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- ❖ **India-China-Russia Triangle**
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- ❖ **Leadership Concept**
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Third Concept aims at providing a platform where a meaningful exchange of ideas can take place among the people of the Third World. The attempt will be to communicate, debate and disseminate information, ideas and alternatives for the resolution of the common problems facing humankind. We welcome contributions from academics, journalists and even from those who may never have published anything before. The only requirement is a concern for and desire to understand and take the issue of our time. Contributions may be descriptive, analytical or theoretical. They may be in the form of original articles, reactions to previous contributions, or even a comment on a prevailing situation. All contributions, neatly typed in double space, may be addressed to:

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Electoral Slugfest

The ‘Swabhiman Rally’ held on 30 August at Patna’s Gandhi Maidan, which brought the Congress, the JD (U), RJD and SP on a single platform, has seemingly unfolded the contours of the electoral battle in the run-up to the upcoming assembly elections in Bihar. This rally is touted as the first show of strength by the Janata Alliance having spelt out the tone and tenor of the electoral discourse in coming weeks for which the precedent had been set in motion by Prime Minister Modi by challenging the ‘DNA’ of chief minister Nitish Kumar and describing Bihar as a ‘BIMARU’ state some weeks ago.

While alluding to Modi’s ostensible ‘insults’ to ‘Bihari pride’ – from references to Nitish’s ‘DNA’ and Bihar as a ‘BIMARU’ State to the manner in which the special package was announced at a rally — the leaders of the grand Janata Alliance who addressed the rally reportedly made efforts to strike a blow to the BJP’s poll promises by reminding the voters of the absence of delivery on the Prime Minister’s Lok Sabha poll commitments. Over the years, the tone and tenor of the electoral campaign narrative has witnessed a considerable decline with added emphasis on negative campaigning, mudslinging and *ad hominem*. Negative campaigning is broadly construed as an attempt to gain an advantage by referring to negative aspects of an opponent rather than emphasizing one’s own positive attributes or preferred policies. Negative campaigning is characterized by its ubiquitous presence in most marketplaces where ideas are contested.

The period between 2013 and run-up-to-the 2014 Lok Sabha elections witnessed negative campaigning reaching its crescendo. Both leading national parties – Congress and the BJP – were found engaging in mudslinging in their respective styles. In most of his election rallies, The BJP’s prime ministerial candidate’s speeches were filled with words like shehzada and bahrupiya, a direct reference to Congress vice-president Rahul Gandhi. The political discourse of electoral narratives continued to hit the bottom of the barrel with no end in sight. Electoral campaigns during the 2014 Lok Sabha elections witnessed politicians of almost all hues having no compunction about painting their opponents with broad, vulgar brushstrokes, and a 24X7 media cycle had only served to highlight every muck-covered jab and counter. Bulk of the content offered by the prime ministerial candidate spoke not of his opponent’s ideology or vision, but descended into simply mudslinging and *ad hominem* attacks.

The campaigning for the February 2015 Delhi assembly elections was characterized by political punch-ups and mudslinging. Tactics became so dirty that the election acquired the social media hashtag: #DelhiFightClub. The tone of the campaign began to degenerate a couple of months ago when the BJP and AAP launched attack ads on radio channels, criticizing each other for flaws in policies and ideologies. The BJP went a step further poking fun at AAP’s Kejriwal for having deserted Delhiites who voted him to power in the last election and saw him quit after 49 days.

During the 2013 elections in Delhi, the campaign was dominated by a David and Goliath-style struggle between the upstart Aam Aadmi Party and the ruling Congress party that had held the capital for a decade and a half. But in February 2015, with Congress sidelined, the contest was a more equal one between Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s BJP and activist-turned-politician Arvind Kejriwal leading AAP. However, what worried most observers was the declining political ethics and resorting to dirty tricks just to grab power. Undoubtedly, many leaders from all sides have routinely resorted to complaints that the language of politicking has taken a turn for the worse; nevertheless, usually when their side is under fire - no party seems to have managed to avoid resorting to mudslinging either. It has been aptly observed that political parties seldom, “want to speak on policies and issues concerning common man. They want a personalised discourse. Their issues are irrelevant to public debate and public concern. They should be more responsible. They have crossed the line of decency.”

Alexis de Tocqueville’s observation about America that there are many men of principle in both parties in America, but there is no party of principle, is equally true of India. Only parties with principles can help in getting rid of this sort of electoral slugfest to usher in healthy political order.

— BK

American Baba

Eddie J. Girdner*

[In the 1960s, many young Americans were getting disgusted with their society. They saw the older generation as “square.” Following a traditional career path was considered to be boring and bourgeois. This was more of a phenomenon of middle class youth who had grown up in relative affluence and had no worries about their future. Nevertheless, there was a broader cultural crisis that the older generation had trouble understanding.]

The two great issues of the sixties generation in America were civil rights for Blacks and, of course, the Vietnam War. The baby boomers were starting to grow up. After the Second World War, the soldiers came home, made babies, and raised them in the 1950s. Having made the “world safe for democracy,” once again, Americans settled down and enjoyed their jobs and prosperity. They drove their big cars and wolfed down hamburgers and French fries at drive-in restaurants. They listened to Elvis Presley and danced Rock and Roll. They bought new houses in the suburbs and spent the weekends mowing the lawn and making barbeques.

Most people did not want to be bothered about the problems of the rest of the world. They watched mindless sit-coms on TV. The government had to “scare the hell out of them” that the communists were coming just to fund the military and run the American Empire.

But a new generation was about to come on the scene in the 1960s when John F. Kennedy was elected President. The number of youths studying at universities mushroomed and so did the political consciousness. For the new generation of youth, racism had to be abolished and the Vietnam War was wrong. Sexual repression was breaking down as Americans became more affluent, more mobile and more urban.

In California, it became a sort of fad to study Eastern religions. Youth wanted to find the “truth” and

“wisdom.” They turned away from the capitalist materialism of the American middle class. This was just “plastic.” Middle class American values were plastic, phony, fake. They thought that maybe they could find truth in India. While young Indians began to go to America to get rich, young Americans began to go to India to seek the “truth.” That was the trade-off. The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence, it seems.

This is a beautifully written small book that nicely captures many scenes in India and takes one into the inner circle of a religious sect. It is a pleasant and enjoyable read and entertains the reader. Baba Rampuri is an American who left the US at the young age of eighteen for India. He does not tell us his American name, but it was actually William A. Gans. In India, he joins the Naga Babas. He becomes the disciple of a sadhu from Rajasthan. He claims to be the first foreigner to become a member of the Juna Akhara, a group of naked yogis. They call themselves the “Renunciates of the Ten Names” or sanyasis.

William Gans grew up in affluent Beverly Hills California. His father was a dentist. But the son had no interest in following in his father’s footsteps. Rather his early inspiration came from Superman, who inspired him to jump off the TV. He didn’t fly as well as his hero, however, and when he came down and hit his head, he claims to have not only seen stars but also heard clanging bells. He claims that his grandfather from Russia was really the famous pirate, Long John Silver. Somehow, I am inclined to doubt it but that is not important.

* Fethiye, Turkey.

In America, Gans never made it to the university before going to India. Later, he will return to attend classes at the University of California, Berkeley. He says that he was disillusioned with the bourgeois society in which he grew up. America seemed to be going off track in many ways. President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in 1963. Then the Vietnam War sent youth off to die in rice paddies trying to kill communists. There were race riots and Vietnam War protests.

In 1968, Martin Luther King was assassinated after criticizing the Vietnam War and this was followed by the assassination of Robert Kennedy, the late President's brother. After all this, there was a tendency of the youth to just say "fuck it," and give up on America. Of course, most youth did not have the luxury to be able to leave, like Gans.

In California, William was diving into a lot of literature on Eastern religions. This led him to decide that "he was not who he thought he was." He then began his quest for "something bigger," namely "the truth."

He leaves the US in 1968 and travels overland to Mumbai. On the steamship from Karachi to Mumbai, he meets a group of hippies also on the way to India. Most of them will end up in some of the popular hippie camps down in Goa that was popular in those days. They found a little haven where they could avoid the Vietnam War and hang out, shack up with a girl, have sex and smoke pot.

William gets the names of some temples in India from a French traveler on the ship. He hopes that through ancient manuscripts and mantras he will obtain secret knowledge. He wants to learn the meaning of life, death, and truth. He gets the name of Hari Puri Baba who is a gyani or knower. He likes the sound of the name "baba."

In Mumbai, it is mass confusion on the streets with hawkers of all kinds. It does not take him long to exchange his western clothes for more comfortable ones. He says he felt free and did some wandering around India. He met Satya Sai Baba at Puttaparti. He naturally feels like an outsider when he visits ashrams. There is talk of "knowing one's self" and

"the truth." But he needs a teacher and a mantra to start practicing.

In the ashrams he gets into smoking marijuana and hashish. The sadhus and sanyasis are also drop-outs from society like him. They have given up everything. He wants to understand but the sadhus he meets do not know English and it will be a long process learning Hindi.

At a railway station, he meets a Naga Baba. They can barely communicate with each other but William goes with him to Ujjain in Rajasthan. At a large temple, he is caught up in the ceremony and feels transformed as if he had left his body.

He travels further on. The women in Rajasthan are colorful in their multicolor dresses. The men are thin and sun-dried. The villages are surrounded by chili peppers drying in the sun. He makes it to the remote village of Amloda, where there is not even electricity. Here, sure enough, he finds Hari Puri Baba, who will become his Guru.

A huge mela is underway in the village. Vedic mantras are being chanted and oblations offered to the sacred fire, ghee, sesame seeds, dried coconuts, fragrant resinous wood, and sticks. Hari Puri Baba is said to live in the private parts of a great rock woman on the hillside above the village. Indeed, that is the way the hillside appears to William, who is soon to become Baba Rampuri. What appears to be her pubic hair, in fact, is a grove of mango trees.

Baba Hari Puri is seated on a platform surrounded by several sadhus. He is known to know several languages and it was said that he communicated with the crows in their language. Some babas have long dreadlocks. One of the sadhus has a silver ring on his penis. Baba Hari Puri is willing to show young William "the true path" and then he can enter the Juna Akhara, the "old order." He eventually becomes Baba Rampuri, the chela of Baba Hari Puri.

Baba Rampuri begins going through the initiation ceremonies after becoming a devotee. His hair and beard are shaved, leaving only one tuft of hair on the back of his head. Next he has to drink the five

products of the cow: milk, curd, ghee, urine and manure. He is surprised that it does not taste so bad. He also is made to stand naked in front of the five gurus while they enjoy themselves by poking fun at him.

It is not going to be a very easy life, however. His day will start at half past three in the morning with his nature call and cold bath before dawn. He must wash his hands with ash and water, as soap is not considered to be pure. He gathers wild flowers from the fields for Shiva's phallus and for Hanuman. There is more ceremony. There is the endless memorization of yoga sutras and other bits of knowledge. None of it is written down but comes from tradition. He is discouraged from taking notes in his notebook, as it is just to be memorized. That is the tradition.

He is also not idle as his labor is required in the kitchen, cutting vegetables, washing clothes, and washing dishes.

Learning all the rules is long and tedious, especially for a Westerner. Not many, but some will reject him simply because he is not an Indian. He is constantly being reminded not to let his feet point toward the sacred fire, the dhuni. He has to get used to wearing the sacred ash, vibhuti, on his skin. He cannot take a shower. He is to worship Hanuman, "The Redeemer of Hopeless Causes." He begins the long task of learning Hindi and Sanskrit.

Rampuri then goes to Varanasi. He bathes at Barha Hanuman Ghat. Juna Akhara is the headquarters for the order of Naga Babas. They are said to be "digambar." Wearing no clothes, they are "clothed in the four directions." However, they do generally have something wrapped around them, especially in the cold.

He then arrives at the Kumbh-Mela, which is held every twelve years at Allahabad, Hardwar, Ujjain and Nasik. At Allahabad, he watches bodies burn on the Mani Karan Ghat. He finally decides to give away his last money, which is 92 Rupees, about seven dollars at the time. He just hands it out in ten rupee notes. There are about a million people at the Mela who believe that bathing in the river will give them supreme knowledge and liberation. It was

believed that many of the babas travel outside of their bodies at night.

It is a magnificent scene with the mass confusion that is, perhaps, the soul of India. There are loud speakers blasting out religious songs and popular Hindi songs, sacred mantras, chanting devotees, those engaged in religious discourses, and so on. There are dozens of sects, hundreds of sadhus, both real and fake. There are yogis, saints, shamans, healers, tricksters, tantrics, bhaktas, magicians, criminals and more.

Some of the well-known holy men have set up military-style camps of 25,000 holy men. There are thousands of fires. Some come prepared to stay up to a month.

Rampuri meets up at the camp of his Guru, Hari Puri Baba. Getting up at half past three in the January cold is not pleasant. There is a pea-soup fog at this time of year. After a frigid bath, they sit around the fire smoking chillams, little pipes filled with hashish.

Rampuri is to be officially initiated into the order of Naga Babas at the Mela. However, some controversy and conflict emerges when one of the older babas argues that there is no place for a Westerner in the order. In general, there is resistance among the babas to the Western influence that has crept into Indian society since Independence. For example, Nehru saw the sadhus as "rascals" and got a law passed requiring them to carry an ID card. The sadhus felt that the British had left their ways behind when they left. Some felt that if they let foreigners into their ranks, this would damage their image in the country. And there was the wrong image that all Westerners are rich.

The initiation ceremony goes ahead in any event. However, the conflict results in Guru Hari Puri Baba having a stroke. He ends up in a hospital in Jaipur where Rampuri takes over his medical care for three months. Hari Puri Baba is a difficult patient. One of the babas, Amar Puri, believes that the "Angrezi medicines" are useless. He sees the nurses as "shameless." He has no faith in the British doctors. He spends most of his time smoking ganga with the chowkidar.

To cure Hari Puri Baba, the other babas build a dhunni fire and perform puja and magic rituals. It is at a TB hospital but the constant visit of so many holy men starts to turn the medical facility into an ashram. The doctor begins to get upset at all of this. Eventually Hari Puri Baba regains consciousness. However, now he knows that he is going to die. He asks Baba Rampuri to leave him and go on his way. The service has been performed and Hari Puri Baba says he no longer needs his body.

Rampuri Baba lives in a cave in the Himalayas for two months. The book relates many stories from Hindu mythology. There are also some wild notions about medicine. For example, the Ayurveda of Gangotri Baba includes instructions about how to cure the wife of a man who comes to him. First, he tells the man to stand on the north side of his house. Then he should walk forward till he comes to the first mango tree. It might be ten meters or ten kilometers. When he finds the mango tree, he will climb to the top and pick three of the top-most leaves. After returning home, he will place the leaves in a pipe and smoke them. The wife will then be cured.

Rampuri's going-native continues for years as he gradually learns to communicate in Hindi and learns Sanskrit. He wants to go all the way and totally shed the West but somehow the occident is always there to haunt him in his movements, his voice and his logic. He comes to believe that the spirit of Hari Puri Baba has entered him.

The book does not tell us the rest of the story. Rampuri returned to California spending some time at the University of California in Berkeley. But he soon returned to India to make it his permanent residence. He realized that the Western rational approach to understanding India is tied up with colonialism and very different from the understanding that one gets from the ancient tradition.

The concepts "India" and "Hindu" are both Western constructs manufactured to help the West rule the continent. Orientalism has largely determined how this part of the world is perceived and studied outside of the tradition.

While the book is a "true" story, he refers to it as "fiction." What is seen as fact is also fictional, constructed for some particular purpose. This is also true of orientalism, the understanding that one still generally finds in Western scholarship.

Baba Rampuri became a teacher of yoga and opened up the Hari Puri Ashram in Hardwar in 1984. In 2010, he was given a seat in the Juna Akhara Council. Along the way, he managed to have two children, a daughter in 1979 and a son in 1990. The pictures of the Baba and his children can be found on the internet but somehow their mother is missing. Several videos of Baba Rampuri's teaching can be seen on Youtube. In January 2013, he opened the Baba Rampuri Cultural Foundation in Brooklyn, New York.

This book tells an interesting story. In a roundabout way, Baba Rampuri found his place in American society, after all, by dropping out in the sixties.



