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INSIDE

Editorial

From Quad to AUKUS

Recently, Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States have entered into an alliance that is being termed as a trilateral security deal between these three countries, entailing a commitment to safeguard the Indo-Pacific from China's dominance by building a class of nuclear-propelled submarines. This trilateral security deal has come to be known as AUKUS that is said to be a military alliance wherein Washington and London have committed to assist Australia in building and deploying nuclear-powered submarines. Emergence of AUKUS takes place at a time when the Quad already exists in the Indo-Pacific region. The Quad or Quadrilateral Security Dialogue initially comprised Australia, India, Japan, with the US supporting it. However, in the wake of growing tensions between the US and China, Australia under the tenure of Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, withdrew from the Quad. In the meanwhile, India, Japan and the US continued to conduct joint naval exercises in the Indo-Pacific region.

In the wake of growing military activities of China in the South China Sea, Australia again joined the Quad in order to counter China via military and diplomatic means. China's increasing military and maritime prowess in the Indo-Pacific region and its assertive attitude and strategy in the South China Sea has been instrumental in bringing Quad member countries more aligned to each other. In November 2020, Quad member countries participated, and thereafter, in March 2021, American President Joe Biden convened a virtual Quad summit wherein decisions were taken to set up working groups to address COVID-19 vaccinations, focusing on climate change, technological innovation, and supply-chain resilience. Admittedly, not much detailed information is available about AUKUS; nonetheless, it primarily aims to assist Australia acquire a nuclear-powered conventionally-armed submarine fleet. With the formation of Quad and AUKUS in the Indo-Pacific region, question is bound to arise as to what extent both groupings do have similarities and dissimilarities. In the very first place, AUKUS is construed as a military alliance whereas Quad is regarded as a diplomatic alliance where diplomatic and global issues are discussed in tandem with a security dialogue. Besides, the AUKUS specifically deals with security and military situation in the Indo-Pacific while Quad deliberates on global issues, as it did in March 2021 by focusing on COVID-19 and climate change.

Many experts have opined that AUKUS exclusively focuses on the military developments in the Indo-Pacific region, and decision of the UK and the US to help Australia acquire a nuclear-powered conventionally-armed submarine fleet recently is a testimony to this. On the other hand, focus of the Quad is on multilateral issues that vary from economy to security matters to international affairs. Moreover, AUKUS is a trilateral military alliance designed to safeguard Indo-Pacific region from Chinese dominance and it is also designed to protect the global order, whereas the Quad works on the shared interests of all of its members. One similarity that is discernible between the Quad and the AUKUS is seemingly that of existence of both alliances in the Indo-Pacific region with Some common member countries.

Formation of AUKUS is specifically designed to contain China by equipping the like-minded Western countries in the periphery of the Pacific Ocean by the United States and the UK. The US and UK decision to supply nuclear-powered submarine fleet to Australia has dismayed France; nonetheless, efforts are likely to be made to elicit the support of France, including its membership of the AUKUS in coming months. The military character of the AUKUS also entails the potential of eliciting the cooperation to begin with of ASEAN member countries with Quad and gradually efforts could be made to entice some of the ASEAM member countries to join AUKUS, once its membership is opened to countries.

Undoubtedly, India is an active member of the Quad; nonetheless, prospects of India getting membership of AUKUS are remote for the time being. Any anti-China alliance sponsored by the Western countries is not going to help India in its dealings with China because both India and China have many complex problems that can be resolved through bilateral negotiations and not via intervention by any third country. At the same time, India can ill-afford to annoy China by joining any Western-sponsored military alliance. India has to devise its policy and strategy that best serves its interests.

—BK

Dynamics of China's Growing Strength vis-à-vis USA

Alok Kumar Gupta*

[*Over the last decade, China-America, bilateral relations have hit a nadir ever since they established diplomatic relations in 1979. USA is a Presidential democracy while China is an authoritarian one-party state. Since, the 'trade war' that ensued between the two during Trump's Presidency; both have been engrossed into sanctions and counter-sanctions. They are confronting each other over Taiwan; in South China Sea; in Africa; in the Indo-Pacific and in many other parts of the world. Both are scrambling for resources; for expanding their outreach; as well as to keep the geopolitics of different regions in their own favour, including the world order. The ongoing rivalry between these two countries have given rise to number of interpretations about the evolving world order over the recent past.]*

US Secretary of State, Antony Blinken gave a statement on CNN in April 2021 that the United States should negotiate with China "from a position of strength".[1] The statement is value loaded and speaks volumes about the so-called Sino-US Cold War and the one-upmanship that is going on between the two: US being the erstwhile world power, and China is said to be an emerging world power. The said statement must not be taken only with caution and concern but also be comprehended in terms of scaling down of the status of US as world's sole super power over last couple of decades.

