and humanities. A new editorial board of eminent social scientists comprising of Prof. Chetan Singh, retired professor from the Department of History, H.P. University and former Director, IIAS, Shimla; Prof. Ujjwal Kumar Singh, Department of Political Science, University of Delhi; Prof. Ashutosh Kumar, Department of Political Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh, Prof. B.K. Shivram, Department of History, H.P. University, Shimla; Dr. Luxmi Malodia, Human Resource Management, University Business School, Panjab University, Chandigarh; Prof. Gian Singh, Department of Economics, Punjabi University, Patiala; Prof. Vishal Sood, Dean, School of Education and Head, Department of Education, Central University of Himachal Pradesh and Prof. Biswambhara Mishra, Department of Economics, North-Eastern Hill University Umshing-Mawkynroh, Shillong has been constituted. A board of peer reviewers has also been constituted to select quality papers for the issues with the hope that the journal would secure a place among the prominent periodicals in the field.

While presenting the current issue the editor has benefitted a lot from the services rendered by Prof. Govind Sharma, Govt. College Kota and Rohit Kumar. The volume brings together a galaxy of scholars and we hope that the readers would definitely like the content and the discussion. The editor solicits the suggestions and feedback from the readers and contributors so that the new ideas and issues could be discussed in the coming numbers.

Civilisational Trajectory of East Versus West

- Rakesh Kumar Sinha

ABSTRACT

Ideologies imposed by the West have been the cause of destruction, disunity and de-harmonisation, it would be an overt generalisation to dismiss everything from the West as destructive. Western apologists then come with new theories to resolve the crisis they have created. However, the similar past epistemology was employed to comprehend the crisis. History is a witness that the seeds of future disunity, deconstruction and devastation remain embedded in their ideologies and epistemologies. If individualism proved a bad idea, Utilitarianism could not resolve the crisis of civil polity, colonialism has undeniably turned out to be a curse for three-fourths of humanity and modernity was considered a weapon for creating a meta-narrative to prove Western superiority. Now post-modernity is merely an attempt by Post-structuralists like Michel Foucault to perpetuate Western hegemony through their new emphasis on contextual genealogy of the West and its emergent subjectivity. They do not address the fundamentals of Western civilisation nor are they ready to accept the finer human traits of ancient Indian philosophy.

The expansion of imperialism has largely proceeded through its three principal agents-military, religion and an array of thinkers, all wedded together by a common aim of exploitation and appropriation. Their approaches and methods though, with regard to colonies and subjects differed from each other. A symbiotic relationship between variations of colonialism helped them to determine their policies and to deal with rising upheavals and dissatisfactions. This process also entailed the evolution of Western Social Sciences. During its formative days, this particular discipline was part of the Empire's project but later on, it created a semi-autonomous space for itself. It proved beneficial and also corresponded with the new emerging image of the West.

Rakesh Kumar Sinha, *Member Rajya Sabha & Professor, Department of Political Science, Motilal Nehru College, (Eve), University of Delhi, Delhi*

Colonialism in its early phase developed a theoretical and moral justification in the pretext of a 'civilising mission' of people who according to its advocates, were like 'savages', 'barbarians' and lacking any civic and cultural values. However, India for them in this regard was fundamentally different from their other colonies. Colonial powers gradually discovered the richness of Indian culture and its contributions in all walks of life. Many Westerners in fact, were genuinely enamoured by the Indian philosophy and culture. It generated a sense of enquiry in the colonialists and thereby a systematic attempt to know the 'Orient' was initiated. This led the foundations of Orientalism. In the beginning it worked on the premise of negating anti-Indian agenda propagated by the missionaries and colonialists. But later, it turned out to be a tool for appropriation of Indian philosophies without giving them due place in the discourse. It also cultivated a sense of 'Otherness' which in fact is an inbuilt phenomenon of the European sociology and culture.

No Semitic idea can free itself from the creation of 'Others' and avoid the subsequent conflicts. All dialogues within it eventually led to contestations for dominations and hegemony. This has been the fate of the Semitic civilisation of the West. The very idea of the 'Other' itself is a product of racial theory, its presuppositions drawn from discriminatory foundations of modernity (Gilroy 2000). This is just a superficial assessment. Even if we assume that Europe may liberate itself from racism, apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonialism, it cannot escape to produce the notion of 'Otherings'. Europe's imagined identity has always been propagated in contrast to the 'Other World' which has been identified with different names in the post-colonial world like Third World, developing countries, ex-colonies, members of the commonwealth etc. Orientalism has in no way helped to generate a civilisational debate between Europe and India. It would be misnomer even to talk about East and West here. India is of course, a representative nation of the East, but it also has its own civilisational trajectory that places the nation in a privileged position more than any other nation state of the East or the West. It is a civilisational nation and bearer of one of the richest and oldest civilisations of the world. Its contributions in the fields of science and technology, civil polity, culture, philosophy is unparalleled a status that is unacceptable to Western schools of thought, be it Orientalism or Post Modernism.

Western scholars' emphasis has been on the policy and politics of India covering the last three to four hundred years which makes it as contemporary with the post Enlightenment Europe. In the last few hundred years, India's social structure witnessed fragmentation and infection of reactionary customs like untouchability. This has been the biggest curse on our civilisational journey,

besides centuries of political colonisation aided by the religious aggressiveness of Christian missionaries. British rule led to complete stagnation of Indian cultural and intellectual evolution. Yet colonialists could neither fulfil their dream to wiping out Indian culture nor could they achieve much success in their mission of conversion. An evidence of this annoyance can be found in the missionary report from Bengal of May 1817 "still everyone gladly receives a Bible, and why? so that he may lay it up as a curiosity for a few pieces; or use it for the waste paper such it is well known has been the common fate of these copies of the Bible…. some have been bartered in the markets, others have been thrown in snuff shops and used as wrapping paper" (Bhabha 2016: 59).

It is a reflection of resilience of the Indian people who even at the worst phase of history refuse to compromise or surrender to alien forces whether political or religious. But the seductive degradation of caste division into a discriminatory order gave a fragmented image of Indian society and Orientalism and post-colonial studies both used them as their content to discuss India. The first victim in this context was the philosophy which took a back seat; thereby, India's civilisational history has been squeezed into only a few hundred years by the colonisers.

Edward W. Said traces the origin of the concept Orientalism and says, "The Orient was almost a European invention…Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilisation and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other…. The Orient has helped to define Europe its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European material civilisation and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles (Said 1978: 1-2). He further observed that the relationship between Orient and Occident, "is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony" (Said 1978:6).

Orientalism went through three stages. In the first stage there was recognition about the existence of Indian philosophy. It confirmed them that India was neither history-less nor culture-less. However, this phase witnessed contrasting approaches, glorification of Indian philosophy and condemnations, both at the same time by Europeans.

The second stage is marked by its silent appropriation of Indian philosophy to articulate modern European thoughts. However, this discrimination with the Indian thoughts and philosophy has continued in modern times too. This is highlighted by J. J. Clarke who says that, "Eastern ideas have been used in the

West as an agency for self-criticism and self-renewal, whether in the political, moral or religious spheres" (1997: 27).

And the third stage advocated strong urge for dialogue between the two. Two reasons can be ascribed to it, firstly the un-sustainability of Orientalism to hold it as 'Others' and the challenges emanating from European scholars particularly Post-structuralists Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. Secondly, Indian academics accelerated the interest in comparative studies. Thus, the parameters no longer remain unalterable. Neither Orientalism nor the Post-modern studies lead to a larger civilisational question. Post Enlightenment/Renaissance, Post-colonial and Post-modern studies have great resemblances. All of them particularly avoid the fundamental question, i.e., paradigm of the western civilisation. They though want debate with ancient Indian philosophy but confine and assign it to the three hundred years intellectual and philosophical productions.

According to Said, Orientalism is a created body of theory and practice is a style of western scholarship that has been used by its practitioner as a tool to dominate, restructure, particularise and divide oriental things into components that can be more easily managed or manipulated. This is done with an intention of exerting hegemony based on the assumed superiority of the European ideas over the backward ideas and practices of the Orient. This Western style of scholarship represents a long history of western domination and exploitation of oriental cultures" (Olson 2002: 16).

Said himself a Palestinian, however, could not free himself from western parameters and biases. He uses some of the philosophical notions of Michel Foucault, the French Post-modern or Post-structuralists, and Nietzsche, a German philosopher, to develop his own theory (Ibid.: 18). Carl Olson criticises Said for depending on Western philosophy 'to construct his argument, and not something from the East' and therefore he 'indirectly confirms the prejudice of the members of 'so called' Orientalism about the East' (Olson: 16).

Said's concept of culture is highly western biased and based on the western experiences of cultural wars and religious persecutions. He conceptualises culture in term of power relationships. The dominant culture identified with the state becomes tyrannical (Ibid.). Here Foucault too considers culture as a repressive means to power (Foucault 1977: 142). The ontology of culture in Indian philosophy is to reach the highest stage of harmony between men and nature with universe. It is opposite to what Foucault or Edward Said presumes. Their concept of culture has been derived from the religious impact on society and world views. Indian concept of culture is privileged with autonomy and is not a static concept. It has great capacity of assimilation. Therefore, its hegemony is not based on domination or repressive power but on moral and

humane strength which it carries.Said further argues, "It also means that culture is system of exclusions, legislated from above but enacted throughout its polity, by which such things as anarchy, disorder, irrationality, inferiority, bad taste, and immorality are identified, then deposited outside the culture and kept there by the power of the state and its institutions" (Said 1983: 11).

Indian culture primarily based on secular pronouncement of the Vedas: Ekam Sataym Vipra Bahuda Vadanti (truth is one their multitudes of manifestations) this variation presumes critical assessments and interpretations. Indian philosophy is negation of binary and therefore it does not produce 'Otherness'. Therefore, the two fundamental ideologies which dominate the world's discourse today, i.e., 'secularism/ multiculturalism' and 'nationalism' cannot be defined by the western meta-narrative. It is the tradition of Indian secularism that is actually based on diversities of thoughts, believes, respect for each other sentiments and privileging each other by sacrifices. In Indian civilisation secularism has evolved as a Way of Life - no finality, no uncriticality is its basic principles.

The nations of Europe dominated by Semitic Christianity profess a belief in tolerance. It is considered part of Modernity. Indian Modernity is far richer than the Western Modernity in philosophical sense. Any attempt to redefine or widen the base of these concepts without Indian intellectual traditions and cultural heritage is meaningless. As Ronald Inden rightly says that, "the agency of Indology and the capacity of Indians to make their world, has been displaced in those knowledges on the other agents" (Inden 1990: 2). Post-modern philosophy talks of deconstruction and reconstructions but there are great similarities among the philosophers, like Derrida, Levinas and Foucault. All of them virtually reject the presence of 'Self' which is in diametric contrasts to Indian philosophy. They are by far philosophical interpreters, challenging the universalisation of the Western thought and meta-narratives created by their predecessors. But they completely ignore the universalism of the Indian philosophy, which essentially promotes diversity and expands democracy from political to spiritual life. Olson says "hermeneutical dialogue can serve as a means to respond to the challenge posed by Post-modern thought to both East and West" (Olson 2002: 11).

Dialogues in terms of Orientalism or Post-modern philosophy would hardly bare any fruit. They only get further legitimised. There is need to question their basic assumptions and compare the cultural historiographies of India and the West. However, this comparison should not be fragmented in between three hundred years intellectual outputs of social and cultural status of a society but by analysing the unbroken chain of Indian and Western civilisation. The best solution in this regard is the initiation of civilisational studies that transcends

limits of time and observes all the ups and down. The end of the British colonial rule in 1947 could not end the colonial culture in India which has sustained through institutions, political process and in the shadow of the European thought. It was a continuation of the old pattern of governance, thought process and self-definition. The mirror of Europe continued to make Indian imagine their self. Here the role of the political leadership assumes significance. The people who manned the power were visionaries but were fragmented in their approach to decolonisation. Nehru's particularism was reflected in his endorsement of European modernity not only in political system and institutions but also in education and culture. The government had not shown even little inclination to change the education policy, replant beautiful tree which perished during the colonial regime. Of course, many new innovative ideas of Europe needed to be domesticated. But the system of education repackaged the colonial pattern and made no effort to Indianise education in the country.

Indian authors uncritically bought and followed the European definitions of progressiveness and backwardness. The government could have used the potentialities of millions of freedom fighters who had been trained and indoctrinated during the anti-colonial democratic struggles, to reshape India's intellectual destiny. They became almost unemployed and their energy was wasted. European Political modernity which was undoubtedly indispensable to an extent due to catastrophe of the Partition and lack of adequate resources but the process to infuse Indian ideas and values remained uninitiated. It was a kind of complete integration of political and cultural philosophies of the West. Therefore, even symbolic changes were not made. It is a mystery that the 22 photographs in every chapter of the constitution depicting Indian cultural and civilisational traditions and their heroes were missing when the constitution was finally printed[1]. The neglect of indigenous Indian system of education and values has persisted all these years. Even the change of leadership seemed insignificant in transforming the nation's destiny. It is best exemplified in the editorial observation of The Guardian, a British newspaper, after the Indian Lok Sabha elections of 2014. The editorial of the paper stated, “Today, 18 May 2014, May will go down in history as the day when Britain finally left India. Narendra Modi's victory in the elections marks the end of a long era in which the structures of power did not differ greatly from those through which Britain ruled the subcontinent. India under the Congress party was in many ways a continuation of the British Raj by other means. The last of midnight's children are now a dwindling handful of almost 70-year-olds, but it is not the passing of the independence generation that makes the difference” (The Guardian 2014).

The newspaper has not been wrong to assess that the set of leadership which had taken the reins of the government struggled not against ruling party in power for

decades but the political and intellectual class which has been dominating. The emphasis laid by the Rashtriya Swaymsevak Sangh (RSS) on acknowledging India's legacies, neo historicism and defining India's Self in the context of its civilisational trajectory of thousands of years haven't meaningfully materialised. They have been reflected more as programmes and part of speeches less in articulated and thematic intellectual production. Nevertheless, the conviction and alternative narratives have kept the flame alive and have thrown challenges to the small Anglicized elites and academics who shared the Western values and their world views as gospel truth of modernity, civilisational and economic progress. This intellectual class has labored to justify their understanding of universalising Europe as against post-colonial view of provincialised Europe[2] "a relatively small English-speaking elite whose attitude toward the masses was alternately benevolent and exploitative but never inclusive" (Chakrabarty 2001).

These movement and deliberations against Euro-centric policies and philosophy has been identified as nationalist narrative which helped to mobilise Indian languages (which has been described since colonial period as vernacular) intellectuals and infused confidence among them. However, much derided by influential elites and their political patrons and foreign partners as well whose 'willful narcissism'[3] has not been unknown to the world. Another great contribution of the nationalist stream has been by reasserting the sense of pride among masses and contempt for European cultural aggression. It was part of both cultural literacy as well as decolonised discourse.

The roots of Euro-centric mindset of political and intellectual class can be traced to the nature and discourse of the freedom movement. Anti-colonial movement in India has passed through many phases and the political and intellectual discourses too changed accordingly with the arrival of new hegemonic leadership or idea. The first broad opposition to the colonial narratives began even before the birth of Indian National Congress. The characterisation of this early period of opposition was the articulation of anti-imperialist programmes through a balance between empirical facts and normative objectives.

As early as in 1867 Dada Bhai Naoroji stripped out the moral basis of colonialism by discarding its economic policy as the 'drain of wealth' in his book Poverty and Un-British Rule in India. He further wrote in 1880, "it is thoughtless and pitilessaction of the British policy; it is pitiless eating of India's substance in India and further pitiless drain to England, in short it is pitiless perversion of Economic Laws by the sad bleeding to which India is subjected that is destroying India". Theorisation of attack on economic plunder was a great

contribution of Naoroji and further expanded by R. P. Dutta and M. G. Ranade. Gopal Krishna Gokhale through his articulation and sound knowledge of facts and figures made a trenchant economic critique of the colonial state. He without any fear reviewed the colonial fiscal policy while tearing apart the colonial argument of surplus budget in his first budget speech in the Imperial Legislative Council. He questioned the morality of surplus budget when country was passing through trying times coupled with the heavy burden of taxes.[4]

However, the Congress politics during Gandhian era went through fundamental change. The empirical and normative positions also changed. There was a sense of rejection to essentialising the elements of Indian culture as a movement's intellectual discourse. The movement remained ideologically fragmented despite Gandhi's hegemony. The fragmentation and sidelining of revolutionaries gave Britishers an opportunity to deride and marginalise them by vilifying them through their propaganda.

The disunity and infighting between Marxists, Socialists and Gandhians on ideological lines confused the cadres and they remained oblivion to the continuous British attack on India's Cultural Self. While Britishers faced strenuous challenge from Gandhi's programmes, they were more comfortable to deal with it than the revolutionaries who proved highly difficult to contain as they always questioned the colonial existence. The cultural elements introduced by Sri Aurovindo, Bipin Chandra Pal, Balgangadhar Tilak and people like Rajnarayan Basu etc. The narratives of the nationalist press predominantly Indian languages press, like Jugantar, Aaj, Amrit Bazar Patrika, Kal, Bhal, Swadesh, Modern Review, Indian Review, The Arya, Hindu Patriot, Tribune etc narratives were broadly inclusive and tried to give cultural basis to nationalism and the freedom movement.

While Gandhi did introduce phrases, concepts and modes rooted in the cultural philosophy of India and were critical of the Western civilisation, he could not mobilise the Congress to empower the nation's Self. This is a reason that the colonial movement despite its great role and impact on politics as well as human psychology crippled the identity of India. Another reason assigned to it was - unlike the revolutionaries and cultural nationalists of Lal-Bal-Pal era, the leadership of Congress had friendly relations and socialisation with the colonial administration and elites. Nehru was the foremost among them and he had also not hid his mutuality with the Empire's servants. Nehru's leadership in the post independent India was another reason for patronising the colonial system and traditions. There were occasions he faced challenges and his cultural philosophy was contested but he used the state power and European intellect and skills of propaganda to defeat and marginalise the cultural nationalists even inside the Congress.

As we see in the case of renovation of the Somnath temple soon after independence became the bone of contention as well as debate on cultural, civilisational legacies and secular ethos between the stream represented by the Prime Minister Nehru on the one hand and Dr Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, K. M. Munshi, N. V. Gadgil on the other. The dormant force of cultural nationalism became active and side-lined Nehru's poor logic and his oft repeated concern for India's image in the West. Dr Rajendra Prasad described the Somnath temple as a symbol of national faith and said, "By rising from its ashes again, this temple of Somnath is to say proclaiming to the world that no man and no power in the world can destroy that for which people have boundless faith and love in their hearts… Today, our attempt is not to rectify history. Our only aim is to proclaim anew our attachment to the faith, convictions and to the values on which our religion has rested since immemorial ages" (Sinha 2001).

This was perhaps the last and final attempt by the cultural nationalists inside the Congress to prevent seductive degradation of elements of culture in nationalism-secularism discourse. Nehru had to retreat and the Somnath temple was rebuilt. Munshi wrote to Prime Minister Nehru on 24th April 1951 "the Collective Sub-Conscience of India" favored the reconstruction. This is a very significant observation. However, Nehru created a hybrid of the Marxist and Euro-centric intellectuals and they together crushed alternative voices within Congress.

There is no doubt that colonial reminiscences and impact of Western hegemony remained unchanged even after the independence. As D. A. Low has argued that, "the process of contraction of England did not just entail the saga of independence' it also left behind successor politics with innumerable British type institutions" (Low 1991:14). Academic institutions played negative role and the hybrid intellectuals tried to reconstruct the nation's Self which neither represented our cultural civilisation nor could convince the masses. Such discourse had negative impact but masses commitment to the core idea of India remained steadfast despite interruptions by the imposed debates. The colonial rule or their intellectual and political heirs in the post independent India failed to colonise the mind of the Indian masses. Their best efforts could remain confined to the willing educated and rich class of Indian society. This rootlessness has no moral appeal. As Prof. Manindra Thakur rightly observes, "with the expansion of modernity the subjects born on the soil of Europe became synonym of knowledge system in our universities." However, they, despite the support of the network of institutions and new technologies, "could not remove the traditional system of knowledge of India from the collective conscience of the masses. This still exists in the consciousness of common man" (Manindra 2010).

The challenge of decolonisation needs to be rearticulated. In political discourse to social sciences and literature to philosophy we failed to contextualise our traditions and intellectual legacies. In post-independent India, it remained an oft-repeated academic jargon; nothing more has been achieved since then. As Namvar Singh says, "the question relates directly to the release of creative energy and at this point, I humbly beg to submit that among Indian writers after independence, the attitude of militant decolonisation that was to be seen in the writers of an earlier generation has grown feeble and slack" (Singh 1992: 151). A benign credit must go to Gandhi and Deendayal Upadhayay for bringing the decolonised ideas into general discourse. For instance, they were among the first Indian thinkers who categorically rejected Right-Left division as unsuited to Indian political and social ecology. But the dominant section of Indian politics, literary figures and social scientists failed to realise their responsibilities to unburden India from the Western impact its appropriation and condemnation.

There are very few exceptions to it works done by Dharampal (1983) can be counted as one such. Since then, it has been polemically treated and exhausted by basing it in some political and semi-intellectual speeches and writings. The concept of decolonisation is not static it's form and shape changes accordingly with the transformation in world community. What was perceived in the 1950's and 60's cannot be true for 2020 and 2040. Initially decolonisation was constructed as a means of discourse and change in the Indian historiography. However, they are still meaningful but not the end point. India has to come out from the psychological prison of the West. Many people hold the view that more and more study of the ancient and glorification or empirically interpreted texts would challenge the Western hegemony. This was only true till a few decades ago but their utility remained undiminished, they can't be the only weapon to de-hegemonize Western power.

Indian scholars have to engage with the present too and that from Indian perspective which is a very old civilisational country. This can only give constituting power, the power to impact the western mind. Modernity and Post-modernity all such stages are merely a mirage to protect the Western civilisation from self-condemnation. Every crisis generated by the Western civilisation leads to create a new set of institution and next stage of philosophy also takes birth. It can be traced since the days of Reformation and Enlightenment of the West. Our task is to rebel against our own mind which has become habitual to criticise the West but work in its framework. The answer to the question about what will we be our tomorrow and how will we play the role in cultural and civilisational upliftment of the human society unfolds the stages and the task of decolonisation.

The process of decolonisation is not merely confined to the exposition of our own civilisational contributions and cultural gains but also to make perennial colonisers realise their civilisational inconsistency and the inherent danger of an unaltered Semitic ideology which poses the biggest stumbling block to any peaceful progress of human society. But while doing so, one should also be self-introspective and overcome one's own pitfalls of becoming dogmatic, political and polemical. The impact of the West is prevalent to the extent that people in former colonies define themselves through the Western prism. In this context, Lord Bhikhu Parekh uses a very appropriate term 'decolonisation of imagination'. Hans-Georg Gadamer, through his term 'fusion of horizons' seeks to extend this human project to something far loftier. However, his work is also a mere attempt to accommodate the efforts at decolonisation. Any knowledge system should be inclusive; only then can decolonisation of the mind take shape and become constructive and productive.

It is true that ancient philosophy needs to be contextualised. Only then can it acquire constitutive power in the contemporary world. However, it does not any way diminish its importance in defining civilisational traits, the nature of the individual, civil polity, traditions and approach to nature.At this juncture, the challenge is to break Western hegemony through civilisational comparative studies, dialogues and debate. This is not for the sake of counter-hegemony, mocking or belittling and proving non-Indian civilisations inferior or lesser developed. The essence of a historic civilisation has taught people to consider the Earth as Mother and to identify with the creatures before accepting the superiority or atleast consider inorganic matter, stone, water and fire, sun, moon and the stars as part of the larger family of the Universe. Indian civilisation has explicitly shown the limitations of anthropocentric world view. No part of the earth is beyond our civilisational concern. Therefore, for us nationalism is important but our nationalism essentialises Culture as its central component. Culture initiates spiritual pluralism, Earth as Mother and the Universe as our home. Therefore, no philosophy, no spiritual song or prayer of ours displays particularism. Vasudhaiva Kutumbkam is not an empty slogan. The relationship between the Earth and a Hindu is that of a mother and a son. The mother is served; she needs our selfless service, as she selflessly feeds and nourishes us. Therefore, every Hindu relates himself with the Universe.

Notes :

[1] Navjyoti Singh interview with Udayan Bajpayee. Samas, Vol. 9, 2015. I am thankful to Abhay Kumar Dubey of CSDS to draw my attention to this interview.

[2] The phrase was used by Dipesh Chakravarty for the title of his book,

Provincializing Europe: Post-Colonial Thought and Historical Differences.

[3] This phrase was originally used by Frantz Fanon.

[4] For full speech see Batabyal, Rakesh 2007. The Penguin Book of Modern Indian Speeches: 1877 to the Present. New Delhi: Penguin Books, pp 82-83.

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Interpreting Corruption in the Age of Kaliyuga

- Ashwani Kumar

ABSTRACT

Influenced by utilitarian and legal perspectives, the social science research on corruption has often focused on weaknesses in public institutions and monopolistic patterns in economic policies that give rise to rent seeking behavior by public officials and perversion of government power for private profit. This explains why corruption is often equated with instances of bribery, theft, and siphoning of public money for private interests. Using the notion of the 'Age of Kaliyuga', the mythological time in the Hindu cosmic order, this paper argues that corruption flourishes not only in the corridors of power but also thrives on exclusionary social practices and hierarchical social order. In short, corruption in India can be understood through the language of quotidian experiences of cosmological time of Kaliyuga rather than linear, secular language of universal historical time.

Introducing corruption

Writing in a reflective and introspective mode on discourses of corruption in which negotiation of "oppositional and antagonistic elements" is only liminally achieved, I attempt to interpret the paradoxical journey of democracy in India. Amidst increasing cacophony of scams, bribery and crony capitalism, I argue that India has indeed experienced a rapid unfolding of the 'Age of Kaliyuga', and it needs to be understood in terms of indigenous categories of mythological time rather than secular time. The notion of 'Kaliyuga' as a category of interpretive analysis of corruption resonates with the quotidian life -worlds of Indians blurring traditions of hospitality and modernity of interests. Arguing for shifting the focus from rational-choice-based models of understanding bureaucratic corruption or bribery to 'sociological imagination', anthropologist Akhil Gupta says :

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> "As a form of storytelling, corruption's narrative structures are remarkably rich and resilient, and depend on some time-tested recipes. It is not entirely surprising that stories of corruption in rural India sometimes employ idioms and analogies from Hindu religious epics. After all, corruption narratives are steeped in many of the qualities of epic stories: heroism; debasement; the fall of humans from the path of virtue; resolute ness; the overcoming of impossible odds and the making of super-human sacrifices; and the providential actions of an unknowable deity" (Gupta 2005)

Defining Corruption; Conceptual and Methodological Challenges

Influenced by rational choice empiricism and utilitarian normative perspectives, standard social science research on corruption has often focused on weaknesses in public institutions and monopolistic patterns in economic policies that give rise to rent seeking behavior by public officials and perversion of government power for private profit. Andrei Shleifer and Robert Vishny in their widely acclaimed study define corruption as 'sale by government officials of government property for personal gain' (Shleifer and Vishny1993). Most people associate corruption with abuse of public power for personal gain and 'bribery' where an illegal payment is made to a public official in return for official, state-sanctioned goods that would not have been possible without the 'secret payment' (Nye 1967; Rasmuesen and Ramseyer 1994) In public imagination, corruption also includes kickbacks which is like bribe, but where the illegal payment is made after the service is rendered, usually from a portion of the governmental award itself (Morris 2011). Writing on various ways of defining corruption, Stephen Morris argues that "corruption also includes graft and embezzlement, where public officials act alone to appropriate public funds or divert their use". (Morris 2011). Further, fraud is often related to instances of corrupt practices because it refers to the various, often complex and imaginative schemes orchestrated by public officials to appropriate public funds, often with civilian accomplices. For instance, corrupt public officials often resort to setting up fake companies, listing ghost workers to pad payrolls, overbilling the government on contracts, or otherwise fixing the books to hide the disappearance of public funds. Beyond these acts corruption also encompasses such diverse activities as nepotism, favoritism and conflict of interest where public-sector jobs or benefits are illegally channeled to family, friends or to the benefit of the decision-makers own interests. Even within the partisan and electoral realms, corruption encompasses a range of activities such as illegal campaign contributions, illegal expenditures, electoral fraud and vote buying (Morris 2011, Bardhan 2006). This explains why social scientists often equate corruption with instances of embezzlement, bribery, theft, and siphoning of public money by government officials for private interests. Describing the

difficulty of detecting and preventing graft among government officials, Pranab Bardhan, a leading development economist cites an excerpt to this effect from Kautilya's Arthashastra, a treatise on public administration in the 6th century BC in India. Anticipating modern definition of corruption as illegal revenue extraction, Kautilya mentions that there are 40 ways of embezzlement by public officials that include procurement, delivery, quality and performance related public works as well audit frauds. In fact, 'lower revenue collection' (parihapan) reflects the extent of embezzlement of funds by corrupt public officials, according to Kautilya. (Bardhan 1997)

Given the various complex ways of defining corruption, studying different forms of corruption poses conceptual and methodological challenges. For instance, Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index which stands as the most frequent measure used in empirical work is one-dimensional as it does not differentiate among types or classes of corruption. In fact, both economists and political scientists broadly agree that the structures of government institutions and of the political process are very important determinants of the level of corruption. In particular weak governments that do not control their agencies experience very high corruption levels. Scholars alsoagree that government intervention creates corruption opportunities, rents for public employees, and misallocation of resources. In fact, corruption has led to creating a 'rent seeking society'(Krueger 1974; Tullock 1980). Economists are particularly more sensitive to attributing government intervention to incidence of corruption. For instance, the dominant procurement literature in economics has been stuck with the paradigm of corruption as 'an agency problem' where bureaucrats are corruptible agents of benevolent governments and politicians. (Rose-Ackerman 1978; and Klitgaard,1988).It is interesting to note that private sector or market is often excluded from the conceptualization of corruption because the notion of “misuse of public power” is used broadly that market or the corporate world often escapes a critical scrutiny in the literature on corruption.(Jong-Sung You 2005). In the post-1991 world of liberalization and globalization, a lot of economists have argued that that deregulation would eliminate rent-seeking and hence help in improving the performance of under-developed economies. But contrary to what the reformers predicted, corruption increased manifold in Russia and countries of Eastern Europe after their economies were liberalized and led to what economists called “economic warlordism'. In places like India, scholars have argued that a new form of 'resource raj had' emerged from the ashes of 'license-permit raj' in the late 1990s. Expectedly, public anger over scams relating to the allocation of critical resources such as coal mines and telecom spectrum triggered an anti-corruption agitation in 2011 resulting in the historic win of Bhartiya Janata Party in the parliamentary elections of 2014.

Theories & Models of Corruption

In the social science writings, the conceptualization of corruption is context-sensitive and it makes a distinction between immorality and corrupt social transactions. That's why various definitions have been used for corruption ranging from normative meanings such as "moral decay" or "betrayal of public trust" to empirically sensitive definitions like 'misuse of public power for private profit', 'an act of bribery' or 'misgovernance' (Andvig and Moene 1990; Banerjee 1994). Inspired by the Christian idea of corruption of the flesh or fall from the grace, economists such as Gunnar Myrdal and political scientists like Samuel Huntington related corruption to economic development and treated corruption as a virus to be either controlled or eradicated depending on the status and health of the body politic. Described as 'moralists,'Gunnar Myrdal and his associates have analyzed corruption largely in terms of harmful effects of corruption on economic development (Myrdal 1968; Andreski 1968). Gunnar Myrdal famously argued that corruption leads to 'development deficit' because corrupt officials use their arbitrary power to create delays and barriers to collect unauthorized rents from public works. In contrast, labeled as 'revisionists', Harvard political scientist Huntington and his cohorts have provocatively argued that corruption can be morally neutral; they have in fact advanced an "entrepreneurial" thesis that a modicum of corruption makes democracies work better (Huntington, 1968; Bayley 1966). No wonder, rapid economic growth is accompanied by entrepreneurial energy as well as corruption. In other words, both economists and political scientists have used a modified version of 'efficiency-improving corruption' thesis to justify achieving 'efficient outcome' in the organizational settings of over-centralized bureaucracies and cumbersome regulatory policies. Thus, instances of bribery or corruption can be construed as informational advantage ensuring efficiency consequences of competitive bidding procedures under conditions of imperfect information. (Beck and Maher1986). That's why economists often suggest a administrative reforms or offering officials 'efficiency wages' above the regular wages to tackle the cases of corruption (Van Rijckeghem & Weder 2001). In other words, this efficiency argument is quite pervasive in many countries and cultures including India, and it has recently been extended as 'speed money' which reduces delay in moving files in administrative offices and helps in short-circuiting costly and time-consuming queues for accessing public services (Bardhan1997) However, the so-called Nash equilibrium observed in this game flies in the face of rampant and arbitrary nature of quotidian cases of corruption in the lives of poor and marginalized in places like India.