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India-Russia-China Triangle: Problems and Prospects

Dr. Deepak Yadav*

[India, Russia and China, the three members of what has been called BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), encompass about 40 percent of the world population, with a combined GDP of more than 15 percent of the world total. The three also enjoy a particularly advantageous geopolitical position, along with an abundance of labor, natural resources and scientific and technological advantages. The geographic location of the three countries also facilitates the deepening of triangular trade.]

These three countries are the fast emerging economies, locked into raising their international status, while they share many views on international issues. The three countries also call for reforms to the current world order. They also face common pressing tasks, such as the fight against religious extremism, ethnic separatism and international terrorism. For all, economic and trade cooperation is an important platform for their trilateral strategic partnership to take root.

The concept of a “strategic triangle” was the brainchild of former Russian Prime Minister Yevgeny Maximovich Primakov, who first used the term in 1998 during a visit to India. Although the approach generated little enthusiasm at the time, China, Russia and India have begun to recognize the importance of enhancing their triangular ties to safeguard their interests at the turn of the century,

The emerging triangle between Russia-India-China is being closely watched in the strategic and academic quarters of the West and the three countries involved. This idea was mooted by the then Russian Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov at a time when India had been internationally isolated after its May 1998, nuclear tests. This was also the time when Russia was facing intense pressure from the West on the issue of human rights violation in Chechnya and on the establishment of true democratic system in Russia.

The third component of the triangle China, was already on the hit list of the US-led West due to its

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ideological commitment to Marxism. The Thiamin massacre incident had made China almost untouchable internationally. China has also been facing constant pressure from the West on the issues of Taiwan and Tibet.

Aware of the circumstances in which all three countries found themselves and the power aspirations which all these shared; Primakov gave a call to unite in the face of unnecessary intervention of the West in their internal matters. However, no triangular relation can take off and be sustained if each had problem with the other.

To analyze the possibility of this triangle actually materializing it is, therefore, important to study the kind of relation these states share with each other. The disintegration of the Soviet Union created fresh opportunities for qualitatively different nation to develop between China and the successor Soviet states, especially Russia. The triangle can only be understood in this context. Thereafter the article focuses on the kind of relation which is developing between Russia and India and China and India. An analysis of the bilateral relations would indicate the possibilities of this triangle actually materializing. The last section of the article briefly highlights the implication this triangle will have for India.

The Russia-China Relations

Soviet Union and China were bound to each other as comrades resolutely devoted to working class and peasant revolutions. Soviet Union’s assistance under the Stalin regime to Mao’s revolution endeared the two, who after the success of the 1949

Chinese revolution, presented themselves as the impenetrable and expanding socialist world of the early 1950s. The comradeship, however, began to drift apart on several counts and there were many reasons that soured Soviet-China relations.

Both wanted to establish their credentials as true Marxists. Gradually the two drifted away from each other though, these two countries belonged to the same idea bloc but there were strong difference between them. Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaigns were amongst the first signs of discord. Chairman Mao opposed CPSU's new ideological formulations like peaceful co-existence and non-antagonistic contradictions between imperialism and socialism.

Concepts used by Soviets for the Third World like non-capitalist path of development and policy of support to the 'national bourgeois' were similarly opposed. The real issue behind the ideological discord was, however, leadership and hegemony over the international communist movement and relations with the newly emerging countries of Asia and Africa (Chenoy, April 2005: 11).¹

The Chinese and Russians had disagreements on internal matters as well. Chinese wanted assistance from the Soviets on their nuclear programme which was denied by the Soviets. The Chinese and Soviet became competitors in the space technology; Chinese needed more economic assistance for their modernization programmes that the over-stretched Soviet Union failed to provide. Soviets were critical of several Chinese policies including the Cultural Revolution; Chinese called the Soviets revisionists', an insult to those who believed themselves to be Marxists. (Gorbachev, 1987: 10-12).²

However, the tense relationship of two communist giants eased with the rise of Gorbachev as the Secretary General of CPSU in 1985. He made epoch making changes in the Soviet history by introducing 'Perestroika' and 'Glasnost'. Some have described him in Soviet history as 'reformer in hurry'. In the realm of international relations he introduced 'New Thinking' which stressed on a de-ideologized foreign policy.

In the words of Gorbachev, 'New Thinking' stood for, "We need normal international conditions for our internal progress. But we want a world free of war, without arms races, nuclear weapons and violence, not only because this is an optimal condition for our internal development" (Gorbachev, 1987: 10-12).³

Under the slogan of 'New Thinking' Gorbachev's foreign policy was based on shared moral and ethical principles to solve global problems rather than on Marxist-Leninist concept of irreconcilable conflict between capitalism and communism. The historic meeting between Deng and Gorbachev led to resolution of many outstanding problems between the two. The border dispute was resolved by demarcating the Usuri River; trade was opened up and threat perceptions to a large extent eliminated.

While relations were improving between the two countries, the Soviet Union itself collapsed in December 1991. It was a historical event of global significance. Relations between the two neighbours, Russia and China could not, therefore, escape the global effects of this historical event. (Imam, 2001:97-100).⁴

The bubble of "Common European Home" and "One World from Vancouver to Vladivostok" busted very soon. Disillusioned Russia turned its face towards the Third World, and Asia which had been a natural ally of the erstwhile Soviet Union, again got prominence among the policy makers. So in the changed circumstances and policies countries like China, India, Iran got the top priority in Russian foreign policy list.

Soon, Andrei Kozyrev (pro-West Foreign Minister) was replaced by an academician Yevgeny Primakov (pro-Third World) as Russia's new foreign minister who tried to balance between the East and the West. In December 1998, he made an official visit to India. Primakov visited India at the time when India was internationally isolated after conducting five nuclear tests a few months back. He proposed to formulate a triangle between three major Eurasian countries Russia-China-India to counter US hegemony and unilateralism in the world politics. According to him, 'Russia favours the creation of a Moscow-Beijing-

Delhi triangle and also it would be a good idea' (SWB/SU/3416 B/5, December 22, 1998).⁵

While in 1998 US loomed over the world as the sole super power ready to take unilateral action anywhere, there were some developments taking place to fill the geopolitical vacuum left behind by the collapse of USSR. Primakov visited India at a time when the later was internationally isolated for conducting nuclear tests few months back. This visit by one of the world's major powers did not just create a diplomatic opening for India. By talking of a "strategic triangle", Primakov underlined the importance of India in the global affairs (Patnaik, April 2005:3-10)⁶

Russia-India Relations

The legacy of strong mutually beneficial relations between Soviet Union and India weighed heavily on Indian expectations in developing relations with new Russia. Global events brought India and Soviet Union together in the fifties when the Cold War dominated international relations. India had identified itself with the Soviet world view just as Pakistan had with that of the USA.

The general understanding was Indo-Soviet friendship being time tested; Indo-Russian equation would not dramatically alter in times to come. End of Soviet Union, however, altered the international scenario completely. It heralded the end of the confrontational bloc politics and end of the Cold War era and the weakening of ideologies. Free from ideological compulsion new Russia had new options (Shams-ud-din, 2001: 1).⁷

After prolonged dilly dallying and rescheduling his visit since 1992, Yeltsin finally arrived in New Delhi only in January 1993. President Yeltsin's belated visit to India in January 1993 was aimed to reassure New Delhi that Russia was not cold-shouldering India. Indian Prime Minister P. V. Narsimha Rao visited Moscow in 1994; during high visit President Yeltsin remarked that "there was no difference at all between the two countries on international and bilateral issues".

The document signed during his visit promised for joint action by both countries against terrorism. The

document supported all forms of cooperation, investment, joint enterprise, creation of conditions for economic initiative, development of scientific technical cooperation, peaceful atom, cosmos, and laser technology (Chenoy, 2005: 11-26).⁸

Between 1992 and 1996, India imported defence equipment worth \$3.5 billion from Russia. Indian military and defence orders now sustained many defence industries in Russia, especially in St. Petersburg and Irkutsk which would otherwise have faced closure at the time of transition in the Russian economy. India is the only country with which Russia has a long term programme of military-technical cooperation, which was signed in 1994.

The Soviet era Treaty of Friendship, Peace and Cooperation was renewed for another 10 years, during the then defence Minister Mulayam Singh Yadav's visit to Moscow in December 2000 (Chenoy, 2001: 183-184).⁹ Russian spokesmen stated that Russian-Indian military cooperation would touch \$4.5 billion in 2000 and \$6.5 billion in the end of 2005.

In February 2006, India and Russia also set up a Joint Study Group to examine ways to increase trade to US\$10 billion by 2010 and to study feasibility of a Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA). The group finalized its report after its fourth meeting in Moscow in July 2007. It was agreed that a Joint Task Force would monitor the implementation of the recommendation made in the Joint Study Group Report, including considering CECA.

The second BRIC summit was held in Brasília in April 2010. India and Russia agreed to jointly study a Comprehensive Economic Co-operation Agreement with Belarus-Kazakhstan with the aim of boosting trade ties and achieving the ambitious trade target of \$20 billion by 2015. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh stated in speech given during President Putin's 2012 visit to India, "Our bilateral trade has grown by over 30 per cent this year. There is still untapped potential in areas such as pharmaceuticals, fertilisers, mining, steel, information technology, civil aviation, telecommunications, infrastructure, food processing, innovation and services, which we will work to exploit".

The crucial and the most time testing moment in Indo-Russian relations came in May 1998, when India conducted five nuclear tests in Pokhran, Rajasthan and most of the influential countries imposed economic and many other kinds of sanctions on India. Although Russia agreed with the West and USA that India should sign on CTBT and NPT and ratify as soon as possible, but Russia opposed any kind of economic sanction against India.

Tremendous pressure was exerted by the USA-led West on Russia to scrap all its agreements in nuclear cooperation with India and also stop technical support to India's two nuclear reactors under construction with Russian assistance at Kudnakulam, Tamil Nadu. But Russia stood up to the Indian expectations and refused to comply with US dictates (Boquerat and Frederic, 2004:132-140).¹⁰

Russia has constantly supported India's point of view on the issue of Kashmir in various international forums. It has also promised India to using veto power in UNSC if India would be pressurized on the issue of Kashmir. As the reciprocal gesture India also always supported Russian stand on the Chechnya issue and criticized the West for interfering in Russia's internal matters on the pretext of addressing human rights violations.

India and Russia set up a joint working group on Afghanistan. As on many other issues their stance on this issue was similar. Together they made it possible for the Northern Alliance to keep afloat, and thereby a counterforce against the Taliban was available when the American attack on Afghanistan took place. Their joint proposal of resistance also mooted by General Musharraf and virtually endorsed by the USA prevented the sneaking in of Taliban elements in the interim government formed subsequently in Afghanistan under the leadership of Hamid Karzai. (Dutt, 2003: 18-19).¹¹

Russia is one of the states which promised to support for India for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, and thus has demonstrated to the Indian foreign policy establishment its loyalty to Indian position and its understanding of India's strategic aspirations globally.

Another important landmark in the development of Indo-Russian ties was Prime Minister Primakov's visit at the end of 1998. The visit sparked off a debate following his references to an Indo-China-Russia strategic triangle. He remarked that "Russo-Indian relations are perhaps unique in diplomatic history of the past fifty years. Their strength has been tested by many turns and twists in the two countries political life and during the profound transformation of international system". He also rightly noted that cooperation between the two countries rests on a long established bred public consensus in both countries regarding the priority of Russian-Indian cooperation as a factor promoting national interests (Wishnik, 2001.)¹²

On March 22, 1999 India and Russia signed an agreement to train Indian defence personnel in key Russian defence establishments for maintaining advanced defence equipments. The 44,500-ton Kiev class Admiral Gorshkov aircraft carrier has been purchased by India from Russia. The Mig-29K Fulcrum aircraft stand a better chance to be operated from this aircraft carrier. Up-gradation of MiG-29 Fighters, construction of 3 Kirvak class frigates for the Indian Navy, modernization for T-72 MBT, procurement of T-90s MBTs, for the Indian army and anti-ballistic missiles systems were discussed. (Wishnik, 2001)¹³.

India-China Relations

The history of India-China, interaction is almost as old as the two civilizations themselves. This centuries old relationship has been peaceful, mutually enriching, both materially and spiritually and is possibly unparalleled in human history. It is generally believed that the contacts between India and China began as early as the time of Christ although there is as yet no definite record to establish. Trade and commerce flourished between them via the Silk Road, as also cultural contacts.

One of the most significant aspects of the ancient contacts was the establishment of Buddhism in China. The Chinese responded with great enthusiasm to the arrival of Buddhist missionaries and thereafter initiated a number of moves to bring Indian Buddhist monks and scholars to help teach, explain and

establish Buddhism firmly in China. . This turnaround in their political loyalties and their radicalization came about with the work of Gadar Party in China and indeed, in retrospect, the Gadar movement figures in the history of Indo-China relations as a notable chapter of revolutionary comradeship (Bakshi, 2000: 168-170).¹⁴

Relation with China was to figure prominently in independent India. In a notable essay “A Foreign Policy for India” in September 1927, Nehru wrote: “In developing our foreign policy we shall naturally first cultivate friendly relations with the countries of East which have so much in common with us. Nepal will be our neighbour and friend, with China and Japan, Indonesia, Afghanistan and Central Asia we shall have the closest contact (Nehru, 1927: p. 361).¹⁵

Nehru greeted the birth of communist China in October 1949 with great pomp. India was the first among non-communist countries to recognize the People’s Republic of China. In a rare gesture, India displayed “excessive zeal in promoting its membership in the UN” (Shambaugh, 1927: p. 361).¹⁶

The sunshine period in Indo-China relations disappeared behind the dark cloud with the border clashes in October 1962, which ultimately spread in to a full-fledged war in which India suffered a crushing defeat. The opposition parties dubbed Nehru a ‘soaring idealist’ incapable of defending the country’s honour. Nehru’s faith that a socialist China will never attack a ‘non-aligned’ India and his faith in non-aligned policy as a pathway to national security proved illusory.¹⁷

Post-Nehru era has been relatively smooth and peaceful for China and India relations. Without being guided by passion and idealism Mrs. Indira Gandhi, unlike her father, endeavored to lend a component of ‘hard realism’ to Indian foreign policy. For instance, India’s role in dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971, its first ever nuclear blast in May 1974, and later merging of Sikkim reinforced the premise that she was a practitioner of power politics. After 14 years of gap in 1976, K.R. Narayanan was accredited India’s ambassador to Beijing, a

pragmatic step towards normalizing Indo-China relations. (Li, 2000: 253-269).¹⁸

Sino-India relations entered a new’ phase with the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi’s path breaking visit to Beijing in December 1988. Also both countries agreed to concentrate on expanding bilateral cooperation in non-conventional field, as was evident from the signing of several agreements on scientific and technical cooperation, and on educational and cultural exchange programmes. (Jiali, 2003:214-257).¹⁹

There are several issues of national and international importance on which both India-China still have their own apprehensions.

Pakistan Factor

The Sino-Pakistan security and strategic nexus has remained a central issue in India-China relations ever since Beijing and Islamabad signed a historic border agreement in March 1963, ceding a chunk of Pakistan occupied Kashmir to China. China also assisted Pakistan, in its nuclear and missile building programmes, which were designed to help Pakistan to keep its option, open. Following an agreement signed between the two countries in September 1986, China also sold two mini nuclear research reactors to Pakistan in 1989 and 1990 and also promised to assist Pakistan’s nuclear energy programmes. (Subramanyam, 1989, 23-28).²⁰

Close China-Myanmar Relationship

Another area of serious concern is the close China-Myanmar relations which has far reaching implications. Of particular concern for India is the fact that the Coco Island base is situated merely 30 nautical from the Andaman Islands giving China a strategic presence in the Indian Ocean. The objective behind improving the Burma Road would also be security one, aimed at facilitating quick-movement of men and material between Yunan and the Indian Ocean. The Chinese are also believed to have assisted in the construction of a 50 meter-radar antenna on the Coco Islands.