Many experts and analysts have been projecting that a kind of new Cold War has ensued between USA and China. Cold War replica of the present Sino-US bilateral competition, confrontation and rivalry is misleading. It's a wrong historical analogy. The fact of international relations and Sino-US bilateral relations is depicting otherwise. Both these countries are engaged in a serious and most often antagonistic competition in different parts of the world and on different issues.

Thus, two things have emerged from the above observations. One the interpretation that there is a Cold War going-on between these two countries; and the second, that US somewhere is sensing that they are unable to negotiate and deal with Chinese leadership with a position of strength. This paper presents as to how the first one is misleading and the second one is the reality within the given world order.

Sino-US Cold War

This interpretation about the Sino-US confrontation is misleading for following reasons: Firstly, the Cold War ensued after the end of Second World War, pitted two Super Powers – USA and USSR – against each other. Both the countries were deeply involved in an arms race where each was trying to contain the other through deployment of a Weapon System that consisted of Launching Pads (mobile and silos), Launching Vehicles (missiles), and Payloads (Nuclear Bombs). The race continued for upgradation of all the ingredients of Weapon System and also Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMDs) in their own country as also elsewhere in other probable theatres of war.

The war did not take place throughout the period of Cold War yet the world thought it was the 'deterrence' as factor that played its role towards containment of war. It came to an end with the collapse of Soviet Union and its dismemberment. Present Sino-US rivalry does not revolve around an arms race in any manner.

Secondly, nuclear rivalry was the signature of the US-Soviet Cold War. Presently, USA and China are not engaged into a nuclear arms race nor even conventional arms race for developing and deploying nuclear weapons to contain each other's military one-upmanship.

Thirdly, during the days of Cold War, the two super powers USA and Soviet Russia were not into much of negotiation; rather they accommodated each other to the extent that they chose to coexist. They did compete with each other and were involved into arms race to score over each other, that in case of a war between the two, each must be in a position to annihilate the other. Both reached to a stage infamous as MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction). This is not the case in present Sino-US rivalry.

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Fourthly, both sides were endeavouring to have more and more countries as ally from world over through grants, aid and military help. The allies were reliant for power over either US or USSR. This is not something that China and US are seeking in the present world.

Last but not the least, both US and China have considerable economic engagement as discussed below, which was not the case between USA and Soviet Union when they were engrossed in the Cold War.

Collapse of Soviet Union: Lessons for China and US

Collapse of Soviet Union was of a great significance to Chinese Communist Party and was a seminal moment in its history that created a traumatized effect on its Chinese counterpart. Chinse Communists felt as if they may be the next. It provided an opportunity to the Chinse Communist Party to undergo a protracted process of introspection as to how it can retain its hold on power. They devised three reasons:

Firstly, the Soviet economic model had many internal contradictions, hence was not relevant to China. Thus, unlike Soviets the Chinese focused more and more on their consumer-based industrial complex alongside military industrial base. Hence, they are presently in most markets of the world with their goods.

Secondly, the state apparatus was the basis on which the power of the Party rested. This is something they adopted even in China and its most of the enterprises are also State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs). Thus, it provided a good amount of control to them over both economy and through economy on the polity. Chinese leadership were very clear all along in their mind that the CCP must have monopoly of power. This is something they have always ensured.

Thirdly, force alone was not sufficient to ensure that the Communist Party retain its hold on power. A long-term hold on power for any political party needs to have the support of a sizeable population of its citizens. This support could be there only when the regime of the day is able to satisfy their daily needs and improve living standards. It is true that material well-being of a significant part of the population is important to maintain a hold on power for any regime. Development is not an end in itself, rather a means by which the party would, by catering to the needs of the grassroots, consolidate its hold on

society. China understood it quite well. China exactly did the same.

It was the lessons that they learnt from Soviet collapse that they gradually moved to a socialism that had Chinese characteristics, which was a hybrid of capitalism and socialism. Results of what China learnt from Soviet collapse are well before the whole world, in terms of China's peaceful rise as an economic giant. China has built its hard power and soft power quite effectively and has been using its charm offensive in a manner that some experts brand China as 'Smart Power' while others address China as 'Sharp Power'.