Challenging entrepreneurial thesis of corruption, a very influential interpretation of corruption has been given by economists Andrei Shleifer and Robert Vishny. (Shleifer and Vishny, 1993). Among other things, their

interpretation of corruption has influenced debates on politics of decentralization and grassroots corruption in places like India. Shleifer and Vishny rely on conventional industrial organization theory and argue that corruption works best in the environment of secrecy, discretion and the operation of 'multiple veto power' in democracies. Shleifer and Vishny suggest a two-way classification of corruption: 'corruption with theft' and 'corruption without theft'. In cases of corruption without theft, the public official keeps the bribe to him but returns the government its share. In this mode of transaction, briber and bribee enter into a mutually agreed working relationship of cozy rental heavens. In other words, the official sells the goods and services with the bribe understood as extra charge or speed money but he does not pocket government revenue. On the contrary, in cases of 'corruption with theft', the public officials do not give back the government its due revenue.Casessuch as official relaxation of quality control standards, inspection of safety measures in construction of buildings and bridges or in supplies of food and drugs etc., refer to corruption with theft. This is more insidious form of corruption as it is hard to detect and more persistent in developing countries.The infamous cases of corruption such as 2G, Commonwealth, Mining, Coalgate scams fall under the category of 'corruption with theft'. Elaborating further, Shleifer and Vishny argue that corruption is costly because corruption or bribery can shift a country's investments away from the highest value projects, such as health and education, into socially wasteful investments.(Shleifer and Vishny 1993)

In contrast, experiences of India and other countries in the non-Western world offer an anthropomorphicfolk-theory of explaining cases of corruption in the midst of hierarchical social structures and processes. In the conditions of interactions between colonial modernity and traditional societies, corruption often acquires a sort of 'bilingual ability to translate, mediate and hyphenate' between the state power and masses in the developing countries. Juxtaposing quotidian experiences of corruption, leading Indian sociologist Shiv Viswanathan provocatively argues that 'corruption demands a new ontology of modernity'. The idea-type Weberian distinction between family and the state does not workin many places including India. Blurring the state and society boundaries,corruption extends the family or community into the state making it a 'giant milch cow'. (Viswanathan 2011). Further, he argues

"Corruption colonizes the body politic in India in a different way. Corruption performs three services…Cognitively, it is a knowledge economy… It provides life-giving or life-denying knowledge about access or entry. Second, it is a ritual service, where the tout and the clerk provide a priest-like knowledge of the system which is formidable in its intimacy. Third, the tout familiarizes one about the system, domesticates power in a paternalistic patron-centered language, creating a pastoralism of a parallel kind. For example, it redefines

access as ascription, rather as an achievement or legal rationality. It embodies power, especially the power of intermediaries so the system acquires concreteness. Who you know determines how you enter? The Punjabi English question 'koi approach hai, koi contact hai?' sums up the rules and techniques of entry. Power rather than becoming abstract and remote becomes approachable" (Viswanathan 2011).

In other words, sociologists and anthropologists offer entirely different cultural and ideational perspective for studying corruption.They agree that corruption is principal-agent driven economic phenomenon, but it can't be explained away by rational-choice -based rentierargument alone. In a hierarchical caste ridden society like India,so-called corrupt social or political transaction is often conceptualized as idioms of 'hospitality, gift, service' and it also becomes provisional sites ofresistanceagainst the dominant classes and castes. Not surprisingly, 'democratic upsurge' of the lower classes has coincided, perhaps unintentionally, with "upsurge in corruption in India.That's why corruption becomes socially and morally controversial experience of shape-shifting narrative of 'equalizer' or 'social leveler', at least in the immediate sense of reversing hierarchical power structures. Therefore, corruption in India requires an indigenous category of analysis.

Corruption in the 'Age of Kaliyuga' in India

It is this cultural and symbolicanthropomorphic imagination of corruption that evokes the 'Age of Kaliyuga' and the arrival of Lord Kalki the tenth and the final reincarnation of the God Vishnu who promises to end the dark age of corruption and moral decline. Notwithstanding the significance of notion of "Kaliyuga" in a politico- cultural sense, it is not used here as nostalgia for a golden age of Dharma.In fact, it refers to the imminent dissolution of Brahmanical social order and rise of radical democratic alternatives in the society. This political-theological interpretation of ending corruption entails egalitarian reordering of the society. The notion of Kaliyuga as cosmological time is not used in the sense of classical antiquity but to introspect and interpret trials and triumphs of democracy since independence in India. Following Romila Thaper, "itihasam-puratanam" or the notion of Yuga suggests no definitive claims to historicity of persons and events in the narrative, yet it refers to what French historian Fernand Braudel calls'la longue duree'- 'the time of long duration. Since the age of Kaliyuga idealizes a perfect social order and associate proliferation of corruption with social and moral decline, it is worth situating discourses of corruption and democracy in this'imagined cosmological time' of rise and decline of the social order. The cyclical notion of time in terms of four distinct ages i.e. Krta, Treta, Dvapara and Kaliyuga has been used in Hindu cosmology to describe not only universe of social and moral

laws that govern the society but also historical change over time. For instance, the Mahabharata and Puranas depict Yugas by the increasing decline of dharma in each Yuga with a graphic picture of deterioration in the Kaliyuga. According to historian Romila Thaper, 'the gradual decline of dharma is stated both directly and in symbols. The utopian conditions of the first age, also sometimes referred to as Satya, the age of Truth, diminish slowly until nothing of the utopia is left in the Kaliyuga. Thus in the first age people live up to 400 years, never suffering from disease or from insecurity. By contrast, in the fourth age, life expectancy comes down to 100 years and the Sudras are in the ascendant' (Thaper 1996). Kaliyuga, though the smallest of the ages, with only 432,000 years (four lakh thirty two thousand years), has emerged as the most significant and potentially liberatory age in the political-cultural history of India. Therefore, Kaliyuga is not used here in any essentialist terminology of decline of moral progression but as transient phase of 'struggle for equality' in a rapidly disintegrating hierarchical society. In other words, 'the Kaliyuga symbolizes the breaking down of caste ranking as a determining feature of social activities… (Thaper 1996) Therefore, I argue that corruption is not only about abuse of government power or profiting from the illegal rent, it actually perverts the very foundation of an egalitarian democratic order and equal citizenship in places like India. Given the rapid democratic upsurge of the poor, lower castes and tribals in India, corruption in the 'Age of Kaliyuga' camouflages deeper cultural and political shifts in our public life and it also signifies popular struggles for democratic transformation of the society. In short, corruption might be reduced by offering multiple policy incentives including encouraging competitive markets and social movements are indeed effective check against egregious cases of corruption in the development programs but it will be fully eradicated only when the 'annihilation of caste' in India happens as Baba Saheb Ambedkar has prophetically argued; therefore the 'Age of Kaliyuga 'must run its full course to usher us into a new age of Maitri or social hospitality!

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China's Maritime Assertiveness in the Indian Ocean

- Vinay Kaura

Introduction

The British Empire once dominated the Indian Ocean. This naval domination was achieved through British colonies in East Africa, Southern part of Africa and India. Imperial Britain would runits industries with cheap raw materials sourced from colonies. After the Second World War, American Navy and the Indian Navy replaced British naval power in the Indian Ocean, and became the principal security providers for merchant shipping in the Indian Ocean. Since independence from the British, India has not faced any major maritime threat. Much of the Indian maritime security focus has been in terms of the naval threat from Pakistan and the non-traditional threats of piracy and terrorism.

Since the end of the Cold War, the world has witnessed significant change in the global balance of power. In the economic aftermath of the 2008 global financial crisis, China's rapid rise and the dominance of cyber domain is transforming international political dynamics.The central location of China makes it the geostrategic heartland of Asia. As all the regional states are located along either its land or maritime periphery, the rise in China's military power affects almost every Asian state. China's assertive external behaviour can be explained with reference to the persistent growth in China's military capabilities, dramatic shifts in the global distribution of power, particularly those resulting from declining faith in America's leadership capabilities. We should not forget that China was the driving force behind the Obama administration's policy that called for America to "rebalance" its forces to Asia-Pacific region (Cordesman 2015).

The COVID-19 pandemic has further accelerated the confrontation between

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the US and China.The growing demonstration of power by China is a fact of our times which cannot be brushed aside. One observer has rightly argued that "Notwithstanding the significant political and social problems existing at the domestic level, China will continue to expand the use of the economic instruments as a form of a politico-strategic conditioning in order to subjugate the weakest countries and to divert the most robust ones from their traditional references" (Cont 2020).

With discernible decline in American hegemony, China is seeking to extend its reach in the Indian Ocean. China's success will undoubtedly increase its control over access to key markets and important shipping choke points located in the Indian Ocean. The shortcomings of American defense policy seem to have given a significant edge to China's naval ambitions in the Indian Ocean. Although the US has renamed its Pacific Command to 'Indo-Pacific' Command, it is rightly believed that the Pacific and Indian Oceans require different strategic approaches to address various emerging challenges. China has been pursuing diplomatic and political ties with small islands and littoral states in the Indian Ocean. This article explains China's growing maritime assertiveness and its implications on India's interests in the Indian Ocean.

China's Attempt to Overcome 'Malacca Dilemma'

Before we discuss China's 'Malacca Dilemma', it is important to underline China's maritime strategy.China's overall aim is to emerge as a global maritime powercapable of commanding the oceans.In order to achieve this aim, China has based its maritime strategy on four key components. First, China is keen to ensure naval reinforcements for the safety of its maritime trade and economic interests in the Indian Ocean. Second, China wants to develop logistical and operational capacities for a permanent naval presence and preparedness for maritime operations. Third, China is determined to undermine India's geo-strategic influence in the Indian Ocean. Fourth, China wants to surmountthe challenge of American naval dominance and to counter its coercive tactics by military means (Krupakar 2017).

As we are aware that China's 80% oil shipmentpasses through the Strait of Malacca, a narrow stretch of water between the Indonesia' island of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. But this strategically located strait can be easily blocked by China's rival nation in the event of a major conflict.Key to this thinking has been former Chinese President Hu Jintao's explanation of the "Malacca Dilemma" in 2003. According to this reasoning, sea routes crucial to China's trade, especially the Malacca Straits, are subject to interdiction from another state. Due to the Chinese perception of this threat, China is tempted "to address the "Dilemma" unilaterally as the country modernizes its naval forces"

(Lanteigne 2008). Beijing has taken a number of steps to reduce China's over-reliance on the Strait of Malacca.

In 2004, Beijing had launched the policy of "new historic missions," which envisaged deployment of China's navy in the faraway areas for military operations. The deployment of Chinese naval forces to the Gulf of Aden in 2008 for anti-piracy operations changed the Sino-Indian maritime dynamics, signaling China's intention of building a strong presence in the Indian Ocean to safeguard its interests (Gokhale 2012). China has since increased its maritime footprints in the Indian Ocean by creating a strategic network in the Indian Ocean littoral countries.China has diplomatic missions in all of the six island nations in the region SriLanka, the Maldives, Mauritius, Seychelles, Madagascar and Comoros, which only underlines its determination to fulfill its aims. On the other hand, the UShas only three embassies in Sri Lanka, Mauritius and Madagascar.

China's Modernization Plan

China's military expenditure is the second highest in the world. According to an estimate, China had allocated $261 billion for the military in 2019, which was equivalent to 14 per cent of global military expenditure. Similarly, China's military spending in 2019 was 5.1 per cent higher than in 2018 (SIPRI 2020). The growing military expenditure of China is reflected in modernization plans in all military spheres the Army, Navy, Air Force and nuclear force. Until recently, China's military equipments were reverse-engineered Soviet equipment. But things have been changing fast. For instance, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) has inducted Type 98 and Type 99 tanks which are thought to be equivalent to the best 'Main Battle Tanks' in the world, while also testing new attack and reconnaissance helicopters, the Z- 10 and Z- 19 (Rajagopalan 2017: 98-99). China has also unveiled its own stealth fighter, the J-31, which seeks to match the world's most advanced fighter plane. China is reconfiguring its entire range of land based atomic missiles, by enabling them to carry multiple warheads. That includes changes in the single warhead DF-5 as well as the DF-31A missiles.China's share in the international arms exports market has risen from 3.6% in 2006-10 to 5.9% in 2011-15 (Sethi 2016). The geopolitics of the Indian Ocean cannot remain unaffected with this pace of China's military modernization.

China's President Xi Jinping has relentlessly consolidated his personal grasp of military power through intensive political will and the military reform announced in 2015, which remains the most comprehensive since the one started by Deng Xiaoping three decades ago (Ng 2017). Xi's several initiatives for streamlining the functioning of the military are aimed at improving the

efficiency, professionalism and war-fighting capability of the military. Seven PLA's regional commands have been consolidated into five 'theaters'.More than 100 high-ranking military officers have been punished for various offenses, particularly on corruption charges. Xi has recently created and become the chairman of the Central Commission for Integrated Military and Civilian Development (CCIMCD), whose aim is to reduce costs and facilitate the sharing of technology and resources between the armed forces and the civilian sector. The maritime and cyber domains are likely to benefit from the adoption of civil-military integration (Lin 2017).

The transformation and modernization of military could create new operational challenges for the US military as well as threaten India's security (Bhattacharya 2016). The speed and scale with which China has undertaken infrastructure modernization in Tibet and the Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) undermine the current military balance along the India-China border (Bhatia 2016). Besides testing new tanks (Patranobis 2017), China is also building its missile capabilities in Tibet, basing them on the region's growing infrastructure. With China upgrading its nuclear and ballistic missiles to target India, it is highly unlikely that India's nuclear deterrence will reach full maturity for another one decade. Together with military modernization, Beijing has been trying to make sure that China faces no hurdles in getting access to South Asia through well-built highways and rail network (Sahgal 2012).This has enabled China to have unobstructed access towards Arabian Sea, Bay of Bengal and to the whole of Indian Ocean.

China's Challenge to Indian Interests

The Indian Ocean provides critical sea routes connecting West Asia, Africa and South Asia with the broader Asian continent to the east and Europe to the west. Some most important strategic chokepoints, including the Straits of Hormuz and Malacca, are found in the Indian Ocean. India is the central power in the Indian Ocean, which is the life-line of India because of 7,500 km of coastline. The geo-strategic and geo-economic significance of the Indian Ocean has grown over the years. It is not without reason that Robert Kaplan mentions that geopolitics of the 21st century would be shaped by events in the Indian Ocean (Kaplan 2010). Whereas China's rising international stature and India's growing economic rise have heightened the strategic value of the Indian Ocean, American policies have also raised concerns over security in the region (Albert 2016).

According to a noted scholar, “The Indian Ocean holds a particular place in the India-China strategic relationship. In almost every dimension, whether it be economic, nuclear or the conventional strategic balance along the Line of Actual Control in the Himalayas, India is probably at a considerable strategic disadvantage to China. Only in the Indian Ocean, which includes China's vital

energy routes from the Persian Gulf and Africa, does India have the upper hand" (Brewster 2020). Nevertheless, China's efforts to bolster its military presence in the Indian Ocean region counter the geo-strategic and geo-economic pillars of India's grand strategy. India perceives China as trying to reshape the strategic environment in its favour, particularly by forming alignments with countries in the Indian Ocean region that could be used against India. Port developments in Kyaukpyu in Myanmar, Chittagong in Bangladesh, Hambantota in Sri Lanka and Gwadar in Pakistan have been made possible by China's technical and financial assistance (Cheng 2016: 329; Kaplan 2012: 250). Although the efficacy of these ports as full scale naval bases has been questioned, it would not be entirely inaccurate to claim that they could be useful logistics points for Chinese naval vessels. Building strategic ties with India's neighbours might be driven by China's economic and strategic reasons, but it has been viewed by many Indian strategic experts as "aimed at preventing India's emergence as an Asian and global power" (Yadav 2016: 59). China has recently announced its intention to build its first overseas naval base at Obock in Djibouti, ostensibly to support China's anti-piracy operations peacekeeping operations. The US and Japan are already operating their naval bases at Djibouti (Manson 2016). China's logistical base at Djibouti enables it a round-the-year naval presence in the Indian Ocean.In August 2020, in the middle of the ongoing conflict in eastern Ladakh along the disputed boundary between India and China, one Chinese research vessel was seen in the Indian Ocean. This Yuan Wang class research vessel had entered the Indian Ocean from Malacca straits, and could be used for surveillance purposes (Times of India 2020: September 17).

The maritime component of China's ambitious Silk Road project runs through the Indian Ocean. One should remember that the geography of the Indian Ocean has contributed to its control by some powers and the exclusion of others. But China's Maritime Silk Route as part of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) entails growing Chinese interests and presence in Indian Ocean through development of ports and building new overland pathways. As one prominent scholar has reminded that China's growing maritime interests in Indian Ocean notwithstanding, "it is the new overland routes connecting the Eurasian hinterland with the ocean that have the potential to change the entire geostrategic character of the region" (Brewster 2017).

The China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) would provide China with smooth access to the Indian Ocean through Gwadar port besides running through Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK). As per Chinese calculations, CPEC and BCIM would connect the Maritime Silk Road with Silk Road Economic Belt and bring all South Asian countries into the BRI network. China's acquisition of overseas military facilities in the Indian Ocean may be defended as essential for

maritime security as well as for Maritime Silk Road project, but what really causes concern is the issue of "the lack of transparency" (Khurana 2016: 119).

The deployment of Chinese submarines in the Indian Ocean raises disturbing questions about Beijing's long-term objectives. With geopolitical scenario in South China Sea heating significantly due to aggressive posturing by China and its creation of artificial islands, it seems strategically reasonable that Chinese navy is beginning to shift its focus to the Indian Ocean not only in terms of power projection but also in terms of securing the sea lines of communication through the Indian Ocean region (Ghose 2016). China's recent acquisition of commercial facilities in the Indian Ocean region seem more in the nature of dual-use bases that can be upgraded to military facilities in the event of a crisis (Singh 2016).

Discussing China's strategy, one observer has argued that "While India perceives a growing Chinese presence as competition to its strategic and security role in the IOR, Beijing is determined to stake its claim and emerge as a key player in the IOR. This ambition feeds into China's larger objective of becoming a global maritime power" (Baruah 2019). Clearly, China's expanding maritime power in the Indian Ocean has the potential to challenge India's existing geostrategic advantage. Therefore, India should not take for granted its strategic location in the Indian Ocean as "the current Indian maritime strategy for the Indian Ocean region, to be the "net security provider" for the entire region, is unsustainable and thus needs to be reviewed and rebuilt leveraging the geographic advantage enjoyed by India over China in the Indian Ocean" (Upadhyaya 2017).

In order to alleviate its maritime concerns, New Delhi has engaged with outside powers which share common perspective regarding security in the India Ocean. India has therefore deepened its cooperation with France and the US through logistics agreements. These agreements will grant India access to port facilities at the American military base on Diego Garciaand the strategically important French base in the Reunion Islands near Madagascar (Samanta 2018). For all practical purposes, the Hambantota port has now become Chinese property for the next 100 years, and this has forced India to make overtures to Mauritius.India has also enhanced its engagement with the US through the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue or Quadwhich also includes Australia and Japan. This underscores India's growing influence on geopolitics in the Indian Ocean. However, despite such activity, India needs to increase investments in building naval hard power to containChina's ambitions in the region.

Conclusion

The Indian Ocean is at the core of major geopolitical competition.China's interests in the Indian Ocean have expanded enormously over the past two decades. And in the post-COVID-19 world, this will likely expand further.

Therefore, India will have to reconsider some of its concerns about external actors in the Indian Ocean.As China's navy is coming in contact more frequently with Indian navy, mutual tensions are bound to increase in future. Though India has been engaging many smaller countries in the region, however it needs to step up necessary investments in its hard-power capabilities so that the India Ocean is not dominated by China. If Beijing forcibly attempts to gainan upper hand in the Indian Ocean, India will have few options but to implement access-denial measures against Chinese navy so that the balance of power is maintained in India's favour. But a confrontation between India and China in the maritime domain is likely to have many-sided implications.

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Corona and its Psychological Impact on General Wellbeing: A Peek into a Masked Society

K.A. Molly & Shonali Sud

ABSTRACT

The entire world is reeling under this horrendous crisis of the Covid-19 pandemic.Precautionary measures like the imposition of lockdown, maintaining social distance, practicing hand and physical hygiene,each person todayis a silent sufferer of disillusioned lives, shattered dreams, lost jobs, and fragmented plans. Needless to say, that society is at a standstill, nay a complete 'lockdown' all over the globe. One's entire lifestyle is undergoing a drastic transition and this 'new-normal' outlook has not only changed one's mindset due to a deviance from that comfortable life that one was accustomed to but also led to a sharp drop in one's mental, social and emotional wellbeing. This compulsion to stay home during the lockdown propagated to be a safety mechanism has created a big wedge in one's relationship with 'others' mainly due to social distancing, emotional isolation, accompanied with a loss in self-esteem. This study attempts to explain how mankind today around the globe feels cloistered desperately trying to cope with the multiple pressures that society is imposing on them. The study on the basis of a few case studies (N=50, Mean Age=21 years) on womenstudents from the University of Delhi examines the multi-dimensional vulnerability of human beings and their encounter with the 'self' as well as 'others' during the lockdown and their attempt to imbibe this 'new normal' lifestyle. Hence in this study a brief attempt has been made to unveil the mystery of survival of hapless humans taking refuge behind a protective garb "The Mask".

Keywords: Corona, lifestyle, wellbeing, protective mechanisms

While browsing down history I am filled with nostalgia as I am reminded of

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these famous lines by Charles Dickens in the late 18th century "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times……" (Dickens,1859:1). These words depicting the highs and lows of life written during the French Revolution were well rehearsed by me during my school days for my literature lesson. I did not comprehend the exact connotation then but today these very lines stare at me bluntly with the stark reality of what is actually happening all around us.

Yes, today as we stand at the threshold of "the best of times" indeed with all the advances mankind has made in terms of technology, science, education and what not. Yet dangerously creeping towards us is the reality of being enveloped by the 'worst of times' a 'Pandemic' which is spreading its tentacles and gripping us and slowly yet surely snuffing out one's life's breath as humanity struggles to gasp for air and find a remedy if any.

SARS-Cov-2 is the appropriate name for the new coronavirus (Yuntao et al. 2020).This virus besides causing acute respiratory problems varies in severity from patient to patient depending mainly on one's level of immunity to fight the infection. These issues are being well researched by scientists who are burning the midnight oil to find a suitable cure in the form of a safe vaccine to protect suffering humanity. While the virus continues to rage and affect mankind in all its fury with numbers soaring daily in terms of statistics showing number of affected cases, number of critically ill, number of recovered cases and those unfortunate ones who have succumbed to this malady, the effect this is having on one's mindset or wellbeing is a matter of grave concern today. Needless to say that all human beings stand united on one front anywhere in the world today and that is the gnawing fear that one should not catch this viral infection at any cost. In order to safeguard themselves they are ready to practice and adopt any and all kinds of safety measures being propagated daily.

Covid-19 is a fearsome reality today and is enticingly engulfing mankind in its powerful grip. While mankind boasts of advances in practically every sphere of life the entire world is facing one of the worst crises that is literally changing ones very perspective on acting rationally.Pandemic fatigue is something that is affecting nearly 60% of the world population(http: //www.euro.who.int.). According to the WHO people are feeling less motivated about following protective behaviors after living with disruption and uncertainty for months. Every human being is feeling quite exhausted by now. The member states of the WHO European region recently met (October 5, 2020) to discuss strategies, principles and best practices for countering pandemic fatigue and reigniting public support for maintaining protective behaviours, basically to reinvigorate commitment and action by the public to prevent a further rise in COVID-19 cases. Its overall objective was to strengthen national and sub national policies,

interventions and communications that aim to maintain and strengthen public adherence to protection behaviours. Specific objectives were to:

- increase understanding of pandemic fatigue, how it manifests and why it occurs;
- present a WHO framework of concrete actions and strategic directions;
- share lessons learned between countries; and
- share case examples between countries of effective ways to counter pandemic fatigue(http://www.euro.who.int.).

Additionally, the loss of income for a considerable population not only in India but all over the globe is further exacerbating the situation CMIE's data in India suggests that approximately 119 million people had lost employment in the two weeks of the COVID-19 lockdown, mainly the small traders and wage-labourers.

Never has there been a total and prolonged lockdown enforced in all countries of the world where there has been an actual pulling down of shutters on all kinds of activity ranging from education to markets, industries, travel, religious places, gyms, restaurants, sporting activities to name a few relevant aspects of life.

Needless to say, the cost that has been incurred by practicing complete abstinence from such daily life chores has played havoc on the human psyche. No one has been able to escape from the mal effects of this enforced lockdown regardless of age or gender. This invisible enemy of the modern era has caused severe psychological fallout in practically every corner of the globe on practically each and every person on earth.

There have been the much talked about pandemics causing mass scale destruction and disruption of human life earlier, like the Plagues which have struck mankind in all their fury from prehistoric times (beginning 430 B.C. to the Spanish flu (1918-1920) to the Zika virus epidemic (2015 to present day) but nothing is like this recent malady “the corona virus” which has completely broken the entire rhythm of life.

Never has one seen such a compulsive need to hoard food, basic essentials like medical supplies such as antibiotics, analgesics, anti-allergic medicines, face masks and sanitizers. Every individual today seems to be under these fear psychoses of hoarding and stacking to ward off an unknown trauma that could consume one if left untended. Needless to say, all this leaf has a powerful impact on one's psyche.

This Covid-19 epidemic which started about a year back in China has now spread to all other parts of the world. This 'pandemic' has brought not only the risk of death from infection but also unbearable psychological pressure. On a

sample of around 7,143 Gangzhi medical college respondents it was observed that 0.9% of the respondents experienced severe, 2.7% moderate, and 21.3% mild anxiety(Wenjun et. al 2020). It was also reported that for those living in urban areas, family income, stability and living with parents were protective factors against anxiety (Wenjun et al. 2020). Such social support mechanisms surely prove to be major antecedents for general wellbeing and longevity.

This Covid-19 epidemic hence has become a scourge of modern society by not only causing widespread death and destruction from infection but also a tremendous amount of psychological damage (Wenjun et al. 2020). Research evidence suggests that those patients who have any pre-existing conditions or COVID-19 suffered more from anxiety and depression as compared to healthcare workers and the general public in studies conducted in China, Italy, Turkey, Spain and Iran (Luo et al. 2020).

In their meta analytic study the researchers have indicated that the common risk factors included gender or women being more affected, nursing staff, lower socioeconomic status, those having high risks of contracting COVID-19, and social isolation. Protective factors included having sufficient medical resources, up-to-date and accurate information, and taking precautionary measures. The researchers also postulate that psychological interventions targeting high-risk populations with heavy psychological distress are in urgent need (Luo et al. 2020).

No one can deny this fact that the coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) is posing a major public health threat today all over the globe. According to the WHO (World Health Organization) globally as of November 2020 there have been 50,810,763 confirmed cases of COVID-19, including 1,263,844 deaths (https://covid19.who.int). This mammoth figure surely sends a cold shiver down any living beings' spine.

A recent large-scale study by Pan et al in 2020 in Wuhan in China has shown that multifaceted public health interventions are temporarily associated with improved control of the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition to the physical health, the potential psychological and mental health impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic therefore really needs to be taken seriously and this study is an attempt to highlight this aspect strongly.

Studies conducted on the psychological impact of previous infectious outbreaks, such as the severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) that is similar to the COVID-19 pandemic, have also shown heavy psychological burdens among healthcare workers and the general public such as anxiety, depression, panic attacks, even psychotic symptoms (Maunder et al. 2003, Xiang et al. 2020).

An interesting survey reports that quarantined healthcare workers, those working in SARS units, or had family or friends infected with SARS, showed considerably more anxiety, depression, frustration, fear, and post-traumatic stress than those who had no such experience (Xiang et al, 2020, Wu et al. 2009). Hence countless studies indicate that the psychological impact of COVID-19 leads to an extremely high level of psychological distress (Özdin &Özdin, 2020; Mazza et al. 2020). And there seem to be no respite from this malady as the case number of COVID-19 continues to increase rapidly in many countries, and not to ignore the psychological disturbances which unfortunately continue to impact millions of people around the world.

Therefore, understanding the psychological impact from different populations and countries should be an eye opener for providing a theoretical basis for the identification of high-risk people as that can help in designing interventions, so that some public health awareness can be promulgated at a global level.

Thus, living through this prolonged pandemic has had its aftermaths in the form of heightened anxiety, panic attacks, depression, frustration, loneliness, a general lowering of self-esteem and lowered feelings of personal worth to name a few. A human being today is a fragmented personality in terms of shattered dreams with an overpowering feeling of incompetency and inefficiency.

In the present study comprehensive case studies were conducted on a handful of Delhi University college women (N=50, Mean age =21 years). These studies were carried out through the virtual conferencing mode from the start of the lockdown till date and the major findings support the adverse psychological impact that this pandemic is causing on young minds. These young women initially reported that they felt good to be home amidst their loved ones, to revel in this 'new-found' freedom, to introspect and discover one's self, to be free from the constraints of the regimented lifestyle which is indeed quite stressful but as time moved on and months passed with no formal classes resuming these same women started to show a slow yet strong transition towards morbidity overpowering their cognitive make-up. They began to feel tormented with the idea of being forcefully confined to their homes with a rudderless and unproductive day-to-day living. A majority of them (>78%) reported that they had nothing to look forward to every day in spite of this online mode of learning, which was also turning to be a boring ordeal They felt it was like leading a totally apathetic machine-like existence. Most women reported (>55%) that they were almost pining to be with their friends and teachers, to talk, to share and to interact freely like the old times, and they also felt that now time tended to hang heavy on their minds. All these are nothing but subtle signs and symptoms of debilitating stress. Incidentally, a marginal number (<23%) did report that

this online form of learning was beneficial as they had more time for themselves., although they were not very clear about how this self- analysis was going to be constructively productive for personal growth and development. More substantial evidence is however required to give a comprehensive analysis of this 'new normal life today and post corona., especially when this fearful yet fast changing statistic keeps weighing on our minds every morning in terms of the sharp rise in confirmed cases in India.

To top it all today one finds oneself entrapped in a truly “masked society”. Everywhere that one goes one is constrained to adorn this new garb 'the Mask'.

Ever since the advent of time in the history of Psychology it had been propagated that we humans try to conceal our trueselves behind a 'Persona' or a 'Mask' as worn by the Greek theatre artists in ancient times. Ironically today this has become a part of our daily grooming and we are enacting no drama. One cannot venture out without tying a mask to cover our nose and mouth. In fact, a person without a mask in any part of the world could be easily apprehended to be committing a cognisable offence.

In spite of all this the psychological dilemma of wearing a mask could also be perceived as a detour to escape from or hide behind a safety mechanism which also shrouds ones emotions, conflicts and other negative thoughts that have becoming the overpowering damaging influences in our daily cognitive process, all simply the concomitants of Corona. This is leading to a disintegrated personality who is unable to find solace in whatever one does. Anyhow more research evidence is required to delve into the long-lasting effects this disease may cause.

All said and done, substantial research evidence points out to the tremendous benefit and efficacy of wearing masks (Bai 2020, Howard et al. 2020).Due to asymptomatic infection transmission everyone is required to wear a mask mainly due to the effect of speech generated oral droplets(Antinrud et al. 2020). Recent research evidence from the US has also indicated that the use of a face mask in public is associated with a sharp decline in the daily COVID-19 growth rate (Lyu & Wehby 2020).

A Mask therefore, nothing but a simple safety device is yet to become an accepted part of our daily attire, one is still not so comfortable adorning it along with our fineries. A mask is perceived with awe and much trepidation. However, in combination with social distancing or social isolation this scourge of the 21st century 'Corona' can surely be controlled if not combated before a safe therapy is at hand.

The adoption of such safety measures could also help in enhancing wellbeing wherein one feels comfortable being cocooned in this haven of being cordoned off from this unseen yet dangerous enemy. Psychologically one may be feeling some relief by adopting protective measures yet one's vulnerability to succumb to this disease is still there in frightful proportions and the desire to fight and combat this virus is still on.

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Squinting Back at Indian History: Strabo's Vision of Indian History and Geography

Shashi Kumar
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ABSTRACT

The Greek geographer Strabo described India through the eyes of Megasthenes but his minute observations at several levels proved the primary testimony of Megasthenes on India wrong at several junctures. Such a critical evaluation of never-visited country placed Strabo among few rare historians in classic history who had strong reflective-critical analysis of the facts, they were working on. His denunciation of several facts of Megasthenes show his historical reliability to countercheck even the primary observation. This ability of a historian's craft shown by Strabo transformed his work more valuable than his predecessors. Attending to the often-neglected reception of Strabo, this article uncovers continuities and discontinuities in ideas of Strabo while narrating an unseen Indian past through cross roads.

Keywords: Classical tradition, world geography, Strabo, Megasthenes, Greeks, Indian history

India was not mentioned in classical literature till a comparative study was noticed in late period of Greek history. The Greek knowledge on the Indians began as a result of the rise of Persian Empire which had touched Greece at one extremity and India at the other. There are evidences to suggest that the Indians of the Indus region and the Greeks of Ionian cities were together serving in the Persian court. This condition provided an opportunity which was more favorable for the interchange of the ideas. Thus the introduction of the Indians in the west is owed to the Ionian-Greek connection which is clear from the written records of the Scylax of Caryanda, Ktesias and Herodotus.

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A new chapter of Indian history started at the time of Alexandrian invasion. Alexander was accompanied by various writers who were interested to know about India, its people, cultural practices and social, political and economic conditions. Many foreign travellers visited India and wrote their accounts based on personal observations. Interestingly there were few scholars who never visited but wrote about India by analysing records and accounts of primary travellers to the lands. One such scholar was Strabo. In his work Geography, he has given a detailed and vivid description about India. Work of Strabo (though based on the works of the others writer who had visited India) is considered the most comprehensive work on India in comparison to other writers contemporary to him. His critical and analytical approach attracted the attention of several historians and geographers working on Indian past and is continuing till present.

Work of Strabo throws important light on the geographical, social, political and economic conditions of India, mainly of the period of Alexander and Maurya. His work is based on the analytical and critical evaluation of works of other scholars hence is considered relatively more reliable. Additionally his work also provides the perspective view of Greeks scholars and travellers about the India.