Tibet Issue

The Tibet issue has been one of the major constraints in Indo-China relations ever since Tibet was forcibly

occupied by China in 1950 and declared an integral part of its territory. India argues that it has given refuge to Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetan refugees on humanitarian ground, but China criticizes India of providing help to the secessionist movement in Tibet and intervening in China's internal matters. A further controversy was sparked off between New Delhi and Beijing when Karmapa Lama, a Buddhist monk, fled to India in early 2000 and was given a status of a Tibetan refugee by the Indian government. The Indian government ignored Chinese sensitivity over the Karmapa episode. The real problem with China is that it regards Tibet as an edifice of unity (Boqerat and Grare, 2004: 29-41).²¹

Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim issues

Although China has formally recognized recently Sikkim as the part of India, but on Arunachal Pradesh its stand is ambiguous. During Vajpayee visit to China in June 2003, India termed Tibet an autonomous region of PRC. India has also gained in return, by signing the accord on opening trade through Sikkim (Nathula pass). The Nathula Pass was officially closed in 1975, after Sikkim became the part of India.

Economic Apprehensions

In the early 1990s with a positive mood and thinking in the leadership of both countries, they signed a much awaited trade agreement on avoidance of double taxes in each other's country to boost the flow of goods and products on the basis of mutual benefit. On the trade front there has been a boost from \$ 265 million in 1991 to \$ 3.6 billion in 2001. According to some policy analysts, what is worrying Indian business circles is the flooding of domestic markets by cheap Chinese goods. Their fear is rooted in the belief that all varieties of Chinese products are at unbeatable price and quality wise in international markets. That is why large and medium size business houses in India are raising a hue and cry over the 'dumping syndrome'.

Russia-India-China Emerging Triangle

During his visit in December 1998, the former Russian Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov,

proposed a Russia-India-China strategic triangle, which envisaged closer strategic cooperation. He said that "If we succeed in establishing a strategic triangle, it will be very good ... a lot depend in the region on the policies perused by India, China and Russia. Further, this proposal was made in the framework of partnership between the three countries that could bring about greater stability not just in the region but the world."

The immediate response from Beijing on the proposed triangle was positive. The spokesperson of Chinese foreign ministry dubbed it as 'very positive thought' and 'would help in containing growing unilateralism in international politics'. India's response was cautious and rather lukewarm because it did not want to send wrong signals to the West by joining in bloc politics.

In his speech the then Prime Minister Vajpayee said, 'Russia is a longstanding partner of India with which we have traditionally enjoyed friendly relations. At the same time, India is working on normalizing its relations with China'. Due to this cold response from India, speaking to the media Primakov explained that his earlier words on the possibility of forming a triangle between Russia-China-India were not official proposal. He said "I wanted to say that such partnership could reliably stabilize the situation in the region and in the world" (SWB/SU/3417 B/4, December 23, 1998.)²²

The multi-ethnic and multi-cultural societies of Russia, India, and China have faced increasing pressure from the forces that seek to destroy their pluralistic societies. In India infiltration in Kargil was the culmination of years of infiltrations and terrorist activities. The terrorists have also attacked the highest symbol of Indian democracy, the parliament. Russia's long bleeding problem of Chechnya has been further aggravated with the Western and US media and human right group's intervention on the name of human rights violations.

China is facing potential threat of secession in its Xinjiang province by Islamic extremists who are engaged with continuous low level warfare with Chinese authorities. There is growing feeling among the three countries that US alone should not set the

agenda of global war against terror. The experience of Iraq also shows that the US polices can leave a bigger mess in the region, the effect of which has to be borne by neighbouring countries. (Jingji, 2000: 187-188).²³

At broader level India, Russia and China agree that the world should be a multipolar one. China felt the pressures from the West after the Thiamin square massacre, the US relentless support to Taiwan and threat perception of China despite years of normalization of US- Chinese relations, US sale of F -16s to Taiwan and promised Theater Missile Defense (TMD), forced Chinese to reconsider relations with the USA. With the development of National Missile Defence (NMD), US will get cutting edge on strategic position vis-à-vis Russia and China. Russia, with its huge nuclear arsenal, could live with the US NMD. From Chinese perspective, however, the same system could immediately render China's minimalist nuclear relations obsolete (Yi, 2000:121-130).²⁴

There are other interested players in the region, foremost and most influential being the USA. Due to presence of petroleum and hydrocarbons, the 'great game' in Central Asia has been revived. Russia, China, USA are the major players in this game and competing for lion's share in the Central Asian natural resources. India, though a marginal player in this game, is trying to reduce its dependence on Gulf oil, and looking forward for supply of oil from Central Asia.

Russia, India and China can also combine to discuss and if necessary deal with terrorism. Islamic extremism in Kashmir, Xinjiang and in Chechnya has grown over the years. Although US war on terrorism will help in reducing the problem, Washington clearly cannot do everything.

There has been a consensus between the three countries on the growing menace of terrorism. In April 1996, the 'Shanghai Five', a multilateral forum composed of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, was created with the aim of fighting ethnic separatism as well as Islamic fundamentalism. In March 2000, a meeting was held in Astana, Kazakhstan, to determine a common position on

these two issues. This was later confirmed in a joint declaration in July 2000 in Dushanbe followed by a decision to create an anti-terrorist centre in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (Djalili, 2001: 64-65).

Likewise, in October 2000, during President Putin's visit to Delhi, India and Russia reaffirmed their convergence of view on fighting terrorism, expressing their deep concern over the situation in Central Asia and Afghanistan for which they agreed to set up a working group. (Basu, 1998, 1285-1290).²⁵

Since the time of proposal of the triangle in December 1998 to 2001, by and large no concrete steps seem to have been taken by the three concerned countries to realize it. But the more US unilateralism became blatant the more attractive the option seemed. As a result for the first time the three foreign ministers of Russia, China and India met on the sidelines of UN General Assembly meet at New York in 2002 to explore the 'triangle' possibility.

The approach continued to be an extremely cautious one. The three foreign ministers gave no media briefing for the press except that informally they let the press know that they had met and that these meetings will continue. By comparison at the second 2003 New York meeting the difference in both their body language and press briefing could be clearly noticed. At the conclusion of their second meeting, three foreign ministers were ready to convey to the press that three states had adopted a common approach on Iraq favoring return to political process to ensure quick return of sovereignty to Iraqi people. (Singh, 2005: 14-16).²⁶

This clearly had strong connotations for the USA, especially as all three of them had also refused to send troops to Iraq. The 2004 meeting on the eve of the UN General Assembly session in New York could not occur due to change of government in New Delhi leading to some scheduling problems with the Indian establishment. Nevertheless, this was soon rectified and the three foreign ministers had their third 'dialogue' on strategic triangle on the sidelines of the Almaty meet of the 16 nation Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) in October 2004. In the press briefing

all three countries agreed to strengthen a “collective approach” in world affairs. (Singh, 2005: 14-16).²⁷

For various reasons, all three countries feel that they are under Western pressure. Russia because of NATO’s eastward expansion, Chechnya issue, and more generally, because of perceived CS design on former Soviet republics, including Central Asia and Caspian Sea region. China is experiencing Western pressure on human rights issue and feels threatened by US arms sales to Taiwan and more generally, an East Asian security policy which moves towards greater use of Japan in balancing China. India is experiencing in concealed Western propensity to try to get involved on Kashmir issue and helping Pakistan to internationalizing Kashmir issue; as well as the Western -mainly US attempt to limit country’s nuclear and missile programme. (Sakwa,2003: 5-19).

The international balance of power is changing in favour of world peace. Russia, India and China (RIC) have been interacting trilaterally since 1996. The 11th round of the Russia-India-China (RIC) Foreign Minister’s meeting was held on April 13, 2012 in Moscow. The impetus of the RIC Foreign Ministers’ recent meeting was strengthened as it was held within a fortnight after the March 29 BRICS summit in New Delhi. RIC’s main agenda has been to oppose unilateralism and to promote a pluralistic democratic international order. The three countries believe that the diverse threats and risks cannot be addressed by military power alone but need to be appraised through political, social and economic prisms.

India also accused US for pursuing ‘double standard’ on fighting with terrorism. India blames that terrorist outfits functioning in Pakistan with covert support of Pakistani establishment are posing grave threat to India’s security, but US is eliminating only those terrorists who pose threat to its own interests and not that of India.

Impact on India

India on its side is also willing to engage in great power politics and is looking for international recognition it has been deprived of since

independence. Nehru wrote movingly of India’s desire and its destiny to play a major role in the world politics. He hoped that it would not be military role, but one based on sound moral values. Today although there does not exist any “white paper” enunciating the objectives of the country’s foreign policy, India still strives towards this goal. The most spectacular example of this new assertiveness, largely founded on the self-confidence generated by the relative success of the nuclear tests, is the claim for a permanent seat at the UNSC.

On the issue of triangle, it is only India that seems to be least under pressure to pursue this triangle. India has to carefully weigh its policy options and maintain a delicate balance between promoting strategic triangle and strengthening its engagement with the USA. Individually both Russia and China have maintained good relationship with the US and their trade volume are increasing rapidly with the US.

Fear persists at the bilateral level as well. To some Chinese analysts Russia still represents a potential threat and *vice-versa* is also true. Both Russia and India presume that in the short and medium term, China may pursue the policy of peace, but in the long term equations may change. China’s overt and covert support to Pakistani nuclear and missile development programme poses a great security danger for India.

India-Russia-China can do some sensible things together in the military and geopolitical realm. There is very little prospect that they are going to be allies or even thoroughgoing strategic performers. Moreover, there are number of areas where protocol, discussions and agreements might be reached which would enhance their security and contribute to the security of Asia. If the idea of triangle between them means anything, it probably means a relatively modest set of understanding on which their views converge.

Russia, China and India have great historical experience of dealing with such Western influences and preserving their Asian identity despite all challenges. The fundamentals of strategic triangle seem robust and clear and effort must be made to make it effective As of today Russia-India-China

stand together in their support for evolving 'just and rational' new international order with democratization of international politics and multipolarization.

Also all three have been suffering from transnational and cross-border terrorism and have not been comfortable with uni-polar world led by the US. The trilateral cooperation among themselves holds the key of 'triangle' and how these three Eurasian giants resolve their internal disputes would be the deciding factor in the emergence of 'Eurasian triangle'.

To conclude, Russian and Chinese interests in Central Asia seem smooth but the growing Chinese influence in the region is the cause of concern for Russia. China has already surpassed Germany to become second largest economy in the world. China's fast growing economy needs continuous energy supply for which Central Asia is its natural choice.

Russia treats Central Asia as its backyard and interests of both countries seem to be at odds here. The withdrawal of US from Afghanistan in 2014 and resurgence of Taliban is another issue of concern for three countries and only through joint collaboration they will be able to secure peace in the region. If India and China settle their border dispute amicably which is the biggest hurdle in the formation of RIC, the proposed Asian triangle will become a force to reckon with in the times to come.

The induction of Russian aircraft carrier Admiral Gorshkov (renamed as INS Vikramaditya) in November 2013, in Indian navy has increased its strike capability manifold. India has made it categorically clear that induction of state-of-art weapons like Arihant and Vikramaditya is not aimed against any other country but for the self-defence. If these three Eurasian giants, two of them being the permanent members of UNSC, can amicably resolve their minor disputes amicably, the dream of 21st century to be an Asian century can be easily realized.

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The Terminal Decline of the Congress

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[The Indian Nation Congress, the Party Patriarch of India which dominated Indian politics more than three quarters of the present century, is passing through a phase of steep decline. It experienced a historic defeat in the 2014 Parliamentary election managing to win 44 of 543 Lok Sabha seats while the BJP secured 282 seats and formed the government on its own. Though the BJP did not require the support of any political party, however, it invited its alliance partners to join the government and some of them were inducted into the Central Council of Ministers.]

The Congress with mere 44 seats in the present Lok Sabha, drew a blank in 11 states including Delhi, Gujarat, Rajasthan Tamil Nadu, Bihar, West Bengal, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. It is now without a strong base anywhere in India. It has been completely wiped out from Andhra Pradesh, weakened in Karnataka, defeated in Maharashtra, marginalized in U.P. and West Bengal.

In Punjab, it is experiencing serious threat from the Aam Aadmi Party. It has drawn nearly blank in most

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key states across the Hindi heartland. The impending assembly elections in several states scheduled later in this year may not bring pleasant results for the already crippled and shattered Congress Party.

The rise and fall of the Congress Party is not a new phenomenon of Indian politics. The ultimate power to change the ruling government through fair and genuine electoral process is one of the salient features of a democratic political system. But the stunning element of the 2014 parliamentary election in India is that the Congress Party is at the nadir of its influence in Indian politics. Its decimation and

roul everywhere in this election constitute the most serious crisis in the party's long history.

The Congress's catapult to power with a thumping majority in the Parliamentary election of 1984 was possible largely because of sympathy vote created after the assassination of late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi but after this election; the people's mandate has been always fractured. Afterwards no political party was able to secure a minimum of 272 seats to form a government at the Centre on its own. After three decades, the BJP has secured 282 seats and formed government in the Centre.

One stunning feature of this parliamentary election is that many regional parties are not far behind the Congress in their numerical strength in the Lok Sabha. The AIADMK emerged as the third largest party securing 37 seats in this parliamentary election. The Trinamul Congress [TMC] won 34 seats, The Biju Janata Dal [BJD] 20 seats and the Shiv Sena 18 seats. It is the truncated numerical strength of the Congress in the parliament which has weakened its claim to be nominated as the opposition leader in the Parliament.

It is a very disappointing position for the political party which has dominated Indian political scene for the maximum period after independence. The Congress is in deep trouble. The role of the Congress in the Parliament as an opposition is weak. Many leaders of the Congress have opposed Rahul Gandhi as the Vice-President of the party. A veteran leader of the Congress from Punjab, Jagjit Singh Brar even suggested Rahul Gandhi to go on two years leave from political activity.

The local leaders from the Congress party from Haryana, Punjab, Maharashtra and Assam have

revolted against the party. Many leaders from Haryana have switched their loyalty to the BJP. No tangible change is visible even after 86 days of the Summit of Congress Working committee. Rahul Gandhi had forwarded his resignation on 20 May this year, but his resignation was not accepted.

The health of the Congress party is abysmally precarious. How to come out from this ignominious condition is a million dollar question before the Congress Party. The big question is whether the Congress can recover, revive and organize its ideas, energies, forces and come out of deep wood.

The decline of the Congress Party was inevitable. Many reasons of its decline can be enumerated as follows.

Organisational and Structural Weakness

The Congress is in poor health. It does not have the organizational structure that is essential for a cadre-based political organization. After 1970 onwards, party organization in most states degenerated severely. Indira Gandhi along with coterie made systematic effort to change it into a centralized family-centered political organization. The regional and local big guns of the party were systematically ignored or shunted to make the party regionally and locally weak.

The fear of challenge from the regional leaders to the central authority of the Congress party made it weak within and regional leaders were selected and imposed on states and regions from the centre. Loyalty, allegiance, subservience to the central leadership etc., were required criteria for selection of regional leaders. Their strength, popularity and grassroots connection were not required now. No attention was given to the organization and regulation

of the Party. The promotion of rootless leaders did not permit the Party to grow and consolidate.

Leadership Crisis

Organizational and structural factors were compounded by the leadership crisis. The Congress party never encouraged second-line leadership to prosper within the party. If any leader dissented with the decisions or policies of the central leadership of the party, he was ignored or shunted. There is no central leadership that is willing to shoulder responsibilities. Rahul Gandhi, heir of the Gandhi-Nehru dynasty, is unwilling or ambivalent to take up responsibility and is not charismatic.

After the electoral debacle in 2014, Rahul Gandhi was expected to assume larger responsibility in the party affairs, but he is reluctant to assume leadership. The Karnataka leader Mallikarjun Kharge has been appointed as the parliamentary party leader in the Lok Sabha.

Crisis of Vision

The Congress Party lacks vision. The aspirations at the national, societal and generational levels have changed and moved with the times but the party remains rooted in the past. The party or its leadership does not inspire anymore. The party used to take policy decisions based on outdated ideology and slogans. Therefore, the people shifted to other party they could identify themselves with. The BJP on the other hand has been able to foster democracy conducive to the growth of local leadership in the states and identify with national interest.

Lack of Internal Democracy

The party has not allowed popular leaders to rise from within. No new leadership with popular

support has emerged over the past few decades. The overriding presence of the Nehru-Gandhi dynastic leadership has hindered fresh dynamic leadership to emerge. This has encouraged sycophancy and loyalty.

Thus local leaders have been cut off from grassroots making them inaccessible for the leaders and the party. In the general meetings of the party, dissenting voices were suppressed. Some senior leaders of the party questioned the leadership and the party after the Lok Sabha debacle but their dissenting voice has been ignored. People were expecting a major change in the Congress Party and leadership but nothing has changed.