On the other hand, US developed great ambitions with the collapse of the Soviet Union: they started expanding NATO to the very borders of Russia so that Russia must not develop as a future challenge to its unipolarity in the world. US invaded Iraq; it invaded Afghanistan; it was embroiled in Syrian conflict to keep the balance of power in the Middle East in its own favour; it articulated its foreign policy to keep control over most of the region where scramble for resources would have been a possibility; and these are instances to name but a few of the US's foreign policy pivot to different regions of the world to maintain its unipolarity.

Reportedly, all these were an attempt by US to act as the leader of the cluster of Western nations to contain and humiliate China. However, this may not be the sole reason; could be one of the reasons behind US's many actions. Yet, the important lessons that US derived from Soviet collapse for itself was that now US is the world's sole Super Power and a King with the world as its Empire. However, the unipolarity that the world ushered in was short-lived and turned out to be just a unipolar moment in the immediate aftermath of the collapse of Soviet Union; subsequently giving rise to different other images of the world: a multipolar world; zone of chaos and zone of peace; democracies and dictatorships; regionalism, as also a loose bipolar system as many call it; are to name but a few.

China's Silent Rise and US Desperations

It is quite obvious that USA could not hold on to unipolarity for long. This was made obvious to China that US calculations about the aftermath of the 'collapse of Soviet Union' were in fact miscalculations. Whereas, the lessons that the Chinese learnt were comparatively in right direction. The 'world order' seems to have been in a constant flux.

Fact remains that historically US has always conducted its external relations from positions of strength, whether its relations with China, Asian leaders, Southeast Asian leaders, European Leaders, Russian leaders, Latin American leaders and neighbours are concerned. US has been considered superior even to Germany and Japan ever since the two became losers of the Second World War.

It is more of Chinese growing dominance over the world and US's growing desperation over one issue after the other, that has been a motivating factor for China. This has been explained later in the article. Overall a unique situation also seems to have been emerging. US and Chinese economy are deeply interdependent and yet US is endeavouring to decouple selectively its economy with China. Reportedly, US-China trade in 2019 was to the tune of $558 billion, more than 10% of America's trade with the world. As of the second quarter of 2020, the US had $258 billion investment in different factories and other facilities of China while China had $153 billion in such investments in the US.[2] Thus, US and China are heavily interdependent upon each other which was not the case during the Cold War between USA and USSR. The fact of the situation is that they both are serious rivals and yet they benefit from each other owing to their interdependence.

What made China to be aggressive towards US?

It has thus been observed by those who are watching US and China bilateral engagement closely, that China is getting increasingly aggressive towards US. This has also been felt by US political leadership which becomes obvious from above statement of Blinken. China, based on the evolution of world order over the last three decades and observing the US and its desperations during three different crises; has come to believe that China can succinctly dominate US in many ways. China found that when the whole world was awaiting leadership from the US; the US was largely desperate and lost direction.

First such desperation was obvious when al-Qaeda terrorists attacked the twin towers of World Trade Centre (WTC) on September 11, 2001. It killed 2801 people including 147 passengers onboard the two jets. It had tremendous impact not only on the life of New York city but on the US image in the whole of outside world. The incident exposed the strengths and weaknesses of US in the eyes of its adversaries. The leadership was so desperate that it brought a multi-nation force and attacked Afghanistan to flush-out Osama Bin Laden. US, later got him in Pakistan, and killed him too.

But the entire process gave message to powers like China: that if US is vulnerable at the hands of non-state actors, then it could be made vulnerable to an organised state like China too; secondly, that US is not invincible, rather it could be dominated.

Secondly, when the US faced meltdown of its investment banks and security market, followed by the consequent sub-prime crisis, it led to subsequent economic recession in US since 2008, which once again revealed to China and to its other adversaries that US economy too is vulnerable. The US leadership adopted the policy of bailout package to take the investment bankers out of the slump of bankruptcy. This economic vulnerability of US convinced China further that US could be dominated economically too. Third, has been the recent crisis owing to COVID-19 driven pandemic that requires a little detailed explanation.

US Leadership Crisis amidst Corona Pandemic

Signs of US desperations became visible when news portal 'mail online' reported on its portal that Germany has accused US of 'modern day piracy'. As the cases of Corona infected individuals started soaring in US and crossed over 2.5 lakhs patients, the health infrastructural system of US started collapsing. The scramble for crucial medical equipment, like respirators and ventilators, as well as other medical supplies like masks, gowns, thermometers and gloves began. The situation was no different in other European countries like, Italy, France, Germany and Spain.