Main thrust of the present research tries to peep in to the understanding Strabo's view about the world and at miniscule level about India, its geography, polity and society etc. His understanding on socio-politico scenario on Mauryan India was/is lensed through Megasthenses'sIndica is valued even today. Also the critical approach of Strabo as a writer has successfully attracted the attention of historians and geographers world-wide where he presented a view of the world and never-visited country like India.

Since time immemorial, India has received a number of keen travellers who came here and fell in love with its traditions and culture. But there also have been some travellers who had never visited India but wrote about India amazingly just like as Herodotus, Strabo etc. Strabo was a Greek geographer and historian who lived more than two thousand years ago, in the early days of the Roman Empire. He saw the final collapse of the Roman republic and the creation of the Roman Empire by Augustus.

The Geography Strabo wrote was not only a representation of the topographical and political situation of that period but also a description of the widely accepted notion of the Earth. Sourced from his experience and knowledge shared by great men of the past, it featured all the communities and countries known to the Greeks and Romans during the rule of Augustus. The Geographywas a very valuable collection of facts and presented a remarkable insight into the world as it appeared to knowledgeable men in the Augustan Age.

Strabo was a great scholar of his time, whowanted to write about the world. He continued the very tradition of topographical narrations heralded by Herodotus. Even the narrations of Herodotus at several points in The Historiesis based on secondary judgements (Puri 1971:2)[1]

An admirer of the Roman Empire, Strabo may have been politically motivated in the writing of his works, although they also contain a great deal of knowledge presented for its own sake. Of these works, only one, the Geographia, (17 volumes) is extant. It is known that Strabo composed a number of historical works, including a Historical Memoir in which he recounted incidents in the lives of famous men. Though it no longer exists, it is highly probable that many of the historical notices, which so frequently occur in the Geography, are summaries of portions of it. He intended a fuller work, incorporating some of the same material, to be a continuation of the work of Polybius, whose history concluded with the years 146/145 BCE.

The Geographical treatise written by Strabo is not only the most important geographical work that has come down to us from the classical period, but also unquestionably one of the most important works ever produced by the scholars of antiquity. The main feature of Strabo's geographical account lies in the fact that it was the first attempt at bringing together all the then known geographical knowledge in the form of general treatise. The criticism that Strabo's geographical treatise that it was just improvement over the work of Eratosthenes does not carry much credibility. The work of Eratosthenes was based on three volumes while Strabo wrote as many as seventeen volumes of geographical treatise.Strabo was the first scholar who conceived the idea of a complete geographical treatise, comprising all four branches of the discipline, namely, mathematical, physical, political, and historical geography (Husain 1995: 68).

The work Geographia, was Strabo's most important writing. The seventeen volumes contained an encyclopaedic description of the then habituated world. Of course, Strabo laid the foundation of geography as chorography. It was the first attempt which brought together all the then known geographical knowledge in the form of general treatise on the subject of geography. The main concern of Strabo in his writings was to make available scientific survey of the habitable world at that time(Doi 2002:97).According to Strabo, the purpose of Geographia was the study of then inhabited world, its size, shape and character and its relation to earth as a whole. He travelled extensively, in Egypt and southern Europe and northern Africa. It was on these journeys, supplemented by the works of earlier writers on geography, that his Geographia was based. The seventeen books of this work are extant: the first two dealing with physical geography, the next eight with Europe; six with Asia and one with Africa. It was most important work on geography produced before Christian Era.

Volumes XIXVI on Asia:Strabo based his description of geography of Asia on Eratosthenes. He indicated that Taurus Mountains traverse Asia from west to east which divides Asia into two halves: northern to southern. The northern Asia was divided into four parts: (i) Tanais to Caspian Sea; (ii) Caspian to Scythians; (iii) Medians and Armenians; and (iv) Asia Minor. The southern Asia was constituted by territorial extent of India, Ariana (Iran), Persia and all the nations extending from the Persian to the Arabian gulf (Red Sea), the Nile, Assysia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Arabia (Husain 1995: 67).

Volumes XV -XVII: He described the southern Asia as mentioned in his fifteenth volumes of Geographia. The volume fifteenth dealt mainly with India and Persia. His conception of map of India was very similar to Eratosthenes. Strabo indicated that Coniaci (Cape Comorin) was projected towards the south-east and Taprobane (Cylon) was the southern limit of the then known world (Husain 1995: 68).

Strabo's Description about Geography of India

Strabo wrote about India's location, its different places, mountains, rivers, climatic conditions, different geographical land-forms etc. He wrote about the size of the country. According to ancient Greeks, the shape of India resembled a rhombus therefore instead of providing latitudinal and longitudinal extent they usually provided the dimensions of the country in the form of sides of a rhombus.[2] The river Indus formed the boundary on the western part whereas the outlets of Gangesformed the eastern boundary. In the South, India was bounded by Taprobanewhereas in the north it was bounded by a mountain called Taurus which by the natives was also called as Peropamius or Emodus; one of the names of Himalayas known to the Greeks. In the South, though it was bounded by a sea, however a relatively large island called Taprobane (Ceylon or modern Sri Lanka) was its neighbour. From the mainland of India it took about twenty days voyage to reach the said island. He had also mentioned the presence of many small islands between India and Taprobane. He also mentioned that the different animals/life forms were found in the sea between India and Taprobane.

Strabo also wrote about Indian rivers such as the Indus, the Ganges, Hydaspes (Jhelum) and Akesines (Chenab) etc. He also described the origin, direction of flow of these rivers as well as their outlets. As Strabo says in his Geography …the whole of India is traversed by rivers. Some of these flow together into the two largest rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, whereas others empty into the sea by their own mouth. They have their sources, one and all, in the Caucasus; and they all flow first towards the south and then, though some of them continue to flow in the same direction, in particular those which flow into the Indus, others bend towards the east, as, for example, the Ganges. Now the Ganges which is

the largest river in India, flows down from the mountainous country, and when it reaches the plains bends towards the east and flows past Palibothra, a very large city, and then flows on towards the sea in that region and empties by a single outlet. But the Indus empties by two mouths into the southern sea, encompassing the country called Patalene, which is similar to delta of Egypt…(Horace 1932:19)

Strabo wrote about the east flowing and west flowing rivers-system of India, the landforms made by them at their outlet i.e. the delta. Strabo also mentioned the large cities situated along the banks of rivers like the Indus and the Ganges. Cities he named included Patalene that corresponded to the area of Sindh which was an ancient area of Indian subcontinent, now in Pakistan and was occupied by the Persians. Additionally, he described the Indus and the Ganges as the largest rivers of India. Strabo also mentioned that in the northern parts, there lied a vast and plain area which was drained by the Ganges.

Strabo also talked about seasons, climatic and weather conditions as well as its impact on the inhabitants. He described India as a humid country and further asserted that the less scorched rather lesser darker or relatively fair colour of Indians is due to the humid climatic conditions prevalent in the country. He also mentioned that the northern parts of India received snowfall and rain which ultimately enhanced the water level in the rivers causing floods. He compared India with the conditions prevalent in Egypt.[3]

He further added that the mountainous regions and northern part of India was more fertile and inhabited by people; while the south being occupied by wild beasts and noted for its scorching heat and scarcity of rainfall. India had good seasons and received abundant sunshine and rainfall in summers as well as in winters, which resulted in the growing of crops in both the seasons. In Strabo's Geography the vegetation of India had also been described at many places.

Strabo's description about socio-economic Conditions of India Strabo taking reference from Megasthenes' Indica, described that Indian society was divided into seven castes which are as follows:

The first class was that of brãhmins and philosophers. It was the most respectable class in the society and was the law maker. Only this class could study the Epics and Vedas. In Mauryan period this classification system became rather rigid and people were not allowed to change their occupation and they were also not allowed to marriage in other caste. The work of brahmin was mainly to perform religious rites and offer sacrifices. The king also at the beginning of every year, called the Great Synod, performed a great sacrifice in which all the philosophers gathered. A philosopher who offered any useful suggestion, and other measures for improving crops and the breeds of cattle or for promoting public interests,

was always supposed to declare it publicly. If his prognostication proved false for three times he was required to remain silent for the rest of his life so that there could be no renewal of absurd suggestions. The one who gave sound advice was exempted from paying any taxes or contributions. This was the method adopted by the kings for finding and encouraging new discoveries by the learned men. The reward of being free from taxation was a source of inspiration for the Brahmins and philosophers to devise new ways and technologies for the welfare of general public. Strabo in his Geography had further mentioned two sets of philosophers, viz. the Brãhmans and the Gramanes which was considered as an erroneous transcription of śramaṇs.

Second class was that of husbandmen. This was the largest class and formed the bulk of the population. They were exempted from the military services and were confined to agriculture only. Even in times of calamities they were ploughing and digging in perfect security. The entire land was the property of the king, whom they paid 1/4th of the produce as land revenue in addition to rent. Thus they correspond to the Vaiṣyas of Manu, who assigned to the Vaiṣya the special duties as agriculture, trade, commerce and cattle rearing . As they paid tributes to the king, and even in the time of civil war, the soldiers left them unmolested lest their crops might not be damaged as it might bring famine and pestilence.

The third class of people was called Herdsmen and Hunters, who alone were allowed to hunt and keep cattle and to sell draught animals or let them on hire. They also received an allowance of grain from the king in return for clearing the land of wild beasts and fowls, which devoured the seeds sown in the fields. They had wandering life and lived in tents. No private person was allowed to keep a horse or an elephant. The possession of either one or the other was a royal privilege, and of the persons who were appointed to take care of them. Strabo also provided a detailed account of controlling/subduing wild elephantsfor making them a part of the army. The process of capturing and subduing a wild elephant has been vividly described by Strabo (Horace 1932:71).

The fourth class consisted of those who worked as trades, and those who were employed in manual labour. Some of them paid tribute to the state and also rendered certain prescribed services. In this class, were included Vaiṣyas and Śudras as ship-builders and sailors employed in the navigation of rivers. The Vaiṣyas of this class indulged in trade and commerce. They were distinct from agriculturists, herdsmen and shepherds.

The fifth class consisted of fighting men (soldiers), who were maintained at king's expense. They led a life of supreme freedom and enjoyment. They had only military duties to perform. Their main business was to fight on behalf of the king and share both calamities and honours. After the war, their business

ended but otherwise king used to have a regular army for the maintenance of peace and security.

The sixth class consisted of overseers to whom was assigned the duty of observation and reporting to the king. Some of them were entrusted with the inspection of the city and others of the camp. The ablest and the most trustworthy candidates were appointed on such posts. They acted as spies and observed carefully the activities of the people, and reported every incident to the king.

The people of the seventh class were called assessors or Councillors of the state. To them belonged the highest posts of government, tribunal of justice and administration of public affairs. It was the smallest class in terms of number but was distinguished by superior wisdom and justice; hence it enjoyed the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, governor's deputy, superintendents of treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers and commissioners who superintended agriculture etc. It was more or less an administrative class.

It was not possible for a member of a class to marry outside his own caste or exchange one's profession or trade for another, or to follow more than one business. The exception was only in the case of philosophers who for their virtues were allowed the privilege. These regulations were meant mainly to preserve purity of blood, talent and skill in trade and profession.

Strabo gave a detailed description of Indians' daily routine(Horace 1932 :89). He mentioned about the funeral system of Indian society which he observed was very simple. Indians lived a simple life but they also liked to adorn themselves. Strabo mentioned that the Indians wore ornaments made of gold and precious stones. They wore flowered robes, and were attended by persons following them with umbrellas. They held high esteem for beauty and attention was given to everything which could improve their looks. They respected truth and virtue.

On the marriage customs in India also Strabo had certain observations.He mentioned that in India, men married many women, some for the sake of prompt obedience and the others for the sake of pleasure and numerous for offspring (Roy 2015: 142).Strabo in his Geography observed the practice among Kṣatriyas that husband and wife choose each other and wives burning themselves along with their dead husbands. It was intense love for her deceased husband that a woman became a suttee. Since Kṣatriya women alone had frequently to face frequent deaths among the warrior classes. Their husband died in the battle field and a large number of them became widows. They preferred to follow their dead husbands to a life of ignoble ease than the lot of widows.

Strabo had also mentioned about the fable stories that were provided by the

Megasthenes about the India as: …Megasthenes, going beyond all bounds to realm myth, speaks of people five spans long and three spans long, some without nostrils, having instead merely two breathing offices above their mouths; and he says that it is the people three spans long that carry on war with the cranes (the war to which Homer refers) and with the partridges, which are as large as geese; and that these people pick out and destroy the eggs of the cranes, which, he adds, lay eggs there; and that it is on this account that neither eggs nor, of course, young cranes are anywhere to be found; and that very often a crane escapes from the fights there with a bronze arrow-point in its body. Like this, also, are the stories of the people that sleep in their ears, and the wild people, and other monstrosities…(Horace 1932: 95)

From above cited paragraph we came to know that while Strabo waswriting, he questioned the Megasthenes narration of weird and mythical events on India. A number of the questions contained statements that, as they stand, are glaringly abused stories of gold digging ants, men with ears large enough to sleep in, men without mouths, and so on. After comparing the account of Megasthenes with other authors Strabo called Megasthenes as mendacious. Surprisingly, such storied accounts about India were also provided by Herodotus (Ghosh 1978: 13)[4]

Strabo mentioned some cities of India such as Taxila and Palibhotra and their characteristics. He also presented a historical and geographical account of India during the invasion of Alexander. According to Strabo, the kingdom of Taxila laid between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Puri 1971: 54).Chandragupta Maurya was the ruler of Magadha and capital was Patliputra. The classical writers provided evidence only regarding his relations with Seleucus Nicator (Bongard 1985: 77).While talking about king Strabo gave such description as:

…the care of the king's person is committed to women, who also are purchased from their fathers;and the body-guards and the rest of the military force are stationed outside the gates;… the king does not sleep in day time; and even at night he is forced to change his bed from time to time because of the plots against him among the non-military departures he makes from his palace, one is that to the courts, where he spends the whole day hearing cases to the end,;… a second departure is that to the sacrifices. A third is that to a kind of Bacchic chase wherein he is surrounded by women, and, outside them, by the spear-bearers… (Horace 1932: 91-93)

From the above cited paragraph it seems to be clear that the security of king was looked over by the women. Strabo further took the inference from Megasthenes and informed that king did not sleep in day time because at the day time he had to perform a lot of administrative work. Among non- military departure from the palace he only comes out from the palace to hear the cases,to performsacrifices and for hunting.

According to Strabo a great occasion at court was the ceremonial washing of his hair by the king on his birthday, when people sent him great presents. Each person seeking to out-rival his neighbour in displaying his wealth (Mookerji 1986: 62).When king washed his hair and the courtiers vied with each other in sending costly presents this seems to be a reference to the abhiśeka of the king soon after his accession. Strabo mentioned that in the processions at festivals many elephants adorned with gold and silver were in the train, as well as four horsed chariots and Ox-wagons etc. Chandragupta was succeeded on the Magadha throne by his son Bindusara. Little information has survived on the latter's reign and whatever is available is in fragments. Diodorus wrote that the Indians pay a land tribute to the king because all land is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land (Bhargava1996: 82)

According to Megasthenes, rice was the universal crop sown in the east and there were two crop raised annually both of fruits and grains. This information provided by Megasthenes was corroborated by Eratosthenes, who spoke of winter and summer sowing and of rains at both seasons alike. Arrian like Megasthenes also remarked that agriculture was confide to a particular class known as the tiller of the soil (Majumdar 1981: 225).

Most of the account regarding the agriculture has Strabo written was from Megasthenes Indica and he only added crops in the seasons. Strabo mentioned that the land tillers only took a quarter of the yield for tilling land which is in glaring contrast to the statement in other sources that the tax paid to the king amounted to a sixth or an eighth share. Megasthenes pointed out that tillers of land never went to town. On tax, Strabo figured that only one fourth of the harvest was left to the tiller of the land. He probably meant the royal lands, for he wrote that these lands belonged to the king. The Greek writers state that the Indian soil was naturally fertile which bore the beautiful trees and flowers. Strabo and HiuenTsiang praised the fertility of the soil of Taxila and the latter specially noticed the number of its springs and watercourses (Mccrindle 2000: 119).

Before Strabo, Greek writers like Herodotus, Ketesias have dealt in length about the industrial activities of the ancient Indians. Herodotus isolated those communities inhabiting the marshes of the river who were, for most part of their time engaged in fishing. There boats were to be made of reed. Ktesias referred to the manufacture of the sword, bows javelins etc. which were used for hunting and at the time of war (Kuppuram 1990: 228-9).

Greco-Roman accounts of the travellers played a significant role toknow the wisdom of early India. These accounts throw sufficient light on Indian culture and civilization These writers had given detailed information about Indian society, polity, geography and economy. Their main aim of writing about India

was to write accounts for an educated audience and their aim was not only to inform but also to entertain them. They highlighted things about India which were similar to Greece, as well as those were curious and different. They had also mentioned the position, boundaries and physical features of India, list of races residing in India and routes of voyages to India. The geographical accounts of Greco-Roman writers were also of great concern to know the conditions of India's past. These accounts included mainly the narratives of travelers who actually visited different parts of India, and gathered information about India from various sources. The present study clearly shows that the political ideas in India were very high which attracted foreigners' attention. The social order was originally based on Hindu texts, and society was divided into four castes on the basis of birth and into seven classes professionally as pointed out mistakenly as caste by Megasthenes in his Indica.

In his accounts of India Strabo had also provided information regarding various rivers. He mentioned that India was a humid country and the mountainous region and northern part was more fertile and was inhabited by people, whereas the southern part was mainly occupied by wild beasts. This statement of Strabo was based on assumption because none of the Greek writers travelled and explored the southern parts of India. While talking about Indian society, Strabo mainly divided the Indian society into seven castes on the bases of professional classification by Megasthenes but adds his own remarks too. Strabo added that philosophers were allowed to marry outside their caste. Strabo stated that the people of India were mainly engaged in farming and agricultural activities. People used to pay the tax to king. He had also provided description of various crops, sown by people in different seasons.

Strabo had mauled the Megasthenes for providing fables stories about India and its people. Strabo mentioned the stories narrated by Megasthenes.[5] Strabo believed that few misleading accounts were written by Megasthenes on the basis of hearsay without knowing the actual truth. Its reality seems to be suspicious and disputable because none other historian or geographer contemporary of Megasthenes had provided such kind of detail about India in their accounts.

Strabo mentioned that Indian rulers never invaded foreign lands and that no foreign army had ever succeeded in conquering them. Strabo mentioned that the security of the king was looked-after by the women-guards and king did not sleep in day time. He had also mentioned about the court ceremony and other rituals performed by the king. While writing about India, Strabo used an evaluated approach, because he had studied whatever was written by the previous writers in their accounts. Basically his writing/observation about India was based on accounts of early writers. The accounts of Strabo about India are

comparative and comprehensive. In his work, he included highly valuable information about India. Hence his accounts can be considered more reliable because his work was the mixture of all accounts. The contribution of Strabo to Indian history was that his Geography preserved fragments of Megasthenes'sIndica which is originally lost.

The limitation of his Geography is that, while he had written his accounts about India, he had no evident or accurate knowledge about the people of India and their socio-cultural practices, social conditions, political and economic status. For writing his accounts, he was dependent mainly on secondary sources. He had only studied the accounts of Alexander's historians and others, who wrote about India. Meanwhile Strabo was not contemporary of that period, for which he had written in his account of India.

Still the contribution of Strabo can never be discredited on the basis of use of other traveller's accounts as secondary observation. He always used his analytical and critical approach while evaluating the sources. Also his accounts served one of the major purpose of highlighting those sources in history of India and Greece which were lost or were in fragmented state. His vision and approach towards geography and history kept inspiring scholars for long and is still continuing in evaluating past.

Notes

1. Herodotus was first Greek historian who gave some substantial account of India. His account of India being mainly preserved though, falls short of standard, taken in the light of the vast space devoted to the histories of other nations, still it speaks much for his critical capacity and diligent enquiry. Being dependent on second hand sources which he honestly believed to be true, his knowledge about India is based on oral evidence and current beliefs. His work though earliest is still in its fully preserved form.
2. Similarly, as per Strabo's estimate, the extent of India from southern part to the eastern part of India measured 16000 stadia and from northern part to western parts i.e. along the course of river Indus, measured 13000 stadia. He had also estimated the distance between Palibothra to eastern margins of India as about 6000 Stadia..... (Horace 1932:21).

3 the Nile is flooded from the southern rain whereas the Indian rivers are flooded from the northern, inquires why the intermediate regions have no rainfall; for neither the Thebais as far as Syene and the regions of Meroenor the region of India from Patalene as far as the Hydaspes has any rain but the country above these parts, in which both rain and snow fall… in the same way as in the rest of the country that is outside India; for, [it] is watered by

the rains and snows…(Horace 1932:29)

4. Gold dust was actually brought as tribute by the by the tribes of Dardistān in Kashmir and was called by the Indians Pipīlika and gold.
5. The people of India in their societies were fratricide and eat their bone and flesh. Monkeys were the stone rollers, a horse with one horn and his head was like a dear. people fight with cranes, stories of gold digging ants, men with ears large enough to sleep in, man without mouth etc.

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Traditional Methods of Water Management in India

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ABSTRACT

Water is the life line of entire eco-system across the globe. Archaeological evidences suggest that most of the human civilization developed across the banks of rivers or water bodies. In India the most modern civilization of ancient times, the Indus Valley Civilization was developed across river Sraswati and thus emerged the notion of water conservation and its appropriate management. In last few decades, rapid urbanization has resulted in acute shortage of a valuable resource i.e. water - which was available for free. Thus, there is an urgent need to save and manage water, particularly clean water. Across the globe, water management is no more a choice but a need. It's high time, issues regarding availability of water must be considered seriously as any life on this planet is unimaginable without it. In the coming future, areas with sufficient amount of water are also going to have severe water crisis owing to its mismanagement as well as lack of management. Thus, it is important to deliberate upon the methods of water management which were based on traditional knowledge and were more sustainable, location specific, inclusive and environment friendly.

Key Words: Eco-system, Water Management, Rain fall, Climatic Changes, Water Table, Irrigation, Canal.

Water crisis of today is due to multiple issues like scanty rainfall, man-made climatic changes, lowered water tables, population explosion, loss of forest cover, rapid industrialization, water pollution and huge amount of water wastage either due to negligence by users or dilapidated system of water supply across the country etc.

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Globally, just two nations share 150 largest river systems from a total of 200. Rest 50 are shared by 3 to 10 nations. India shares 17% of the world's population with only 2.4% of land and 4% of water resources.

There are multiple references in our ancient texts regarding importance of water and its management. It is important that traditional water wisdom and management techniques must be taken into consideration while framing key policies and developmental plans as traditional systems of water management are location specific as well as cost-effective. Their needs to be a paradigmatic shift in strategies related to water storage and its equitable distribution among masses. In this regard traditional methods of water management must be relooked to devise more effective, sustainable and holistic water management strategies and developmental plans.

Water is the life line of entire eco-system across the globe. Archaeological evidences suggest that most of the human civilization developed across the banks of rivers or water bodies. In India the most modern civilization of ancient times, the Indus Valley Civilization was developed across river Sraswati and thus emerged the notion of water conservation and its appropriate management. In last few decades, rapid urbanization has resulted in acute shortage of a valuable resource i.e. water - which was available for free. Thus, there is an urgent need to save and manage water, particularly clean water. Across the globe, water management is no more a choice but a need. It's high time, issues regarding availability of water must be considered seriously as any life on this planet is unimaginable without it. In the coming future, areas with sufficient amount of water are also going to have severe water crisis owing to its mismanagement as well as lack of management. Thus, it is important to deliberate upon the methods of water management which were based on traditional knowledge and were more sustainable, location specific, inclusive and environment friendly. The concept of sustainable development also emphasises on using our natural resources in a judicious manner. If water is to be preserved for future generations then the current programmes and policies of government must incorporate the values and sentiments of erstwhile generations and their methods of water conservation, harvesting and irrigation. Awareness campaigns about traditional methods of water management should be initiated at mass level so that people become aware of their utility in current scenario.

Water Worry World

The world needs to worry about the availability and use of water. Water crisis of today is due to multiple issues like scanty rainfall, man-made climatic changes, lowered water tables, population explosion, loss of forest cover, rapid industrialization, water pollution and huge amount of water wastage either due to negligence by users or dilapidated system of water supply across the country

etc. Apart from these, population explosion is also responsible for growing water crisis. Many water-borne diseases like typhoid, cholera etc. are taking a heavy toll on the lives of people, especially small children. Daily life struggles for procuring clean water, poor management of wastewater and improper sanitation are having serious consequences for human health and development of the country. Current situation demands quick intervention in the management of such problems which are growing at an exponential rate (Kumari & Singh 2016).

Globally, just two nations share 150 largest river systems from a total of 200. Rest 50 are shared by 3 to 10 nations. India shares 17% of the world's population with only 2.4% of land and 4% of water resources. The per capita availability of average utilizable water resources in India was 5,247 metric cube in year 1951 and is expected to come down to 1,170 metric cube by the year 2050. Presently, it is at 1,453 metric cube(Central Water Commission, 2015). Indian agricultural sector is the major consumer of groundwater (80%) (Harsha 2017) and has witnessed deficit monsoon in 13 of the last 18 years (Pandey and Sengupta, 2018). This has led to drastic decline in ground water level across all parts of the country. Water plays an important role in country's economic growth. Lack of assured good quality water supply has now become a significant concern for country's development (Manivannan et al. 2017).

Traditional Water Management

A natural resource like water, cannot be created rather it can only be managed while making use of it. Water has always been an important asset for every civilization particularly, Indian. There are multiple references in our ancient texts regarding importance of water and its management. There were specific tools and techniques by which water was managed and conserved. Such systems of water management were context specific and were suitable for local needs. These systems are still relevant and play a major role in everyday activities of local people. The crucial task is to preserve, recharge and revitalize such systems with the help of governmental programmes and community participation. Thus, it is important that traditional water wisdom and management techniques must be taken into consideration while framing key policies and developmental plans as traditional systems of water management are location specific as well as cost-effective. As Anil Agarwal, a prominent environmentalist notes, the key to the well-being of our country's water resources lies in the indigenous water conservation systems which is being forgotten by the society. Towards this, there are plenty of methods around the world, particularly in India which can be employed to address existing water crisis. This paper reviews some of the traditional methods of water management that can prove beneficial in current times as well as in coming future.

Archaeological Evidences of Water Wisdom

Traditional wisdom of our forefathers and their water management technologies hold a special significance particularly in this era of rapid population growth, environmental degradation and climate change leading to diverse pattern of hydrological extremes and stresses in different parts of the world. As mentioned, since the emergence of human race, water has played a key role in its survival. In pre-historic times, human settlements were situated along water bodies or near to a water source for their safety and sustenance. Awareness about proper management of water and its available sources came after Neolithic times when humans started exploiting various sources of water like lakes and streams for their cultivation and transportation.

Archaeological evidence suggests that water management was one of the key aspects of town planning in Indus Valley Civilization and Chalcolithic periods. For instance, one of the Chalcolithic site, Inamgaon in the Deccan have yielded vital evidences regarding irrigation and water supply. Kalibangan in Ganganagar, Rajasthan have evidence of ancient ploughed field that points towards the existence of a well-functioning irrigation system in the region (ibid. Chakravarty et al. 2006). Majority of civilizations in past have disappeared due to scarcity of water either due to drying up of nearby water sources or perennial rivers. Archaeology further provides numerous examples of hydraulic technology in ancient India. Some of the important evidences include: gradually narrowing terraces for water conservation water at pre-Harappan sites; an inlet channel (with spillways and stone anchors) that connects a trapezoid dock, with a river in Lothal, a Harappan city dating back to 3rd millennium BC; underground drains with joined steps, tortoise shaped water storage tanks having spill channels and soak pits, constructed and maintained by Iksvaku rulers at Nagarjunakonda, Andhra Pradesh; riverbed marked by several water channels at the site Sirkatti on river Mahanadi, Raipur, Chhattisgarh, used for floating boats or trade logs (6th Century AD); alternatives to large dams in form of kaluvas or feeder canals with sluices (tumus) and small embankments, constructed by Kakatiyasat the site of Ghanpur or Ramappa (2006).

Traditional systems of water management in ancient times were further sustained by a planned regime that includes systematic exploration of water bodies, upgradation of hydraulic technologies and their legal regulation. Their detailed description is found in ancient texts like Atharvaveda, Arthasastra and Manusmriti. In Arthasastra, private tanks, neglected for more than five years are described to be taken over by the state. It also prescribes reward and penalty for individuals or groups in form of tax exemption, monetary compensation, to ensure individual and community participation in construction, repair and

renovation of local water bodies. Any damage to irrigation works was considered a crime as serious as foeticide and was deemed punishable (Shamashastri 1967).

Traditional methods of water management in India-harvesting, conservation & irrigation Traditional societies were eco-centric and had reverential attitudes towards Mother Nature. They consciously cared for her through accumulated pragmatic knowledge of geology and hydrology. Most of the forts, palaces and temples found across India had their own system of water harvesting and water storage in form of cisterns (waterproof tanks), ponds and wells, some of them are still in use today. Houses in various parts of India still practice traditional methods of rooftop rainwater harvesting in which an underground network of baked earthen pipes and tunnels transports the collected rainwater to distant places. Some of the important traditional ways of water harvesting, conservation and irrigation across India were:

Water temples of India or Step wells

These are also known as baoris or vavis, found in arid areas of India. They ensured water supply during the period of drought. The history of this water architecture can be traced back to as early as 3rd century BC. During this time, simple pits in sandy soil were been excavated for reaching the water tables. By eleventh century AD, the stepped wells evolved as significant piece of architecture and were largely represented by multi-storied, intricately carved structures resembling big temples. An important architectural genius in this regard is Rani-ki-Vav (the Queen's Well) that was built in 11th century AD, along the banks of river Saraswathi River in Patan, Gujarat (Renganathan 2020). Adalaj-Vav near Ahmedabad and Agrasen ki Baoli in Delhi are other popular step-wells.

Agrasen ki Baoli, Delhi a step-well
Image Source:wikimedia1

Rejwani, Beris and Johads of Rajasthan

It is a rain water harvesting system in which rain water is harvested by building tanks where it percolates through the sand particles and settles on the outer layers of gypsum. It is further brought to use by a complex capillary system known as Beris. They are shallow sweet-water community well built by banjaras. It holds water for a longer time by preventing rainwater from percolating downwards and allows negligible evaporation (Rao 2015).

Johads are curved earthen dams (crescent-shaped) that restrict the flow of rainwater and allow it to percolate down into the sand/soil to recharge underground aquifers. In older times, the Johad system was self-sustaining: The king had the responsibility of building and maintaining Johads and also protecting forests from encroachment. In turn the villagers used to pay him a share of their crops and stuck to sensible crops for the region. The king was also benefitted in getting hunting opportunities in the protected forests. This community equilibrium of Johads, forests and choice of crops was disturbed during the Second World War when British pressurised Indians to provide timber for their war efforts. As a result, deforestation occurred and rain carried away the top layer of soil and dumped it in the Johads thus silting them up. Due to malfunctioning Johads, ground water levels began to fall. Above this widespread use of tube wells added to the woes until finally, well after well began to run dry (Ramesh 2017).

Johads-a low tech alternative to massive dams
Image Source: www.firstpost.com

Percolation-cum-storage tanks

Sringaverapura near Allahabad (Uttar Pradesh) is one of the finest examples of hydraulic engineering practiced by our ancestors. It dates back to the end of the 1st century B C. This site had three percolation-cum-storage water tanks, fed by an 11 meters wide and 5 meters deep canal. This canal was used to transport floodwaters from river Ganga. Canal water flows into a silting chamber where the dirt is settled down. From here the cleaned water was directed towards a big brick lined tank. After that second phase of cleaning was done by sending water into another tank via a stepped inlet and from there the doubly cleaned water was sent into a large circular tank which had an inbuilt staircase. A large low head dam, which had several

Ancient Excavated Site, Sringaverapura
Image Source: Google images[2]

spill channels, a crest, and a terminal exit, channelled the excess tank water back into the river Ganga (CPREEC "n.d.").

Naula
Image Source: im.indiatimes.in[3]

Naulas

Naulas, popularly known as water temples of Kumaon Himalayas, were built in 7th century AD during Katyuri and Chand dynasty. These small tanks are meant to store run-off hill water. They are best examples of dry-masonry, stone architecture along with art and science of purifying water. Naulas were built around a water stream by digging a hole to harvest its flowing water. Later, this site is enveloped by four stonewalls and a roof for protection. Naulas outer structure resembles a temple, and most of them housed God's idols, carvings, and religious sculptures. Trees like madeera, banj are planted near Naulas to boost water accumulation. Naulas were uniquely designed to fit local hill culture, climatic conditions and surrounding vegetation (Singh 2018).

http://www.ecoideaz.com/expert-corner/water-conservation-methods-india

Katta

It is a temporary structure that can be built by binding mud with number of loose stones. Katta helps in conservation of water and is usually constructed across river streams to decelerate the flow of water. It also acts as storage tank which can be used during dry months. The stored water also helps in recharging the water table as a result of seepage. In coastal regions, such bunds restrict the flow of fresh water into the sea (Shah 2017).

Jhalara
Image Source: The Times of India

Jhalaras

These are stepwells, rectangular in shape and have tiered steps on either 3 or 4 sides. Jhalaras collect the subterranean water seepage of an upstream reservoir or a pond or lake. In ancient times, unrestricted water supply was needed during religious rites, royal ceremonies and other community usage, it was ensured through construction of stepwells or Jhalaras. Presently, Jodhpur has eight such stepwells, the oldest being the Mahamandir Jhalara that dates back to 1660 AD (Shah 2017).