Shrinking of Wide Appeal

The Congress Party has also lost its wide appeal across the country. Powerful caste and community groupings have shifted to regional small parties after more than a decade of an uneven and unequal development. The rich and the poor, the upper caste and the lower caste and the minorities have maintained distance from the Congress Party.

There has emerged disconnect between the new urban middle class and the Congress party on welfare schemes. The party has not been able to match or satisfy growing aspirations of growing middle class and the youth of the country. The party has lost not only its ground within the middle class; it has also lost support of the dalits, Muslims and adivasis.

Prolonged Phase of Inactivity and Hibernation

Despite failings on numerous fronts, the party has not come out of its inactivity and hibernation. There have been allegations of safeguarding tainted leaders, compromises on corruptions and equivocations on

communal issues but the party could not come out convincingly with its clear stand on these issues. Majority of the leaders and workers of the party were disillusioned with the party stand and therefore failed to convince the electorate on sensitive issues.

Rahul Gandhi recognized the terrible condition of the organization when he said in 2013: “I am not afraid to say that the Congress has become moribund... Congress has never succeeded in evolving into a modern political party.” Tragedy with the party has been that it had known the malady but could not take appropriate measures to arrest its falling grace and influence among the people. Rahul Gandhi had tried to prioritize the party organization and introduce internal democracy in the party’s frontal organization but his efforts could not produce required results.

Rejuvenation of the Congress Party

The Congress revival depends on its ability to address its crisis of credibility, encouraging state and regional dynamic leaders, functioning as a vigorous opposition in Parliament and outside by joining hands with parties like TMC, AIADMK and others. The Congress has to rebuild itself as a credible alternative to the BJP as a genuinely left-of-centre party. Its future relevance hinges on its assertion of social democratic values of welfare and pluralism. It has to gain lost ground among dalits, Muslims, adivasis and the urban poor by agitating for their livelihood rights. It will have to revive its fortune by making way for new ideas, new and fresh people, dynamic and comprehensive vision, new leadership with an open mind.

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Theoretical Concept of Leadership

Harpreet Kaur*

[Leadership refers to the act of directing others in social situations. Being a dynamic force essential for success in any human group effort, leadership is construed as a universal phenomenon, which is an ever changing process and is prevalent in every field of our life. No organization or society can be expected to flourish sans leadership, which is considered as vital to the survival of any human enterprise. Leadership is prevalent as a socio-psychological process in some degree or the other wherever there is human congregation be it a primitive society of cave dwellers or a twenty-first century national community.]

Leadership is a dynamic force essential for success in any human group effort. It is a universal phenomenon, which is an ever changing process and is prevalent in every field of our life. Without leadership no organization or society can flourish. In fact, it is vital to the survival of a business. Being a socio-psychological process, leadership is present in some degree or the other wherever human beings get together¹ be it a primitive society of cave dwellers or a twenty-first century national community.²

Every organization, government or non-governmental, a political party and a group need leadership to inspire, motivate and guide its members in their collective efforts to achieve its objective.³ It is a process of influencing people, a leader is said to have an influence over others when they are willing to carry out his wishes and accept his advice, guidance and directions, that leadership is always related to a particular situation at a given point of time.

Leadership refers to the act of directing others in social situations. In traditional society, it plays a key role in changing value structure of the society. In such a case leadership develops, elaborates, redefines and transforms the existing social structure. Leadership must consider not only motivation but

also other functions of management, decision making, planning, controlling and communicating.⁴

Though dynamics of leadership, its socio-economic origin and social consequences have always attracted sociologists, social psychologists, political scientists and historians, there is no unanimity among the social scientists about its precise meaning, "As social scientists have learned to probe beneath the manifest aspects of leadership and have become corresponding more sensitive to the relevance of numerous and complex latent facts, they have found it more difficult to agree on what leadership is or does."⁵ This statement of Edinger indicates one of the main difficulties in the study of leadership, namely the problem of coming at some general agreement about the precise meaning.⁶

Leadership not only facilitates this process, but also helps in filling the latent gaps present in the social, administrative and political organizations. In the modern age leadership has also become complex with the growth of technology. The overwhelming significance of the problems of leadership has mounted with the revolutionary growth such as size, specialization, organizational entities and social demands. The concept of leadership has been defined by different scholars.

Pigors says, "Leadership is a process of mutual stimulation which by the successful interplay of

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relevant individual differences, controls human energy in the pursuit of a common cause”⁷

According to Peter G. Northous, “Defining leadership as a process means that it is not a trait or characteristic that resides in the leader, but is a transactional event that occurs between the leaders and his or his followers. Process implies that a leader affects and is affected by followers. It emphasizes that leadership is not a liner, one way but rather an interactive event.”⁸

H.P. Fairchild defines, “Leadership as a situation process in which a person because of his actual supposed ability to solve problems in the field of current group interests is followed by others in the group and influence their behavior.”⁹

By Stogdill, “Leadership may be considered as the process of influencing the activities of an organized group in its effort towards goal setting and goal achievements.”¹⁰

According to Dictionary of the Social Sciences, “Leadership denotes the occupancy of a status and the active performance of a role that mobilizes more or less organized collective and voluntary effort toward the attainment of shared goals and objectives.”¹¹

From the above mentioned definitions it is quite clear that Leadership is the relationship in which one person, the leader, influences others to work together willingly on related tasks to attain that which the leader desires. It is quite necessary to influence people to cooperate towards a common goal and to create situations for collective response.

It is a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal. It is an inter-individual relationship in which the leader influences the followers for the attainment of desired group goal. It comprises four basic elements such as (a) Leadership is a process (b) Leadership involves influence (c) leadership occurs within a group context and (d) leadership involves goal attainment.¹²

Features of Leadership

1. Leadership may be seen in terms of relationship between a leader and his followers, which arises out of their functioning for common goals.
2. It is the influence which is exercised by the leader on the members of his group. A successful leader is one who has the capability to influence the behaviour, attitude of his group members and they are willing to carry out his order.
3. Leadership gives an experience of help to followers to attain common goals. It happens when the leader feels the importance of individuals; gives them recognition and conveys them about the importance of activities performed by them.
4. Leadership is a continuous process of behaviour, it is not one shot activity.
5. A successful leader performs his duty in such a way that individual interests do not come into conflict with the greater interests of an organization.
6. For attaining greater interests of an organization, the managers must allow and accept the views of the subordinates who are talented and dedicated to their work.
7. The behaviour of leader towards his subordinates in one situation may be autocratic but under the changed situation he may have soft corner and thus prefer participative management.

Two essential aspects of the leadership relation are: the ability to influence others to cooperate and identification of some common purpose. Leadership is a relationship that can be studied best within group processes because as a pattern it is both the function of the social situation and the function of personality as well as a function of these two in interaction.

Types of Leadership

Leadership style is different from the personality trait of the leader. Though the leadership behaviour will

be influenced by the personality trait of the leader but it will be conditioned by the situations obtaining around him. We may call these situations as external environment in organizational setting. There are three types of leadership:

Autocratic leadership

Autocratic leadership is also known as authoritarian or directive style. This type of leadership generally creates an immediate impression of a strict inconsiderate leader with authority rule. Autocratic leader rules people without consulting them. He does not give detailed information about the future plans to the group, but simply tells the group what immediate steps they must take. It gives preference to the aims and objectives of an organization in comparison to the welfare of the people.

Participative Leadership

Participative leadership is also called as democratic or ideographic style. A participative is defined as mental and emotional involvement by a person in a group situation, which encourages him to contribute to group goals. It is more concerned with the organization and its employees in comparison to production. The leaders of this type are not revolutionary but of peaceful mind. It is more effective in developing a favourable, efficient work climate. A leader of this style will encourage ideas and suggestions of subordinates. He will inspire them and encourage their skill and talents.

Laissez-faire or free rein leadership

It means giving full authority to the group to make its own decision. The free-rein leader avoids power. It is often described as no leadership at all, for it is largely group which sets its own goal and works out its own problems. It means giving complete freedom to coordinates in making decisions regarding policies and techniques. This style of leadership can function effectively if the subordinates are highly competent and duty conscious. It helps subordinates to develop independent personality. This style is used very rarely in business organization.¹³

Theories of Leadership

There are different approaches to the study of leadership. These theories of leadership have been developed through the several stages of evolution. Each of these theories has its own assumption. H. Koonaz and C. Donnel refer to two theories of leadership: Situational and Group.¹⁴

Situational Theory

The situational approach is based on the assumption that different situations require different leadership behaviour and that the attributes which make for effective leadership are determined by the particular situation prevalent in the group at a given time.¹⁵ It is assumed that certain elements such as speech, stability and intelligence are essential in a leader.

This theory states that there are certain situations in particular groups, which can mould the leadership skills in a person. The work situation and its influence is a major factor in leadership. As Stogdill points out, "The qualities and skills required in a leader are determined to a large extent by the demands of the situation in which he is to function as a leader."¹⁶ The primary aspect of this theory is that leadership is the integration between the leader and the group.

Group Approach

In group approach, the leader of a group is often one who abides most closely in his actual behaviour to the group's norms, particularly if the group is an informal one. It is based on following assumption like (a) Leadership is a group property (b) Leadership, which is a group property, is a function of group structure. It provides an easily accessible and relatively objective means of assessing interpersonal attitudes within a group. The Groupists are of the view that it largely depends on the mutual relationship of all the members of the group. Leadership is a process of interaction, which has an influence of the same kind between the leader and the followers in a specific situation.¹⁷

Trait Theory

The trait approach seeks to determine what makes a successful leader from the leader's own personal features. Trait is defined as relatively enduring quality and experience. The trait theorists believe that there are certain in-born characteristics which make a person a leader. From the very beginning, people have emphasized that a particular individual was a successful leader because of his qualities. Trait approach leadership studies were quite popular between 1930 and 1950. The method of study was to select leaders of eminence and their characteristics were studied.¹⁸

The basic assumption of this approach is that leaders tend to be bigger and brighter than the rest of the members of the society and they are characterized by distinct intellectual and personality traits which enable them to exercise influence over the followers. It was believed that a successful leader is one who has specific leadership traits, which can be acquired.¹⁹

Idiosyncrasy credit theory

It emphasized the role of 'followers' in leadership behaviour. It is not only the leader who influences his followers but, in fact, the followers also equally influence the leader. James W. Julian uses the concept of exchange to explain this leader-follower interaction process.

The Path Goal Theory of Leadership

Robert House and others have developed a Path-Goal theory of leadership initially presented by Evans. The concept of Path Goal was presented in 1957. According to this theory, the main function of a leader is to clarify and set goals with subordinates, to help them to find the best path for achieving the goals and to remove the obstacles to their performance. When subordinates are confused, then the leaders may tell them what to do and show them a clear path to goals. The key to the theory is that the leader influences the paths between the behaviour and goals.

Thus different approaches to the study of leadership phenomenon are discernible: the Situational Approach, the Trait Approach, Idiosyncrasy Credit, Path Goal Approach, each one giving special emphasis on the corresponding element of the leadership process.

It is a part of the problem solving machinery of groups. Leadership in the group is those persons who are perceived most frequently to perform these roles which initiate and control behaviour of others towards the achievement of group goals. It is qualitatively high and has a proper grasp of the things which are happening around them in the society. Thus leadership does not command fear or terror. It is something which guides people towards better goals. It is an important factor for making any type of organization successful.

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Canada-India Relations

C. Sivakkolundu* & P. Loganathan**

[An attempt is made in this article to appraise Canada-India relation with specific emphasis on economic and trade relations. While providing brief statistical details of trade, investment and merchandised commodities between the two countries, authors emphasize on the need for taking up this relationship to a new trajectory of growth. Ed]

Canada and India have longstanding bilateral relations, built upon shared traditions of democracy, pluralism and strong interpersonal connections with an Indian Diaspora more than one million in Canada. This expanding bilateral relationship is supported by a wide range of agreements and commitment to increase annual bilateral trade to \$15 billion by 2015. Canada's priorities in India include infrastructure, energy, food, education, science and technology. India is an important source country for immigration to Canada.

Important agreements

- The Canada-India Social Security Agreement, the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on cooperation in Information and Communication Technologies and Electronics.
- Agreement on the Appropriate Arrangements of the Nuclear Cooperation Agreement, Trade, and National Security, upgrading of the trade office in Bengaluru, announcement of updates to the air transport agreement.

Trade and Investment

- According to Statistics Canada, bilateral merchandise trade between Canada and India

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in 2011 totaled approximately CAD\$ 5.2 billion, recording an increase of 23.4% percent over 2010.

- While Canadian merchandise exports to India in 2011 totaled \$2.6 billion, imports from India reached \$2.5 billion.

Top Ten Trading Partners of India

Country	Trade (Rs. In crore)	Trade Balance
China	1, 63,202	-92,676
USA	1,55,353	12,254
UAE	1,52,668	-1,934
Saudi Arabia	1,05,602	-64,303

Germany	67,602	-19,497
Singapore	63,280	2,934
U K	50,144	524
Hong Kong	50,129	1,772
Belgium	41,552	-5,294
Netherland	33,099	19,049

Canadian exports to India

Top Canadian exports to India include vegetables, fertilisers, paper and paperboard, machinery, wood pulp, precious stones, and iron and steel. Canadian imports from India include organic chemicals, precious stones and metals, knit apparel, woven apparel, machinery, and iron and steel.

Canada - India Bilateral Trade 2005 – 2014

(Figures in billion Canadian Dollars)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Canada's Imports from India	1.79	1.92	1.98	2.2	2.0	2.12	2.5	2.8	2.16	2.11
Canada's Exports to India	1.09	1.68	1.79	2.42	2.14	2.15	2.6	2.10	2.5	2.11
Total	2.87	3.59	3.77	4.62	4.14	4.27	5.1	4.18	4.21	4.22

(Source: Statistics Canada)

Canada – India Bilateral Direct Investment

(Figures in million Canadian Dollars)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Canadian Direct Investment in India	319	677	506	667	520	676	587	622	612	638
Indian Direct Investment in Canada	171	211	1,988	6,514	6,217	4,364	4,386	4,768	5,320	5,110
Total	490	888	2,494	7,181	6,737	5,040	4,983	5,390	5,932	5,748

(Source: Statistics Canada)

Science and Technology

- In 2005, Canada and India signed an Agreement for Scientific and Technological Cooperation to foster greater bilateral S&T collaboration.

- During the November 2012 State Visit to India, the Prime Ministers of Canada and India tasked the Joint S&T Committee with developing an Action Plan to fortify the bilateral S&T relationship by promoting basic research, facilitating academic and industrial personnel

exchanges, and accelerating technology commercialization.

- Prime Minister Harper also announced the selection of the India-Canada Centre for Innovative Multidisciplinary Partnerships to Accelerate Transformation and Sustainability as the winner of the Canada-India Research Centre of Excellence competition announced in Budget 2011.
- From 2007 to 2012, joint funding from Canada and India supported eight high quality bilateral R&D projects in priority areas such as Sustainable Environmental Technologies, Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) and Biotechnology.

Environment and Energy

The Canada-India established the Environmental Collaboration in order to increase technology and knowledge exchange on environmental issues.

Canada and India in a Multilateral World

Canada and India are also strong partners in addressing a variety of regional and international challenges. The two countries regularly engage in dialogue to discuss their shared commitment to global peace and security. This past summer in Tokyo, Canada and India joined more than 60 other countries and 25 international organizations in pledging support to help Afghanistan become a more stable, more secure, and democratic country.

Development Assistance

After 55 years of bilateral programming in India totaling C\$2.39 billion, Canada's bilateral development assistance program came to an end in 2006 following a change in Indian government policy regarding aid. However, Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada (FATD) continues to provide

Canada's Merchandise Trade with India

Canada's Trade with India (C\$)				
	January	December	January	December
	2012	2013	2013	2014
Exports	2,291,012,000	2,740,691,333	2,740,691,333	3,081,819,000

assistance to India through partnerships between Indian and Canadian NGOs and multilateral programs.