Thus, when their emergency stockpiles of medical equipment started depleting, the scramble for the same began among the US and its transatlantic partners. US allies from Europe to South America were complaining about the superpower's "Wild West" tactics in outbidding or blocking shipments to buyers who have already signed deals for vital medical supplies.[3] It really revealed clear signs of desperation on the part of the erstwhile superpower on the globe.

Accordingly, global scramble for medical equipment began among the Americans vis-à-vis other European nations. French officials claimed that they were forced to fight with American buyers for millions of masks on a Chinese tarmac.[4] As alleged in the report, US confiscated 200,000 masks that Germany had ordered for their medical workers. A German official blasted Trump, the American President in showing 'a lack

of solidarity' with other countries caught up in the coronavirus pandemic. The masks were delivered from 3M factory in Shanghai and were to be reloaded at Bangkok to be flown to Germany. But the consignment was intercepted at Bangkok Airport and instead went to US.[5]

The US went so desperate that it invoked the Defence Production Act which is a Korean-War Law to deal with critical shortages of N95 masks at US hospitals. US ordered its company, Minnesota Mask Manufacturer i.e., 3M to prioritize US orders over foreign demands. Trump once again went berserk on April 6, 2020 when he resorted to a kind of diplomacy which nowhere sounded like 'a fine art of getting things done', rather gave way to misinterpretation in myriad of ways including threat to India.

On yet another occasion, Trump told reporters at his daily White House news conference on Coronavirus (on April 10, 2020) that if China is considered a developing country, make the United States too, a developing one.[6] This was utter desperation on part of US that it lost its cool when unable to manage the Pandemic-driven crisis at home.

Thus, US majorly and its transatlantic partners occasionally were found in utter desperation forgetting diplomatic etiquettes and global norms. They were, undoubtedly reeling under a severe crisis, yet they were supposed to behave properly revealing statesmanlike qualities before the Global community. Desperation amidst crisis was highly unbecoming of their Global image and international personality. China understood it well that US also is vulnerable on account of leadership crisis within. This is something that China could make most of it.

Conclusion

Thus, China has been observing US and its leadership over the last three decades on different occasions whenever it had to face a crisis situation as discussed above. China comprehended it in terms of leadership crisis on part of erstwhile superpower as well as its vulnerability on account of security, economy and diplomacy as well. It is China's such observations and inferences about US leadership that China has increasingly been growing aggressive towards US and pressurising US to budge before it rather than China bowing down itself, on most occasions of negotiations. Hope, Joseph Biden would restore some of the lost glory, personality and prestige of US.

Footnotes

1. Alexander Casella, "China and the US: Beyond a reset", Asia *Times*, April 15, 2021. Available at: https://asiatimes.com/2021/04/china-and-the-united-states-beyond-a reset/?mc_cid=31affc2047&mc_eid=63cf0e33f8

2. Urban C. Lehnar, "US-China Competition not the same as Cold War", Asia *Times*, April 20, 2021. Available at: https://asiatimes.com/2021/04/us-china-competition-not-the-same-as-a-cold-war/?mc_cid=01185ac900&mc_eid=63cf0e33f8

3. Richard Lough and Andreas Rinke, "US spending spree on health equipment sparks global outrage", *Business Day*, April 5, 2020, www.businesslive.co.za

4. Andrew Court, "Germany accuses the US of 'modern day piracy' for seizing a shipment of medical equipment—as French officials claim they were forced to fight with American buyers for millions of masks on a Chinese tarmac", *Daily Mail*, April 3, 2020, www.dailymail.co.uk This was also reported by Milly Vincent, *Mailonline*, April 04, 2020, www.dailymail.co.uk

5. Ibid., No.4.

6. For detail report see PTI, "If China a developing country, make us too one: Trump", *The Indian Express*, April 11, 2020, www.indianexpress.com

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Regime Change and Democracy in Maldives

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[*In this brie article, author deals with political developments obtaining in Maldives at the outset of the second decade of the 21st century, with specific focus on holding of elections, formation of government and ensuing struggle between and among the contending forces. Emphasising on the cautionary role for India in this archipelago, the author hopes that democracy could thrive there.* Ed.]

With a sudden change of regime in Maldives and the formation of a new government, democracy had once again stabilised in the Indian Ocean archipelago, amidst ongoing power struggle between the newly appointed President Mohhamad Waheed Hasan who had been Vice President until then and former President Mohhamad Nasheed and the unclear or even suspicious role of the yet another former president Mohhamad Abdul Gayoom because of his crucial and whole hearted support to the Government of Waheed Hasan, after passing through the tough terrain of dictatorial-monarchical regimes of Middle East all over the years.