Khadin
Image Source: thebetterIndia.com[4]

Khadins

In 15th century, the Paliwal Brahmin community of town Jaisalmer firstly designed this system of irrigation with an uncanny similarity with the irrigation methods practiced by the people of Ur (presently Iraq) around 4,500 BC. Amla Ruia, also known as 'Water Mother', revived traditional water harvesting methods of building traditional check dams, also known as 'Khadins'. These check dams are more cost efficient and help in storing the rainwater by avoiding the surface run-off and also recharges water table (Faridi 2013).

Ahar and Pyne system
Image Source: slidesharecdn.com[5]

Virdas

They are shallow wells dug in low depressions called jheels (tanks) by the nomadic Maldharis. Virdas are found mainly in Banni grasslands, a part of the Great Rann of Kutch in Gujarat. Constructed with the indigenous knowledge about the undulating topography of the region and studying the flow of water during the monsoon, Virdas harvest rainwater for future use. The potable freshwater remains separated from unpotable salt water because of the difference in their density (Agrawal 1995).

Mauryan technology of Ahars and Pynes (water reservoirs & diversion channels)

This ancient Mauryan engineering marvel was used as a system of irrigation.

Through this technique, water was brought back to the difficult and undulating terrain of Magadh. It irrigated fields and fed India's most ancient and glorious Magadh empire. It is a diversion-cum-storage technique. Ahars are rectangular earth filled storage structures with three sided embankments. They store harvested river water while Pynes are artificially constructed channels for transporting excess river water to Ahars during rainy season. This technique helped in mitigating devastating effects of floods and replenished underground water (Dhiman and Gupta 2011).

Bhandara (Check-dam)
Image Source: India water portal[6]

Bhandara Phad

It is an old, community-managed system of irrigation (phad) which is many centuries old. In this system bhandhara or check dam is built across a river, from which many water canals or kalvas are cut to carry river water into the fields within the phad (agricultural block). Sandams or exits are made to ensure that the excess amount of water is removed from the kalavas (branching canals) via distributaries and field channels. Currently, Phadsystem of irrigation is being operated on 3 rivers in the Tapi basin Panjhra, Mosam and Aram, which are situated in the Dhule and Nasik districts of Maharashtra (Pal 2016).

Panam Keni
Image Source: thebetterindia.com[7]

Panam Keni

Panam Keni is a special well, build to store water by the Kuruma tribe of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. They are known to be earliest inhabitants of the Western Ghats. Stems of toddy palms are soaked for a considerable period of time so that only their harder outer part remains. This part is then made into a wooden cylinder. These toddy palm cylinders are then immersed deep into the groundwater springs in nearby fields and forests. The water is collected into small wells built around these cylinders to get have abundant water supply even in hottest months (Pal 2016).

Kuhls of Himachal

Kuhl is a traditional system of irrigation in lower belts of Himachal. In this system water is diverted from the natural flowing streams to irrigate more upstream land. Besides, irrigation water is also directed to run the floor mills in hilly terrains. The construction, operation and maintenance of Kuhls is done by Kolis-a traditional caste in Himachal Pradesh (Pal 2016).

Kuhl carrying glacial melt to the fields.
Image Source: thebetterIndia.com[8]

Ghul

It is a standard water harvesting technique to tap water from hill slopes and is practiced widely in high altitude Himalayan region (Jammu, Himachal Pradesh and Northern Uttaranchal). It is constructed by making a cut in the stream and carries around 15-100 litres of water/ sec. (Bhattacharya 2015).

Bamboo drip irrigation
Image Source: cpreecenvis.nic.in[9]

Bamboo drip irrigation system of Meghalaya

Practiced in hilly areas and innovated by tribes of north eastern states especially Khasi and Jaintia tribes. Since, construction of ground channels is very difficult in sloppy and stony terrain; a network of channels is made of bamboo pipes of various diameters (for flow control) that allow the downward flow of water by gravity. It is cost effective, lasts for around three years, requires less maintenance and does not pollute like plastic counterparts as the bamboo rots and decomposes to become nutrient-rich soil (Shah 2017).

Dongs

These are ponds constructed by the Bodo tribe to harvest water for farm irrigation. Water is lifted from the ponds and distributed into the fields by an instrument called lahoni. These are individually owned ponds with no community involvement (Dhiman and Gupta 2011).

Garh and Dara

Prevalent in Assam, Garh is like big nala with big embankments on both the sides. It is built to channelize river water to the agricultural field. Daras are small embankments in paddy fields where rain water is stored for cultivation(Bhattacharya 2015).

Taj Bawadi, Bijapur (Vijaypura).
Image Source: https://3.bp.blogspot.com[10]

Bawadis of Karnataka

Bawadis are historical open wells of 16th and 17th century built around 500 years ago by the rulers of Adil Shahi dynasty (year 1490-1686). These are huge open wells constructed with steps or without steps for storing large amounts of rainwater (Rozindar 2017).

Kalyani filled with weeds in the vicinity of Devanahalli Fort near Bengaluru
Image Source: http://www.rainwaterharvesting.org

Kalyani

In traditional concept of Kalyani, water structures were digged out at strategic locations. This helped in avoiding construction of multiple check dams in rocky terrains and upstream communities. A close network of water bodies such as ponds were constructed along the contour lines that allowed unrestricted access to water and a good soil moisture regime (Malkar "n.d.").

Temple Tank, Chidambaram Temple, Tamil Nadu
Image Source: Navrang India[11]

Eri and Kulams of Tamil Nadu

Eris is a system of thousands of broad irrigation tanks constructed around 1500 years ago (6th to the 10th century A.D., Pallavas dynasty). These tanks not only recharged the ground water table after the monsoon rains but alsowere an important source for drinking water and irrigation activities. About one-third of the cultivable area

in Tamil Nadu is irrigated by Eris (tanks) (Agarwal and Narain 1997). Eris also helped in maintaining ecological harmony by acting as flood-control systems, prevented soil erosion and wastage of runoff during heavy rainfall (Bhalge and Bhavsar 2007). Kulamsor Kuttais (temple tanks) are masonry made, water harnessing small ponds close to a temple premises, used mainly by the priests for various temple purposes (Agarwal and Narain 1997).

Zabo or Ruzasysem

It means 'impounding run-off', widely practiced in Nagaland, this system combines water conservation with forestry, agriculture and animal care and promotes soil management, environmental protection and sustainable water management. The zabo system comprises of forest land as a catchment area, ponds for water harvesting, cattle sheds and agricultural lands at lower elevations. The rainwater falling on a high-altitude forest land passes through various terraces and is generally collected in pond-like structures in the middle terraces below which lies the cattle yard. Paddy fields are at the bottom or foothills where the run-off water ultimately meanders into collection systems (Bhattacharya 2015).

Terin Fish Firming
Image Source: www.nezine.com[12]

Terin Fish Firming

Practiced by Apatani tribes of Ziro in the lower Subansiri district of Arunachal Pradesh, it is a wet rice cultivation cum fish farming system practiced in high altitudes of about 1600 m and gentle sloping valleys. This system harvests both ground and surface water for irrigation. This community employs a unique method of fish cultivation in paddy fields where they harvest fish in micro channels present between fields. Same micro channels are also used for irrigating fields along with fish farming. In this way, Apatanis use the same land for growing crops as well as fish (Baruah 2020).

Cheoozihi

In this system the river water is tapped at several places in different elevations by means of channel diversion. These channels are used for faring and irrigation purposes. (Agarwal and Narain 1997).

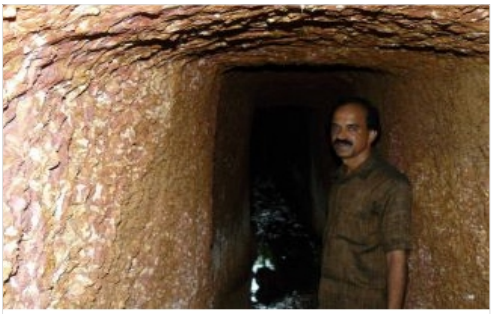
Jackwells

Jackwells are abundant in Anadaman and Nicobar Islands. In this system,

rainwater is flowed into small pits (jackwells) via longitudinally cut bamboos which are kept along the slopes (between the bunds and the storage pits). A series of increasingly bigger jackwells is built by connecting small wells with split bamboos so that water overflows from one lead to the other (Dhiman and Gupta 2011).

Dhamasha System

Dhamasha means fair and proportionate distribution of water. It is one of the oldest water sharing arrangement. In Kolar district of Karnataka, when the water level in the storage tank is low, the dhamasha system is brought into effect and every farmer in the village is given a certain amount of water for irrigating his crop. This system ensures that all farmers receive a minimum quantity of water that is adequate to the crop being grown (Mani 2009).



A 90 year-old Suranga in Sheni, Kerala
Image Source: http://www.indiatogether.org/suranga-environment--3

Surangas

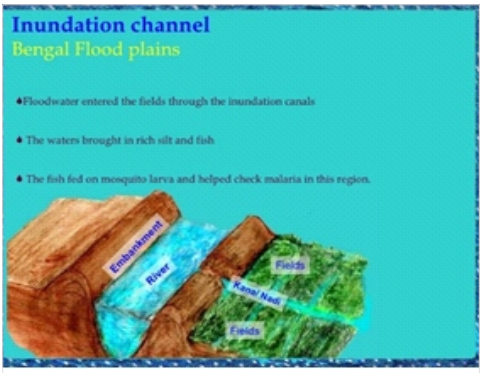
Also, known as horizontal wells mostly found in Kasaragod district of Karnataka as well as Kerala. C. Kunjambu has been credited for reviving these wells which supplied water for centuries. A long tunnel is digged into the loose laterite soil till the original source of groundwater is found. Once reached, small reservoir is than constructed and water is drawn by pipes for storage in outer tanks or wells (Kelkar-Khambet 2012).

Kui or Gond Wells
Image source: The Hindu

Ancient Gond Wells

Also known as 'kui' is a part of traditional water harvesting technique. These wells are mostly found in arid district of Telangana, Asifabad. Kui were dug over a century ago and are perennial in nature and yield water throughout the year, even in high altitude, to the Tribal population residing in this area, particularly Raj Gonds (Singh 2017).

Inundation Channels of Bengal



Inundation Channel
Image Source: www.slideshare.net[13]

It is a component of ancient overflow irrigation system devised to make full use of the abundant water of the Ganges and Damodar floods, and the monsoon rainfall. Inundation canals carry the crest water of the river floods. Irrigation is done by making cuts in the banks of the canals, which are closed when the flood is over. This a controlled system of irrigation that enriches soil, prevents water stagnation and ensures a supply of water to every field (Chhabra and Gai 1981).

The above-mentioned traditional methods of water management illustrate the key features of water wisdom in India which had community ownership, people's participation and collective responsibility towards conservation of water resources. 'Water holds the key to sustainable development. We need it for health, food security and economic progress,'14 states Ban Ki Moon, former Secretary General of the United Nations.

India is still primarily an agrarian economy. Maximum usage of water is in the fields when the farmers start their day in farms in any season. The modern life style has also contributed in growing consumption of water. There have been different patterns of water consumption in urban and rural areas. The metropolitan cities consume almost half of the total water consumption of India. The changing lifestyle has increased water consumption in our daily life whereas and the availability is decreasing. Water is a natural resource and no matter how much development our science and technology has achieved, the need for water cannot be replaced. Earlier civilizations were wise enough who devised means and ways of not only minimizing the uses of water but also preserving it for future. They faced the situation of drought, famine, shortage of food grains also but survived only with the wise knowledge of optimum uses of water resources. The possibility of survival of life on other planets also revolves around the quest for water resources. The recycling of water must become the focus for urban planners. The methods of irrigation and use of available resources have emerged as the necessity of today. The policy framers on one hand and the science and technology on another hand need to address the issue of water management. The end user i.e. the human beings also need to re-learn and revive the management techniques of water. The water resources are to be preserved, recharged and harvested. Water is available either through the rivers or beneath the earth in the form of ground water or from the skies as

rain water. The rivers are facing shortage of water due to overuse and pollution. The level of ground water is going down day by day. The pattern of rain is also changing every year compelling us to look for alternatives. As we are looking for alternative sources of energy, it is not possible in case of water. The only option left with us is to make judicious uses of water and social contribution in preserving our water bodies and resources.

Conclusion

Since antiquity, water has been harvested by our forefathers as they perfected the art of water management by employing their own tools and techniques. Those local techniques of water management are cost-effective, decentralized and majority of them are based on community solidarity. The community ownership of resources gives them the feeling of belongingness. They can be easily guarded from bureaucratic and/or political vagaries. Also, they are less affected by financial uncertainties at the state level. Such frugal and fairly equitable local/traditional water management techniques unlike big dams or water structures can also help in enriching microenvironment and general well-being of the local population by regenerating local flora and fauna. Since, decades Western systems of water management are believed to be modern, efficient and most relevant. Lately, modern systems have started exhibiting some serious limitations and made it amply clear that they are now less than sufficient or inappropriate in tackling current water crisis. Thus, their needs to be a paradigmatic shift in strategies related to water storage and its equitable distribution among masses. In this regard traditional methods of water management must be relooked to devise more effective, sustainable and holistic water management strategies and developmental plans.

Notes

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India-Myanmar Relations: A Strategic Analysis

- Ashok Kumar

ABSTRACT

Despite a promising beginning after independence, bilateral relations between India and Myanmar have had a long history of co-existence and obliviousness. The paper re-examines the developments since the launch of the Look East Policy and points out crucial historical landmarks. The article analysis whether one can expect new directions in the bilateral relationship since the election of new governments in India in 2019 and Myanmar in 2020. While there have been signs of a new foreign policy approach towards its eastern neighbour on the part of India under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, it remains to be seen if the government of Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy will substantially alter Myanmar's course on an international level. This article broadly analyses the factors contributing to India's rising strategic concerns in Myanmar.

Keywords: India, Myanmar, bilateral relations, Act East Policy, ASEAN.

Introduction

India and Myanmar share strong, friendly relations from centuries, connected by a strong past and commonness in spirituality and culture. During the early 1990s, however, a new momentum has been generated in their relationship. In the same period, India ignited its well-known Look East Policy (LEP), symbolising a necessary move in India's strategic vision in its external policy and its position in the international domain. Since then, India and Myanmar's relations have boosted more aggressive initiatives in forging formal agreements and deepening economic, strategic, political, cultural, and people-to-people ties. (Haider, Neog, 2017) Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, came into power in 2014 and continued the commitment to the Look East Policy, re-energised and renamed it 'Act East Policy' since then.

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Recent political developments in Myanmar have led to hopes for ground-breaking democratisation and liberalisation processes (Bünte 2014; Kipgen 2016). Primarily, the landslide victory of the former oppositional National League for Democracy (NLD) under the leadership of Aung San Suu Kyi in general elections in 2015 and 2020, with the subsequent formation of an NLD government, is seen as a progressive turn in the history of Myanmar. With a potentially significant political and economic transformation, there might also be room for a reconsideration of Myanmar's foreign policy, particularly with regard to its giant neighbours, China and India (Gordon 2014: 193194). Likewise, international actors may reassess their strategy towards a changing Myanmar (Singh 2012: 26). In such a transition period, new and unexpected opportunities might open up to the regional stakeholders either readjust or even drastically alter foreign policy doctrines and traditions.

India and Myanmar have utmost significance to each other from strategic angles. Myanmar is located at a critical geo-strategic place in the world. Both nations edge each other with a lengthy 1,643 km land border and a long maritime boundary in the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea. This geographic contiguity has transformed their multi-dimensional relations. Both nations have become strategically essential for one another. Myanmar is often regarded as a land-bridge between India and Southeast Asia and beyond East Asia. It acts as a precursor for India and neighbouring countries in the region. India and Myanmar relationship is integral due to India's Look East Policy, in the view of a more firm and flourishing Asia and encircling influence in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Therefore, Connectivity is essential between India and Myanmar, which is the foundation of India's strategic interests. With the end of military rule in 2011 in Myanmar, India-Myanmar relations witnessed more promises for closer ties in the ongoing journey towards democratisation embarked on economic and political reforms. India-Myanmar partnership has shown growth, therefore, which cannot only be defined by development associations but also by its mutual capacity building.

Historical Overview

The 1990s brought a substantial new orientation in India's foreign policy (Mitra 2011: 183-196). Following the severe economic crisis of 1991, which almost resulted in the total bankruptcy of India, the government of Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao (1991-1996) recalibrated India's foreign relations in order to foster economic development. India's so-called “Look East Policy” focused on Asian markets and an extension of Indian trade relations towards Southeast Asia. Under this new framework, a fresh start in India Myanmar relations was possible (Egreteau 2003: 102). For India, economic and strategic interests now

trumped democratisation and human rights considerations that had previously been widely viewed as crucial to any rapprochement (Haacke, Jurgen 2006: 34). The new policy of "constructive engagement" (Egreteau, 2003: 132) led to the Common Border Trade Agreement of 1994 and a gradual improvement of the bilateral relationship. In 1995, India and Myanmar even conducted a joint military operation against ethnic guerrilla groups along the Mizoram border (Myint-U 2012: 71). When Indian Prime Minister I. K. Gujral (19971998) promulgated the "Good Neighbour Policy," Myanmar's prospects were further enhanced. Now, India was abandoning the principle of strict reciprocity in its foreign relations within its immediate neighbourhood. Instead, India announced that it was willing to invest considerably more while at the same time assuring its respect for the "Panch Sheel," particularly with regard to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring countries. Regional economic cooperation became a cornerstone of India's foreign policy. For Myanmar, this development resulted in its integration into the organisation BIMST-EC (Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand - Economic Cooperation), aiming to establish more effective collaboration in the Bay of Bengal region (Wagner 2014).

Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1998-2004) and the government of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) brought a "real shift in IndiaMyanmar relations" and a much more pragmatic approach to, for instance, military-to-military contacts and economic ties (Lall 2006: 432). In 2000, both nations became founding members of the Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC) group. Two years later, India and Myanmar reopened diplomatic representations and consular offices. Under the subsequent government of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh (2004-2014), bilateral economic relations between India and Myanmar cautiously improved further without, however, resulting in a significant political rapprochement. A rare foreign visit of General Than Shwe to New Delhi in July 2010 led to the signing of many economic agreements, yet fell short of truly bringing relations to a new level (Myint-U 2012: 221, 270 271). When Myanmar's new president, Thein Sein, hosted Prime Minister Singh for a state visit in Naypyidaw in May 2012, it marked the first visit of an Indian prime minister to Myanmar in 25 years. It was widely regarded as "a historic milestone" (Singh 2012: 26). While once again many memorandums and agreements were signed, it seems that the visit was just a hint of the more significant shifts to come.

Given the change of government in India in 2014, there is an opportunity for a much more fundamental transformation or even a completely fresh start in relations between India and Myanmar. Particularly the proclamation of India's new "Act East Policy" signals a significant shift from its former "Look East"

approach towards a more proactive stance. According to critical voices in India, such a reorientation is much needed since India's relatively passive and self-sufficient foreign policy towards Myanmar has been marred by ineffectiveness, especially in the economic realm. Former Indian ambassador to Myanmar Gopalapuram Parthasarathy writes, "We would be less than honest if we did not admit that in project and investment cooperation, our record has been tardy" (Parthasarathy 2014). Often, however, it is not the primary intention but the protracted and incomplete realisation of arduously agreed-upon plans and projects that is widely criticised. Hence, there is not only much room for improvement but a severe need for action if India does not want to squander the opportunities for better and mutually beneficial relations between India and Myanmar.

Geo-strategic Situation of Myanmar

Myanmar's geo-strategic situation is at the intersection of Southeast Asia, East Asia, and South Asia, which allows it to function as a golden land bridge between India and prospering economies in Southeast Asia and East Asia. Myanmar shares its international border with India (1,643 km) and Bangladesh (193 km) in the west, with China (2,185 km) in the north, with Thailand (1,800 km) and Laos (235 km) in the east. The maritime border (1,930 km) along the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea provides Myanmar with access to the Indian Ocean. It also occupies a critical geo-strategic position, which is often perceived to be a buffer state between the two Asian jumbos India and China, who share a complicated relationship, with elements of cooperation and competition in their engagements, especially in the Asian region. (Bhattacharya and Chakraborty 2011) India needs Myanmar's support to strengthen its geopolitical position in Southeast Asia. Myanmar is a crucial stepping stone in the equation at India's Look (Act) East Policy, which looks forward to developing and expanding political, economic, and security ties with ASEAN. Another reason that adds to the importance of Myanmar is being a member of Mekong-Ganga Cooperation (MGC) and the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), along with Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Nepal. In addition to the initiatives mentioned above both Myanmar and India are a part of the Bangladesh, China, India and Myanmar (BCIM) Economic Corridor.

Strategic Significance of Myanmar

Myanmar being a factor in India's strategic lens, had gone up considerably in the past two decades, especially when India turned its gaze towards eastwards, launching its Look East Policy and recently implemented neighbourhood first policy. It was not by chance that both the strategic shift

and India's Act East Policy engagement with the pro-democracy movement to stepping up the level and scale of relationship with the military regime in Myanmar occurred around the same time in the early 1990s. Myanmar's stance within ASEAN has strengthened progressively. Moreover, India and Myanmar have continued to strive for stronger cooperation and connectivity within several sub-regional structures.

In the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Myanmar is the second-largest land. Myanmar holds an area of 676,578 square km, with a population of 55 million (2019). Myanmar is also a home of officially recognised 135 distinct ethnic groups and Bamar as their dominant ethnic group. The eminently identified ethnic groups are: Burmese/Bamar (68%), Shan (9%), Karen (7%), Rakhine (4%), Chinese (3%), Indian (2%), Mon (2%) and Others (5%). Myanmar uses Burmese as its official language, although few ethnic groups use their ethnic languages in their regions. (Suu Kyi 1991) Although the government of Myanmar declares no official religion, preference is given to Theravada Buddhism, which accounts for 87.9 per cent of the total population, whereas other religions practiced are: Christianity (6.2%), Islam (4.3%), Hinduism (0.5%) and others account 1.1% of the entire population.

Further, it also shares the border with India and Bangladesh in the west, with China in the north, with Thailand and Laos in the east. It has a substantial coastline along the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea, which provides Myanmar access to the Indian Ocean. The junction at which Myanmar lies is an apt bond for India to resonate its interests with prospering economies in South East Asia, East Asia, and South Asia. Myanmar also occupies a critical geo-strategic position which is often perceived to be a buffer state between India and China.

Another factor explaining Myanmar's importance for India has been the economic attractiveness. Myanmar is situated in a region that has been experiencing dynamic economic growth over the past two decades. Myanmar has abundant natural resources like forest, coal, mineral and marine resources, natural gas, and petroleum. Myanmar's vast oil and gas reserves are an attractive resource for India's energy quest. Despite its abundant resources, its exports are still lagging as compared to its neighbours. In Myanmar, approximately 32 per cent of the population lives in poverty, and it is one of the poorest nations in Southeast Asia with a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of US $77 billion (2019), having a 6.2% economic growth rate. However, the country's enormous potential can make itself one of the wealthiest countries of ASEAN. Myanmar is primarily an agricultural economy that is highly dependent on rice cultivation, which alone contributes to nearly 60 per cent of

the nation's export earnings (Yhome 2009). Myanmar is an economically underdeveloped nation, and its economic resources are untapped, and some even unexplored.

India is also looking forward to procuring cooperation in cross-border development projects like oil, gas, power, railway, road, waterways, telecommunication, information technology, education, and training. India and Myanmar have shown rapid growth in trade and commerce in recent years. Today, India is Myanmar's fourth-largest trading partner after China, Thailand and Singapore. A border trade agreement was signed in 1994 between India and Myanmar to enhance economic cooperation; Moreh-Tamu and Zowkhatar-Rhi, are two operational border points. Third and fourth border trade points are planned to be opened at Avakhung-Pansat/Somra and Nampong-Pangs. The bilateral trade between both countries increased significantly from US$ 12.4 million in 1980-1981 to US$ 1.3 billion in 2011-12. The Indian Prime Minister, during his visit to Myanmar in 2012, alluded to the mutually agreed target of doubling the bilateral trade to US$ 3.0 billion by 2015 (Bhatia 2016). India-Myanmar bilateral trade reached up to US$ 2.17 billion for 2016-17, out of which Indian exports constituted US$ 1.11 billion and Indian's imports to US$ 1.06 billion with much scope to reach. This goal has not been achieved, as bilateral trade stagnated at roughly 2 billion USD both in 2014-2015 and in 2015-2016 after reaching a high point at almost 2.2 billion USD in the fiscal year of 2013-2014 (and came closer to this mark again in 2016-2017). Overall, bilateral trade remains below potential.

Table 1: India-Myanmar bilateral trade Volume (Figures in the US $ million)

Year	**2014-2015**	**2015-2016**	**2016-2017**	**2017-2018**	**2018-19**	**2019-20**
EXPORT	773.24	1,070.65	1,107.89	966.19	1205.60	973.89
% Growth	-1.75	38.46	3.48	-12.79	24.78	-19.22
India's Total Export	310,338.48	262,291.09	275,852.43	303,526.16	330,078.09	313,361.04
% Growth	-1.29	-15.48	5.17	10.03	8.75	-5.06
% Share	0.25	0.41	0.40	0.32	0.36	0.31
IMPORT	1,231.54	984.27	1,067.25	639.64	521.49	547.25
% Growth	-11.76	-20.08	8.43	-40.07	-18.47	4.94
India's Total Import	448,033.41	381,007.76	384,357.03	465,580.99	514,078.42	474,709.28

%Growth	-0.48	-14.96	0.88	21.13	10.42	-7.66
%Share	0.27	0.26	0.28	0.14	0.10	0.12
TOTAL TRADE	2,004.78	2,054.92	2,175.14	1,605.84	1,727.10	1,521.13
%Growth	-8.15	2.50	5.85	-26.17	7.55	-11.93
India's Total Trade	758,371.89	643,298.84	660,209.46	769,107.15	844,156.51	788,070.32
%Growth	-0.82	-15.17	2.63	16.49	9.76	-6.64
%Share	0.26	0.32	0.33	0.21	0.20	0.19
TRADE BALANCE	-	86.38	40.64	326.55	684.11	426.64
India's Trade Balance	-137,694.93	-118,716.67	-108,504.60	-162,054.83	-184,000.33	-161,348.24

Source: DGFT, Dept. of Commerce, India

Despite the progress, however, trade with Myanmar still accounts for only 0.19 per cent of India's overall trade (see Table 1). The gains in absolute money volume have not led to a significant increase in the relative share of bilateral trade relations compared to other countries. Trade with Myanmar largely remains an afterthought for much of the Indian economy. There is much room for a further extension in bilateral trade on both sides. It is figured out from the table that bilateral trade has been increasing as it reached US$ 2.17 billion for 2016-17. However, a clumsy decline is also noticed in the following years, especially in 2019-20 as it dropped at US$ 1.5 billion only, due to the quantitative limitation on imports of pulses and beans by India. Myanmar is also the 2nd most significant supplier of pulses and beans to India. India's major exports to Myanmar include steel and iron products, electrical machinery, pharmaceuticals products, machinery and equipment, mineral oil, rubber products, and plastics. (Das 2013) India's import growth has outpaced the growth of its exports.

In order to further extend Indian trade with Southeast Asia, interregional connectivity needs to be improved. After taking power, the government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi immediately declared the issue of connectivity a priority of its foreign policy (Jacob 2014). Of course, Myanmar as a hub and transit country plays a crucial role in this endeavour. The improvement of transportation facilities in Myanmar has been a significant focus of Indian bilateral development cooperation for years. Since 2008, the Indian

government has spent 20 million USD on constructing a trilateral highway linking the Indian state of Manipur with Thailand through Myanmar. The road is co-financed by Thailand and the Asian Development Bank (Yhome 2015: 1230). After continuous delays, it is scheduled to be opened in 2023 (Ramya 2018). Such projects, if completed in time, can also be seen as small steps within the larger framework of establishing a new "Southern Silk Road". An essential part of these considerations is creating a Bangladesh China India Myanmar (BCIM) corridor (Aneja 2014).

Ethnicity and religion may be regarded as the most influential factors in their relationship. A large group of Indian origin people lives in Myanmar (nearly 2% of the total population). To those living in Myanmar and thus exposed to Bamar culture's heartland, it proved that the Buddhist linkage had been the most appealing and lasting bond between the two societies. The International long land boundary between India and Myanmar was formally demarcated on 10th March 1967. The agreement between the two countries remains an artificial line dividing tribes such as the Singphos, Nagas, Kukis, Mizos. These tribes, however, continue to maintain strong linkages with their kin across the international divide. To maintain their age-old ties, a unique arrangement called the Free Movement Regime (FMR) is established; under this arrangement, the tribes can travel up to 16 km along the border without any visa obligations and can reside three days at each side. It has also become a severe problem for both the countries as Kachin Independent Army (KIA), Chin National Front (CNF), National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Khaplang (NSCN-K), National Socialist Council of Nagaland-Isak-Muviah (NSCN-IM) and United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) like groups have been known to have cross-border linkages and safe sanctuaries. (Bhattacharya 2010) India and Myanmar share a 1,643 km long land border, which is largely unfenced. Four of India's politically-sensitive North-eastern states, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, and Arunachal Pradesh, share an international border with Myanmar. On the other side Kachin, Chin, Rakhine states, and the Sagaing region of western Myanmar share this border with India (Singh 2007), facing insurgency-related problems. Due to their ethnic connections, insurgent groups from the Northeast of India not only receive shelter in Myanmar but also have operational bases. (Szalontai 2014) Myanmar is a part of the Golden Triangle including Thailand and Laos though; the border region has been the theatre of criminal activities such as Smuggling, illegal trade in narcotics, fake currency and sources of arms supplies which are severe threats to India's security. India shares the strategic waters of the Bay of Bengal, where the critical area of Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Myanmar's Coco Islands are barely 30 km apart. This geographical proximity between the two countries translated into long-standing trade

relations across land borders and the sea route.

Based on these geographical proximities, India's strategic interests in Myanmar through the Northeast are also pragmatically calculated as:

- India sees Myanmar as a crucial partner in extinguishing the insurgency in northeast India and the development of the northeastern region of India.
- India-Myanmar border is distinctly porous and vulnerable, which needs to be more vigilant to curb the activities of drug and arms traffickers.
- To cater to the situation of Rohingya, who have entered India, through diplomatic channels with Myanmar as the influx of the uncountable number of illegal immigrants poses a security threat to India.
- The corridor for India's 'Act East Policy.'
- A vital energy resource base and
- A significant barrier to the Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean.

The China Factor

Geographically, Myanmar shares its Northeastern area of the border with China. China has a long land border of 2,185 km of its Southwestern province, making a corridor for China to connect itself to the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. China's primary strategy in Myanmar is to adhere to a win-win principle of peaceful cooperation between sovereign countries to provide support for domestic reformist steps, emphasising political stability in Myanmar, and to pursue core strategic and economic goals which envisage Myanmar as a strategic outlet for China to the Indian Ocean thus freeing it from the strategic passiveness of a one-ocean policy. (Yonghong 2014) China's prominent interests in Myanmar can be interpreted in the following briefs;

First strategically, China has been viewing Myanmar as a buffer and security wall in the region. China believes that Myanmar's strategic position may be exploited by foreign aggression to cause a security challenge to China. For instance, during the pre-independence phase, Japan and Britain used Myanmar as a theatre of aggression and posed a threat to China's Southwest. After having Western sanctions and embargoes. China used Myanmar's diplomatic channel to siege the outside forces to safeguard its interests. China was also using Myanmar as a transport corridor during World War II to block the Japanese in Southwest China. Over the period, Japan and the US intentionally exploited Myanmar as bait between India and China to trigger the scuffle for their gains. The United States also stepped up its efforts to build a "C-shaped ring of encirclement" against China. (Bert 2004) Therefore, China intends to maintain excellent and sustainable bilateral relations with Myanmar which can ensure stability and security in China's Southwest frontier and a smooth passage to the

Indian Ocean critical for the successful implementation of the BCIM Economic Corridor initiative and its two-ocean strategy. (Swanstrom 2012) China through its economic and military expansion, is establishing a position that strengthens it vis-à-vis both in India and Southeast Asia, and this even improves its access to the Indian Ocean channel. (Tsin 2014) Accordingly, China is interested in utilising Myanmar as a future springboard to the Indian Ocean. (Lijun 2012) As such, China's predominant security concern is to keep Myanmar from becoming part of the "encirclement of China" policy of the U.S.

Second politically, China has always been playing in favour of Myanmar at the international level. Myanmar and China have adopted different politico-social development patterns from Western world societies. The western world has been criticising Myanmar and China on democracy, freedom, and human rights, among other issues that may bring both countries altogether at each other's support. They are connected by many ethnic minorities who live across the Myanmar-China border. Thus, peace, stability, and harmony have become more significant on borders for both countries. This region has also become prone to cross-border crimes. As an epicenter for drug production and trafficking, this has a severe impact on both the social stability and economic development of China's Southwest region. (Sriniwas 2014) Therefore, both central governments and local bodies need to cooperate effectively to counter this phenomenon.