Economic and Financial Sector Policy

- The Economic and Financial Sector Policy (EFSP) Dialogues are vehicles to develop and maintain relations on financial sector issues between Canada and India, and to promote collaboration between Indian and Canadian financial institutions.
- The Canada-India EFSP dialogues aim to strengthen the bilateral relationship and explore areas of deeper cooperation between financial sector regulators from both countries.
- The EFSP Dialogues process demonstrates India and Canada's joint commitment to building strong bilateral ties as the trade and investment relationship between the two countries grows.
- The India's nuclear cooperation with Canada has been a long journey for both countries. Therefore, it was a pleasant surprise to nuclear watchers here when India and Canada concluded their nuclear deal in virtually record time.
- The Prime Minister welcomed close cooperation between India and Canada and expressed satisfaction at comprehensive nature of bilateral ties, including in areas of economic cooperation, agriculture, security, civil nuclear energy, education, and science and technology.
- India's exports to Canada include organic chemicals, precious stones, metals, apparel and machinery, while imports from Canada comprise vegetables, fertilisers, paper and paperboard, machinery, wood pulp, iron and steel.

Imports	2,856,541,000	2,976,581,724	2,976,581,724	3,172,688,640
Trade Balance	-565,529,000	-235,890,391	-235,890,391	-90,869,640

Source: Trade Data Online, Industry Canada, February 9, 2015.

India exports readymade garments, textiles, cotton yarn, carpets, floor spreads, gem and jewellery and precious stones, organic chemicals, coffee, spices,

light engineering goods, iron & steel articles, footwear and leather products, rice, cereals, processed foods and marine products to Canada. India's major items of import from Canada include newsprint, wood pulp, asbestos, potash, peas, iron scrap, copper, minerals and industrial chemicals.

Canada's Merchandise Trade with India- 2014

Canadian Imports from India		Canadian Exports to India	
Merchandise Classification	%	Merchandise Classification	%
1 Pearls, precious stones or metals	8.01	Edible vegetables, roots and tubers	28.84
2 Organic chemicals	7.20	Fertilizers	9.76
3 Boilers, mechanical appliances	6.72	Ores, slag and ash	9.09
4 Iron or steel articles	6.39	Paper and paperboard	8.85
5 Woven cloths and apparel articles	5.97	Mineral fuels, oils	8.65
6 Iron and steel	5.25	Pearls, precious stones or metals	8.01
7 Pharmaceutical products	4.93	Wood pulp, paper or paperboard scraps	6.35
8 Other textile articles, etc.	4.80	Boilers, mechanical appliances	3.58
9 Knitted or crocheted apparel	4.33	Aircraft and spacecraft	2.44
10 Fish, crustaceans, mollusks	3.83	Electrical machinery and equipment	2.41

Source: Trade Data Online, Industry Canada, February 23, 2015.

Canada with setting up several software development centres.

- India is Canada's largest trading partner in South Asia, but is ranked as Canada's 18th largest export market. There is a room for improvement in the trade between the two countries as India's share in Canada's imports is not even 0.5%.
- With the removal of the overseas investment ceiling of US \$100 million, rapid increase in FDI in Canada by Indian software manufacturers has been seen. Since 2001, Indian flagship companies have expanded their operations in
- Though, Canadian companies are enjoying increasing success in the Indian market, Canada has a modest presence in India in terms of investment. Their major thrust is in five areas, power and energy, equipment and services, oil and gas, environment products and services, telecommunications and information technology.
- Growth of service sector sales reflect Canadian strength in traditional areas such as consulting and engineering, as well as a growing Canadian

presence in fields such as education, software development, and financial services.

- In line with India's market liberalization, Canadian FDI in India reached Cdn \$144 million in 2002, while Indian FDI in Canada increased from Cdn \$18 million in 1999 to Cdn \$29 million in 2002.

Conclusion

The Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada (APFC) has played notable role in strengthening trade and economic relationship between India and Canada. Several bilateral business organizations, such as the Canada-India Business Council and the Indo-Canada Chamber of Commerce are also working towards boosting economic and trade ties between the two nations.

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Global Challenges to Immigration Policy

Shahnawaz Gul*

[One of the challenging policy issues in world today is the global Immigration processes and procedures. Over the last half-century, immigration policies and laws have expanded to accommodate and regulate the increasing number of people who migrate outside their countries of origin. While there were approximately 75 million people living outside their country of birth in 1960, by 2010 this number had nearly tripled to 214 million. In 1960, 30 countries hosted more than half a million immigrants each. Forty years later, this number had more than doubled to 64 countries (UN, 2013).]

The movement of people across international boundaries continues to be one of the most important issues of the global policy agenda for it generates enormous economic, social, and cultural implications in both sending and receiving countries. With the economic turbulences fueled by the global oil crises, migration was essentially stopped almost in all countries.

At the same time, the governments of the developed countries inclined to develop policies which placed new mechanisms in order to better address their labor market needs. The new immigration policies were selective in nature and targeted those migrants who can fully respond to the labor market needs and easily integrate with receiving communities, causing new challenges for the economies of sending countries.

Against this backdrop, the need for formulating effective policies, which will enable the governments of the receiving countries to reconcile the interests of their populations and the demands of millions who are in search of better living standards or security, has become the most daunting issue to address. The answer to this question is certainly not an easy one and requires meticulous analysis of the issue considering the fact that we live in such a globally interconnected world that any decision taken in one country for action will have to take into account the possible adverse effects it may give rise in another.

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Social scientists are no longer satisfied with considering immigration policy descriptively, or in single-country cases, they are now seeking the means to measure and compare immigration policies globally. The challenge is that there is still no comprehensive, cross-national, time series database of immigration policies. Such a database would allow us to build policy indicators of stringency and orientation to track important trends in immigration policy across countries and time, and to analyze the causes and consequences of immigration regulation more systematically.

International migration is a highly important factor for policy makers as it is a multidimensional reality of major relevance for the development of origin, transit and destination countries, and in this regard recognize that international migration is a cross cutting phenomenon that should be addressed in a coherent, comprehensive and balanced manner, integrating development with due regard for social, economic and environmental dimensions and respecting human rights.

The debate on immigration policies has also attracted additional importance after 9/11. Various European countries are confronted with terrorist and ethnic issues. Europe is now experiencing a growth of anti-Immigrant political parties. On the one side where there is huge requirement and demand for the softening of immigrant policies, on the other hand eruption of contrary issues is going to demand attention from policy makers globally and at the same time it is posing a challenge to tackle with.



Plan-wise RWEP - an Overview

G. C. Swain* & C. R. Prasad Swain**

[Rural employment is inextricable bound with the challenge of meeting the first Millennium Development Goal of reducing by half the proportion of people living on less than a dollar a day. Ways to improve existing rural jobs and to create additional jobs for more than 100 million new workers expected in the decades leading up to 2015, need to be found. Employment generation in rural India has emerged as the most crucial socio-economic issues in India in recent years.]

The government had initiated a number of rural development policies, including rural employment generation schemes since the 70's. Different innovative schemes and programmes have been initiated time and again in different five year plans. Some have helped achieve goals, be it short or long-term, whereas others have faced technical and implementation snags. In the past, a number of schemes have provided temporary employment in public works programmes at the government's discretion, but the present-day scenario brings with it legislation and right-based approach for implementing pro-people development policies in the country.

Rationale behind Rural Wage Employment Programme (RWEP)

To a large extent, the rationale and even the basic framework for capital formation in labour surplus economies could be attributed to Ragnar Nurkse. His main concern is with "the vicious circle of poverty" in which underdeveloped countries find themselves trapped. According to Nurkse, "A circular relationship exists on both sides of the problem of capital formation in the poverty-ridden areas of the world".

However, he is hopeful that though, "circular constellation of the stationary system is real enough, but fortunately the circle is not unbreakable. And once it is broken at any point, the very fact that the relation is circular tends to make for cumulative

advance". The Nurksian strategy mainly consists of developing, (underdeveloped countries) with surplus labour and scarce capital and in a way making the vicious, circle of poverty beneficial rather than a liability in the developmental process.

Plan wise review of WEP

To achieve growth with equity and social justice, the Government of India (GOI) has been implementing specific poverty removal programmes since fourth five year plan (1969-1974). This direct attack on poverty was spear-headed by a two-pronged strategy of wage and self-employment programmes. Poverty alleviation and employment generation programmes have been re-structured and re-designed from time to time to make them more effective.

In the context of planning in India, the issue of employment has always assumed critical significance as employment generation in rural India has been a recurring theme in India's development plans and a constant pre-occupation with policy makers. Addressing social exclusion, especially providing employment opportunities to disadvantaged groups living in the interior rural parts of the country, has been the major motivating factor for the large-scale employment generation programs and government sponsored vocational training schemes.

Economic policies were redesigned for which the mandate was spelt out in the five year plans. Government of India's most recent initiative under the wage employment programmes is the launch of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) launched in 2005

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and is now the largest employment generation scheme in the world. The government is committed to address the issue of employment generation in rural areas, which has been the main thrust behind the promulgation of the MGNREGS.

It was during the fourth five year plan that removal of unemployment and poverty alleviation was recognized as one of the principal objectives of economic planning in the country. The seventies, eighties and the nineties saw emergence of special wage employment schemes in the rural development sector such as Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CSRE), Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Project (PIREP), Food for Work Programme (FFW), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Rural Landless Employment Guarantee (RLEG), Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY), Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS), Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (JGSY), Sampoorna Gramin Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) and National Food for Work Programme (NFWP) etc. to tackle the problem of rural unemployment and poverty through expanding livelihood opportunities and creation of durable assets in rural areas.

As a result, the seventies and eighties witnessed steady increase in employment generation, though the rate of growth of rural employment continued to somewhat lag behind that of the growth of the labour force all along.

Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (1971)

The Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (CSRE) was introduced as a non-plan programme with effect from 1971-72. The basic objective of the CSRE was to generate employment in productive works for a thousand persons in each district, on an average 2.50 lakh man-days of employment should be generated in every district. For the purpose of the CSRE the central government had sanctioned, for each Zilla Parishad, through the state government, a sum of Rs. 12.50 lakhs per year – Rs 37.50 lakhs for a period of three years from April 1, 1971.

Pilot Intensive Rural Employment Project (1972)

In November 1972, the pilot intensive rural employment project (PIREP) was started for a

period of three years at a total cost of Rs.11.60 crore with the objective of providing employment for all those offering their services for a wage through execution of work projects not requiring skills of a high order, imparting new skills to some at least of the workers employed on the project work and the skills would be chosen with reference to likely demands in each block or area.

Food for Work Programme (1977)

In view of the food surplus, it was thought that this could be used for generation of productive employment in rural areas. The Food for Work Programme (FFW) started functioning from 1977-78 with the objectives of employment generation and development of a sound economic and social infrastructure in rural areas. Originally it was started as a non-plan scheme, but subsequently it was modified to include all items of work, plan and non-plan provided they create durable community assets.

National Rural Employment Programme (1980)

The Food for Work Programme was restructured and renamed as National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) from October, 1980. This was being implemented as Centrally-sponsored programme with 50 per cent central assistance. Additional employment of the order of 300-400 million mandays per year for the unemployed and underemployed was envisaged under the NREP. Besides this, the NREP also aimed at creating community assets for strengthening rural infrastructure. These included drinking water wells, community irrigation wells, village tanks, minor irrigation works, rural roads, schools and Balwadi buildings, panchayat ghars etc.

Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (1983)

The Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) was launched on 15 August, 1983 with the objective of generating gainful employment, creating productive assets in rural areas and improving the overall quality of rural life. The guarantee part of the programme had not been operationalized, due to paucity of resources. Preference in employment was given to landless

labourers, women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (1989)

Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) was launched in 1989. The strategy for the implementation of JRY was modified in 1993-94. This was done to ensure better implementation of the yojana during the Eighth five year plan, especially to achieve the target of providing 90-100 days of employment per person in the backward districts where there was a concentration of unemployed and underemployed persons.

The programme aimed at alleviation of poverty through creating supplementary employment opportunities for rural poor during agricultural recess period. Another objective of the scheme was to create social assets such as roads, schools and other infrastructure development. For the first time funds for implementation of the programme were directly disbursed to the village institutions.

Employment Assurance Scheme (1993)

On the model of the Employment Guarantee Scheme of Maharashtra, the Central Government introduced Employment Assurance Scheme (EAS) with effect from 2 October 1993 in rural areas in 1,778 blocks of 261 districts. The scheme aimed at providing assured employment of 100 days of unskilled manual work to the rural poor who were in need of employment and seeking it. The EAS also aimed at creation of durable community, social and economic assets for sustained employment and development.

Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana (1999)

The primary objective of JGSY was to create demand-driven community village infrastructure including durable assets at village level and skills to enable the rural poor to increase the opportunities for sustained employment. It also aimed at generating supplementary employment for the unemployed poor in the rural areas.

Sampoorna Gramin Rozgar Yojana (2001)

The primary objective of this yojana was to provide additional and supplementary wage-employment in

all rural areas and thereby providing food security and improve nutritional level and to create durable community, social and economic assets and effect infrastructural development in rural areas in the long run.

National Food for Work Programme (2004)

In 2004, the National Food for Work Programme (NFWP) was launched with an exclusive focus on the 150 identified backward districts. This programme was launched to generate additional supplementary wage employment and create assets. It also aimed to ensure a minimum level of employment and incomes to the poor, give the poor an opportunity to develop their collective strength, improve their economic position, reduce their vulnerability, discourage migration and provide access to health, education and welfare services in the villages.

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (2005)

Government of India has recently introduced the world's one of the largest development programme in human history, The National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS). This flagship programme was enacted by the Government of India as the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) in September 2005. The NREGS came into effect, on a pilot basis, in February 2006 in 200 economically disadvantaged districts of the country.

In the second phase of implementation, it was extended to 130 additional districts and the remaining districts were covered in the third phase on April 1, 2008. This social welfare programme is primarily intended to enhance the livelihood securities of the people in rural areas by supplementing wage employment opportunities to the unskilled labor force.

The programme is in force with the intention that it would act as a strong safety net for the poor in the wake of lack of alternative employment opportunities. In an attempt to ensure the rural economy to grow, the scheme is expected to regenerate the rural natural resource base for

sustainable livelihood by carrying out soil and water conservation activities.

Conclusion

Despite all these attempts to ameliorate the conditions of the poor through the creation of employment opportunities in rural areas and creation of durable community assets, earlier programmes have failed to deliver goods either due to their inadequacies or lack of legal framework. Almost all the previous programmes were allocation-based

rather than demand-based. NREGA, which was launched in 2006, is considered to be unique from this standpoint. It is the only programme in the history of India's development initiatives which has been in force with an enactment of an act of the Parliament. With a mandate to guarantee 100 days of employment to a rural household, the scheme is intended to guarantee employment to all those who demand work, failing which unemployment allowances are to be paid



Role-Set of Student-Teacher

Dr. Shruti Tandon*

[Clergy, Teaching, Law and Medicine were among the main professions in the pre-industrial societies. With the growth of industrial society, many new occupations emerged as profession, namely; scientific, management, engineering, journalism and social work, to name a few. However, teaching retained its position as one of the oldest professions.]

Teachers are expected to use the best practices and strategies to meet challenging demand of their career, which involves imparting knowledge and developing essential skills and attitude in the students. The accomplishment of these goals in teaching is demanding. By proper training they have to use those practices and strategies that have been found more efficient and effective. The enhancement of positive professional attitude of teachers not only promotes the teachers' efficiency but also helps in making the school attractive for students and teachers.

Therefore, the country needs well trained and professionally sound teachers and a lot of responsibility falls on teacher training institutions in this perspective. These institutions should make efforts to equip the prospective teachers not only with the teaching skills but also try to promote the positive professional attitude. Teacher training, therefore, is specialized and significant segment of education entailing systematic preparation for the

development of teaching skills among those who may be attracted towards teaching profession.

In teacher-training institutions professional socialization of the candidate takes place. In the process of learning in educational institutions, a student comes in contact with some other functionaries such as teachers, classmates, administrative staff and several others. The role of a student is different in relation to each of them. The cluster of different roles in a particular situation i.e., of student constitute students' Role-set. Merton has defined role set as "that complement of the role-relationships which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status" (1966:396).

As the present study deals with prospective teachers, their role-set has also been considered. Present study deals with the role-relationship between:

- a. Student-teachers (i.e., students) and their teachers and
- b. Between students themselves (i.e., students interpersonal relationship).