Third economically, China sees Myanmar as a relevant field for the development of its Southwest region. This safeguards its interests regarding energy security and vital source for natural resources. China requires a safe and stable environment in its Southwest for prosperity in the region. On the other end, Myanmar's Northeast region is in a low and backward state, which is wrecked with ethnic disputes is unfavourable to China's economic development. As some political analysts point out, "China wants what Myanmar has Indian Ocean access and abundant natural resources to support its rise." (Zhiquen 2010) China's 80 per cent oil imports come through the Malacca Strait. Its maritime energy deliveries from the Persian Gulf to SCS are insufficient to have their security applications in the sea. To address these concerns, China has to approach the Indian Ocean to direct passage from its Southwest frontier through Myanmar. Consequently, in June 2013, the China-Myanmar oil and gas pipeline was completed with gas starting to flow to China in October 2013. Furthermore, large market size and precious natural resources produce a boost for economic growth to the Chinese and provide an essential field for industrial transfer and Chinese exports.

Therefore, China efficiently occupied the vacuum built by Western sanctions and provided a platform to Myanmar for its economic and trade cooperation

needs. China primarily focused on infrastructure development concerning businesses and economic cooperation with Myanmar. For instance, the Myitsone dam and Letpadaung copper mines are infrastructure projects constructed and financed by Chinese enterprises and government.

China's foreign policy and strategic considerations are, by and large, regarded on the geographic position of Myanmar. As already stated, Myanmar is strategically an essential spot for China to get an approach to both the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean under its two-ocean strategy. China has an objective to upgrade its naval into a 'Blue Water Navy' by 2030 to safeguard its primary interests in the Indian Ocean Region. This region has vital importance for China as it connects to the Indian Ocean through the Coco Islands of Myanmar. Due to this access, the PLAN would be able to reach the Bay of Bengal by shortening the 3,000 km distance and also reducing the five to six days voyage by not crossing the Strait of Malacca. China has set a possible target in its strategic ambition to transform this region into a regional trade zone with Laos, Thailand, Myanmar and Yunnan. The alleged Chinese station at the Zadetkyi Island on Myanmar's southern end showed China's intuitions about its subsequent maritime aspirations in the Indian Ocean.

Myanmar is perceived to be a game-changer in energy prospects in the sphere. It is a comparatively unexplored natural resources-rich country that has 50 million barrels proven reserves of Crude oil and 283 billion cubic meters proven reserves of Natural Gas accounting for 0.1 per cent of the total world gas reserves. Although it does not contribute enough to regional energy security, Myanmar's gas reserves have the utmost significance. Myanmar is also well aware of its strategic location between China and India. Both desire to be superpowers in the Asia continent. Also, China's thirst for natural wealth in Myanmar has made these resources monetary worth. Thus, Myanmar attracted more incredible income sources. Myanmar sees China as a reliable partner who will implicitly support Myanmar's trade and government which is again crucial for political and economic sustainability.

Conclusion and The Way Forward

India and Myanmar bilateral relations are aspired by national interests, geo-strategic importance, and national security aspects. Both countries share religious, ethnic, cultural, and historic bonds. India's relations with Myanmar are directed by its Act East Policy which has served as an essential foreign policy instrument. Myanmar is India's eastern immediate neighbour who shares a long land border of 1,643 km with the Northeastern region of India and a maritime border of 1,930 km in the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea.

Myanmar is going through a political and fundamental change with an apparent desire to change its foreign policy, opening new avenues for itself and India to pursue their national interests. Myanmar is a potential neighbour to become a suitable transit road for growing trade between India and Southeast Asia. India is focusing on Myanmar prominently to place it in the Act East Policy framework. Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, clearly stated that Myanmar holds a critical position in collaboration with Asian nations under the initiative for ASEAN integration and India's Act East Policy. Besides, Myanmar also has a significant role in the BIMSTEC and is a crucial member of the Mekong Ganga Cooperation initiatives. Myanmar's strategic location provides an opportunity to be the land bridge for India to connect mainland Southeast Asia. This would strengthen the economic growth of Northeast India which remained at the back foot regarding investments and industrial growth due to small-scale connectivity. It is also usually accepted that the poor state of socio-economic development in the Northeast region is the primary root cause of insurgency, which led to alienation among the people who armed themselves and chose insurgency.

Geographic location and abundance of natural resources make Myanmar an indispensable nation, especially for China and India. China is engaged in spreading its presence in Myanmar, as China has become the largest trading partner and investor in Myanmar. China has invested billions of dollars in Myanmar in the infrastructure sector as per its needs. Myanmar is a strategically significant nation for China regarding its string of pearls policy and One Belt One Road Initiative. China initiated projects making ports in Myanmar to make a strategic axis to enjoy the dominance in the Indian Ocean Region. China's increasing influence in Myanmar may have an adverse effect on India's economic and strategic concerns, leading India to launch the Look East Policy in the 1990s. China has always been observing Myanmar through its strategic angle, while India's previous policies mainly focused on human rights and pro-democracy which made India-Myanmar relations stalemate.

Although Soft power is one of the edged weapons in India's arsenal, India being a democratic society having Asian culture and tradition has prominent relevance to endeavours of Myanmar for making and developing a progressive, egalitarian, and prosperous society. India should allow full leverage to a long-term mutual relationship with Myanmar. The essential component for India is to make an extraordinary bridge of opportunity, enabling long-term stable relations with Myanmar safeguarding its national interests and flourishing it, which ultimately would safeguard India's national interests.

A fundamental convergence is in place between India's recognition of

Myanmar's geo-strategic position and Myanmar's quest for an independent and influential nation, along with balancing its relationship with neighbours and other powerful states. Therefore, a whole set of factors that push the two countries towards a stable and cooperative relationship will remain potent and unchanged, despite political changes that may occur in Myanmar in the future. Both nation's governments are obliged to respect the realities and step towards building a strong foundation that has been laid in the past decades, especially since 2011. As the findings of this paper have shown, there is much room for improvement in this regard. From the above perspective, the significant prospects of the relationship are recommended in the following directions.

- India and Myanmar should establish a 'Strategic Partnership.' The scope and contours of the strategic partnership should be aligned through annual high-level summits.
- India needs to recreate its impression as a reluctant power before Myanmar and consider taking bold steps to enhance security and defence cooperation, especially concerning maritime security.
- Recent democratic initiatives to provide capacity-building and training assistance to the Myanmar parliament should be enlarged and sustained.
- There is a substantial gap between the theory of India's Look (Act) East Policy and its practice. This must be addressed to improve its implementation and execution.
- India and Myanmar border region has been the theatre of anti-social activities. Operations against the Indian government by Indian Insurgent Groups using north-western Myanmar as a base or shelter can be countered only by mutual intelligence exchange and security cooperation mechanism.
- Ethnic armed groups of India and Myanmar should be involved in ceasefire agreements by respective governments. The governments must organise a system or programme to pacify the sentiments of an armed group and bring them to continue table talks.
- India has been offered access to the Coco Island for availing surveillance facility by Myanmar. India should avail of this offer by showing their defence power to the small nation so that India can build its market in the region. It is significant for India and Myanmar because both are looking forward to having a sea route trade circuit; between Sittwe and Kolkata.
- Insurgents are using a porous border between India and Myanmar for their operations and hideouts; both countries must take strict actions to have a proper vigil and should install a digital border between them as drug

peddlers also use this area and other criminal activities take place.

- To counter China in Myanmar, India needs to complete its projects timely to get better connectivity with more trade.
- China's initiative of one belt one road is meant to revive ancient trade routes inland and sea route. India needs to engage countries in the Indo-Pacific region, especially the US in balancing China in the region. India's Project Mausam is under dockyard which should be formalised.
- Defence cooperation is the area where ties have a scope for India as Myanmar's large military needs arms and equipment, training, exposure to modern warfare concepts, and counter-insurgency.

As mentioned in this paper, India's difficulties in meeting scheduled dates for completing key bilateral projects have severely damaged India's reputation in Myanmar. Any assistance in order to avoid such complications in the future should be seriously considered. There is a long way to go to make a truly fresh start in IndiaMyanmar relations. While the window of opportunity is certainly wide open, India has to avoid past failures, particularly by ensuring the successful execution of foreign policy initiatives under the "Act East" paradigm. There should be no more "gaps between promise and implementation". All too often, India has damaged its interests with erroneous decisions, thus becoming a "would-be" instead of real great power. For India, it is time to change this perception through a different policy approach and closer collaboration with Myanmar's NLD government.

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Eco-feminism: An Introduction to New Social Feminist Movement

- Rohit Kumar

ABSTRACT

In new social movements- emerged and became prominent after 1960s and 1970s against the new social problems of civil rights, crisis of welfare state, environmental degradation, divisive development projects- eco-feminism has particular contribution in highlighting the deep rooted crisis continuing from the new scientific and philosophical reinterpretation of the nature of western modernity. Eco-feminism, a movement for the emancipation of ecology and woman, holds the view that all problems related to ecological degradation and women's deprivation is caused by the pursuit of modern knowledge process which is an outcome of western renaissance and enlightenment. In second half of the twentieth century new social philosophies, in which post-modernism, environmentalism, ecologism, multiculturism etc., are specific and famous have questioned the whole structure of this modern knowledge but eco-feminism secured a distinct identity in providing new ways of knowing the nature and environment among these. In this article an attempt has been made to identify the dominant beliefs of eco-feminist movement and its solutions to the problems it highlighted and questions it raised.

Key Words: modern-knowledge-process, enlightenment, anthropocentrism, and-rocentrism, epistemology.

Introduction

Eco-feminism is a movement which emerged from the women's practices for the survival of their local environments and their subsistence livings. After

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1970s, as a new social movement it became apparent in academic debates and discourses. Chipko, Love-Canal and Kenya-tree-plantation movement became the bases of this new kind of social movement due to the role of women in leading these movements. Although the modern environmental movement gained its ideological strength from path breaking books like Rachel Carson's Silent Spring which is a book about the uses of pesticides and insecticides and their impact on the environment and different ecological species and Limits to Growth by Meadows which dealt with the need to think and putting limits on modernity's unlimited growth. Eco-feminism, with having new social-environmental concerns relating to the protection of ecological sustainability and women's subsistence added and gave new direction to environmental and ecological concerns. According to eco-feminists' ecology is a feminist issue because of the strong and inherent connection between ecology and women's concern for its survival. Women are domesticated from the ancient times and its examples can be found in the western capitalist patriarchal knowledge according to eco-feminists. Due to the domestication of the women, women are bound to be closer to nature. And now, when their subsistence ethics are connected to nature, the ecological sustainability and survival automatically becomes a feminist issue. Eco-feminist adopted emancipatory approach1 which means ecology must free from the clutches of western capitalist patriarchal knowledge combined with western science and technological knowledge, is oppressive to nature and women because it has formulated with having patriarchal biases. According to eco-feminists ecology is in itself a science and it has its wearable capacities. The environmental movement emerged with a problem solving approach and with this conception that we cannot compromise the so called human needs but simultaneously we have a duty to sustain the development or literally the environment for future generations. Eco-feminists' inception is a subjective one which emerged from women's grassroot experiences of their local environments for their subsistence and ecological sustenance. These may be the women experiences and knowledge but the proposition of this knowledge is universal which means the survival of ecology is not only beneficial for women but for this planet and human civilization altogether. Eco-feminism is against anthropocentrism which is a form of western androcentrism. This paper is an attempt and effort to know and explore the basic assumptions and formulation of eco-feminism, its concepts and its emergence and coherence as a theory. Eco-feminist concerns about excessive ecological exploitation due to modern developmental thinking, its effects on women specifically, and the proposition of a new ethical epistemology is a centre argument of this paper.

Various Strands within Eco-feminism

Eco-feminism has diverse positions as a theory according to the ideological backgrounds of its academicians later which also became one of the reasons for the criticism of eco-feminism and its failure to emerge as a coherent and influential theory. This sometimes creates paradoxes and contradictions within eco-feminist academic discourse. Just as there is not one version of feminism, there also is not one version of eco-feminism. The umbrella term 'eco-feminism' refers to a plurality of positions, some of which are mutually compatible and some of which are not. Since eco-feminism grows out of and reflects different and distinct feminisms (e.g., liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, radical feminism, socialist feminism), eco-feminist positions are as diverse as the feminisms from which they gain their strength and meaning (Warren 2000: 21). But the influential and main differentiation made by its theorist is between the spiritual and political eco-feminism which also covers its central propositions and arguments.

Spiritual or Political Eco-feminism

As women in various movements- ecology, peace, feminist and especially health- rediscovered the interdependence and connectedness of everything, they also rediscovered what was called the spiritual dimension of life- the realization of this interconnectedness was itself sometimes called spirituality. Capitalist and Marxist materialism, both of which saw the achievement of human happiness as basically conditional on the expansion of material goods production, denied or denigrated this dimension. Feminists also began to realize the significance of the 'witch hunts' at the beginning of our modern era in so far as patriarchal science of our technology was developed only after these women (the witches) had been murdered and concomitantly, their knowledge, wisdom and close relationship with nature had been destroyed (Mies and Shiva 1993: 16-17). The ecological relevance of this emphasis on 'spirituality' lies in the rediscovery of the sacredness of life, according to which life on earth can be preserved only if people again begin to perceive all life forms as sacred and respect them as such. This quality is not located in an other-worldly deity, in transcendence, but in everyday life, in our work, the thing that surround us, in our immanence. And from time to time there should be celebrations of this sacredness in rituals, in dance and songs (Mies and Shia: 17-18).

Spiritual eco-feminists were among the first eco-feminists in the United States. However, like eco-feminism generally, there is no one version of spiritual eco-feminism. Spiritual eco-feminists disagree about such basic issues as whether mainstream religious traditions (e.g., Christianity) can be reformed (reconceived, reinterpreted to provide environmentally responsible and

nonsexist practices and theologies; whether any specific environmental practice (e.g. vegetarianism, bans on hunting and animal experimentation, organic farming, population control) is mandated by eco-feminist spirituality; and whether some eco-feminist spiritualities in appropriately mystify and romanticize nature, or co-opt indigenous cultural beliefs and practices. Nonetheless, spiritual eco-feminists agree that earth-based, feminist spiritualities and symbols (such as Gaia and Goddess) are essential to eco-feminism (Warren 2000: 31).

But, in Germany, particularly since the early 1980s this tendency has often been criticized as escapism, as signifying a withdrawal from the political sphere into some kind of dream world, divorced from reality and thus leaving power in the hands of men. But the 'spiritual' feminists argue that theirs is the politics of everyday life, the transformation of fundamental relationships, even if that takes place only in small communities. They consider that this politics is much more effective than countering the power games of men with similar games. In Germany, too this debate has to be seen against the background of the emergence of Greens, who participated in parliamentary politics since 1978. Many feminists joined the Green Party, less out of ecological, than feminists concerns. The Greens, however, were keen to integrate these concerns too into their programmes and politics. The critique of the 'spiritual' stand within the eco-feminist movement is voiced mainly by men and women from the left. This strand is mainly of those socialist and materialist feminists who combine their critique of capitalism with a critique of patriarchy and still cling of some kind of materialist concept of history (Mies and Shiva 1993: 18).

Essentialist-Constructionist Controversy

Essentialism usually refers to the assumption that a subject (for example, a 'women') is constituted by pre-social, innate, unchanging qualities (Carlassare 1994: 221). Eco-feminism thrives on essentialist notions of both women and ecology. Women are such as a unitary, universal species with essential characteristics such as caring sympathy, spirituality and affinity to nature. Women are seen as the panacea for environmental problems precisely because of this affinity and the concern they show for nature (Vasan 2002: 310). Ecology or nature is also essentialzed in this discourse, where it is seen as a universal biological fact. The historic and culturally specific perceptions, understandings, and creation of nature are neglected. A significant amount of literature that has shown nature as a social product in neglected in this zeal to create a prototype of benevolent nature. The violent aspects of natural forces that were threats to primitive societies, and still are a threat to the poorer sections of the society, are conveniently ignored (Varan).

Construction on the other hand, usually refers to the assumption that a subject is constituted by social, historical and cultural contexts that are complex and variable. For social and socialist eco-feminists who wish to transcend traditional stereotypes of women that naturalize their nature in terms of biology, essentialism in cultural eco-feminism poses serious problems. Social eco-feminism, the form of eco-feminism, developed at the institute for social ecology in Vermont, primarily by Chaia Heller, emphasizes that the association of women with nature in western capitalist patriarchy is largely a social (historical and cultural) construction and that the liberation of nature will only come about through revolutionary social change in which systems that feed on human oppression, most notably capitalist patriarchy are replaced by non-hierarchical, non-dominating forms of social organization (Carlassare 1994: 221-222). Carolyn Merchant, environmental historian and eco-feminist, also shares social eco-feminisms constructionist position and belief that revolutionary social change and the overthrow of capitalist patriarchy are required for human liberation and planetary survival (Carlassare: 222).

In Opposition of Western Patriarchal Knowledge

Eco-feminism is a movement, particularly about the women's concern of ecology and its emancipation from the western capitalist patriarchy, especially from modern natural science and rationalism, a creation of western man. As Carolyn merchant demonstrated in her book The Death of Nature (1983), that modern natural science, particularly mechanics and physics, are based above all on the destruction and subordination of nature as a living organism- an indeed an organism understood as female- and at the end of this process nature is considered only as dead raw material, which is dissected into its smallest elements and then recombined by the great (white) engineer into new machines which totally obey his will (Mies 1993: 44).

The modern development project which is a new project of western patriarchy (Shiva 1988: 1) can be seen as a project of modern science and philosophy. Due to the emergence of the knowledge of modern science, science became the tool of fulfilling every human need and the definition of human needs changed with due course of time (emphasis added). The alliance of the scientific knowledge and technological invention2 proved destructive for nature. As Vandana Shiva put it that 'development' was a post-colonial project, a choice for accepting a model of progress in which the entire world remade itself on the model of the colonizing modern west, without having to undergo the subjugation and exploitation that colonialism entailed. The assumption as that western style progress was possible for all. A replication for economic development based on commercialization of resources use for commodity production in the resources use for commodity production in the newly independent countries created the internal colonies (Shiva).

Development was thus reduced to a continuation of the process of colonization; it became an extension of the project of wealth creation in modern western patriarchy's economic vision, which was based on the exploitation or exclusion of women (of the west and won-west), on the exploitation and degradation of nature, and the exploitation and erosion of other cultures (Shiva: 2).

Against Modern Science and Technology

Against Modern Science

Francis Bacon and Descartes have a special place in eco-feminist criticism. Bacon has a permanent importance as the founder of modern inductive method and the pioneer in the attempt at logical systematization of scientific procedure (Rusell 1961: 526). Natural discovery and knowledge of nature was linked in particular by Francis Bacon- a new father of natural science with power. According to Maria Mies it was he who called for the subordination, suppression and even torture of nature, to wrest her secrets from her, analogous to the witch hunts which also took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bacon was not only the inventor of the new empirical method based on experimentation, he also advised the new heroes of natural science to brush aside all the old taboos without a qualm and to expose them as superstitions with which people had hitherto surrounded (Mies 1993: 44).

Second hand Descartes, whose outlook is profoundly affected by the physics and astronomy, considered the founder of modern philosophy (Rusell 1961: 542) and his rationalism which resulted into the creation of mind-body dualism severely criticized by eco-feminists. According to eco-feminists Descartes is the man who established the superiority of mind and thought over body and body is symbolized as nature that has no living force. As Descartes put it,

> There exist no occult forces in stones or plants. There are no amazing or marvelous sympathies or antipathies, in fact there exists nothing in the whole of nature which cannot be explained in terms of purely corporeal causes totally devoid of mind and thought...We could be freed from innumerable maladies, both of body and of mind, and even perhaps from the infirmities of age, if we had sufficient knowledge of their causes and of the remedies provided by nature (Descartes 1993: 104).

Plumwood (1993: 110-111) stated in this regard that in western modernity human realm is treated as one of freedom, whereas the realm of nature is fixed and deterministic, with no capacity for choice. Nature is neutral, indifferent and meaningless with no interests or significance of its own, a mere endless hurrying of particles; any significance or value it might have for humans is an

arbitrary product of human consciousness. Thus mechanistically conceived nature lies open to, indeed invites the imposition of human purposes and treatment as an instrument for the achievement of human satisfactions.

Although, the philosophy of these two thinkers was the beginning of this new thinking but the generations after these thinkers got influenced by this thinking of modern inductive empiricism and Cartesian philosophy. Thinker like John Locke gave little more contribution to this new thinking by his empiricism. His liberal philosophy is totally based upon the possessive character or nature of individual and the subordination of nature3 (Plumwood 1993). Even the new theories of physics, of Newton and of Einstein did not come with change. They are the followers of this suppressive thinking (Capra 1991). The enlightenment rationality became the instrument of this new anthropocentrism which is a form of western androcentrism according to eco-feminists.

Against Modern Technology

Uses of technology from the ancient time remain in the scene in different forms. Ancient technologies were need based and environment friendly technologies. But the modern technology especially in recent times took a different shape and not in harmony with nature and dominated and beneficial for one particular sex according to eco-feminists. Specifically the atomic technology came under heavy attack, particularly after Chernobyl, its exalted genetic engineering and reproduction technology, in company with computer technology (Mies 1993: 174). The growth in weapon industry nowadays is also the result of this scientific technological alliance. Today, the countries of third world, known as the conflict ridden societies, became the supermarket for weapon exporting countries of the so called developed world. Therefore, the advancement in technology at present perceived by eco-feminists, first, as a male project and secondly destructive to humanity and all ecological species because its use is not accountable especially regarding non-human others.

Eco-feminists have special mention of the criticism of reproductive and genetic technologies because these are, according to them, destroying the health of women and the land or planet. For them the development of reproductive technology, both for increasing and decreasing fertility, took place in an ideological climate which makes a sharp distinction between man and nature, culture and nature; and nature is something that must be conquered by white man. The main method of conquest and control is predicated on the principle of selection and elimination, which principally permeates all reproductive technologies. Without selection and elimination, this technology would be quite different, hence, it cannot claim to be neutral; nor is it free from the sexist, racist and ultimately fascist biases in our societies (Mies: 195).

Proposing an Alternative Ethical Epistemology

Epistemology (theory of knowledge) is concerned about the question that 'how we know, which we know'? Modern western epistemology is the outcome of western modernity especially western renaissance and enlightenment project. Western modernity is not only the division between two ages but is separation between two different perceptions of knowledge. Medievalist paradigm of knowledge is dominated by the supernatural or divine forces whereas the modern era is influenced by the positivist or scientific thinking.4 Now the importance of the individual or literally the implication of the knowledge became human-centric. Ancient sophist tradition of Greek time period has been revived by this new tradition of knowledge where the slogan of Protagoras (sophist thinker) 'man is the measure of everything'5 became a working principle.

The paradigm of knowledge in which we are living today and which started with western modernity has been attacked by eco-feminists. According to eco-feminists epistemological concerns are concerns about knowledge and they challenge some trademark western views about knowledge: for example, that knowledge is objective; that the 'knower' is an objective, detached, independent, and rational observer; and that nonhuman nature is a passive object of knowledge (Warren 2000: 33). Vandana Shiva (1988: 28) blamed western reductionist science for the exclusion of other traditions of knowledge and she mentioned that this exclusion is threefold: (i) ontological, in that other properties are just not taken note of, (ii) epistemological, in that other ways of perceiving and knowing are not recognized; and (iii) sociological, in that the non-specialist and non-expert is deprived of the right both to access to knowledge and to judging claims made on its behalf.

Eco-feminist philosopher Lori Gruen builds on the work in feminist philosophy of science in developing an eco-feminist moral epistemology. She argues that eco-feminist theory always grows out of and examines the social context in which moral and epistemological claims are generated. Recognition of the interdependence between science and society, facts and values, reason and emotions, "are the first steps towards any legitimate knowledge" according to her (Warren 2000: 34). Gruen writes,

> Eco-feminists recognize that claims to knowledge are always influenced by the values of the culture in which they are generated. Following the arguments made by feminist philosopher of science, Marxists, cultural critics, and others, eco-feminist believe that facts are theory laden, theories are value laden, and values are molded by historical and philosophical ideologies, social norms, and individual process of categorization (Gruen 2000: 34).

Eco-feminist epistemologies often critique western notion of objectivity and conception of nature as a passive object of study. Probably the most radical critique was initially given by Donna Haraway who blamed that modern western conceptions of objectivity and nature as object are patriarchal ideologies of domination and control. Haraway argued for an alternative, pluralistic, context dependent view of knowledge, what she calls 'situated knowledge' (Warren 2000: 34). Haraway put it that

> Situated knowledge's require that the object of knowledge be pictured as an actor and agent, not as screen or a ground or a resource, never finally as slave to the mater that closes off the dialectic in his unique agency and his authorship of "objective" knowledge… A corollary of the insistence that ethics and politics covertly or overtly provide the bases for objectivity… is granting the status of agent/actor to the objects of the world (Haraway 2000: 34).

Haraway's contention is that where a general knowledge picturizes the object as passive, situated knowledge's requirement is to treat the object as an actor and agent. It establishes the value of object that the object is also an active agent and in the dialectics of agent and object the values and activity of both sides must be considered. This thinking situated some ethics in the base of our knowing and understanding or generally in epistemological process and projects regarding the perception of this physical world and nature. Alternative ethical epistemology of eco-feminism viewed nature as an active subject not a passive object in the mind of analyst. Nature has its wearing capacity and if it will be overburdened than it will lose its regenerative capacity or process. Therefore, for the survival of the planet earth ethical concerns and ways of knowing must be introduced in epistemological projects.

Conclusion

Eco-feminist movement as a new social movement raised some very relevant questions such as ecological sustainability, developmental effects on women, nature and other species of this ecological system, and the relevance of the objectivity of modern knowledge process in a new perspective. Although having a subjective ethical approach it touched some core issues and problems of contemporary knowledge process. The objective, which set or proposed by modern knowledge system, has not been fulfilled yet. Is it the inefficiency of this knowledge process or is it the inefficiency of the governments that we still not reached the desired goals? Heavy industrialization, urbanization and technological advancement are some major parameters of development sought after by every nation-state. But the nature of these parameters and even of the

term 'development', have taken a different and new shape with the passage of time and increasing demands for the fulfillment of these parameters of development, nature has been overburdened. The competition among world nation-states for catching-up-development project, is leading to the harassment and exploitation of remaining natural resources. Some are of the opinion that developed world is establishing its relations with underdeveloped world because they want to extract the resources from their territories. Issues may be any but these practices are leading to new social conflicts and the larger part of the world population is still striving for food or dying from starvation. Poverty, beggary, pauperization and health issues are still the major projects in not all but at least most of the world's nation states agendas, which still are unresolved. The effects of the developmental knowledge in the form of colonization have been faced by the major parts of the world. Science and technology at present are not remained the tools of need fulfillment but became the tools of domination in particular hands. The picture may not be that much simple or clear but reality is that the benefits of science and technology are not evenly divided and not reaching to the needy. Eco-feminism, a new social movement, and part of the feminist movement, identified and presented these social problems in a new context and proposed some ethical solutions in form of need based development, ethical attitude or recognition of different species of nature as a living entities, ethical treatment of nonhuman others and women, there recognition as an active subject not as an object and nature as a mother with limited capacity of fulfilling human or anthropocentric needs, recognition of local understanding of the land and nature or environment. Eco-feminism as new social movement, has proposed some organic practices and its proposed solutions which must be recognized by world nation states and their developmental policy makers. There is an immediate need to change the prevailing developmental strategies of all nation-states in accordance with ecological sustainability.

Notes

1. The difference between environmentalism and ecologism is about their different outlook or approaches to protect the ecology. The former is regarded 'reformist' and 'managerial' by Anthony Giddens and Andrew Dobson and later as revolutionary and with this belief that without changing present values or patterns of production and consumption we can't protect or sustain the ecology (Hay 2002). Where eco-feminist regards the modern development project not beneficial for ecology, women and for the larger section of the developing nations, so there is a need to emancipate ecology from the clutches of modernist understanding development only through large scale production and consumption, environmental movement took only a reformative stance regarding the same.

2. For detailed understanding of this alliance of science and technology and its implications for environment see Rajni Kothari (1989).
3. For detailed consideration of the possessive character of liberal philosophy of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke see C. B. Macpherson in B. N. Ray (1999).
4. August Comte has worked on the human knowledge system and its historical development. He divided human knowledge history into three stages and defined its peculiar characteristics in particular context of that specific stage (Coser 2008).
5. This statement here used in a different perspective from its original meaning which states 'each man is the measure of all things, and that, when men differ, there is no objective truth in virtue of which one is right and the other wrong.

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The Physical Fitness Level of the Selected Men Hockey Teams of Sports Hostel and Non Sports Hostel of Himachal Pradesh : A Comparative Analysis

- Sunil Sen & Sanjay Sharma

ABSTRACT

The aim of the study was to compare the level of Physical fitness of selected men Hockey teams of sports hostel and non-sports hostel of Himachal Pradesh. The researcher undertook null hypothesis to investigate the comparison of level of physical fitness of selected men Hockey teams of sports hostel and non-sports hostel of Himachal Pradesh. 96 male subjects were selected for the present study. 48 subjects were selected from the hostel and rests of 48 were selected randomly from schools. Selective sampling device was used to select the sports hostel subjects and random sampling device was used to select non-sports hostel subjects. Physical Fitness variables were measured by administering AAHPERD Youth Fitness Test. (pull ups, sit ups, shuttle run , standing broad jump, 50 yard dash, 600 yard run / walk). For the purpose of analysis't' test was used to compute significance of differences in variables among two groups. Significance level was judged at 0.01 level of confidence. Results showed that sports hostel subjects are better in strength (pull-ups, sit-ups and standing broad jump), agility (shuttle-run), speed (50 yard dash) and endurance (600 yard run / walk) as compared to non-sports hostel subjects.

Keyword: Physical fitness, Sports Hostel and Non-Sports Hostel.

Introduction

Physical fitness plays an important role in sports. A physically fit player can achieve high goal as soon as possible. Physical fitness has different component

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i.e., cardio-respiratory endurance, speed, strength, flexibility and agility. If any of these components is in imbalance that will affect the performance of the player. Physical fitness is the nucleus of sports. Physical fitness of a player is affected by age, sex, diet and environment. Proper coordination of these factors can lead a player to the peak performance (Pankaj 2008). Fitness program integrated with exercise physiology theory and exercise activities enhance aerobic power, muscle endurance, and fitness related knowledge.

Physical fitness depends on vigorous workouts, adequate rest and relaxation, proper nutrition and good medical care. Physical fitness is the ability of the body to adopt and recover from strenuous exercise. It is alertness without undue fatigue, sufficient energy for unforeseen emergencies. Often people think only of fitness when the term "fitness is used but the above definition implies that one should view physical fitness as only a part of total fitness. A person is considered to be fit for particular task or activity when he can accomplish. It was a reasonable degree of efficiency without undue fatigue and recovery from the effect of exertion.Fitness is necessary for success in almost all walks of life including the games and sports. Without a high level of physical fitness an individual will not be able to endure the stress and strain caused on organism both during practice as well as competition.

A game of hockey involves aerobic power, as the game lasts for 70 minutes, short bursts of running (speed) followed by rapid recovery periods of lower intensity, anaerobic power (short sprints), striking with a hockey stick (power), agility and flexibility to move from one position to another. Skill is also required to dribble the ball with a hockey stick and to be able to slap, hit and flick the ball with accuracy. This requires upper arm strength and hand-eye-co-ordination (Wilsmore Curtis 1992).

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to compare the level of physical fitness of selected men hockey teams of sports hostel and non-sports hostel of Himachal Pradesh.

Materials and Methods

The researcher undertook null hypothesis to investigate the comparison of level of physical fitness of selected men hockey teams of sports hostel and non-sports hostel of Himachal Pradesh. 96 male subjects were selected for the present study. 48 subjects were selected from the hostel and rests of 48 were selected randomly from schools. Selective sampling device was used to select the sports hostel subjects and random sampling device was used to select non-sports hostel subjects. Physical Fitness variables were measured by administering AAHPERD Youth Fitness Test. (pull ups, sit ups, shuttle run, standing broad

jump, 50 yard dash, 600 yard run / walk).For the purpose of analysis't' test was used to compute significance of differences in variables among two groups. Significance level was judged at 0.01 level of confidence.

Table 1: Significance of mean Difference in score of Physical Fitness of Sports Hostel and Non- Sports Hostel Subjects

S. No.	Items	Sports Hostel Hockey Players		Non-Sports Hostel Hockey Players		Mean Difference	S.E.D.	Df.	.
		Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.				
1.	Pull- ups	12.7292	2.5578	7.0000	2.1037	5.7292	.4780	94	11.985*
2.	Sit-ups	38.8542	7.6381	28.8750	8.4668	9.9792	1.6459	94	6.063*
3.	Shuttle -Run	9.3158	.2850	10.1856	.5166	-0.8698	8.515E-02	94	-10.214*
4.	S.B.J.	2.118750	14.3017	198.2500	19.0738	13.6250	3.4410	94	3.960*
5.	50 Yard dash	6.6121	.2019	7.2100	.5053	0.5979	7.854E-02	94	-7.613*
6.	600 yard run / walk	112.8133	12.5887	139.7831	15.4201	26.9698	2.8732	94	-9.387*

"t" value at 0.01 level of confidence is "2.63"t >2.63

According to table -1 the mean value of subject from sports hostel and non-sports hostel of Himachal Pradesh is shown that mean value of pull-ups of sports hostel subjects is 12.7292 and the mean value of pull-ups of non-sports hostel subjects is 7.0000. The mean gain made by sports hostel subjects is 5.7292. The calculated 't'-value is 11.985. When compared with 't'-value 2.63 at 0.01 level of significance for df 94. The calculated 't'-value is greater than the table 't'-value. Therefore calculated 't'-value is statistically significant.

According to table -1the mean value of subject from sports hostel and non-sports hostel of Himachal Pradesh is shown that mean value of sit-ups of sports hostel subjects is 38.8542 and the mean value of sit-ups of non-sports hostel subjects is 28.8750. The mean gain made by sports hostel subjects is 9.9792. The calculated 't'-value is 6.063. When compared with 't'-value 2.63 at 0.01 level of significance for df 94. The calculated 't'-value is greater than the table 't'-value. Therefore calculated 't'-value is statistically significant.

According to table -1the mean value of subject from sports hostel and non-sports hostel of Himachal Pradesh is shown that mean value of shuttle-run of sports hostel subjects is 9,3158 sec. and the mean value of shuttle-run of non-sports hostel subjects is 10.1856 sec. The mean gain made by .8698 sec.Thecalculated 't'-value is 10.214. When compared with 't'-value 2.63 at 0.01 level of significance for df 94. The calculated 't'-value is greater than the table 't'-value. Therefore calculated 't'-value is statistically significant.

According to table -1the mean value of subject from sports hostel and non-sports hostel of Himachal Pradesh is shown that mean value of sit-ups of sports hostel subjects is 38.8542 and the mean value of sit-ups of non-sports hostel subjects is 28.8750. The mean gain made by sports hostel subjects is 9.9792. The calculated 't'-value is 6.063. When compared with 't'-value 2.63 at 0.01 level of significance for df 94. The calculated 't'-value is greater than the table 't'-value. Therefore calculated 't'-value is statistically significant.

According to table -1the mean value of subject from sports hostel and non-sports hostel of Himachal Pradesh is shown that mean value of shuttle-run of sports hostel subjects is 9,3158 sec. and the mean value of shuttle-run of non-sports hostel subjects is 10.1856 sec. The mean gain made by .8698 sec.Thecalculated 't'-value is 10.214. When compared with 't'-value 2.63 at 0.01 level of significance for df 94. The calculated 't'-value is greater than the table 't'-value. Therefore calculated 't'-value is statistically significant.

According to table -1the mean value of subject from sports hostel and non-sports hostel of Himachal Pradesh is shown that mean value of S.B.J. of sports hostel subjects is 211.8750 c.m. and the mean value of S.B.J. of non-sports hostel subjects is 198.2500 c.m. The mean gain made by sports hostel subjects is 13.6250 c.m. The calculated 't'-value is 3.960. When compared with 't'-value 2.63 at 0.01 level of significance for df 94. The calculated 't'-value is greater than the table 't'-value. Therefore calculated 't'-value is statistically significant.

According to table -1the mean value of subject from sports hostel and non-sports hostel of Himachal Pradesh is shown that mean value of 50-yard dash of sports hostel subjects is 6.6121 sec. and the mean value of 50-yard dash of non-sports hostel subjects is 7.210 sec. The mean gain made by 0.5979 sec. The calculated 't'-value is 7.613. When compared with 't'-value 2.63 at 0.01 level of significance for df 94. The calculated 't'-value is greater than the table 't'-value. Therefore calculated 't'-value is statistically significant.

Discussion of Findings

1. On the basis of obtained results the sports hostel subjects are better in strength (pull-ups, sit-ups and standing broad jump) than non-sports hostel subjects. As the sports hostel subjects undergo regular training of game and of physical fitness components that is why they are stronger than non-sports hostel subjects.
2. The sports hostel subjects are better in agility (shuttle-run) than non-sports hostel subjects. As the sports hostel subjects undergo regular training of game and of physical fitness components that is why they have more agility than non-sports hostel subjects.
3. The sports hostel subjects are better in speed (50 yard dash) than non-sports

hostel subjects. As the sports hostel subjects undergo regular training of game and of physical fitness components that is why they are better in speed than non-sports hostel subjects.

4. The sports hostel subjects are better efficient in endurance (600 yard run/ walk) than non-sports hostel subjects. As the sports hostel subjects undergo regular training of game and of physical fitness components that is why they have better endurance than non-sports hostel subjects.

Conclusion

It is evident from the results that the hockey players of sports hostel have more physical fitness (strength, agility, speed and endurance) as compared to non-sports hostel hockey players.

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Practice of Sex-Determination and Sex-Selective Abortion among Women in Himachal Pradesh: A Comparative Study of Kangra and Kullu District

- Laxmi Sindhu

ABSTRACT

Due to the practice of sex-determination and sex-selective abortion child sex ratio has been declining starkly in the country since few decades. The main objective of this study is to find out whether the respondents had sex-determination test, after having the test how many of them thought of abortion and what were the reasons of abortions among ever -married women. This was a comparative study conducted in the rural areas of two districts namely Kullu and Kangra of Himachal Pradesh. This paper is based on data collected through a structured Interview schedule regarding sex-determination test, followed by sex-selective abortion, about the reasons and after effects of abortions among ever-married women, in Himachal Pradesh's two districts namely Kangra and Kullu. A total number of 332 ever-married women in the reproductive age group of 15-49 years, 170 women from Thural Sub-Tehsil of Kangra and 162 from Kullu's Nirmand Tehsil were taken for the study. Simple percentage method was used for analysing the categorical data. In district Kangra a higher number of women have sex-determination test and underwent abortion after having sex-determination test in private hospitals as compared to Kullu district. It indicates that sex-selective abortions are occurring in district Kangra and low child sex ratio is also recorded in district Kangra as compared to Kullu in 2001and 2011 census.

Keywords: Sex-determination, Patriarchy, Son preference, Sex-selective, Child sex-ratio

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Introduction

The practice of sex-determination and sex-selective abortions are the common phenomenon resulting in imbalanced child sex ratio. Sex-selective abortion is the termination of the life of an unborn child on the basis of sex. Due to the prevalence of extreme son preference in some parts of the world today, girls are aborted simply because of their sex or they are female. Sex-selective abortion is a violation of the fundamental rights of women and girls whereby unborn girls are targeted for elimination and women are often pressured by the family, relatives and society to bear a son. The widespread practice of sex-selective abortion in some countries has additionally created serious demographic consequences, causing heavily male-biased sex ratios that will have lasting implications in the years ahead. Millions of women have gone 'missing' due to sex-selective abortion in many parts of the world, including China, India, Vietnam, east Asia, parts of the Balkans, and the Caucasus region of Eurasia, over the past several decades. In many societies extreme son preference has persisted for thousands of years. Due to the induction and wide availability of obstetric ultrasound technology since the late 20th century, however, it is now possible for couples to easily come to know the sex of their child prior to birth. The practice of sex-selective abortion has been widespread in societies where strong son preference is prevalent and where abortion is both accessible and considered socially acceptable. India has been among the countries hardest hit by the sex-selective abortion epidemic. Approximately 15.8 million women have gone 'missing' from annual birth cohorts, since 1990. It is estimated that around 5,50,000 girls gone 'missing' from the birth cohorts every year due to the practice of sex-selective abortion and other forms of pre-natal sex-selection, since 2014. According to 2011 census, child sex- ratio in 06 years of age, in India has gone down to 914 females' per1000 males, the lowest ever since independence (Census 2011).

The Pre□Conception and Pre□Natal DiagnosticTechniques (PC□PNDT) Act formulated in1994, was amended, and effectively implemented in 2002. The Act prohibits sex determination of foetus during pregnancy. The PNDT Act has proven to be a double□edged sword, leading to increased early detection of female foetus, resulting in sex-selective abortion and has also led to an increase in illegal and unsafe abortions. However, enforcement of the law varied by jurisdiction, and due to lax enforcement of the law in much of the country, the sex ratio at birth continued to increase even after the passage of the PNDT Act.

According to the District Level Household Survey□4(20122013) the sex ratio at birth (male per 100 females)in district Kangra was 105. This survey was carried out among married females of rural area of district Kangra, Himachal

Pradesh, to assess their knowledge and attitude toward declining sex ratio and female feticide prevalent in the society. The long nurtured patriarchal society, age□old social customs (such as dowry, funeral rites by son/s), and lack of women□centric economic growth add to the practice of sex-determination and sex-selective abortion, which is resulting in declining child sex-ratio and resulting in worse social implications for the society at large.

Review of Literature

The review of literature throws some light on the various studies carried out in different parts of the country about sex determination, son preference, availability of sex determination technology and also reveals the consequences of gender-based sex selection.

Determinants of Sex-selection

There is a large amount of research available which has examined determinants of sex selection in the different parts of the country. It has been categorically established by the research that birth order is a significant determinant for sex selection. Higher income and education levels are positively correlated with the use of sex selection. However, it is found in the research that these determinants are operating in a context where fertility levels are falling across the country, a small family is the desired norm and is the notion of an ideal sex composition of children. Educated and affluent sections of the society are resorting to sex-determination and gender biased sex selection as a way to plan their families, in such circumstances. Women with higher income and education have the knowledge and resources to access the required technology. The variety of researches shows that 8 to 10 years of education among women may be a risk factor for sex selection (Rutherford and Roy 2003; Jha et al. 2006 and 2011; Subramanian, S. V and Corsi, D.J. 2011). Different studies have also found that with higher socio-economic status, the propensity to use pre-natal sex selective techniques tends to rise. On the Indian Diaspora, a significant number of researches has shown a distinct difference in sex ratios at birth among Indian immigrants and the national Sex Ratio at Birth (SRB) of the countries they migrate to. The literature available on sex determination throws light on the influence of cultural norms and values in determining sex selection even in settings that do not favour it. Even when laws and the policy environment may be promoting gender equality, these studies are significant because they highlight the role of internalised social norms and values which continue exercising significant control over the desired number of children and family size.

Son Preference

There is a bulk of research studies which highlight that son preference is the main cause of gender biased sex selection. By using both quantitative and

qualitative methods the phenomenon of son preference has been widely explored. A large number of sociological research studies argue that son preference itself emanates from patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal practices all of which undermine the value of girls. To secure a worthy groom, the practice of hypergamy prompts payment of high dowry, exogamy and patrilocality translate into daughters having to marry outside the clan and relocating into marital families situated quite far from the natal home. After marriage parents also cease to have rights over their daughters and cannot claim any physical or financial support. In patrilineality, lineage is traced from the male descendants and also becomes a way of organising inheritance of property. Consequently, all these practices contribute to son preference and give rise to a host of other customs and traditions which subordinate women and their families.

Availability of Sex Determination Testing

The main key factor for sex determination test rampant misuse, is its unregulated availability. This is generally known as 'supply side' of the phenomenon. However, in terms of research this dimension has received less attention and has rather been the focus of interventions by activists and programmers. Many studies examining supply have largely focused on the regulation of the Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Prohibition of Sex Selection) Act -PC/PNDT, 2002. Most of these studies built the argument that for gender biased sex selection, unregulated use of ultrasound facilities has been a major contributing factor, which in turn has lead to a skewed child sex- ratio in India. Although, this has been a very significant contribution in understanding declining sex ratio at birth.But the mechanism through which people's access to such technology is growing has not yet been explored adequately. Similarly, the use of Assisted Reproductive Technologies (ART's) such as IVF (in vitro fertilisation) and surrogacy to manipulate the sex of the offspring is also not sufficiently understood. Assisted Reproductive Technologies (ART's) are also very poorly regulated in India and sex selection occurring through this pathway is also seldom regulated.

Consequences of Gender-biased Sex Selection

Gender biased sex selection is affecting women and girls in many ways is an important area of enquiry concerns. Many studies show that the most visible consequence of sex selection has been the shortage of brides and the creation of a male marriage squeeze (that is eligible grooms outnumber eligible brides).

In fact, the marriage squeeze that is experienced in the decades to come has been the subject of most large-scale studies on sex selection. Many studies on the marriage squeeze have pointed out that men from poorer socio-economic

strata and with lower educational status will experience it increasingly. The practice of patrilocality refers to women moving out of their natal home to where their marital home is located and tracing lineage from the male side of the family. It also becomes the basis of organizing inheritance of property.

The practice of marrying 'upwards' into a family that is socially and economically better than one's own is referred as hypergamy and the practice of marrying outside one's clan is known as exogamy. In this way the pool created of unmarried, socially marginalised men could become a threat to public order and peace as they have little stake in social stability. The other major consequences of gender biased sex selection are, such as- increased violations against women and girls, especially sexual harassment and assault and restrictions on their mobility. Many small-scale studies in India have begun examining whether and how the dynamics of marriage are likely to be influenced by a growing shortage of brides(John Mary et al.2008) The study by Ravinder Kaur (2013) have shown that shortage of brides is pushing back the demand for dowry and leading to a greater contribution by men towards marriage expenses. These studies raise questions around whether bride shortage will result in normative changes in several practices related to marriage. Many sociological studies explored the causes as well as consequences of sex selection by using large quantitative data sets.

Data and Methodology

This paper is based on data collected through a structured Interview schedule from Himachal Pradesh's two districts namely Kangraand Kullu, in the year 2011-2012. A total number of 332 ever-married women in the reproductive age group of 15-49 years were taken. These comprises of 170 women from Thural Sub-Tehsil of Kangra and 162 from Kullu's Nirmand Tehsil. They are selected on random basis. The study includes all castes and social groups living in the selected villages of Thural sub-tehsil of Kangra and Nirmand tehsil of Kullu district. In this study, primary data collected through field work by taking household survey, all women respondents were contacted at their place of residence, for the purpose of assessing the practice of sex-determination and sex-selective abortion among the women in Kangra and Kullu districts of Himachal Pradesh. The study incorporated the variables such as-women who had sex determination test, after that they underwent abortion, place of abortion, reasons and after effects of abortion etc., which are the indicator of the prevalence of sex-selective abortion or the problem of female foeticide.

Results and Discussion

The data pertaining to study respondents, at which agency or health facility they had sex-determination test (Table1) indicates that a higher number of women

(36.47 per cent) had sex-determination test in private clinics or private hospitals in Kangra and the number of women was very low(i.e. only 7.40 per cent) in Kullu district.

In both districts only a few number of women had sex-determination test at government hospitals, but the number of women are higher in district Kangra. In district Kangra 56.47 per cent and in Kullu 90.74 per cent respondents' response was negative regarding sex-determination test. The comparative analysis of the data reveals that in Kangra a quite higher number of women reported of having sex-determination test in private health facilities or clinics as compared to Kullu. It is important to mention here that the study by Patel (2007) also indicates that in most of the private hospitals, private clinics, or even in government hospitals, the sex- determination test is conducted in order to find out the sex of the foetus, and thereafter for extermination of the female foetus through induced abortion carriage,(see table-1).

Table 1: Where the Respondent shad Sex-determination Test

Place of Sex-Determination Test	Kangra		Kullu		Total	
	Freq.	%age	Freq.	%age	Freq.	%age
N.A.	96	56.47	147	90.74	243	73.19
Govt. Hospital	12	07.05	03	01.85	15	04.51
Private Doctor/Private Hospitals	62	36.47	12	07.40	74	22.28
Total	170	100.0	162	100.0	332	100.0

The data analysis regarding the abortion after having sex-determination test (S.D.T) (Table-2) reveals that in district Kullu 02.46 per cent and in Kangra 10.58 per cent respondents did not think of abortion after having sex-determination test. In Kangra nearly one-third (32.94 per cent) women, whereas in Kullu district only 6.79% women underwent abortion.

It indicates that in Kangra most of the women have undergone abortion after having sex-determination. It suggests that those who did not think of abortion after undergoing sex-determination test may be carrying male foetus and some of the respondents those who carried their pregnancy also revealed that they delivered male child, see below table-2.

Table 2: Respondents Who Thought of Abortion after Sex-determination Test

Response	Kangra		Kullu		Total	
	Freq.	%age	Freq.	%age	Freq.	%age
N.A	96	56.47	147	90.74	243	73.19
Yes	56	32.94	11	06.79	67	20.18
No	18	10.58	04	02.46	22	06.62
Total	170	100.0	162	100.0	332	100.0

The data of the study respondents, based on place or agency of abortion in (Table- 3) reveals that more than one-fourth (28.82 per cent) of women in Kanga have abortion in private hospitals or clinics whereas in Kullu a far less number of women (04.93 per cent) reported abortion. In both districts a very less numbers of women have abortion in government hospitals. It indicates that women may have sex-determination test in private hospitals or clinics, but for seeking abortion, they are approaching private as well as government hospitals or facilities (see table -3).

Table3: Place of Abortion Govt. Hospital/ Private Clinic/Private Hospitals

Place of Abortion	Kangra		Kullu		Total	
	Freq.	%age	Freq.	%age	Freq.	%age
N.A.	114	67.05	151	93.20	265	79.81
Govt. Hospital	07	04.11	03	01.85	10	03.01
Private Clinic/Private Hospitals	49	28.82	08	04.93	57	17.16
Total	170	100.0	162	100.0	332	100.0

A further analysis of data regarding various techniques of sex-determination (Table-4) indicates that in total, more than half of (52.71 per cent) respondents know about the ultrasound scan. The remaining few number (06.32 per cent) of respondents know about the prevailing myths (such-as to see Apple, Guava, Pumpkin, etc. in dreams, which means to have a boy, and to see Cucumber, Lady finger, Bottle guard etc. means-to have a girl child) regarding the sex determination of the child, and only 02.41 per cent revealed that they use to go to Baba's to receive their blessings to have son. About one-third (38.55 per

cent) women reported that they do not know about sex-determination techniques.

In district Kangra only 11.17 per cent and in Kullu 67.03 per cent of women do not know about diagnostic techniques. The number of women is higher in district Knagra, those who have knowledge of ultrasound scan or sonography as compared to Kullu. In both districts, almost an equal number of women revealed that they know about prevailing myths. In district Knagra only a few number of women reported that they visited 'Babas' and received 'Vibhuti', and gave birth to a male child. It reveals that people still believe in old dogmas or have orthodox thinking in the modern time also.

The comparative analysis of data further indicates that a higher number of women in Kangra have knowledge of modern reproductive technology such as ultrasound scan as compared to Kullu. The respondents in Kangra have higher level of income, education, and have access to sex-selective technology. Therefore, they are having better knowledge and access to different sex-determination techniques and they are also resorting to sex-selective abortion.

Table 4: Knowledge of Different Diagnostic Techniques among Women

Knowledge of Diagnostic Techniques	Kangra		Kullu		Total	
	Freq.	%age	Freq.	%age	Freq.	%age
NA	19	11.17	109	67.03	128	38.55
Ultrasound	133	78.23	42	25.09	175	52.71
Myths	10	05.88	11	06.79	21	06.32
Others	08	04.70	-	-	08	02.41
Total	170	100.0	162	100.0	332	100.0

The data regarding the reasons of induced abortion (Table-5) indicates that in total, little more than one-fifth (21.69 per cent) of respondents have given reasons of induced abortion as son preference followed by 18.97 per cent female foetus and 14.76 per cent believe that women have abortion because of unwanted pregnancy. The rest of the small number of respondents have cited medical complications, and contraceptive failure as reasons of induced abortions (05.12 per cent and 06.33 per cent) respectively.

In district Kangra, higher number of women (32.35%) revealed male child preference as reason of induced abortion, whereas in Kullu only 10.05 per cent

of women consider son preference as the reason. A significantly higher number (more than one-fourth 28.23 per cent) of women in Kangra, considered female foetus as one of the major reason of abortion whereas in Kullu only (09.25per cent women) less than one-tenth agreed to consider female foetus as one of the reason of abortion.

However, in Kullu the number of women is higher (20.04 per cent) who consider unwanted pregnancy as one of the main reasons of induced abortion whereas in Kangra the numbers were only 09.41 per cent. In both districts almost a similar number (04.70 per cent Kangra, in Kullu 05.06) of women are of the opinion that contraceptive failure results in induced abortion.

In district Kangra 2.94 per cent, and in Kullu 09.09 per cent respondents believe that women opt for induced abortion due to medical reasons (such as - abnormal foetus, or if the pregnancy causes danger to mothers' physical health, mental, and emotional health). In district Kangra the number of women is more who consider female foeticide as reason of induced abortion as compared to Kullu also see below table -5.

Table 5: Reasons of Induced Abortion as Reported by Women

Reasons of induced Abortion	Kangra		Kullu		Total	
	Freq.	%age	Freq.	%age	Freq.	%age
N.A	38	22.35	72	44.04	110	33.13
Son Preference	55	32.35	17	10.05	72	21.69
Unwanted Pregnancy	16	09.41	33	20.04	49	14.76
Female Foetus	48	28.23	15	09.25	63	18.97
Contraceptive Failure	08	04.70	09	05.06	17	05.12
Medical Reasons	05	02.94	16	09.09	21	06.33
Total	170	100.0	162	100.0	332	100.0

The comparative analysis of the data reveals that in district Kangra a large majority of respondents consider son preference, and female foeticide as the two main reasons which enforce women to go for induced abortion. It further, indicates that in Kangra a higher number of respondents have sex- selective abortions to beget a son or to get rid of the female foetuses.

Table 6: Knowledge of Different after Effects of Abortion

Knowledge of Different Effects of Abortion	Kangra		Kullu		Total	
	Freq.	%age	Freq.	%age	Freq.	%age
NA	28	16.47	54	33.33	82	24.69
Weakness	39	22.94	30	18.51	69	20.78
Anemia	57	33.52	40	24.69	97	29.21
Irregular Period	13	07.64	12	07.04	25	07.53
Uterus Weakness	03	01.76	09	05.06	12	03.61
Infertility	26	15.29	17	10.05	43	12.95
Infection	02	01.17	-	-	02	00.60
Death	02	01.17	-	-	02	00.60
Total	170	100.0	162	100.0	332	100.0

In Himachal Pradesh 43.00 per cent of women have anaemia. It is high particularly among rural women and women belonging to backward areas or classes (National Family Health Survey-4 2015-16:20).

In this context analysis of data on the type of after effects of abortion, (Table-6) indicates that in total, a good number (29.21 per cent) of the respondents reported anaemia as after effect of abortion followed by 20.78 per cent reported weakness as effect of abortion and only 12.95 per cent informed infertility. The remaining small number of respondents informed about irregular-period due to repeated abortions, uterus weakness and infection and death may occur due to repeated abortions (07.53 per cent, 03.61 per cent, 00.60 per cent) respectively. The rest of one-fourth (24.69 per cent) of the respondents were not aware about the after effects of abortion.

In district Kangra a higher number of women reported anaemia and weakness as after effect of abortion as compared to Kullu. In both districts, almost a similar number of women reported irregular period as effects of abortion. In district Kangra 01.76 per cent and in Kullu 05.06 per cent reported uterus weakness. In Kullu, the number of women are almost double as compared to Kangra, those revealed that they do not know the after effects of abortion on women health. It indicates that in Kangra the maximum number of women were aware about the after effects of abortion.

The comparative analysis of data indicates that in Kangra majority of the respondents consider anaemia and weakness as the after effects of abortion as

compared to Kullu. In Kullu a higher number of respondents do not know the after effects of repeated abortions on women's health. It indicates that due to higher level of income and education majority of women in Kangra district are aware of after effects of abortion as compared to Kullu district.

Conclusion

At the end, it can be concluded that education and income failed to influence the attitude towards girl child, as women were inclined towards Pre-natal Diagnostic Techniques (PNDT) and had subsequent sex-selective abortion in district Kangra, which is causing imbalance in sex-ratio especially in the districts-Kangra,Una and Hamirpur of Himachal Pradesh. These districts fall in the lower parts of Himachal Pradesh and also sharing border with the other state like Punjab. The study reveals that higher social and economic status among women was an important reason for higher rate of sex-determination test followed by sex-selective abortion in district Kangra as compared to in district Kullu. In district Kullu due to illiteracy, low level of education, lack of infrastructure development, health facilities and inaccessibility of health facilities, women in remote areas or interior parts of the state are not aware about Pre-natal Diagnostic Techniques and sex-determination practices. The census of 2001 and 2011 also indicates that in district Kullu child sex-ratio is higher and this district is also in the adjoining of the tribal districts of Kinnaur and Lahaul-Spiti, where matriarchal family structure exists. Therefore, it seems from the study that in district Kangra due to higher literacy rate, higher income, better employment opportunities, women are more aware about sex-determination techniques, opting for sex-determination of the foetus and sex-selective abortions. Although many Govt. and Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are sensitizing the people regarding low sex ratio and consequences of female foeticide and after effects of induced abortion in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh. In district Kangra, majority of the women opened up during the field work, that they are aware of sex-selective techniques and sex-selective abortions are occurring in their area. Social and cultural norms were also quoted as one of the major reason of sex-selective foeticide and desire for a male child in order to achieve the target of desired sex-composition of children and small family norm. Therefore, it is clear that social and cultural norms are the root cause of the problem of sex-selective abortion or female foeticide and the solution also in the change of the social and cultural fabric of the society.

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Conflicts and Conflict Resolution Through Dialogue

- Ashu Pasricha

ABSTRACT

The contemporary world is a world brimming with possibilities and choices (for individuals). At no other time in history so numerous decisions could and must be made by the individual (people). Be that as it may, the modern world is likewise a universe of contending interests, thoughts, values, (world-)views, philosophies, religions and societies a world brimming with clashing interests on all levels, among people and groups of individuals within their social orders, between all areas of social orders just as between economies, countries, states, etc. In the event that we need to describe our contemporary world it would be from multiple points of view more suitable to talk about a 'Clash of Interests' rather than " Clash of Cultures".

What is the purpose behind the expansion in clashes in the current world? Traditional societies are pre-singular societies described by the acknowledgment of one's job throughout everyday life and society, the desire of God, destiny, Karma, predetermination, etc. The Individual and it's interest are taken up by and converged with the higher interests of the community/species, and so on; the individual is disintegrated in and surrenders opposite the collective interest - say God/religion and clan/country/state - addressed by the strict pioneers and the head of state/ruler. The individual didn't vanish in these cultures - it essentially didn't yet arise ever.

Keywords: Conflicts, Conflict Resolution, **A**lternatives, Gandhian Way, Dialogue

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Introduction

The ascent of the idea of the person in European history changed radically the manner in which an ever increasing number of individuals saw the world and themselves within the world and their societies. Today, individuals acknowledge less and less the obligations of family and society however they wish to communicate and show their uniqueness in rivalry to and even on the expense of others and their societies.

With the extension of the "Western" qualities and civilisation through religious mission, colonization, business, science, innovation, training and now basically through the media and mainstream society at the end of the day with what is called today Globalization the desire of the person to show and communicate is changing traditional societies and cultures all over and turns out to be increasingly more the prevailing good example for more youthful ages around the planet.

There are times in the development of humankind when inclination for the strength of the conventional should offer path to the objectives of things to come (and present). Today, it appears to be that we live in such occasions.

Conflicts and alternatives are an integral part of man's existential nature. Going before the industrial revolution, struggle and issues of debate were tended to as town get-togethers, or under the sponsorship of chambers before broad society. Here all people from a local area or society had the occasion to voice their viewpoints or positions on the various issues affecting them. Our social orders are not, now coordinated along these lines and gigantic quantities of our social and political musings, feelings and assumptions have no fields wherein to be imparted. This ends up being particularly irksome, when those viewpoints are not as per the customary, applied statutes that are regular in the lifestyle. These viewpoints routinely become enchanted against the norm, and become limited fairly due to the shortfall of a conversation where they can be tended to.

Conflicts are complex human phenomena: they are neither positive nor negative, neither inevitable nor necessarily disastrous in their consequences. They can be promoters of change and innovation as well as of disruption. The end result of a conflict is in a positive or in a negative direction for those involved in it (willingly or unwillingly), depends on the aims and the commitment to attain such aims regardless of the means employed, by those engaged in it.

Conflict is more generic term then war - a perspective that is in back of the adage that war is just an extension of national policy in other forms. Wars and lesser struggles between nations are in their nature conflicts between organized structures.

'Conflict' has many meanings in everyday life. To some it refers to behaviour or action. But social scientists mean it to refer to the cause of that act as well. That is to say, underlined condition for hostility which is called root conflict is equally, if not more important than the manifestation of the hostility, the behaviour. For example, killing or rape - it may be more correct to consider them as an expression rather than the forms of conflict, acts indicating the existence of say social, economic, cultural, psycho-pathological, gender or personality conflict. There is conflict when a trade union goes on strike or an employer locks out its employees. It is also conflict when two states are at war with one another, and where battlefield events determine their relations. The actions constitute the conflict. If this were all, however, it would mean that a conflict ends once this behaviour ends. Few would agree to this. A cease-fire is not the end of a conflict. Even the cession of verbal statements, non-violent actions, the mobilization of petitions, demonstrations, boycotts and sanctions may only indicate that there is an interlude in the conflict. Actions may resume at some later stage. There may still be dissatisfaction. Obviously, conflict is more than the behaviour of the parties. The word 'conflict' indicates patterns of behaviour.

Conflict of interest stems from a situation of scarcity. Both the parties want the same thing but there is not enough available for each to have what it wants. The situation of scarcity is not only the condition that brings forth conflict. When the interest is intensified to the extent of becoming 'greed', even a situation of 'just enough' would bring forth conflict.

Conflict consists of three components: action, incompatibility and actors. Combining them, we arrive at a complete definition of a conflict as a social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strive to acquire at the same moment in time an available set of scarce resources. A closer look indicates that the parties in an industrial dispute will not cease their actions until there is some movement on the issues which sparked the dispute. The 'issue' refers to the incompatible positions taken by the parties, motivating their actions. This, then, is a deeper understanding of what a conflict is. It contains a severe disagreement between at least two sides, where their demands cannot be met by the same resources at the same time. This is an incompatibility. Positions are incompatible. There is some form of scarcity. If there is an abundance of resources, the demands from the various sides may easily be met. The incompatibility can be solved. If there are limited resources, however, problems will arise. The easy solutions are no longer available and more ingenious ways have to be found. The parties adjust their demands so that there is no longer scarcity, the conflict disappears. The incompatible demands have been handled. Incompatibility appears to be a key to the existence of conflict. If there are no

actions although it is possible for an outsider to point to incompatibilities, there is a latent conflict. Manifest conflict requires both action and incompatibility.

Conflicts bring in its trail indiscriminate assassination and destruction, and an attempt is invariably made to settle disputes by means other than war before finally resorting to it. Therefore, throughout the course of history, all kinds of societal and international actors(from individuals to states) have striven to find a way to deal with their conflicts in order to effectively manage them and, whilst maximizing their gains, to contain their costs. The dispute may be political (non-justiciable) or legal (justiciable). There are, however, various modes of making up the political and legal differences between nations. Such differences may be resolved either by amicable means or by compulsive means, short of war.

Conflict resolution is concerned with processes of removing tensions between states or maintaining them at levels consistent with continued peaceful pursuit by states of their goals (individual or collective). A full description of the processes of conflict resolution within a community would entail a full description of the numerous and complex kinds and degrees of the divisive and common concerns among its members. This statement acknowledges, on the one hand, conflict and even war are by no means an abnormal part of International life.

Eminent Peace researchers Nadar and Todd have broken down conflict situation into three distinct evolutionary phases. First, there is a 'grievance' or 'pre-conflict stage' in which an injustice or grounds for resentment or complaint are perceived by one party. This is followed by what they call the 'conflict stage' where the aggrieved party opts for confrontation and communicates his feelings to the offending party, that is, both parties are now aware of antagonism. Finally, the conflict enters the 'dispute stage' when it becomes public and third parties become involved.

The Conflict Resolution Network of Australia suggests that we should be alert to the possibility of conflict when interpersonal or intergroup relations are accompanied by increasing discomfort, hostile incidents and misunderstandings. If relationships involve tension and repeated crisis, not only are we dealing with a conflict, we may also be facing its escalation towards violence. The following types of conflicts usually lead to fighting and if appropriate intervention does not take place, may escalate into violence.

People and groups seem to fight when they want to:

* achieve or retain exclusive control over something scarce, valuable, or prestigious,

* dictate the agenda for other persons or groups such as to win elections, to exert pressure on the authorities or to exploit a minority group,
* defend themselves or their group against threats to honour, importance or survival,
* preserve or justify the values, beliefs or ideology they uphold,
* get revenge or special compensation for real or imagined past insults, exploitation or suffering as is typical of the behaviour of most long-time victims or victimised groups,
* attract attention to oneself or to an issue that seems neglected.

Gandhian Way

Gandhi's methodology is moral, as he accepts, that ethical degeneration is the underlying driver of all disasters including clashes. So he suggests securing of virtue like honesty, non-violence or love poise, pardoning, non-animosity or invitingness, empathy, leniency and so forth. Truth be told values are the best types of equipment found by individual to get away from different kinds of contention. Explores likewise show that base of all issues perpetually lies in the encroachment of qualities good, strict, profound, financial and political - and moral principles. Undoubtedly clashes are only the representation of the infringement of good laws, non-execution of obligations, carelessness of human qualities, pleasure in opportunity without really focusing on duty and so on. Consequently Gandhi appreciates moral arrangement, which is modest, and single individual can start and embrace the assignment of compromise by drawing in overall attention· Gandhi, an extraordinary political scholar, hence, suggests that governmental issues ought to be a part of ethics· Moral standards should be clung to by lawmakers, ideologues, social activists just as customary resident of the world as there is no splitting line among private and public life.

In India, Gandhi developed procedures to manage four sorts of contention: political, social, economic, and religious. He began fighting social treachery and political mistreatment there through peaceful methods. He accepted that India would be liberated from the British simply through getting back to its own ethical roots and customs. He framed a strategic union with the Indian Muslims and dispatched a program of non-cooperation that included economic boycotts and civil disobedience. He supported for the rights of the Untouchables and asked the Indian public to build up their own economic establishment through such essential exercises as spinning thread, weaving cloth, and refining salt. By acquiring the help of the majority, going on long hunger strikes, and utilizing his sheer power of character. Gandhi made the British to recognize the indecency of their situation as oppressors, and they pulled out willfully.