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The Study Data

The present work is based on an empirical study of student - teachers who were pursuing B.Ed. in teachers' training institutes, affiliated to Jai Narain Vyas University, Jodhpur. Since it was an empirical study, it was essential to have an accurate number of students pursuing B.Ed. from various teachers' training colleges of Jodhpur city. The list of B.Ed. colleges was obtained from the office of the University.

As this is the study of both male and female student-teachers, multistage sampling was used for the selection of sample. In the first stage seven training colleges including both women teachers' training institutes and co-educational teachers' training institutes were selected by lottery method. The list of students was obtained from these selected colleges. In second stage, by stratified random sampling using regular interval method, our sample of 100 male and 100 female student - teachers was selected for this study.

The data were collected through interview schedule. Gender is selected as the variable for bivariate analysis. For analysis of quantitative data, besides, mean other statistical techniques such as Chi-square, correlation and contingency coefficient were used at appropriate places and 0.05 was generally accepted as level of significance.

Teacher-Taught Relationship

The nucleus of education system is teacher-taught relationship. The major assumption on which this relationship depends is that the teacher had knowledge which he can and wishes to impart to his pupil and that the latter wishes to acquire it. Gore and Desai also emphasize that knowledge is a continual pursuit and teacher is ahead of his pupil in this pursuit, hence he can effectively guide the pupil. There is, therefore, an element of distance and authority in the teacher-pupil relationship (1967:20).

Discussing the role of teachers in shaping students' personality, Prasad holds the view that they control both, the process and product of the school. Elaborating teachers' role he writes, "Students spend most of their time in the school- listening to

the words and looking at the actions of the teacher. Further, the student tries to absorb teaching situations and tries to modify his or her behaviour. He is also a model before the child as his behaviour directly or indirectly influences most of the activities of the child. Hence, teacher-student relations influence a lot, the teaching-learning process (2006:8).

Since our respondents are prospective teachers, it is not out of place here to discuss some studies pertaining to qualities of teachers and students-teacher relationship.

Teacher-pupil relationship is the core of education system. This relationship depends on the trust and honesty on the one hand, and quality of knowledge imparted by the teacher on the other. Better the quality of knowledge and more the reciprocal understanding between the teacher and the taught, stronger will be the binding and trust between the two.

Further, it is also necessary for teachers to find out what makes pupils to accept a teacher. Pupils should not get impression that teachers do not care for them. This impression may ruin the basic trust of pupil in their teachers and consequently also cordial dialogue between them. Contrary to it, understanding may lead to empathy and, in turn, better student-teacher relationship.

Many researchers have given attention to these aspects of teacher-taught relationship. Ryans (1969:4) has enlisted certain special qualities which a teacher should possess for effective transmission of knowledge. These qualities can be grouped into two categories:

1. Qualities like knowledge of subject, ability to present material clearly and interest in teaching, or in the other words qualities which "involve teacher's mental abilities and skills, his understanding of the psychological and educational principles and his knowledge of general and special subject matter", constitute one group.
2. Qualities which constitute the second group are those which stem from teacher's personality, his

interest, attitudes and beliefs, his behaviour in working relationship with pupils and other individuals. Qualities like fairness, sympathetic attitude towards students, openness to students' view, ability to maintain discipline, humour and attractive appearance are included in this group.

Reid (1990:106), taking into consideration the researches of other scholars, enumerates four particular traits pupils dislike in teachers or types of teachers:

1. Teachers who are 'inhuman' and interpret their role too literally. Such staffs are perceived by pupils as being 'a load of rubbish', 'robots', 'faceless...' and 'time servers' (Woods, 1984).
2. Teachers who treat pupils as anonymous (Rosser and Harre, 1976). Despite current teacher-student ratios, it is vital that pupils are treated as individuals (Lortie, 1975).
3. Teachers who are soft and/or inconsistent (Marsh et. al. 1978).
4. Teachers who are 'unfair' and make unreasonable demands on pupils (Rosser and Harre, 1976).

Conversely, research suggests that successful institutions are characterized by having a majority of their staff in the following categories (Reid).

1. Teachers who are able to keep control at all times.
2. Teachers who are able to 'have a laugh' with pupils.
3. Teachers who foster warm, empathetic relationship with pupils.
4. Teachers who like and understand children.
5. Teachers who teach their subjects well, with enthusiasm and in interesting ways.
6. Teachers who teach all the time rather than indulging in aimless activities.
7. Teachers who are consistent and fair.

8. Teachers who treat children with respect and as equals.
9. Teachers who allow pupils a sense of freedom in class.

It is not out of place here to refer a few studies conducted in India. Malik (1984) established that some personality factors were significantly related with teaching success which was positively correlated with intelligence, emotional stability, tender mindedness, suspiciousness, self-sufficiency and relaxedness etc. It also revealed that teaching success was positively correlated with dimensions of formality, goal direction, satisfaction, democracy and diversity and negatively related with the dimension of friction, disorganization and apathy.

Thakur (1986) in his study identified good teaching, kind and pleasing manners, good advice and guidance, regularity and punctuality, discipline giving regular assignments and identifying himself with the students as positive traits of teachers. The same study found that partiality, favouritism, wasting time, unmindful of duty, rude, lack of affection, ridiculing students and bad teaching as negative traits of teachers.

Respondents' Expected Qualities in a Good Teacher

Our respondents mentioned various qualities they expect in a good teacher. For the sake of convenience in analysis, the qualities were classified into three categories namely-

- (i) Academic qualities- this category includes qualities like knowledge of the subject and expression power of the contents etc.
- (ii) Professional qualities- this category includes qualities like dedication, self-confidence and motivation etc.
- (iii) General qualities- this category includes general traits like friendliness, punctuality, discipline etc.

TABLE 1

Respondents' Expected Qualities in a Good Teacher

Qualities	Male (N=100)	Female (N=100)	Total (N=200)
Academic qualities	30 (30.0)	25 (25.0)	55 (27.5)
Professional qualities	68 (68.0)	63 (63.0)	131 (65.5)
General qualities	32 (32.0)	40 (40.0)	72 (36.0)

It is a multi response Table.

A perusal of Table 1 shows that a majority of our respondents (65.5 percent) highlighted professional qualities they expect in a good teacher. They hold the view that dedication towards teaching role, confidence and being motivator for students are such personality traits which students acknowledge and appreciate.

A little more than one-third (36.0 percent) of our respondents mentioned general qualities like friendliness, punctuality, discipline etc., which they expect in a good teacher. In comparison to these, only 27.5 percent of the student-teacher respondents mentioned academic qualities including knowledge and expression, they expect in a good teacher.

Interestingly, sex-wise distribution of data shows that irrespective of sex, both male (68.0 percent) and female (63.0 percent) teachers emphasized more on professional qualities than on general and academic qualities.

Respondents were further explored in this context and were asked as to what extent, in their opinion, teachers possess these qualities. Only one-fifth of our respondents (20.0 percent) claimed that teachers possess these qualities to a large extent. They also narrated informally, the names of such teachers who possess these expected qualities. However, a vast majority, i.e., 80.0 percent of our respondents opined that teachers possess these qualities to some

extent only. None of our respondents said that teachers do not possess these qualities at all.

Nature of Student-Teacher Relationship

A harmonious teacher-taught relationship helps the students in overcoming the difficulties in the way of free communication and plays an important role in the success of the profession. It was, therefore, ascertained from the student-teachers themselves, the nature of relationship their teachers have with them. Categories developed to obtain responses were: parental, brotherly/sisterly, friendly and formal.

A perusal of Table 2 reveals that a half of our respondents (50.0 percent) said that their teachers were friendly with them. Explaining this behaviour, the respondents said that they can talk with their teachers comfortably on any issue and teachers guide them in a friendly manner. About 29.0 percent of our respondents mentioned about formal relations with their teachers. Such respondents said that teachers' formal behaviour with the students did not allow them to discuss their problems with their teachers. Their conversation is confined only to discuss problems related to their syllabus.

There were 18.5 percent respondents who said that their teachers behave in parental manner with the students and always stand with them whenever they require help. Only a few (2.5 percent) of our respondents said that the teachers retain brotherly/sisterly relationship with the students. Data are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Nature of Teacher-Student Relationship

Relationship	Male	Female	Total
Parental	28 (28.0)	9 (9.0)	37 (18.5)
Brotherly/sisterly	4 (4.0)	1 (1.0)	5 (2.5)
Friendly	44 (44.0)	56 (56.0)	100 (50.0)
Formal	24 (24.0)	34 (34.0)	58 (29.0)
Total	100 (100.0)	100 (100.0)	200 (100.0)

$\chi^2 = 14.70$, significant difference at 0.01 level

Chi-square test shows significant difference at 0.01 level, hence, supports the relationship between sex and nature of teacher–student relationship. It is interesting to note that a higher percentage of female (56.0 percent) than of male respondents (44.0 percent) claimed having friendly relation with their teachers. At the same time, there were 34.0 percent female respondents who admitted having formal relations with their teachers than males (24.0 percent) who categorized their relations as formal. On the other hand, a much higher proportion of males (28.0 percent) than of females (9.0 percent) accepted that their teachers maintain parental relations with them.

It is pertinent here to quote Passi (2000) who in his study concluded that the hierarchical relationship between teacher and taught has melted to “relationship of equality” and extend the four pillars of learning– learning to learn; learning to be; learning to do; learning to live together.

Discussion in the Classroom

Effective teaching–learning process depends on two elements– accurate communication and accurate response. These elements depend on the content and expression of teachers on the one hand and understanding and internalization of it, by students on the other. In other words, method of teaching plays an important role in making classroom environment lively and healthy for mental growth of students.

Generally, teachers give lectures, dictate notes and encourage discussions either alone or in various combinations during teaching process. Discussion may be initiated either by the teacher by asking questions or by some students to seek clarification or to remove their doubts and/or problems.

To bring out the pattern of teaching and the extent of students involvement and absorption in it, respondents were probed that do the students ask question to the teachers in the class. It was admitted by more than a half (58.0 percent) of our respondents that only some students ask questions

which were responded back by teachers with appropriate answers and solutions of the problems.

There were 29.5 percent of respondents who said that ‘most’ of the students ask questions to the teachers. Only a small minority said that all students in the class ask question (6.5 percent). At the same time, an equal proportion of respondents (6.0 percent) said that in their class none of the students ask questions to the teachers. Gender-wise, more female (65.0 percent) than male (51.0 percent) respondents admitted lesser participation of students in initiating discussion in the class.

Conversely when it was asked to the respondents that do students answer teachers’ question then also more than a half (53.0 percent) of the respondents said that ‘some’ students answer teachers’ questions. Respondents while elaborating this response said that these ‘some’ students who answer teachers’ questions are mostly rank holders who are good in studies.

A little more than a one–third (34.5 percent) of respondents claimed that most of the students answer teachers’ questions. Only 9.0 percent of our respondents said that all of the students participate in the classroom discussion and answer teachers’ questions. There were a few (3.5 percent) respondents who admitted that none of the students answer teachers’ questions.

Gender-wise, both male and female students held the same views. In short, though discussion–asking question and responding accordingly– make classroom teaching interactive and lively, only some of the prospective student–teachers played active role in it. They ask and respond to their teachers and hence socialize themselves for their future professional role.

Attention towards Students

Irrespective of the nature of teacher–taught relationship, teachers are expected to give equal attention to all their students without any discrimination whatsoever. To ascertain whether or not it is so in real practice also, the respondents were asked “Do you think that teachers pay equal attention to all students?” A majority of student–

teachers (71.0 percent) claimed that their teachers pay equal attention to all students. Remaining 29.0 percent of the respondents, however, did not agree on this issue.

Data further show that in comparison to 67.0 percent of male respondents, 75.0 percent of female respondents accepted that their teachers pay equal attention to all students. Contrary to it, one-third of male respondents (33.0 percent) and one-fourth of female respondents (25.0 percent) said that their teachers pay unequal attention towards students.

Those 29.0 percent of student-teachers who admitted that teachers did not give equal attention to all students were asked to specify the type of students who claimed their special attention. In response, they enumerated many factors by which some students attract teachers' attention more than others. They expressed that those students who are rank holders and intelligent (12.0 percent) and who actively participate in discussions (8.0 percent) received special attention of teachers in the class.

Some of them also mentioned negative traits such as flattery and naughtiness. About 8.5 percent respondents emphasized that notorious students attract special attention while 6.5 percent of them claimed that those students who are relatives of other teachers seek special attention. Flattery by students of their teachers was claimed by 5.5 percent of respondents.

Gender-wise comparison shows that more males (16.0 percent) than female (8.0 percent) opined that intelligent students receive teachers' attention while more female respondents (11.0 percent) than males (5.0 percent) mentioned that active students in classroom attract teachers' attention. Interestingly, only 8 respondents, all males, held the view that naughty students attract more attention while only 11 respondents, all females, mentioned flattery as a factor of attention. The difference is, however, negligible.

Discrimination on the Basis of Sex

Teachers are expected to give equal attention to all students without any discrimination but as noted earlier, some teachers did not give equal attention

to all students. To specify this aspect, respondents were further asked, "Do you think that teachers discriminate on the basis of sex?"

In response to this question, six out of every ten respondents (60.0 percent) denied any such gender discrimination. However, remaining 40.0 percent of the respondents were affirmative. They admitted discriminatory behaviour of their teachers.

Gender-wise little more than a half of males (53.0 percent) and two-thirds of females (67.0 percent) claimed of giving equal treatment by teachers to all students. On the other hand, 42.0 percent male and 33.0 percent female students admitted that there are some teachers who discriminate on the basis of sex. However, a small minority of respondents (5.0 percent), all male, had the experience of discriminatory behaviour of all teachers.

When these respondents were asked about the ways and forms of discrimination in detail, they mentioned such ways. These 40.0 percent respondents, irrespective of sex, claimed that teachers help the students of fair sex in completing their practical work (14.0 percent) and in practical examination (10.0 percent). Some students claimed that teachers provide notes to the students of opposite sex (9.5 percent) while remaining students (6.5 percent) held the view that teachers give more marks to the students of fair sex.

Factionalism

For the success of any organization, it is required that all associates of the organization work cordially which is conducive for the growth of the organization. In reality, there exist interest groups or cliques in every organization. While cooperation, generally, exists within the groups, feeling of rivalry also exists between the groups. Educational organizations are not exception. Gore and Desai have emphasized on the existence of such relationship between colleagues, observing that "on the one hand this relationship holds the potentiality of developing into a partnership, on the other it is susceptible to the strains of rivalry" (1967:27).

This factionalism, if on fair lines, may lead to competitive spirit to perform better and to give the

best to their students but if it develops element of rivalry and unfairness, it may become dysfunctional for the organization as a whole.

The respondents were asked about existence of factionalism among teachers in the college. Most of them (85.5 percent) did not feel any factionalism. However, remaining 14.5 percent of our respondents felt presence of factionalism among teachers.

In terms of sex ratio, a little higher percentage of females (90.0 percent) than of male respondents (81.0 percent) denied factionalism among teachers while 19.0 percent of males and 10.0 percent of female respondents witnessed existence of factionalism among teaching faculty of their college.

Discussing the impact of factionalism, these 14.5 percent of prospective teachers, both males and females, expressed that it adversely affects teachers' professional obligations vis-à-vis teachers' attitude and behaviour towards their colleagues and other students.

Explaining in detail, these respondents admitted that it has adverse effect on the quality of teaching. These teachers take less interest in teaching and more in criticizing rival teachers' activities and do not leave any chance of backbiting (8.0 percent). Further, factionalism also reflects in teachers' behaviour towards students who were more intimate with rival teachers. They leave no chance to put them down and avoid providing teaching material and/or guidance to those students (16.0 percent).

Communication with Teachers

Interaction not only makes an individual comfortable in any situation but also proves helpful in establishing healthy social relationships. We asked our respondents that do they feel any problem in interacting with their teachers freely.

A vast majority of our respondents (85.5 percent) denied occurrence of any problem in free communication. Our both male (82.0 percent) and female respondents (89.0 percent) found it convenient to interact with their teachers. They mentioned that interaction with their teachers not only provide solution to their problems but also

develops self-confidence in them. They said that because of the friendly and cordial nature of the teachers, students become comfortable in interaction with them.

Remaining 14.5 percent respondents were not comfortable in interacting with their teachers. These 18.0 percent of male and 11.0 percent of female respondents have their own reasons or their reservations. It includes their own shy nature (5.0 percent), fear of rejection (8.0 percent) and strict nature of a few teachers (9.0 percent). A few of them (7.0 percent) admitted that they lack the confidence to express themselves which hampers their free communication with teachers.

In comparison to male respondents, female respondents were more uncomfortable in communicating with teachers because of the fear of rejection, due to the strict nature of a few teachers, whether in theory classes, in practical or in co-curricular activities. They admitted that strictness of some teachers had developed fear of rejection in them and hence they could not express their issues comfortably and clearly.

Interaction with teachers in and outside the classroom provides opportunity to students to converse with their teachers on other issues besides subject and syllabus. An attempt had also been made to bring about the topics of conversation between students and teachers. A perusal of data shows that students converse on various issues with their teachers. Subject related problems are discussed most, either always (53.0 percent) or sometimes (40.0 percent).

Socio-economic matters grab attention of two-thirds of the students and teachers while one-third (34.5 percent) of the respondents do not take interest in discussing these with their teachers. Similarly, 35.0 percent of respondents never discuss political issues with their teachers against those who discuss them always (15.0 percent) or sometimes (50.0 percent).

It is worth mentioning that this conversation remains confined to these general and neutral type topics. Personal problems were not preferred to be discussed by a majority of students (61.0 percent).

TABLE 3**Students Topics of Conversation With Teachers**

Frequency	General Problems related to course	Socio-economic matters	Political scenario	Personal problems	Others
Always	106 (53.0)	16 (8.0)	30 (15.0)	–	–
Sometimes	77 (38.5)	115 (57.5)	100 (50.0)	78(39.0)	–
Never	17 (8.5)	69 (34.5)	70 (35.0)	122 (61.0)	–
Total	200 (100.0)	200 (100.0)	200 (100.0)	200 (100.0)	–

These topics of discussion are further examined in detail in terms of sex ratio. Data show that nine out of every ten respondents, irrespective of their sex, discuss course related problems with their teachers. Only 10.0 percent male and 7.0 percent female student–teachers never discuss these problems with their teachers

Socio–economic matters and political affairs are such topics in which males take more interest than their female counterparts. 70.0 percent male and 61.0 percent female student–teachers discuss it either always or sometimes while 30.0 percent male and 39.0 percent female respondents do not discuss socio–economic events with teachers.

Political issues are comparatively less discussed by our respondent student–teachers. Two–thirds of respondents talk on political issues. Our three–fourths of male respondents like to discuss political issues while only 55.0 percent of female respondents liked so either always or sometimes. One–fourth male respondents (25.0 percent) and 45.0 percent of female respondents admitted that they never discuss politics with their teachers. The difference is considerable.

As far as personal problems are concerned, none of the respondents always discuss these with teachers. Almost an equal proportion of male respondents either discussed sometimes with their teachers (48.0 percent) or did not discuss at all (52.0 percent). In comparison to that, only 30.0 percent of female respondents admitted that they sometimes discuss their personal problems while 70.0 percent of them denied that they discuss personal problems with their teachers.

Generally, students discuss their subject-related problems with the concerned teachers but for other types of problems, they prefer to discuss with some specific teachers. Respondents were asked about teachers in details whether they discuss with the teachers of (1) same sex only (2) opposite sex only, or (3) of either category. In response to this question one–fourth of them admitted that they prefer to discuss various issues with the teachers of the same sex only. Hence, 20.0 percent male students prefer to discuss various issues with male teachers while 30.0 percent of female students with women teachers, with whom they feel more comfortable.

A vast majority of student–teachers (75.0 percent), however, claimed that their personal acquaintance with teachers is more important than the gender. It makes no difference whether they are male teachers or female. Our 80.0 percent of male and 70.0 percent of female respondents expressed that certain teachers are their role models, and they, irrespective of teachers' sex, freely discuss various issues with them.

In short, teacher–taught relationship seems to be more diffused type than specific. It tends to depict, on the one hand, the traditional nature of teacher–pupil relationship in which teachers were expected to bear the overall responsibility of student, and on the other, lacks authoritarianism, an important attribute of traditionalism, in this relationship.

Students Interpersonal Relations

All the students of an institution have the common goal of learning or acquiring knowledge. This common interest provides the basis for the common

orientation of their actions and their integration as a community (Gore and Desai, 1967). To what extent this goal provides the basis of interaction among students is discussed in the following section.

The activities related to learning are carried out in the classroom in an institution. The classroom group provides a basic unit of interaction among the students. The students of a particular division or a class are presumed to interact more among themselves than students of another division or of a class higher or lower to their own (ibid).

Further, where there is co-education system in the institution, sex may provide a basis for grouping and interaction within the division or section of a class. Among male and female students there are those who mix easily with students of opposite sex and there are those who don't mix at all or feel uncomfortable with them. The mutual relationship among classmates was also investigated in this study.

As already mentioned in earlier part of this article, the female respondents of our sample are students of women training colleges, i.e., colleges which are exclusively for women whereas male respondents belong to co-education colleges. Hence, their responses were analyzed in this context.

As per norms every section of each B.Ed., college consists of 50 students, be all female or mixed depending upon the nature of the institute. When respondents were asked about the mutual relationship among classmates, the largest group of women respondents termed their relationship as cordial (38.0 percent).

It is clear from data that 30.0 percent of them claimed that student-teachers have intimate relationship with their classmates while 23.0 percent of female respondents accepted the existence of formal relationship among them. Only a few (9.0 percent) of them accepted that classmates remain neutral in maintaining relationship with fellow students.

In co-education colleges the relationship among students may differ on the basis of sex. Keeping

this in view, male respondents were asked to mention relationship:

- (a) among male students,
- (b) among female students,
- (c) between male and female students, respectively.

As is evident from data, there is a slight difference in type of relationship between students on the basis of sex. A majority of respondents (40.0 percent) claimed that there exists formal relationship among male students. Only one-fifth of the respondents termed this relationship as intimate (20.0 percent), while 15.0 percent of the respondents claimed the relationship among male students as cordial. A few of them called it neutral (10.0 percent). However, 15.0 percent respondents admitted presence of conflict among male students in the class.

As far as relationship among female students is concerned, a half of our male respondents have observed presence of either cordial (35.0 percent) or intimate (15.0 percent) relationship among them. However, two-fifths of our male respondents have expressed different observation that female student-teachers have either formal (20.0 percent) or neutral (20.0 percent) type of relationship among them. Only 10.0 percent of our male respondents have found conflicting relationship among female student-teachers.

Our male respondents were also asked to reveal their views regarding relationship between male and female student-teachers. In response, a majority of our respondents accepted presence of distance in relation between students of different sex. A little more than one-third of our respondents (35.0 percent) termed their relationship as formal and 25.0 percent of them called it of neutral type. An equal proportion of respondents (25.0 percent) admitted the presence of conflict between male and female student-teachers. Only some of them accepted having cordial (8.0 percent) or intimate (7.0 percent) relationship between them.

In short, it can be said that while more female respondents feel cordiality and intimacy among themselves, male respondents, by and large, do not feel emotional bondage among students and hence call their relationship as formal.

Attitude towards Co-Education

With the increase in the ratio of female education, the number of co-education institutions is also increasing in India. But there are still many families who do not prefer to send their children to co-education institutions for their own reasons.

Respondents were, therefore, probed about their experience in studying in co-education. They were asked “how do you feel in studying in co-education”. This question was applicable to male respondents only as female respondents were studying in women’s college hence, this question was not applicable to them.

Interestingly, four-fifths of our male respondents (81.0 percent) felt comfortable in studying in co-education. Remaining 19.0 percent were not comfortable in studying in co-education. Both groups of respondents have their own reasons.

Male respondents were asked about the reasons of their comfort ability in co-education. There were 25.0 percent of respondents who said that girls are helpful by nature and hence extend help to their classmates readily. Another 20.0 percent of male respondents felt that presence of girls in classroom helps to develop good qualities in male like confidence, patience and also manners to talk and behave with other persons, both of same sex and of opposite sex.

One-fifth of these respondents (20.0 percent) opined that co-education controls the feeling of jealousy among students while others hold the view that it creates a healthy competitive atmosphere which encourages better preparation to achieve their goals (16.0 percent). In short, mixed group of students is more conducive to develop a balanced personality.

Those 19.0 percent respondents who are uncomfortable in co-education explained reasons from another angle. Though some of them accepted that their own shyness stops them to deal with classmates of other sex and they feel uncomfortable (7.0 percent), others indicated that it deviated students’ mind as they started taking more interest in chatting and partying with friends which divert their focus from studies (16.0 percent). A few of them also blamed the naughty nature of some students which makes the environment uncomfortable (4.0 percent).

Topics for Discussion among Classmates

All of our respondents are adult. They are pursuing professional course and at the same time play various social roles other than of a student. Due to their multiple roles, they have a variety of topics for discussion with their classmates, some of which are different from those topics generally discussed by teenager students.

Data reveal that 32.5 percent of our respondents discuss about job opportunities with their classmates. It was accepted by 25.0 percent of the respondents that as they spend time together with their classmates, they also discuss their family matters with one another.

Even teachers are also a topic of discussion for 22.5 percent of our respondents. Such students said that they discuss not only about teachers’ academic knowledge but also about their nature and appearance with their classmates.

Professional course includes both theoretical and practical work. There were 22.5 percent respondents who discussed about course content and course work with their classmates like lesson planning, notes etc.

Besides these topics, the topics generally discussed by them are films (17.5 percent), fashion trends (17.5 percent) and T.V. serials (12.5 percent). Only a few respondents (10.0 percent) said that they discuss politics and current affairs with their classmate.

Gender-wise comparison of data reflects that there is not much difference between topics mentioned by male and female respondents except two topics. Almost an equal proportion of respondents, irrespective of sex, discuss about career and job opportunities which are directly and indirectly related with their future plans. Besides, teachers and course contents, films, fashion and T.V. serials are other topics of common interest.

However, the two exceptions are family matters and politics. A sufficiently higher percentage of females (40.0 percent) than of males (10.0 percent) discuss family matters with their classmates (generally women), for obvious reasons. Being involved in domestic matters more than their male counterparts, they prefer to share their problems, feelings and observations with their fellow mates.

At the same time not a single female respondent has shown interest in discussing politics and current affairs with their friends. It reflects women's domestic orientation which is contrary to men's interest in non-domestic matters.

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Social Development via People's Participation

Dr.A.Ranjithkumar*

[The present global trend in democratic governance is democratic decentralization and strengthening of the local self-governments as strong grassroots level democratic institutions. Such institutions with appropriate safeguards for weaker sections fulfill the aspirations of wider section of the public. They provide opportunities for their own governance and effective delivery mechanism for poverty alleviation and rural development, irrespective of caste, creed, religion and gender. These are the best agencies to facilitate the process of decentralized planning. The process of socio-economic development in rural areas gets priority focus by channeling the resources and development efforts to meet the community needs as per their own priorities.]

The establishment of panchayat raj was seen by many as an effort to decentralize power and to empower the ordinary citizen to make his own choices and decision in local affairs and matters affecting his daily life. The local self-governments, panchayat raj system, as they were called were ancient institutions and were themselves small republics. They exercised powers in various spheres such as industrial, commercial, administrative and social, including civic education and religious functions.

A feature of these institutions was that they were largely self-governing although their social background was characterized by a rigid social structure. It is now widely accepted that self-governing institutions at the local level are essential for national growth and for effective people's participation and they are an integral and indispensable part of the democratic process.

Local government may be loosely defined as a public organization authorized to decide and administer a limited range of public policies within a relatively small territory which is a sub-division of a regional or national government. Local government is at the bottom of the pyramid of government institutions,

with the national government at the top and intermediate governments (state, regional, provincial) occupying the middle range. Normally, local government has general jurisdiction and is not confined to the performance of one specific function or service.

In panchayat, two type of people directly participate, first the elected representatives who are the public leaders and do not receive any salary or allowances for contributing their time and talents to serve the society. The second category of people is the staff of panchayat such as Gram Panchayat Adhikari, clerk, chaukidar, etc.,. Besides panchayat representatives and the staff, the involvement and cooperation of several other people and organizations is also sought by the panchayat. The success of panchayat organization therefore depends on how effectively these people are managed for execution and implementation of rural schemes.

It is now widely accepted that self-governing institutions at the local level are essential for national growth and for effective participation of the people and that they are an integral and indispensable part of the democratic process. Grassroots democracy based on small units of governments, enables the people to feel a sense of responsibility and to inculcate the values of democracy. At the same

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time it also offers a unique opportunity to participate in public affairs, including development work.

Review of Related Literature

The previous study provides evidence as to what is familiar with what is already know and what is still unknown and untested which helps to eliminate that of what has been done and provides useful hypothesis and suggestions for significant investigations. The literature has been collected, reviewed and discussed from different perspectives by various scholars. These studies have concentrated on the extensive field of panchayat raj as well as overall development of village. It is observed that the study of people's opinion on the performance by village panchayat has attracted little scholarly attention and remains an unexplored academic area. Based on literature review, following objectives have been generated.

Objectives of the study

- I. To find out the socio-economic status of the people in Village Panchayat.
- II. To gather people's opinion on the performance of development function by the Village Panchayat.

The samples of the study are drawn by using simple random sampling method. The sample of the study is based on 237 respondents of Village Panchayat. In this study, both male and female respondents from the different age groups are included.

Tools for Data Collection

The interview schedule was prepared on the basis of the objectives of study. The finalized interview schedule was administered among the respondents for gathering relevant information from them. The data are collected through observation and interview by the investigator. Collected data was tabulated and analyzed by percentage techniques.

Sources of Data

The data that were gathered directly from the respondents formed the primary sources of data. The secondary data related to the topic of the study were collected from the various books, articles, and journal, Internet and government records. The data related to the panchayat profile was collected from the office records of the Panchayat.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The data obtained from 237 respondents with the help of an interview schedule has been analyzed by the SPSS. The investigator has formulated many simple tables, which are self-explanatory with the data based on the objectives of the study.

Major Findings of the Study

- In the present study, majority (54 per cent) of the respondents are male.
- It is found that majority (60 per cent) of the respondents fall in the age group of 21 to 40 years, and the remaining 40 per cent of the respondents fall under 41 to 70 years.
- The study concludes that representation is given to all community people while collecting opinion about the performance of the village panchayat.
- It is found that 93 per cent of the respondents are educated.
- It is understood from the study that the village has the population professing different religion.
- This study reveals that majority of the respondents are not having adequate annual income to meet the basic needs of their lives.
- It is found that 81 per cent of the respondents live in nuclear families.
- It is crystal clear that 94 per cent of the respondents have own houses according to their economic status.

- This study illustrates that 69 percent of the respondents are living in huts.
- Though the study portrays the fair performance of the panchayat regarding the provision of basic amenities, yet the panchayat has not taken serious steps to provide market facilities to sell and purchase the goods for the villages (83 per cent).
- In this Panchayat, there is a good performance of SSA and the fair performance of primary and secondary schools, adult and non-formal education and village library. However, the Panchayat has yet to take more initiative to promote the functioning of village library, adult and non-formal education and the primary schools within its jurisdiction.
- This study found the non-provision of the drainage facilities; public toilet and primary health center. It also found the fair performance of medical camps in the panchayat village.
- It reveals the good performance of cultural activities and family welfare schemes by the Panchayat. The very interesting finding is that there is no practice of child labour. It is one of the better practices. The more painful finding is that the *Dalit* people's development is left uncared.
- The present study finds good performance on Namadhu Gramam Thittam by the panchayat, the bad performance is related to youth clubs and the improper implementation of poverty alleviation programmes in the panchayat village.
- The analysis of the study concludes that there is no proper water management system in the Panchayat's villages.
- Though the gram sabha is a tool for village panchayat to bring local people's participation

in village governance, the panchayat has failed to achieve it.

Recommendation

On the basis of the findings of the study and observations, following recommendations are offered.