Gandhi viewed conflict as a chance for oppressed people to acquire empowerment and character. He deliberately picked and prepared pioneers in the principles of nonviolent action. He was focused on finding truth and keeping an open progression of data. Gandhi consistently looked to develop personal relationships with his rivals, since he believed them to be expected accomplices in a quest for reasonable and honest arrangements. For Gandhi, the objective was to additional the interaction of self-acknowledgment for both the British and the Indians.

Gandhi needed to develop a progressive way to deal with political activity and social change. His inventiveness lay in the definition of another method of peaceful non-participation or Satyagraha for social action. He accepted that Satyagraha is a reliable methods for settling all social, political, and economic evils. As a procedure of social action, satyagraha might be applied to determine the accompanying kind of friendly clashes:

- conflict between one individual and another person
- conflict between an individual and a gathering
- conflict between one gathering and another gathering or between two classes
- conflict between a part of the local area and the state
- conflict between one country and another country

Gandhi never viewed all set of experiences as the historical backdrop of class struggle or all social conflicts as on a very basic level adversarial in their temperament. By and by he knew about the class conflicts and needed to determine them or limit them by peaceful methods. Gandhi recognized two territories in which class conflict is more prominent:

- conflict among business people and laborers in industry.
- conflict among property managers and inhabitants in agriculture.

Gandhi's technique for conflict resolution depends on a more noteworthy agreement and love between the two parties engaged with it. He endorsed the trusteeship equation to the rich and the weapon of nonviolent non-cooperation or Satyagraha to poor people and misused to achieve an adjustment in the disposition of the rich. Satyagraha is a technique of action wherein the ideal of adoration would reign in the place of hatred and killing. It depends on truth, works through nonviolence and accomplishes its end by changing over or convincing the rival through self-suffering.

Gandhi had clearly seen this predicament, the oncoming disaster as early as

1909 in his Hind Swaraj. And throughout his life he continued to warn against it showed the way to avert or steer clear of it through his ideas and experiments with truth and non-violence. In Hind Swaraj Gandhi had characterized modern civilization as a 'disease' and a 'nine days' wonder. Earlier in 1927 he had forewarned the 'civilized' west that "a time is coming when those who are in the mad rush today of multiplying their wants….will retrace their steps and say 'what have we done?" Barely two week before his death in January 1948, had Gandhi made the rather prophetic statement, "this (modern) civilization is such that one has only to be patient, and it will be self-destroyed?"

Dialogue (Bose 1962: 8-15) is an interrelated dimension of conflicts, and it can be interpretated in various types. It explains contradictions in thought and crisis in the socio-economic life in terms of the particular contradictory essential relations that generate them (Bottomore 1983). Dialogues can be seen as one methods if not the traditional one of managing clashes. As one well known equation puts it: "insofar as you're talking, you can't be shooting". "What better technique is there of settling a disagreeable issue", so gets another sensible, realistic perception, "than through a genuine trade of perspectives?" "And", says talk morals, "what alternate path is there of finding enduring answers for the various political-cum-moral clashes in an interdependent and pluralistic world, than through "down to earth talk between the affected parties" (Apel 1990).

Dialogue is regularly hailed as a reformist power cultivating mutual understanding and resolving conflicts. Can it truly worry about such a concern? Does Dialogue truly resolve conflicts?

Dialogue is an open-ended communication between conflict parties that is facilitated or moderated by a third party, in order to foster mutual recognition, understanding, empathy and trust. It is differently organized and includes images or "encodements" (symbols) and their interpretations (meanings) transmitted from past generations (traditions), contemporaries, and formed by the individuals themselves (modern). It is constructive engagement between two or more parties to forge a mutually acceptable solution to a problem. It involves informed conversation and communication on a specific issue with the aims of developing mutual trust, forging cooperation, and devising concerted action to address an issue of contention or conflict.

The word dialogue is a combination of the two Greek words: dia, meaning "through," and logos, interpreted as "word or meaning." To engage in dialogue is therefore to engage in making meaning through the spoken/written word. (Maranhao 1990: 276).

Hence dialogue is a speech across, between, or through. Within contemporary

literature there appear to be four conceptions of dialogue (Anderson, Cissna and Arnett 1994).

- Dialogue as a form of human meeting or relationship
- Dialogue as the study of the intricacies of human conversation
- Dialogue as a cultural form of human knowing
- Dialogue as a means of understanding and interpreting text

Dialogue is specific type of conflict intervention strategy. It is grounded in conflict resolution through controlled communication by the conflict parties. Dialogue is an open-ended communication between conflict parties that is facilitated or moderated by a third party, in order to foster mutual recognition, understanding, empathy and trust. The goal of dialogue is usually simply improving interpersonal understanding and trust.

Attributes of Dialogue

According to Anderson (1994) the attributes of dialogue, are seen as multifold. They include:

- immediacy of presence;
- emergent unanticipated consequences;
- recognition of unknown otherness;
- a collaborative orientation;
- genuineness and
- authenticity.

Classification of Dialogue

The new writing focuses on two different ways of classifying dialogues: First, the recognizable proof of ideal kinds of dialogue and, second, the separation of stages as per the typical steps of collaboration and correspondence which comprise a helpful process of dialogue. Jay Rothman (1998) has proposed characterizing ways to deal with dialogue in inter-group conflicts into three or four ideal sorts:

Regardless of whether the commonest type of interchange really justifies the name dialogue is dubious: in a positional dialogue the parties articulate their particular perspectives which may go from varying to oppositely contradict as positions and attitudes that simply require affirmation. As in a parliamentary debate, communication serves principally to score focuses, as one contention is set against the other.

On account of human-relations dialogue the distinctions of assessment on the meaningful issues are consigned to a secondary place and work is rather done at the social level, zeroing in on the reasons for mistaken assumptions and the generalizations which regularly emerge between the parties.

Activist dialogue goes above and beyond. The subjects at issue are arranged and investigated to distinguish shared view, and additionally to investigate how the parties may contain their dispute through joint activity.

The most driven methodology is the problem-solving dialogue, in which the disputants sort out their communication so that they can efficiently work through the substance of their disparities. Where clashes are exceptionally raised, this sort of dialogue will by and large require the presence of a third party as a co-entertainer or undoubtedly as an initiator.

These methodologies are something other than a helpful method of classifying dialogues as per their common types of association. Taken together, they additionally accentuate distinctive yet integral components of managing conflicts through dialogue. In an altered structure, one can likewise conceptualize the various kinds of dialogues as steps in a cycle of improving the nature of interaction and communication between the dialogue partners as appeared in Figure 1. Followers of the Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) Movement have advanced a layout of four stages for reacting to conflicts through communication:

The first stage is concerned about planning the varying perspectives of the different parties as obviously as could be expected under the circumstances, making sure about shared affirmation of these, just as distinguishing the substance of the conflict.

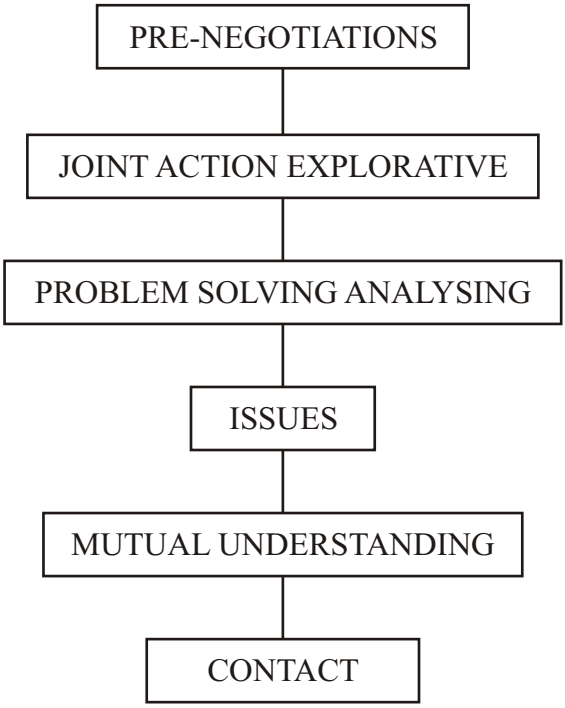
The center in the subsequent stage is on reflection on the basic requirements and fears of the partaking entertainers, their qualities, their encounters of contention and their expectations.

The third stage is given to the recognizable proof of shared interests and comparative requirements and fears. It can likewise be focused on the commencement of useful collaboration on less disputable issues.

In most cases the fourth stage requires a protracted time of planning, and furthermore personal confidence-building. It includes examining approaches and thoughts for tending to the meaningful issues in dispute, considering how these methodologies and thoughts may be actualized and afterward initiating practical measures for their goal.

Figure 1

Levels of Cooperation in Dialogue Processes



Source : McCartncy 1986

On account of extended conflicts, dialogues between contesting groups will regularly be organized as a progression of dialogue occasions, now and then reaching out over a time of numerous months or even years. A few models help to conceptualize constructive developments for such a progression of occasions. One of these spotlights particularly on the personality of the relationship between the parties and the accomplishment of the joint endeavours as the key qualities, in this way deciphering progress as a cycle of relationship building, problem solving and shared activity (McCartney 1986).

- Contact and confidence building;
- Empathy for the opposite side;
- Joint investigation of contention issues;
- Explorative problem solving;
- Joint activities in the likelihood that the dialogue may take care of into authentic dealings or pre- negotiations.

Most dialogues appear as coordinated group encounters of a size that permits up close and personal communication. They are generally led with people beneath top administration level. They are consequently less official negotiations but rather more a type of political preliminaries.

The fundamental thought behind dialogue-based meetings isn't new. It was given its introduction in post-1945 Europe, with regards to the worldview of global intercultural understanding. At that point, the prime target group was youngsters. What drove the undertaking was the conviction that expanded contact and connection between people from various foundations could help kill biases and adversary pictures and make trans-wilderness loyalties. From that point forward, this reasonably naïve, contact speculation 'has been replaced by more refined ideas of intercultural learning'(Otten/Treuheit 1994).

Significance of Dialogue

In the wake of understanding the significance, qualities, order and various phases of dialogue, its essential to comprehend the significance of dialogue for conflict resolution, management and transformation. It is a comprehensive cycle. As the environmental change talks illustrate, dialogue unites an assorted arrangement of voices to make a microcosm of the bigger society. To achieve sustainable change, individuals need to build up a feeling of joint responsibility for measure and become partners in distinguishing new ways to deal with address common challenges.

It involves learning, not simply talking. The process isn't just about lounging around a table, yet changing the manner in which individuals talk, think and speak with each other. In contrast to different types of conversation, dialogue requires self-reflection, soul of request and individual change to be available. Parties ability to address the root causes of a crisis, not simply the indications on a superficial level. For example, the 1979 Camp David concurs among Egypt and Israel may have finished the armed conflict, yet apparently made no subjective "beneath the-waterline" contrast in the connection between their kin. That is, there was peace (perceived as the nonappearance of brutality) however no personal change (which would prompt real and sustainable peace). (The Boston Globe: 2008).

Recognizes one another's humanity. Parties should be eager to show sympathy toward each other, perceive contrasts just as areas of common ground, and exhibit a limit with respect to change. To cultivate this sort of human cooperation, an aware and nonpartisan setting or "safe space" is liked. That is the reason O‟Malley carried Iraqis to Helsinki and not Basra.

Dialogue focuses on a long-term perspective. Other forms of conversation tend to focus on the symptoms rather than the root causes of problems. To find

sustainable solutions requires time and patience. The cycle can be carefully moderate and gradual, enduring somewhere in the range of ten minutes to ten yearsone-off intercessions frequently don't attempt to address profoundly established reasons for struggle or to completely manage complex issues.

Comprehensive internal dialogue isn't hermeneutic (shared comprehension with the other), yet essential (how to win). Full record is taken of the fundamental intricacy of the conflict environment, yet the point is to decide if there can be an intelligent national plan, how the inner solidarity needed to detail and execute it is to be achieved, and what the best coming about technique will be. This is another motivation behind why such dialogue can endure when different types of communication break-down.

Intercultural Dialogue for Transformation/Prevention

In this cycle, the parties change the patterns of conflict. They change the structure and the framework that were helpful for the development of contradiction. The objective is joining, all things considered, and interests into new paradigm. This integrative methodology goes past a simple win□in. The end result is more prominent than the amount of the segment parts. Europe's post World War II time is a genuine illustration of forestalling battle among Germany and France through the coordination of the elements of military industry, in the system of the Steel and Coal European Community. Intercultural exchange moves the focal point of the cycle from accomplishing an end of threats or negative peace to tending to the reasons for underlying and cultural violence or positive peace.

Inter-religious/ inter-faith dialogue

Interreligious dialogue, additionally alluded to as interfaith dialogue, is about individuals of various beliefs coming to a mutual understanding and respect that permits them to live and help out one another notwithstanding their disparities. As such it alludes to helpful, productive and positive communication between individuals of various religious traditions (i.e., "faiths") or potentially profound or humanistic convictions, at both the individual and institutional levels. It is particular from syncretism or alternative religion, in that dialogue frequently includes promoting understanding between various religions or convictions to expand acknowledgment of others, as opposed to blend new convictions.

The World Council of Churches, however recognizes 'interfaith' and ' inter-religious.' To the WCC, 'interreligious' alludes to activity between various Christian categories. In this way, 'interfaith' alludes to association between various faith groups, for example, Muslim and Christian or Hindu and Jew for instance.

Some interfaith dialogues have all the more as of late embraced the name

between inter-belief dialogue, while different defenders have proposed the term between inter-path dialogues, to try not to certainly avoid skeptics, freethinkers, humanists, and others with no religious faith except for with moral or philosophical beliefs, just as to be more precise concerning numerous world religions that don't put a similar accentuation on "faith" as do some Western religions. Essentially, pluralistic rationalistic groups have facilitated public thinking dialogues to rise above all perspectives (regardless of whether religious, cultural or political), named trans belief dialogue.

Interfaith dialogue isn't simply words or talk. It incorporates human connection and connections. It can happen among people and communities and on numerous levels. For instance, between neighbours, in schools and in our work environments - it can happen in both formal and casual settings. Normal life implies that we come into every day contact with one another. Dialogue in this manner, isn't simply something that happens on an official or scholarly level in particular it is important for everyday life during which distinctive social and strict gatherings collaborate with one another straightforwardly, and where strains between them are the most tangible.

Conclusion

The dialogical way to deal with conflict can give disputants the opportunity to both explain their own profoundly held requirements and values and to the next as at any rate incompletely like themselves. It can assist with thawing rivals' suspicions that the other is an interminable foe to be pulverized, best case scenario, or possibly everlastingly obliged and contained. It empowers parties to see that enemies, similar to oneself, are profoundly inspired by shared human necessities and values and that except if these are satisfied, opposition and even viciousness will be sustained.

Along these lines as disputants all the more unmistakably articulate what they mean and investigate together acceptable behaviour reliably, additional opportunities for survey their contention in comprehensive terms arises as an unbending "us/them" split retreats. Parties may start to see that "we" are in this conflict dynamic together and just together would we be able to get out of it. Subsequently foes may really become partners and ultimately companions.

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Understanding Ends and Means in a Gandhian Perspective

- Seema Malhotra

The term "means to an end" refers to any action (the means) carried out for the sole purpose of achieving something else (an end). It can be thought of as a metaphysical distinction as no empirical information differentiates actions that are means to ends from those that are not "ends in themselves". It has been incurred that all actions are means to other ends this is relevant when considering the meaning of life.

Immanuel Kant's theory of morality, the categorical imperative, states that it is immoral to use another person merely as a means to an end and that people must under all circumstances be treated as ends in themselves. This is in contrast to some interpretations of the utilitarian view, which allows for use of individuals as means to benefit the many.

Economics is ultimately a societal system which distinguishes means from ends. Modern economists, such as ecological economists point out that our ultimate means are not labour or artifacts created through human production, but instead are ecological services provided by nature in the form of energy, low-entropy matter, chemical and biological composition as well as habitat stability.

Further, ecological economists and many others discuss the notion of ultimate ends. For instance, does non-human life have intrinsic value? Most argue that the answer is yes, but processes for maximizing this value are perplexing.

A means to an end is also an idiom. It often refers to an activity (such as an undesirable job) that is not as important as the goal you hope to achieve (monetary gains for example). For example, Sam does not have any professional ambitions. For her, work is just a means to an end. One starts something and finishes it, without that something leading into something else, thus it is an end in itself.

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Gandhi on Means & Ends

Most political and social thinkers have been concerned with the desirable (and even necessary) goals of political system or the common and competing ends that men actually desire, and then pragmatically considered the means that are available to rulers and citizens.

Most schools of thought accept a sharp dichotomy between ends and means and discussions about means are always related with their moral implication and property, or about the extent of their theoretical and contingent compatibility with desired ends. It has been observed that in the western tradition there is a tendency of claiming that the end entirely justifies the means moral considerations cannot apply to the means except in relation to ends.

Gandhi, however, rejects the dichotomy between means and ends and goes to the other extreme and states that it is means, rather than ends, that provide the standard of morality. A sharp dichotomy between ends and means, that is deeply embedded in our ethical and political and psychological vocabulary, rooted in rigid European pre-suppositions regarding the very nature of human action. Distinctions have been repeatedly made between immediate and ultimate, short-term and long-term, diverse and common, individual and social, essential and desirable ends, as also between attainable and utopian goals. Discussion about means has not ignored questions about their moral implications and propriety or about the extent of their theoretical and contingent compatibility with desired ends or widely shared values. But despite all these reservations, the dangerous dogma that the end entirely justifies the means is merely an extreme version of the commonly uncriticised belief that moral considerations cannot apply to the means except in relation to ends, or that the latter have a moral priority.

Although we can choose our ends, we do not have much control over it we cannot know in advance whether these ends will be achieved. The only thing that is completely within our control is therefore the means with which we approach our various ends. It is not the end that we can work with but only means. Different means will lead to different ends. This is not to say that both violence and non-violence cannot both lead to the independence of a country, but that the country thus created will be one based on violence if the means are violent and pacific if the means are non-violent. Violence and non-violence cannot be different means to secure the same end; since they are morally different in quality and essence, they must necessarily achieve different results. The progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of the means. “They say 'means are after all means.' I would say, says Gandhi, 'means are after all everything. “As the means so the end.”

A sharp dichotomy between ends and means, that is deeply embedded in our ethical and political and psychological vocabulary, rooted in rigid European

pre-suppositions regarding the very nature of human action. Distinctions have been repeatedly made between immediate and ultimate, short-term and long-term, diverse and common, individual and social, essential and desirable ends, as also between attainable and utopian goals. Discussion about means has not ignored questions about their moral implications and propriety or about the extent of their theoretical and contingent compatibility with desired ends or widely shared values. But despite all these reservations, the dangerous dogma that the end entirely justifies the means is merely an extreme version of the commonly uncriticised belief that moral considerations cannot apply to the means except in relation to ends, or that the latter have a moral priority.

In his moral and political thought, Gandhi gave Satya and Ahimsa the highest importance and said that ahimsa is the means to reach satya, which is the end. The pursuit of satya leads to the recognition of the need for ahimsa to a point where we hold to ahimsa as the immediate, tangible part of the ultimate Truth. Gandhi sometimes also equated satya with ahimsa they are like two sides of a coin, he said for they are intertwined and it is impossible to disentangle and separate them. But at other times, Gandhi clearly distinguished between the two.

Gandhi emphasized mostly on ahimsa for it is within our reach (it is the means) but he constantly maintained that satya is superior to ahimsa, if a comparison must be instituted between inseparable concepts. He, in fact, distinguished between the positive and negative meanings of ahimsa and satya, but regarded ahimsa as negative in relation to satya; this because of his identification of satya with reality the derivation of satya from Sat.

Gandhi's view of the relation between ahimsa and satya is of means and end and yet also of identity. To better understand the relation between these two concept we can formulate three propositions. The pursuit of satya gives us the humility to accept the need for ahimsa in our relationship with other fellow men. That is, satya implies ahimsa. Secondly, the pursuit of ahimsa shows that himsa is rooted in fear which can only be removed by the strength which comes from satya. So, ahimsa presupposes satya. Thirdly, that although satya is higher than ahimsa, ahimsa is in practice more important for it the means, which is the only thing directly available to us. This last proposition also tells us that the degree of ahimsa we display is a measure of the degree of satya we possess.

Therefore the ultimate object of man's life is according to Gandhi is self-realisation. Self-realisation means seeing God face to face, realising absolute Truth, attaining Moksha. Self-realisation to him means realizing the greatest good of all. Not only the ends must be good but the means must also be good in themselves.

Life is an aspiration. Its mission is to strive after perfection which is self-realization. The ideal must not be lowered because of our weaknesses or

imperfections. I am painfully conscious of both in me. The silent cry goes out to Truth to help me to remove these weaknesses and imperfections of mine. I own my fear of snakes, scorpions, lions, tigers, plague-stricken rats and fleas, even as I must own fear of evil-looking robbers and murderers. I know that I ought not to fear any of them. But this is no intellectual feat. It is a feat of the heart. It needs more than a heart of oak to shed all fear except the fear of God. I could not in my weakness ask the people of Borsad not to kill deadly rats and fleas. But I knew that it was a concession to human weakness (Harijan, June 1935: 148).

God-realization is the Supreme End according to Gandhi. He says, "I believe in absolute oneness of God and therefore of humanity. Though we have many bodies we have but one soul. The rays of the sun are many through refraction. But they have the same source." "I believe in Advaita. I believe in the essential unity of a man and for that matter of all lives." There is unity of life in all lives. There is unity of Spirit in all mankind. (Bhattacharyya 1969: 295).

Man's ultimate aim is the realization of God, and all his activities, social, political, religious have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. Gandhi says, "The immediate service of all human beings becomes a necessary part of the endeavour, simply because the only way to find God is to see Him in His creation and be one with it. This can be done by the service of all. I am a part and parcel of the whole, and I cannot find Him apart from humanity." "My creed is service of God and therefore of humanity."

God-realization is the Highest Good. It can be attained through the realization of oneness of life or Spirit of all mankind and sentient creation. God can be realized through service of all mankind. Love and Ahimsa are the only means of God-realization. Purity is essential for realization of God. Gandhi says, "To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself.

Identification with everything that lives is impossible without self- purification. God can never be realized by one who is not pure in heart." Perfect self-control depends upon God's grace. Absolute self-surrender to God is necessary for complete self-control including sex-restraint. Jesus Christ says, "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

They say 'means are after all means'. I would say 'means are after all everything'. As the means so the end. Indeed the Creator has given us control (and that too very limited) over means, non over the end. Realization of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means. There is a proposition that admits of no exception. (Young India, July 1924: 236)

The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree; and there is just the same

inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree. (Gandhi 1952: 39) The end may simply be the preservation of a traditional order, or the recovery of a bygone age of glory, or the ruthless reconstruction of society from the top to secure some spectacular consummation in the future.

Gandhi's view of the means-end relationship may be put in the form of the following statements, which overlap and yet express several distinct ideas: “For me it is enough to know the means. Means and end are convertible terms in my philosophy of life.” (Young India, December 1924) “We have always control over the means but not over the end.” (Tendulkar: 366) “I feel that our progress towards the goal will be in exact proportion to the purity of our means.” (Tendulkar: 256) “They say 'means are after all means'. I would say 'means are after all everything'. As the means so the end” (Harijan, February 1937). The first statement rejects the notion that in our actual conduct we can make a firm and decisive distinction between means and ends. Gandhi's conception of the psychology of human action requires this rejection of a conventional conceptual habit which makes us ascribe to ourselves greater knowledge, and greater assurance, than we actually possess. he second statement asserts a contingent truth about the extent and the limit of our free will, that the individual's capacity to determine what he can do in any specific situation at any given time is much greater than his power of anticipation, prediction and control over the consequences of his actions. The third statement expresses the metaphysical belief in the moral law of karma, under which there is an exact causal connection between the extent of the moral “purity” (detachment and disinterestedness or the degree of moral awareness) of an act and the measure of individual effectiveness in promoting or pursuing and securing a morally worthy end, over a period of time. Clearly, this metaphysical belief cannot be conclusively verified or falsified by evidence. The fourth statement is a practical recommendation that we must be primarily or even wholly concerned with the immediate adoption of what we regard as a morally worthy (i.e. intrinsically justifiable) means. This recommendation may be accepted by those who subscribe to the second statement and it is mandatory for those who share the metaphysical belief implicit in the third statement.

Jacques Maritain on End and Means

Jacques Maritain, regards the problem of End and Means as the basic problem in political philosophy. There are two opposite ways of understanding the “rationalization of political life”. There is the easier way of “technical rationalization” through means external to man, versus the more exacting way of “moral rationalization” through means which are man himself, his freedom and virtue. It is a universal and inviolable axiom for Maritain, an obvious primary

principle, that "means must be proportioned and appropriate to the end, since they are ways to the end and, so to speak, the end itself in its very process of coming into existence. So that applying intrinsically evil means to attain an intrinsically good end is simply nonsense and a blunder." (Martain 1964: 55) If Maritain and Gandhi have no use for the "easier way of technical rationalization" or for piecemeal "social engineering", this is not merely because of their rejection of an utilitarian in favour of an absolutist (or non-naturalistic) ethic, but also because of their daringly unorthodox repudiation of the so-called pragmatist view of politics and the dominant doctrine of "double standards" which requires a sharp separation between the moral consideration applicable to individual conduct and those (if any) regarded as relevant to political action.

Gandhi convinced that an intense concentration upon the task at hand can and must be combined with a degree of detachment, a freedom from anxiety about the future consequences. If we are sure of the "purity" of the means we employ, we shall be led on by faith, before which "all fear and trembling melt away". (Harijan, February 1937) Unconcern with results does not mean that we need not have a clear conception of the end in view. But while the cause has to be just and clear as well as the means, (Tendulkar, Vol.7: 204) it is even more important to recognise that "impure" means must result in an "impure" end, (Harijan, July 1947) that we cannot attain to any truth through untruthful means, that we cannot secure justice through unjust means, or freedom through tyrannical acts, or socialism through enmity and coercion, or enduring peace through war. The man who wields force does not scruple about the means and yet foolishly imagines that this will make no difference to the end he seeks.

Machiavelli on Ends & Means

In 'The Prince' Machiavelli was quite clear that the end the Prince should aim for is the acquisition and holding down of power, the long term stability of the state, the maintenance of order, prosperity and thereby the promotion of the 'greater good'. The states that Machiavelli sought the Prince to emulate were those of ancient Rome or Sparta and in articulating this vision we can see how the individual citizen's (or Prince's role for that matter) is simply to contribute to the ideal of a strong and splendid state. The end for Machiavelli was not riches and glory for the aspiring Prince, nor was it individual freedom or liberty for the populace. In fact it is interesting to note that ancient Rome and Sparta shared another commonality, that of not producing any great art or poetry. Machiavelli's vision was for a political state not a cultural one and as such had he lived in the early 20th Century he might have been in favour of the kind of state promoted by the Nazi's.

Machiavelli acknowledged there existed a plurality of ends he believed that a strong State was the best way of achieving the common good. If totalitarian

states have shown us anything it is that the common good is not achieved by States but by individuals, each of whom is allowed to pursue his or her own ends. Secondly by resorting to any means we are in danger of destroying the end that we aim for. If Machiavelli wanted to live in a warlike state then perhaps the means he prescribes are best because if a Prince were to follow his advice he would not be at peace for long.

Therefore it is not true that the end justifies the means but rather that it is the means which condition the end. Thus the means (bloodshed and violence) conditions the end (political instability). Machiavelli's life lived with virtue conditions a warlike and totalitarian state because there is a direct causal relationship between means and ends.

A quote from the 20th Century Indian philosopher Raghaven N. Iyer who in describing the role of politics put forward a very un-Machiavellian ideal that of "a morally progressive society in which neither the State nor any social organization is allowed to flout with impunity the sacred principle that every man is entitled to his relative truth and no one can claim the right to coerce another, to treat him as a means to his own end."

Gandhi explicitly rejected the doctrine that the end justifies the means, (Tendulkar: 254) and went so far as to assert that a moral means is almost an end in itself because virtue is its own reward. (CWG 1941) The doctrine that the end justifies the means goes back to Kautilya in India and to Machiavelli in the West, and is connected with the notions of self-preservation at all costs and of raison d'etre and in more recent times with the attainment of a secular millennium through revolutionary action. The doctrine was implicit in Killing No Murder, Colonel Sexby's incitement to political assassination published in 1657. This once famous pamphlet argued that tyrants accomplish their end much more by fraud than by force and that if they are not eliminated by force the citizens would be degraded into deceitful, perfidious flatterers. It is not only "lawful" and even glorious to kill a tyrant, but indeed "everything is lawful against him that is lawful against an open enemy, whom every private man hath a right to kill". It is no doubt possible to justify tyrannicide without going so far as to say that a worthy end legitimizes any and every means. The difficulty, however, is that few practitioners would admit to holding to this maxim in an unqualified and unconditional form. It has been argued repeatedly that any means is legitimate that is indispensable at least for internal security or to defend society against its external enemies. The sole reason for restricting the choice of means is expediency rather than principle, prudence rather than (non-utilitarian) morality. It is taken for granted that cunning and force must unite in the exercise of power.

Power may be justified as a means to a higher end but in the attempt to employ any and every means to secure and maintain power it becomes an end itself. The

idea that one is serving some higher entity which rises far above individual life and that one is no longer serving oneself makes one no less indifferent to the morality of the means employed than the open pursuit of naked self-interest. Alternatively, we have the straightforward Machiavellian notion that the individual agent cannot escape the nature he is born with, that as fortune is malicious so virtue must also be malicious when there is no other way open. If virtue is the vital power in men which creates and maintains States, necessity is the causal pressure required to bring the sluggish masses into line with virtue. If there is a moral law, it must be flouted in the practice of politics and this infringement can be justified by the plea of unavoidable necessity. This line of reasoning is commoner than we like to think and is sometimes couched in such specious or emotive language that in moments of crisis many people are hardly aware of the wider implications of a doctrine that they invoke for their special pleading in what seem to be exceptional situations.

Machiavelli never said that power justifies all means to it, but merely that the gaining of power often involves committing some very nasty crimes. A similar defence could also be made on behalf of Kautilya. The important point, however, is not the precise standpoints of Bentham, Machiavelli or Kautilya, but the dangerous uses to which their doctrines could be put. Just as Benthamites, Machiavellians and followers of Kautilya could be charged with ruthlessness (even more than their teachers), so too Gandhians also could be accused of coercive tactics ("nonviolent" only in a very restricted sense) in the pursuit of worthy ends. But it would be much easier to challenge such Gandhians in terms of Gandhi's fundamental tenets than to appeal to the writings of Machiavelli or Bentham against diehard Machiavellians or Benthamite planners.

For Gandhi, the end is satya or truth, which requires no justification, and the means (ahimsa or non-coercion) must be justified not merely with reference to the end but also in itself; every act must be independently justified in terms of the twin absolutes, satya and ahimsa. It is, therefore, not permissible or possible to justify a single act of untruth or violence by appealing to the past or future possession of satya and ahimsa, though no man can wholly avoid a measure of himsa or asatya or claim to possess in their fullness absolute truth and absolute, universal love. Weakness and error are ubiquitous and inescapable, but their justification and rationalization make all the difference to our personal and political integrity. We cannot condone our untruthfulness in the present on the ground that we shall be truthful tomorrow when we are stronger or conditions are more favourable. A violent revolution cannot lead (and, in any case, cannot be justified on the ground that it is expected to lead) to a nonviolent society in the fullness of time. Further, in Gandhi's view it is not sometimes, as Trotsky suggested, but always (under the moral law of karma) that the end changes in

character as a result of the means adopted in its attainment. If the doctrine that the end justifies the means is invoked in the attainment of the good society through a single, violent revolution, it could also be made to justify repression in the aftermath of revolution.

People did not ponder on the fact that the aim itself may cease to be great, if one strives after it only with great energy and without paying much attention to the means. We realised that the means must be worthy of the end. This is an axiom, but an axiom that has been proved through much suffering." Gandhi's way of combating the doctrine that the end justifies the means was by asserting not merely that unworthy means could belittle a great end but also that evil means can never, as a matter of fact, lead to good ends. Like the majority of Russian Populists, Gandhi was horrified by the advocacy of Machiavellian tactics and he thought that no end, however good, could fail to be destroyed by the adoption of monstrous means. His reason for believing this to be wholly and always true was his metaphysical conviction that the whole world is governed by the law of karma, that there is a moral order (rita) at the heart of the cosmos.

It is hardly surprising that Gandhi who even earlier than Benda recognised the betrayal of and alienation from the masses of narrowly based classes of intellectuals and power-seekers, appealed over their heads to the toiling masses to find recruits willing to dedicate themselves to the Constructive Programme and the development of a new social and political ethic.

Gandhi did more than base his view of ends and means on a metaphysical faith in the moral law or his account of the necessary as well as contingent connection between satya and ahimsa, truth and nonviolence, tolerance and civility. He also rejected the moral model underlying the sharp dichotomy between ends and means. Moral life was not for Gandhi mainly a matter of achieving specific objectives, nor was politics like a field game in which a concrete objective is given in advance and known to all. No doubt, he regarded satya as the supreme common end for all men but its content cannot be known in advance. For Gandhi, as for the ancient Greeks, satya refers to the highest human activity rather than an imposed and pre-determined target. He evolved his political and social ethic in terms of a theory of action under which all our thinking and activity can be corrected and justified only by reference to satya and ahimsa, which are good in themselves and not merely the means to a higher good. It is only for the sake of these goods - in order that as much of them as possible may at some time exist - that anyone can be justified in undertaking any social or political activity. They are the raison d'etre of virtue and excellence, the ultimate test of human endeavour, the sole criterion of social progress.