1. The village Panchayat selected for the present study is very weak and is not able to perform functions properly. It is recommended that imparting training to the existing staff and the elected representatives by the NGOs and other institutions may be required.
2. The village panchayat has inadequate financial resources. Attempts should be made to mobilize resources for village panchayat, by increasing various taxes such as house tax, water tax, vehicles tax and the like.
3. Panchayat organization lacks adequate participation of all sections of people like women, youth, *Dalits* and others. Non-officials of the panchayat have to make efforts to promote people's participation in village administration by developing their knowledge and skills through organizing some awareness-training programme by the university and college students.
4. Development of entrepreneurship among rural women and rural educated youth is vital for the development of rural industry. Village panchayat should try to motivate them to take up joint projects so that group's entrepreneurship could be developed.
5. Lack of organic linkage among elected representative, staff and the people is a major administrative problem, which needs to be done away with.
6. The attitudinal change among the people and the elected representatives may create an

environment for mutual understanding and thereby the involvement of people in gram sabha meetings may change. To bring the attitudinal changes, the universities' students, the NGOs and media personnel have to develop some programmes to educate the members of various civil societies in the villages and those trained members of the civil society may take up the responsibility of educating and motivating the general public in the panchayat villages.

Conclusion

The 73rd Constitution Amendment of the Constitution of India and the Tamil Nadu Panchayati Raj Act 1994 have provided for the creation of the gram sabha and thereby establish direct democracy. It enables the people to participate in governance to achieve economic development and social justice at the grassroots. If the members of the gram sabha are to participate effectively in the governance at the grassroots level, they should have awareness about the gram sabha and its role and responsibilities, the organization and finance of Panchayati Raj Institution, the control exercised over Panchayat Raj Institution and the various developmental programmes available to the people.

A critical evaluation of these aspects in the present study reveals that people don't have sufficient knowledge about Panchayat Raj Institutions and the various development programmes implemented for the benefit of the people. The participation of the people in the gram Sabha and village panchayat is not satisfactory. The success of democratic decentralization and development administration at the grassroots level depends wholly on the extent of the participation in the grassroots governance.

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Sociology of Women Professionals and Work Life Balance

Tuppad Veeranna* & Prof. S.L.Hiremath**

[Looking back over the last five decades, it is impossible not to be impressed by the enormous change that has occurred in the status of women in India. Before 1950, few women participated in work outside the home. Most of the women were uneducated, and among the educated, majority did not engage in work outside home, and those who did, were mostly concentrated in nursing, elementary school teaching, and other traditional female occupations.]

But, by the dawn of the twenty-first century, this picture changed radically. Women established an identity of their own and created a space for them in education and work sphere. Educational institutions started training women to enter new arenas enabling them to move away from traditional roles. Families began expecting women not only to continue their education but also to have the profession of their choice. And, naturally, after spending so many years in education and obtaining professional degrees, they became interested in using the knowledge acquired productively.

As a result, modern Indian women have made inroads into different professions that were unthinkable to women in the past. The number of women in the professions is increasing and they are making substantial progress toward parity with men.

Today, in India, we find more and more women in familiar as well as unfamiliar places - as heads of giant organizations, at the controls of aircrafts, in parliament, in judiciary, as police officers, doctors, engineers, teachers- the list is never ending. By tradition and throughout history, Indian women were expected to fulfill roles that defined them in relation to others only, — the kinship identities. But increasingly, contemporary women establish independent identities and move beyond the identities of daughter, wife and mother.

Besides, employers expect employees to invest themselves fully in their professions. Hence long hours of work, travel, after-office hour's socialisation, out-station training etc have become the norm of the day. In any profession, adjustment to this is easy for a man, because this is what society expects of him. But, for a woman this is not what the society expects of her and so it will be difficult for her and sooner or later it will result in mental stress and conflict and will finally lead to "role-conflict".

The conceptual literature on stress suggests that, "Working women are prone to the same stressors experienced by working men along with certain unique stressors such as discrimination, stereotyping social isolation and work — home conflicts. Moreover, taking care of children and aging parents prove to be a source of stress for women who work outside the home (Repetti et al, 1989). As a result they also have to bear the brunt of the career choice: lower pay, fewer opportunities for promotion and low or middle level jobs.

Sociological Perspective

Some of the important studies on the topic, as discussed below, deal with women and employment — dual role perceptions and performance, the facilitators and constraints as well as the coping strategies women employ to achieve work-life balance and these are presented with a view to unveil what has already been done on the issues related to the theme of the present study. Studies on women in the labour force, both in the professional sphere

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and in the non-professional field are examined with the consideration that although there will be certain issues that are unique to the professionals, the general patterns and trends will be analogous to the professional as well as the non-professional women.

Baruch and Barnett (1985) pointed to the importance of role overload for women, which they defined as the general sense of having so many role demands or obligations that the individual felt unable to perform them all adequately. However, there is yet another growing body of research that has found evidence of positive spill over, both from home to work and from work to home. The results of such studies reveal that multiple roles may prove to be self-enhancing in that they result in increased skills, heightened self-esteem, and well-being and also provide additional sources of social support.

The foremost family-related variable that has drawn wide attention is number of children at home (Pleck et al., 1980). Given that child care responsibilities normally rest on women, working wives with more children are likely to experience greater work-family conflict (Beutell & Creenhaus, 1982; Voydanoff, 1988). As shown in previous research, having young children at home is consistently related to role strain time for women (Vodanoff & Kelly, 1984). A related variable is the age of the children. Younger children generally require more attention from working parents, and thus more time is needed to spend on them.

Hock, McBride and Gnezda's (1989) concept of maternal separation anxiety might represent another type of role strain that was particularly salient for employed women with young children. They defined maternal separation anxiety as a mother's sense of worry and guilt over being separated from the child and the fear that others will not be able to care for her child as well as she could.

Data presented by Hock and her associates (1988), suggested that maternal separation anxiety was significantly related to both mother's employment and psychological wellbeing. More specifically, McBride (1990) reported significant correlations between maternal separation anxiety and women's experience of psychological spillover from work such as irritability, preoccupation and fatigue.

Farmer and Bohn (1970) concluded that if women were unrestricted by the constraints of multiple roles, lack of finances or discrimination in the workplace, they would choose more prestigious and challenging careers. Previous researches also demonstrated that women were less likely to hold positions with authority over others, whether supervising other employees, having the authority to 'hire and fire', or having control over others.

Economists Deborah and Dunlop (1996) found that there was a sex-gap in overall promotions. Women were promoted less frequently than similarly educated men. They attributed some part of this difference to family decisions; perhaps women would prefer to have less responsibility at work because of the responsibilities they already carry at home.

Hartmann (1981) also analysed gender inequality in terms of the interrelationship of patriarchy and capitalism. Job segregation by sex, she argued, is an important aspect by which patriarchy and capitalism had interacted. She argued that women were excluded from much of paid work mostly through the device of job segregation by sex. According to Friedman (1992), stereotypes against women and biases of male decision-makers prevented career advancement of women. The barrier formed by these has been referred to as the glass ceiling.

Brockman (2001) argued that although the legal barriers that historically prevented women from entering the legal profession have been removed, the informal and structural barriers that completed their full participation in the profession still existed. According to her gender bias and discrimination in the legal profession restricted women's career advancement. The study revealed how sexual harassment and discrimination were used as a form of social control to exclude the full participation of women lawyers.

Analytical studies on the status of women emerged in India, after the publication of the report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India entitled 'Towards Equality' (1975) brought out by the Department of Social Welfare, Government of India. It documented the implications of the discriminations

to which women have been exposed. It brought to light, the existing demographic, legal, socio-cultural, economic, as well as the political perspectives regarding women and the need to develop new perspectives, to achieve equality of status for women.

Srivastav's study (2004) entitled, 'Women in India: Problems and Prospects' analysed and discussed the constitutional obligation of providing legal aid to the women, consequent to sex determination test status of women on one hand, and on the other equal remuneration for equal work and better working conditions for female workers.

According to Farhat (2004), the greatest danger resulting from woman being career oriented was disharmony within her family. Even the so-called 'modern husbands' expected the wife to serve him and the household, irrespective of the fact that she was a workingwoman.

Mathur's 'Women Family and Work' (2000) was a study on women professionals. She analysed the motivational level of the professionals, their decision to seek employment, the implications of dual role and the problem and conflicts they experienced. The study revealed that among the many problems faced by women professionals; the most common problems were: work overload, burden of domestic chores, inability to cope with both roles simultaneously and the consequent problem of role conflict.

It was also found that role conflict was directly related to the pressure of young children and a 'home oriented' personality while, it was inversely related to level of motivation, spouse support and supportive attitude of colleagues. The study also found that women professionals curtailed their occupational role in nearly 30 percent, domestic role in 18 percent and both roles in 15 percent cases due to role conflict.

Conclusion

To conclude, societal values and norms directly as well as indirectly teach women and men that women's primary domain is the family and that looking after the family is their primal duty. Consequently, women are to assign high priority to

domestic roles. Such a frame of mind is all right as long as the women are not working. But for working women, and a professional, it would pose an array of problems. The pressure of societal norms to accord priorities to family role and work overload due to dual role lead to role conflict among women professionals.

Besides, there are certain 'work situations' like, lack of flexibility in working conditions, lack of decision making power, or authority, and discrimination at work, that create role conflict among women professionals. Work life balance has become a major issue in the world of work. While success at both work and life is the most sought after goal for all, the need for achieving equilibrium is equally significant.

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Sociological Aspects of Modernization and Agriculture

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[Agriculture is an important sector considering the livelihood it generates for almost two-thirds of India's population. It is also critical for ensuring food security and poverty alleviation and this sector needs to be seen as a single set of activities encompassing production, storage and distribution. As there is a seamless interconnectedness of the entire agriculture value chain, its impact on output, income and employment in rural economy is highly positive (Nair, 2012).]

Agriculture plays a pivotal role in the Indian economy. Although its contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is now around one sixth, it provides employment to 56 percent of the Indian workforce. Also, the forward and backward linkage effects of agricultural growth increase the incomes in the non-agriculture sector. The growth of some commercial crops has significant potential for promoting exports of agricultural commodities and bringing about faster development of agro-based industries.

Thus agriculture not only contributes to overall growth of the economy but also reduces poverty by providing employment and food security to the majority of the population in the country and thus it is the most inclusive growth sectors of the Indian economy. The 12th Five Year Plan also indicates that agricultural development is an important component of faster, more inclusive sustainable growth approach.

India with a geographical area spreading over 329 million hectares is endowed with a complex diversity of climate, soils, flora and fauna offering both a blessing and a challenge for agricultural development. The quality and richness of the country resource endowments is constantly threatened by the huge population and increasing population density and corresponding demand for arable lands and ensuring food security.

The green revolution in wheat and rice, white revolution in milk, yellow revolution in oilseed and the 'blue revolution' in fisheries have augmented the food basket of the country. But many technological challenges remain. First, despite the shrinking share (23%) of the agricultural sector in the economy, the majority of the labour force (nearly 60%) continues to depend on agriculture. About 75% of India's poor people with low purchasing power live in rural areas and nearly 60% of the cultivated area is under rain-fed farming. Following table reveals the share of agriculture in GDP and Employment in India.

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Table No.1 Share of Agriculture in GDP and Employment in India

Year	Share in GDP(%)		Share in Employment
	Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	Agriculture	
1950-51	57.7	50.2	—
1960-61	53.0	47.3	75.9
1980-81	39.7	35.8	—
2004-05	18.9	15.9	56.4
2008-09	15.7	13.3	—

Source: National Accounts Statistics of India: 1950-51 to 2002-03, Economic & Political Weekly Research Foundation, December 2004, Mumbai: Brochure on the New Series of National Accounts, Base Year 2005; K. Sundaram, (2001 & 2007).

Due to continuous improvement in technology, agricultural processes are also mechanized and modernized.

Agricultural Modernization

The frontier process of agricultural modernization can be divided into first and second agricultural modernizations. The coordinated development of two agricultural modernizations means integrated agricultural modernization, which is mainly suitable for developing countries.

The first agricultural modernization refers to the transition from traditional agricultural to preliminary modern agriculture and from self-sufficient agriculture to marketized agriculture. Its unique features include marketization, commercialization, intensification, specialization, industrialization, mechanization, electrification, automation,

chemicalization, improved seeds, increasing of irrigated land, scale operation, standardization, scientification, institutionalization, and systematization.

They also include the enhancement of agricultural labour productivity, agricultural land productivity and farmers' living standard, and also the declining ratios of agricultural labor and agricultural added value (Chuanqi He, 2012).

The second agricultural modernization (1970-to present) refers to the transition from preliminary modern agriculture to advanced modern agriculture and from industrialized agriculture to intellectualized agriculture. Currently, its unique features include intellectualization, informatization, intelligence, precision, ecologicalization, greenization, naturalization, diversification, order-based operation, three-dimensional operation, factory operation, internationalization and the universal use of biological technologies. They also include the overall efficiency of agriculture, the quality of farm products, the international competitiveness, the improvement of quality of life of farmers, and the

continuous decline in the ratios of agricultural labor force and agricultural added value (Chuanqi He, 2012).

Sociological Review on Modernization and Agriculture

Few of the studies in the present study and are relevant for the sociological review regarding Modernization and Agriculture. The important studies were as under.

Rosegrant and Evenson (1995) published a working paper entitled “Total Factor Productivity and Sources of Long Term Growth in Indian Agriculture”. This paper assesses total factor productivity (TFP) growth in India, examines the sources of productivity growth, including public and private investment, and estimates the rates of return to public investments in agriculture.

The results show that significant TFP growth in the Indian crops sector was produced by investments — primarily in research — but also in extension, markets, and irrigation. The high rates of return, particularly to public agricultural research and extension, indicate that the Government of India is not over-investing in agricultural research and investment, but rather that current levels of public investment could be profitably expanded.

Nidhi Dwivedy (2001) in her paper on “Challenges faced by the Agriculture Sector in Developing Countries with Special Reference to India”, published in *International Journal of Rural Studies*, makes an attempt, through the review of literature, to understand the history and characteristics of the Indian agriculture sector, its transition from traditional to commercial agriculture

and the problems it faces. Modern agricultural practices and the relationship with environmental depletion have also been assessed.

The article discusses some of the developmental challenges faced by the Indian agriculture sector in particular and developing nations in general and these *inter alia* include: illiteracy, poor socioeconomic conditions, lack of technical knowledge and awareness, small land holdings, modernization leading to barren land and disasters leading to rural poverty, weather-dependent farming systems, low per capita income, underdeveloped physical infrastructures and inefficient bureaucratic procedures associated with the comparatively high cost of agricultural production. Natural disasters and human-induced environmental degradation are closely associated with improved farming systems.

Kumar (2008) in his book *Indian Agriculture and the Globalization*, points out that the globalization agreement on agriculture provides for new opportunities for increased international trade in agriculture. In the wake of globalization, it was felt that the disciplines of GATT, which traditionally focused only on import access problems, should be extended to measure affecting trade in agriculture, including domestic agricultural policies and the subsidization of agricultural exports.

It was felt necessary to reform agricultural policies in order to achieve trade liberalization in agriculture. The idea was to progressively reduce trade distorting subsidies, improve import access and curb export subsidies in agriculture. Under the agreement on Agriculture the main countries would have to reduce drastically subsidies granted to the farm sector.

Patil and Katti (2012) in their paper on “Modern Agriculture, Pesticides and Human Health: A Case of Agricultural Labourers in Western Maharashtra”, published in *Journal of Rural Development*, assert that modern agriculture practices have been of great promise for economic development of the nation.

While emphasizing that farm productivity is directly proportional to use of agro-chemicals as observed from the first green revolution, the authors caution that improper and unsafe use of these agrochemicals, especially pesticides is not only harmful to environment but also human health. Pesticides cause 14 per cent of all known occupational injuries in agriculture and 10 per cent of all fatal injuries. The relationship between the extent of pesticide-use and signs and symptoms of illnesses due to exposure among agricultural labourers of one of the high cash crop zones of Maharashtra State (Western Maharashtra) was assessed.

Conclusion

Due to improvement in technology, agriculture is also modernized and as shown in the above stated statistics, there is clear decrease of employment in agriculture. The modern machines such as tractors, harvesters, improved seeds, etc are used to gain higher productivity and replaced manpower in agriculture. In this regard, Scott (1985) stated ‘the process described here is one route to modernization of agriculture’, in that it involves substitution of new seed varieties for old, new technologies for traditional technologies, integration into the global economy, and leads to a sharp increase in the productivity of agriculture.

To conclude, on the one hand, there is increased output due to modernization, but it has benefited only too-large-scale landlords, those who own more land and on the other hand, for small and marginal farmers, there is lower output, higher costs, lower income, poverty and even burden of loans. In this respect, the proposed study is planned to explore the impact of modernization on agricultural labourers.

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