In stating that Gandhi rejected the sharp dichotomy between ends and means, it is obviously not suggested that the distinction is entirely false and useless. Surely,

everyone (including Gandhi) would agree that it is often possible to distinguish between ends and means, and also useful to do so. The distinction is most easily made when we are considering some particular purpose that a man might have in mind before embarking on a specific action. But if, like Bentham, we say that what a man wants is to get or to maximise "happiness" then it becomes much more difficult to make a clear distinction between the end (the greatest happiness) and all the various things said to be means to it. For a man's conception of happiness depends largely upon his desiring the things said to be means to it. It happens to be true that the things usually held up as supreme ends of human endeavour (happiness, freedom, welfare, etc.) are empty notions, apart from the things said to be means to them. We must distinguish between men's goals and their principles, the rules they accept. Sometimes, of course, their goal is to inculcate a principle or to observe it themselves or get others to do so, but they have many other goals. But it seems to be more realistic to think of men as having a variety of goals, some of which matter more than others, than to think of them as having a supreme goal to which all others are subordinate, either as means to it or being willingly sacrificed whenever they conflict with it. The distinction between ends and means becomes misleading and dangerous when we dogmatize that there is a single supreme good or even a fixed hierarchy of goodness.

Conclusion

Gandhi stood for firm rejection of the rigid dichotomy between ends and means and in his extreme moral preoccupation with the means to the extent that they rather than the ends provide the standard of reference. He was led to this position by his early acceptance of satya and ahimsa, truth and nonviolence, as twin moral absolutes and his consistent view of their relationship. To better understand the relation between these two concept we can formulate three propositions. The pursuit of satya gives us the humility to accept the need for ahimsa in our relationship with other fellow men. That is, satya implies ahimsa. Secondly, the pursuit of ahimsa shows that himsa is rooted in fear which can only be removed by the strength which comes from satya. So, ahimsa presupposes satya. Thirdly, that although satya is higher than ahimsa, ahimsa is in practice more important - for it the means, which is the only thing directly available to us. This last proposition also tells us that the degree of ahimsa we display is a measure of the degree of satya we possess.

In Hind Swaraj he wrote that even great men who have been considered religious have committed grievous crimes through the mistaken belief that there is no moral connection or interdependence between the means and the end. We cannot get a rose through planting a noxious weed. "The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the

tree." (Gandhi 1952: 115) It is not as though violence and nonviolence are merely different means to secure the same end. As they are morally different in quality and essence, they must necessarily achieve different results. The customary dichotomy between means and ends originates in, and reinforces, the view that they are two entirely different categories of action and that their relationship is mainly a technical matter to be settled by considering what will be effective and what is possible in a given situation, that the ethical problem of choice requires an initial decision regarding the desired end and the obligatory acceptance of whatever steps seem necessary to secure it or are most likely to do so. Gandhi, however, was led by his metaphysical belief in the "law" of karma - the "law" of ethical causation or moral retribution that links all the acts of interdependent individuals - to the view that the relationship between means and ends is organic, the moral quality of the latter being causally dependent upon that of the former. The psychology of human action in a morally indivisible community of apparently isolated units demands that the means-end relationship must be seen in terms of the consistent growth in moral awareness of individuals and communities and not in relation to the mechanical division of time into arbitrary and discrete intervals. If for Gandhi there was no "wall of separation" between means and end, this was because of his basic belief that in politics as in all spheres of human action we reap exactly what we sow.

Gandhi used to say, Truth is end which need no justification and non-violence is the means which is always justified.

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Impact of Social Media in India: An Evaluation

- Parveen Kumar

ABSTRACT

Social media is becoming necessity and an integral part of our daily lives. A sudden availability of smart phones and mobile internet has led to a spurt in the use of social media. Social media comprises primarily internet and mobile phone-based tools for sharing and discussing information. Social media offers many platforms like WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, Pinterest, Twitter, blogs, Google+ and LinkedIn to people to connect and to communicate through words, pictures, films, and music with each other across the world. In other words, people of all ages, from all over the world are at our fingertips to connect with each other. The social media is giving opportunity to freedom of speech and expression to all. It has become a very powerful means which allows individuals to open up with their ideas, discuss their issues and put forth their opinions. There is both positive and negative impact of social media on the Indian Society. Thus, this paper covers the overall impact of social media on Indian society.

Key Words: Social Media, India, Journalism, Society, Positive and Negative

Introduction

Social Media means websites and applications that enable users to create and share contents like texts, photos, videos and news to participate in open discussion through social networking globally. Social media is becoming necessity and an integral part of our daily lives. Social media is a tool that is becoming quite popular nowadays because it is user friendly and easy to use for everyone. Social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, Youtube, Twitter and many more are giving chance to people to connect with each other across the world. In other words, that people from all over the world are at our

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fingertips to connect with each other, thanks to social media for connecting people from all age and different societies in the world. Youth is one of the major and active users of social media. In this era of technology, social media is playing a vital role in educating people and giving information from around the world. The Knowledge getting is the only way of attain power of learning and strength (Abbas 2019). We all recognize this saying but only few understand the role of social media has played. It is the flow of information to add to their knowledge in endless manner. In today's world, social media plays an important role in impacting our culture, our economy and our overall view of the world. Social media is a new platform that brings people together to exchange ideas, connect globally, and mobilize for a cause, seek advice, spread information and offer guidance. Social media has removed all the communication barricade and created decentralized communication channel and open the doors for all to raise voice for their rights and participate in social debates etc. It enables common interest-based groups such as students to work in a collaborative group projects outside of their class and college campuses. It encourages creativity and collaboration work with a wide range of commentators on a large number of social and other issues such as livelihood, education, the economy, politics, racism, healthcare, relationships etc (Connelly 2013). Although it has brought about many benefits, allowing people to easily connect with friends, family and people around the globe. The social media is giving power break down international borders and cultural barriers virtually.

A survey by Pew Internet Research (2013), discussed in Lee Rainie and Barry Wellman's Networked The New Social Operating System, illustrates that 'networked individuals' are engaged to a further extent regarding numbers of content creation activities and that the 'networked individuals' are increasing over a larger age span. These are some of the content creation activities that networked individuals take part in:

Writing material, such as text or online comments, on a social networking site such as :

- Face-book: 73% of Internet users do this
- Sharing digital photos: 55%
- Contributing rankings and reviews of products or services: 37%
- Creating "tags" of content, such as tagging songs by genre: 33%
- Posting comments on third-party websites or blogs: 26%
- Taking online material and remixing it into a new creation: 15% of Internet users do this with photos, video, audio, or text
- Creating or working on a blog: 14%

Another survey conducted in 2015 (Pew Research Centre 2015), by Pew Internet Research shows that the Internet users among American adults who use at least one social networking site has increased from 10% to 76% since 2005. Pew Internet Research illustrates furthermore that it nowadays is no real gender difference among Americans when it comes to social media usage. Women were even more active on social media a couple of years ago, however today's numbers point at women: 68%, and men: 62%. The percentage of the users of social media is increasing on a very fast rate day by day.

Objectives

Considering the current trend of usage of social media, the main objective is to evaluate both the negative and positive impact of social media on Indian society.

Methodology

This study is based on secondary data collected from the secondary sources i.e. internet, newspapers, books and various national and international journals. Under this paper brief attempt has been made to know the impact of social media on Indian society.

Advantages of Social Media

The Social media is a platform that is open for every individual around the world, as mentioned earlier the social media is a convenient place to express views using the right of freedom of speech and expression as per the constitution of India. The freedom of speech under Article 19(1)(a) includes the right to express one's views and opinions about any kind of issue and it can be done through any kind of medium, such as by words of mouth, by writing, by printing, through photos or through a movie (Constitution of India, 1950). Even though people are using social media applications and websites for some more aspects as under:

The Social Media Used for the Charity and Noble Causes

Social media plays a very a vital role in helping needy and poor people. There is a lot of communities available on social media for charity and social work. The citizens are free to can join those communities and can discuss their issues with the community in all manners. The people in the communities can help them and give them in terms of the best ever advice and can also help them in terms of consumable assets and money. There is a lot of other groups on social media that do social welfare activities (Robinson 2018). They can do donations for needy people. Social media is a quick way to help people. Most of the people join social media to help the people and does social works they can help people to solve their problems and make their life better and happy.

Social Media Used for Entertainment

The social media is also a new form of entertainment. Mostly the people join social media to get entertain themselves. People communicate with others and start a discussion on different topics with other people who belong to other places. Mostly the people spend 30 to 60 min on using different social media platforms. They can share photos, comments, blog posts, and videos, etc. with other people. And also, they can watch the other posts, pictures, comments, and videos for entertainment. They feel happy and satisfied having the likes and comments on their posts on social media. On social media, people can create a friendly conversation with other people. And share their thoughts, pictures, and videos. Research shows that 88% of people on social media platforms like Youtube, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram as a new form of entertainment. Research shows that social media increase 90% brand awareness. Tagging or mentioning is a brilliant way of brand awareness. For example, someone tag or mention you in a post or comment of awareness you will get a notification on the spot to know about that thing (Shrimoyee and Chakraborty 2012).

Social Media Used for Business Promotions and Advertising

Social media helps corporate and small-scale business persons a lot in promotion and advertisements. The social media is used for sharing their business products and services with the whole world because the whole world is connected and using social media applications and social websites vigorously. The all businesses need promotions and advertisements to promote their business, and the social media is the easiest way to approach people. Social media is the less expensive and profitable medium for promoting and advertising the business, products, and services to the people can expand their business easily with the help of social media (Chernov and Gennadiy 2010).

Social Media Helps Connecting People Globally

The power of connectivity is the actual beauty of social media. With the help of social media, you can make connectivity with the people in the world anywhere you want. On social media, you can find your old friends and also can make new friends from anywhere or follow someone else. The other people also can follow and contact you with the help of social media (Rayudu 2008). Mostly, the people used social media applications like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp etc. to stay connected with their colleagues, friends and family members easily.

Social Media is a Source of Latest News and Information Updates

Social media is also the best source for getting the latest news updates and information. Before the social media, the people were bound to wait for the daily newspapers for getting the latest news updates and information about

around the world or the people wait for news broadcasts on television for the latest news updates. But after the development of social media platforms, people can update themselves anywhere and anytime (Chakravarthy 2009).People can know the latest and true information about what is going on in the world on that day by using social media applications and websites.

The Social Media for Exposure of Movements

Where the mainstream media is not covering all aspects of all issues due to their ideology or influence. The social media is playing the role of independent and fearless news house; even large number of people trusts on social media applications. Social media has become a big platform for freedom of speech and expression; People are freely using this right on social media. It has been observed that the major issues of the country have been widely discussed on social media. Social media has become the fastest tool for spreading news around the world. The social media trends #tag to spread issues and reach to the world quickly. People talk to each other on issues of all countries, even they present themselves openly. The social media has given exposure to many movements in India like Anna Hazare movement for Jan Lokpal Bill (2011), movements against Citizenship Amendment Act Bill (CAA in 2019), Film actor Sushant Singh Rajput case (2021), and currently the Farmers Protest/ Movement going on. The farmers protest has get the great exposure globally only due to social media. The farmers connect to the world and raise their voice on social media (S. Mansoor 2020).

Social Media Helps to get Education

The Social media also helps on large scale in education sector. It provides the best learning options & opportunities, you can learn from others with help of social media. There is a lot of professors and lecturers available on social media to help students. Anyone can follow and contact them and can get education tips in their field without paying them. Social media is the best medium for the students and also for the teachers to share their thoughts and their educational knowledge with others and help them virtually.

Even though, during Covid-19 pandemic time social media was the only way to connect people together and spread knowledge and education. During Covid-19 pandemic time, social media helped people to get information and to get educated themselves to it. International medical organizations connected the world with the help of social media and shared information about the impact of virus and also shared safety guidelines. During lockdown, when everything was closed and all the students and teachers were at home they connected through social media and the educational institutions has made strategy to continue

teaching their students through social media application like WhatsApp, Google Meet, Cisco Webex, Zoom App etcetera for sending lessons, educational videos and online classes. In the Covid-19 pandemic time the educational institutions introduced the new phase of conferences and seminars as web-conferences and webinars (Dhawan 2020).

Social Media for Job Search

The Social media is the best option of searching for a job. Most of the Multi-National companies (MNC) are using social media for finding candidates. They can contact and offer to the people by using social media. The best opportunity for social media is that people using social media to discussing topics with other people and searching for the desired thing. People can use social media to learn about companies and to find the desired job easily. One of the social media platforms LinkedIn is mostly used by job seekers. The job seeker can make a profile on LinkedIn and the companies can contact and offer job by looking profile (Steven Graber 2001).

Disadvantages of Social Media

A saying is very famous as it is said that every coin has two sides. If you say in simple language that something has some advantages, then it also causes a lot of disadvantages. The Social media has also not left this saying untouched. Some of the major side effects/disadvantages of social media and social networking sites are as follows:

Breach of Privacy and Personal Details

The use of social media can be harmful for individuals, people are usually upload the personal information on social media, the chances of privacy breach is on high risk on social media. Personal data and privacy can easily be hacked and shared on the Internet. Which can make financial losses and loss of personal life. Similarly, identity theft is another issue that can give financial losses to anyone by hacking their personal and bank accounts details. Several personal twitter and Facebook accounts have been hacked in the past and the hacker had posted materials that have affected the individual's personal lives. This is one of the dangerous disadvantages of the social media. The addictive part of the social media is very bad and can disturb personal lives as well. The teenagers are the most affected by the addiction of the social media. They get involved very extensively and are eventually cut off from the family members and society. It can also waste individual time that could have been utilized by productive tasks and activities (Berzinya 2018).

Cyber Crime or Cyber-bullying

The user of social media applications and websites could be the soft target of the cyber criminals and cyber hackers. According to a report published by PewCenter.org most of the children have become victims of the cyber-bulling over the past (Pew Research Centre 2015). Since anyone can create a fake account and do anything without being traced, it has become quite easy for anyone to bully on the Internet. Threats, intimidation messages and rumors can be sent to the masses to create discomfort and chaos in the society. In India, cases of cyber crime and cyber-bullying are increasing at fast rate moreover victims of this crime are mainly women who shopping online & using the social media applications and teenagers who are engaged on social media all the time (Maheshwari 2020).

The Rise of Fake News.

The social media is become a prominent tool to spread news. Social media has made it very easy to spread information quickly. Because some social networking sites and applications like Facebook and Twitter timelines move so quickly, users and viewers don't often verify what they have seen. A great deal of content is also spread through texts, images and memes, which may or may not be based on valid information. The users always curious to spread information and news without verify or crosscheck the contents. Of course, many memes are created to be funny, cute or outrageous. The spread of some contents is intended to influence our thinking. It's safe to say that most people only see the headline and link never read the whole article and spread it on their timeline which can be harmful for the society (Wang 2020).

The Media & Social Media Trial

The media is the 4th pillar of the country, responsible for keeping the other three organs of democracy in check. The Media is the responsible independent reporting without any influence. The media is misusing its power to undermine the judiciary by crossing the ethical line. The media plays a prominent role in our society, but sometimes mainstream media houses initiate the issues and started media trial and almost convicted the offender before society without waiting of judicial verdict. The media houses are meant for giving news instead of making news before the society. The social media also usually make image the accused as a villain not based on facts but only to sensationalize the news, which causes damage to the dignity of the accused. Media through their trial attempts to reincarnate itself into a 'public court' and interfere with court proceedings. This is not a healthy practice for the society and our judicial system (Debadatta 2016).

Use of Social Media is an Addiction

The excess use of social networking applications, internet for fun and entertainment is an addiction, which is stopping your accuracy of work. This addiction can be leading your memory issues. The person who always online on social networking applications and uploads several things, that means he is addicted to social networking. Internet addicted person cannot be easily surviving in actual world they only enjoy and live in virtual life which is harmful (Carla 2019).

Conclusions

To summarize, since the last few years, social media is becoming an integral part of present society. It plays a vital role in our daily life. No one can separate self from its influence. Besides being educative role, social media increases connections and communications. In addition to this, it also builds bridges over barriers and strengthens relationships. Furthermore, it encourages community participation and boosts one's confidence.

Despite the positive benefits of rapid information sharing though social media, there are also dark aspects of social media too. For example, social media is responsible to assists people to create false identities and superficial connections which causes depression. Stalking and cyber-bullying, identity theft, victimization to rumors, are also the major dark aspects of social media. In addition to this, due to the constant use of social sites responsible to forget our basic values and culture, which leads to family's breakups.

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Harish K. Thakur

The twenty first century is plagued by several post-globalization challenges ranging from the great depression of the first decade to the Covid 19 pandemic. In between there have been numerous issues like terrorism, civilian rights, trade wars, border skirmishes, racial upheavals like black lives matter and the anti-immigration movements throughout the west. Brexit and the post-Brexit developments and the ethnic violence in Europe and West Asia mark the newer horizons of political conditions in the century. In the pockets of Asia too, the ethnic conflicts, refugee issue and violent struggles are also making their presence felt more intensely.

In the post-9/11 terrorist attacks, social conflicts and violence in Asia have been followed with concern by the political decision makers and media in the West. Specifically Southeast Asia, home to about a fifth of the world's 1.2 billion Muslims, has gained a reputation as being a seedbed of religious violence. Some observers (for example, Gunaratna, 2002) even discern an Asian zone of religious extremism, from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Xinjiang via Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh through to Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and the South Philippines (Crossaint & Trinns).

The triumph of liberal democracy was celebrated by Francis Fukuyama (1991) and his patrons as the only available alternative left before the world but now building over his previous narrative and midwifing the post-honeymoon course of liberal democracy Fukuyama observes that a new precarious state is in view and that the conservatism has reincarnated in a newer garb through new identity zealots or tribes of different collectivities articulating on traditional lines. Against liberal democracy an anti-thesis has emerged with the spate of retributive stringent assertions under collective identities violent, dominant, exclusive and subjugating intimidating its very existence and leading towards chaos. Fukuyama elaborates how identity is rooted in inner self which has transformed from the Luther's perception, Rousseau's view to the Hegelian idea and acquired its current content. In his latest volume Identity: Contemporary Identity Politics and the Struggle for Recognition (2018) Fukuyama brings into discussion some serious issues in the aftermath of these developments and attempts at resolving the crisis by creating a 'civilian order' against the identity politics and multiculturalism. He suggests for controlling the malaise by impressing upon the use of identity for the sake of integration (Thakur).

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Identity Politics and the Human Nature

The term 'identity politics', which according to Francis Fukuyama undermines democracy, was first used in the middle of the twentieth century by psychologist Erik Erikson (1968). However, after the third wave when democracy was supposed to mature in value and practice the retrogression of world politics towards conservatism or what Larry Diamond (2015) calls 'global recession' brought the term into serious discussions. The political movements like Arab Spring, student's protests in South Africa, Brexit, black lives matter, populist nationalism of different states like Turkey, Japan, India and United States, anti-immigrant movements of Europe and white supremascism etc. are the reflection of identity politics.

Politics is rooted in human nature and Fukuyama too begins with the probing of human nature, the root behind the extension of man's desires and moral responsibilities. While defining identity Fukuyama takes the Platonic route to describe the human psyche in terms of soul that comprises of three parts: reason, spiritedness or emotion and desire. Thymos which he discussed in The End of History and the Last Man (1992) too regarding democracy and recognition, is spiritedness causative of isothymia, an urge to earn recognition on account of dignity as equal to others. Then he introduces the counter-idea of Megalothymia which means the need to be recognized as superior to others. Both the ideas of desire to be equal or superior to others present a neo-liberal dialectics based on which move the forces of identity. 'Thymos or "spiritedness," including the demand for recognition and indignation at injustice, are fundamental to politics and this human quality has often proved to be destructive' (Callaway 2019:64).

Identity is defined as an inner self by Fukuyama against the outer self or world of social rules and norms that doesn't acknowledge its worth and dignity. 'Only in modern times has the view taken hold that the authentic inner self is intrinsically valuable, and the outer society systematically wrong and unfair in its valuation of the former. It is not the inner self that has to be made to conform to the society's rules, but society itself that needs to change' (Fukuyama 2018:10). This is a kind of reverse situation taken into cognizance the Hobbesian man who is wicked, greedy and an evil to be controlled by law. Fukuyama follows the Marxian schema of social reconstruction that considers human nature a social construct resultant of the work of material forces of production and ownership of property that requires an overhauling so that the human nature could be altered accordingly.

The Inner and the Outer self

The foundations of identity were laid with the perception of the disjunction between one's inside and one's outside and Luther was the first to valorize the inner self over the external. But Luther is distant from the modern understandings of identity as his innerself is unidimensional (based on the faith that either accepts or rejects god) and didn't seek recognition. J.J. Rosseau liberates Luther of this drawback as he reverses the Christian moral evaluation of man by declaring him secular, the freedom of whom lies in the natural and universal ability to experience the sentiment de l'existence, free of the layers of accumulated social convention. While Rousseau expands the moral choice from the binary of good and bad declaring man a sinless innocent creature Hegel's intervention connects human dignity with moral choice when he declares that human beings are morally free agents who are not simply rational machines seeking to maximize satisfaction of their desires. Hegel puts recognition of this moral agency at the centre-stage of human condition when he argues that human history was driven by a struggle for recognition. But since recognition fails to be satisfying without dignity of labour the democratic setups guarantee individual rights and equal dignity, where the dignity of few of traditional societies gives way to the dignity of all (Chap 3&4).

The synchronization of the outer self in conformity with the inner self that is dignity conscious is Fukuyama's major concern for which he sees a ray of hope in developing a modern impersonal state he referred to as 'getting to Denmark' (Fukuyama 2011). The decay of the modern liberal democratic set up is another concern, especially after the regressive policies of the democratic regimes of Europe like Brexit, anti-immigration stances and the rise of populist nationalism in US and other parts of the world.

The systems which discriminate or deny recognition are megalothymia based and they require a reshuffle and replacement by isothymia. The crisis here is essentially of liberal democratic order, though earlier, Fukuyama had explained how Thymos was related to history with the visible angst against the communist states of Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China. “We cannot understand the totality of the revolutionary phenomenon unless we appreciate the working of thymotic anger and the demand for recognition that accompanied communism's economic crisis' (Fukuyama 1992). However, the financial constraints of welfarism depleted the social democracies. Recognition struggles targeted newer groups and their rights as groups, rather than the economic inequality of individuals. In the process the old working class was left behind (2018:112-113). Now amidst the identity politics that overwhelms the

world with staunch assertions Fukuyama has registered a significant shift from his previous standpoint which was pro-liberal and anti-left.

The Proposal

Since Identity politics threatens liberal democracy by eroding the democratic values, principles and inclusive social order portending chaos Fukuyama proposes some measures by developing a space for thymos and human dignity. He suggests the creation of a 'civil identity' by evolving the common civil values against the given ethno-cultural or religious identities. The creedal national identities built around the foundational ideas of modern liberal democracy have to be promoted and public policy to deliberately assimilate new comers to those identities followed. His proposal at state-building includes introduction of national services, state symbols, cross-community values and effective state that helps to evolve an inclusive system repudiating the diverging identities. Fukuyama draws a parallel to Gellnerian model of evolving the national consciousness along the territorial existence of state as he speaks of evolution of a 'uniform civilian order' along the multiple identities in the hope of subjugating the latter. He, in fact, over expects from the identity voices to merge with this civilian order, though it may be a long term project but not impossible too. Identity can be used to divide but it can also be used to integrate and herein lies the remedy. No one contends that human beings are capable of rational behaviour or that they are self-interested individuals who seek greater wealth and resources but then to understand identity politics we need a better theory of human soul. While Fukuyama bears silence about the left his chords have turned more critical of the right.

Notes and References

Notes

1The term 'third wave' was used for the first time by Samuel P. Huntington who associates it with the democratization process to describe the global trend that has seen more than 60 countries throughout Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa undergo some sort of democratic transition since Portugal's 'Carnation Revolution' in 1974.

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Dr. Ved Prakash

Tribes are the last vestiges that survive centuries old cultures, traditions, customs and values. The tribal population of India is significantly large when seen from the perspective of huge population of India. The history of Indian society is one of the most outstanding histories on account of versatility of its people and culture. India is home to a large number of cultures, ethos, religious movements and consequently ideologies which with the passage of time derived partially from its western counter-currents too. Tribals who are also known as adivasis, janjati etc. are mostly remotely located people who have been habilitating the fringes of societies for centuries mostly unnoticed, underdeveloped and exploited.

But when it comes to the observation and study of smaller groups or tribes, most recent trend in academia is to explore the intra-societal dynamics on developmental, cultural, political and social front that plays a significant role in the evolution and transformation of group individualities. Authorities on the tribal studies have evolved different models like particularistic, separatist or assimilationist models tend to keep the probability of conflict alive between these groups and mainstream society or state and the accommodationist or multi-culturalist approach provides better vents for the assertion of local individualities thus minimizing the chances of conflict and paving the way for a peaceful co-existence. The social dominance theories (SDT) that examine the roots of group behaviour provide an important tool of assessing the group behavior. In this field an honest effort is made by Devender Chand and Vijay Kaushal to understand the role of traditional power institutions among Jaunsari tribe of Uttrakhand. The study provides an interesting interplay of traditional and modern power structures and discusses the emerging dynamics of the Jaunsari tribe as part of the larger political life of the Indian state. The areas of conflict and cooperation among these institutions and the transformation of the people and society have been underlined wonderfully by the scholars.

The book tries to explore the basis of traditional power institutions called Khumbri in Jaunsar Bawar tribal area in Uttaranchal, which are adhoc councils (Panchayts) summoned in cases involving sex, property and status. These panchayts act primarily in cases involving traditional rules of behavior. They usually assemble for settling cases of abduction of women or offences against lower castes. The membership varies with circumstances, which is traditionally

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confined to the upper castes and women are never panchayat members. In inter-village dispute, panchayts are inter-village in composition, generally with representation from number of neighboring villages. With the passage of time these panchayats are losing their credibility and relevance as they are heavily influenced by caste, clique and kin-group loyalties and to be easily swayed by money and favors. Low castes in general do not have faith on these panchayts due to the dominance and arbitrary functioning of the upper caste, male dominated panchayts. The lower castes are generally at the receiving end. The constitution of the panchayts is so heavily biased in favor of the dominant social and economic castes of the community, that a large section of the lower castes have lost faith on the Khumbri Panchayts resulting in conflicts and non-compliance among the lower castes. Therefore, the economic and social structures constituted the basis of these panchayats are fractured slowly.

Apart from that modern science and technology however are making inroads into their closed domain. Roads are being built, communication is being improved and new ideas are infiltrating into these communities. Attraction of a dreamland is pulling them out of their secure nests. A process of social change has started becoming visible. Today the self-sufficient nature of the socio-economic, religious and political aspects of the tribal community has undergone numerous changes. The breaking down of the Khumbri panchayats and the larger interaction with other Khumbris also led the lower castes across the Khumbris to build a bigger unity against arbitrary upper caste domination. This horizontal unity among the exploited sections also resulted in greater confidence among the lower castes to oppose the arbitrary functioning system. They have more opportunities to be involved with the non-tribal and to interact with them. Thus the interaction process eventually develops the inter-relationships between the tribals and non-tribals which ultimately reproduce the different dimensions of the socio-cultural system.

The struggle of the lower castes against the exploitative, arbitrary system of dominance has been a long drawn process of the struggle that evolved in the long history of the tribal societies. This mainly provided the dynamics for the nature of change in these societies at different levels. It therefore becomes interesting subject for social anthropologists to see the unfolding of the nature of change at different levels and times in the history of tribal societies.

The book is divided into seven interesting chapters. First chapter introduces the problem by exploring the meaning of panchayats how these panchayats are relevant in village life for conflict resolution and how village power structure revolves around these traditional institutions. Further how these institutions strengthen the feudal character of our societies and how people accept these

institutions. Second chapter deals with the theoretical perspective on Jaunsari tribe which tries to build a theory of state formation in context to the Jaunsari tribe. The social history of Jaunsar Bawar is primarily the history of the Khasas. Historically they are known as Aryan speaking group, who came to the region before the Vedic Aryans. Khasas remained in the Himalayas and were termed as Vratya Kshatriyas by the law-givers of the early historical period. Since the Khasas lived in a terrain quite different from the Indo-Gangetic plains which evolved the brahmanical system of social stratification, their social structure did not fully conform to the Varna system. The Khasas of some isolated regions are still unaffected by the brahmanic culture. It is generally believed that when Khasas entered the Himalayan region they found the Kola, Bhil and other tribes already inhabiting this region. In the subsequent period, the Khasas mingled with some of them but many of the aborigines retained their separate identities. So the social history of Jaunsar Bawar is mainly the history of interaction among tribes of diverse origins and the people of the Indo-Gangetic plains.

The state that emerged there in pre-colonial period was not built by invading Rajput warriors but by the local Jaunsari tribe itself. And transformation of Jaunsari tribe can be attributed to a much deeper penetration of tribal and peasant economies by merchant capital, higher incidence of rent etc. Colonial system transformed the land system of Jaunsar Bawar and introduced the Rayotwari system. New economic relations developed in Jaunsari tribe transformed the traditional socio-economic system. In post-colonial period the transformation of Jaunsari tribe attributes to the process of monetization which has made unprecedented change in the lives of Jaunsari people. In the post-independence period modernization and globalization led transformation has put positive and negative impacts on their lives.

Third Chapter deals with the historical perspective on Jaunsari tribe, which analyses two major ancestral stocks which are generally believed to have contributed to the present Jaunsari population. One is an early, indigenous group, now appears as the Dom or low castes. The other is an Indo-Aryan speaking group which is more recent and of central Asian origin called Khasa or Khasiya comprises the present high castes. Both Khasas and Doms are often described as internally undifferentiated. Khasas are divided into Brahmin and Rajput groups, but interaction is more intimate between them than is usual in the plains. Even inter marriage is tolerated. Doms are divided into several endogamous groups ranked selective to one another and associated with occupational special lines. However, occupational specialization is remarkably variable, and many accounts describe them as formerly less differentiated. One might speculate that at one time there were two relatively homogenous groups, the dominant agricultural Khasas and the dependent depressed artisan or service group known as Doms.

Fourth chapter deals with the social structure of Jaunsari tribe and explains that historically the culture of the Khasa of Jaunsar-Bawar had been deeply affected by their contacts with the Doms, the aboriginal elements in the population. The Doms belonged to mostly the Austric race and their cultural life was greatly resembled the various tribes of pre-Dravidian or Australoid origin. While the Khasa claimed to be Hindus and had been adopting Hindu surnames and trying to establish connection with the Rajputs and Brahmins of the plains, their social life as well as their beliefs and practices are different from Hindus of the plains. There were well known practices of remarrying widows, practice of levirate, surrogate and polyandry. They recognized divorce as legal. The manners and customs of the Jaunsaries are simple and primitive. They had received semi-judicial sanction during British period by being embodied in the famous Dastoor-Ul-Amal, a common code of law, drawn up under the superintendent Mr. A. Ross, by the settlement of 1848. The most remarkable practice was polyandry, a women having more than one husband.

Fifth chapter deals with the economic system prevent among Jaunsaries. The study explores that economic structure in Jaunsari tribe is markedly different from that of the non-tribals or advanced groups of people. They have a very simple technology which fit well with their ecological surroundings and conservative outlook. Moreover their economy can be said to be of subsistence type. They practiced different types of occupations to sustain themselves and live on marginal economy. Book describes that the tribals of India belonging to different economic stages, from food gathering to industrial labour presents their overlapping economic stage in the broader framework of economic development. Jaunsari tribe can be considered as economically independent group of people having their own specific economy. They have a living pattern of labour, division of labour and specialization, gift and ceremonial exchange, trade and barter, credit and value, wealth, consumption norms, capital formation, land tenure, and good-tangible and intangible-economic status. They have their own specialty which identifies this tribal economy in the broader set up of Indian economy. On the basis of functional relationship between tribes, within tribes, tribal and non-tribal, the region is characterized by inter dependence similar to the Jajmani system. Under the system each caste group, with in a village is expected to give certain standardized service to the people of other castes.

Sixth chapter touches the traditional authority structures prevalent in Jaunsari society which are to some extent intact even after the introduction of modern states formal Panchayati Raj system. It investigate that Jaunsar Bawar was administered according to its customary laws and practices with limited

tempering from colonial masters. In olden days the disputes were decided by the village panchayat and village elders were guided by their traditions and their own sense of right and wrong. It was mainly the system of judicial administration in those days which preserved the customary law of the khasas the inroads of Brahmanism. The padhan or thokdar used to be the surpanch and the panchyats dealt not only with social matters but also with civil and criminal matters. The syanachari system, during the days of national movement, was linked to the undemocratic and autocratic system of zamindari. In this system, redeeming feature of the system was often ignored. It functioned through the traditional system of khumbri (Panchayat). At the village level, the eldest member of each household was ipso-facto a member of sayana council. At the Khat level, the village sayanas of the khat constituted that council and at the highest level, the khatsayanas formed that council. But, in the khumbri-system, the Rajput along with the Brahman, dominated decision making and that domination continues.

Finally, study concludes with some recommendations that whereas global development efforts in the past decades have often led to the degradation of traditional practices and cultures, the case of khumbri and of the Jaunsari people represent a hopeful case of the opposite. Due to a combination of the resilience of the Jaunsari people and the deep-rooted nature of sayanachari power, the Jaunsaris have demonstrated that it is possible to maintain and adapt traditional practices to the rapidly-changing world of the 21st century.

The current book by Devender Chand and Vijay Kaushal about the Jaunsari tribe of Uttranchal state of north-west India is an interesting examination of the social, political and economic bases of the TPIs existent in the tribe. The work would provide a significant reading to the students and the scholars of tribal studies and cultural anthropology in India and abroad.

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