In fact, Nasheed was elected as president of Maldives after defeating the former President Abdul Gayoom who had ruled the country as dictator for over three decades and had imprisoned Nasheed for long, yet Gayoom had facilitated his own succession following his defeat. It is no doubt that Nasheed maintained the trend having firm faith and commitment to the tenets of democracy and resigned- or forced out of power by the Maldivian security forces as reported by the media as he claimed afterwards- from the top post with grace and poise consequent upon bitter clashes between the army and police in the streets of the island nation which erupted due to arrest of a top judge.

With this arrest, the Nasheed regime alienated the entire judiciary and also lawyers who also joined the protests to effectively counter the President and his government. The alternative to his sudden and yet unsurprising resignation- when pushed by circumstances often of his own making or that of his supporters and aides- could have been political

upheaval and turmoil at best, and possible street violence at the worst. But such protests are going on. Perhaps Nasheed should now pick up the challenge again as well as others, to learn how fallen democrats have reinvented themselves as well as their nations in the struggle against coups, attempted coups or other transitions to power "almost at gun point". This is evident from all the media coverage and also the way he is walking around Male, the capital of Maldives, undeterred by the humiliation he received at the hands of the security forces a few days ago. Indeed he seems to have decided as not to go down without fighting the good and democratic fight.

Another sub-plot in the new drama that has unfolded in the Maldives has its concern with the PPM (Progressive Party of Maldives), an outfit floated by the former President Gayoom which is engaged in a bitter battle with the parent party he founded, Dhivehi Rayyithunge Party (DPR) or the Maldivian People's Party. The PPM has been most active in recent months, and has been busy evolving innovative ways to get support from all across the Islands. Its representatives went to Sri Lanka's capital Colombo and New Delhi and other neighbouring countries in an attempt to enlarge their area of influence and strengthen its support-base.

Maldives has been a protectorate of Netherlands up to 17th century and later on it moved under British sovereign rule wherefrom it became independent in 1965. Today, with a population of around 3,20,000 strewn across 1200 islands, the country would itself find out the solution to the present political crisis which is purely an internal matter of the Maldivians as one could indicate to the lotus-eating nature of the Maldivians and debate whether the sun, sand and sea have contributed to paradise being lost or regained.

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Nasheed has had a hard time since he came to power. He headed the first democratically elected government, but did not have adequate support in the Majlis, causing constitutional and political deadlocks on most of the issues of governance. As a result, perhaps, a tense atmosphere was prevailing there from past few months.

As reported: "There have been protests all along for so many weeks…"To be more specific, tensions have been brewing since the SAARC summit in the island capital Male in November last year where monuments of all participating nations were placed and that came to be regarded by the Opposition including Islamic fundamentalists - who had sided with President Nasheed's Maldivian Democratic Party (MDP) during the second run-off elections, electing him as President - as a symbol of religious diversification an attempt to endanger the island's cent per cent Islamic religion.

They accused the President of being a liberal-democrat and a socio-political reformist and a moderate Islamist who wanted the entry of other religions in a bid to boost his image as well as popularise himself within the country as well as abroad and also being unable to learn and act with the old guards and their well-entrenched politico-administrative set that the young President had inherited. They were a part of the informal arrangement of the "December 23 Coalition", named after the day on which they all together staged a protest to "protect Islam" in 2011. As against this situation, how can the country adopt a democratic form of governance.

Although President Nasheed could peacefully accede to power from the former President Gayoom when much trouble was feared yet Gayoom had never been a supporter of Nasheed. Despite having differences with him on some of the key issues, President Nasheed has had an important role to play in the nation- building process, both learning as much from their faults as from the other person's strengths while in office. Both of these can cause a cementing and calming effect on the polity and society, which has felt elated at the birth of democracy and the change of leadership, from the old to the young, without

succumbing and adjusting to the changing realities, particularly on the economic front and that too in a very short period.

Other complaints included are steep price hike of essential commodities affecting common man's daily life and such needs which are, in fact, imported and the problem further accentuated by the IMF's induced decision of the devaluation of the island's currency *i.e.,* rupfiyaa. Similarly, the IMF-guided salary cut and also reduction in staff- strength in the government services had severely annoyed the countrymen who in sizable number are engaged in the government job thereby earning their bread and butter. Yet, local council elections did go the MDP way most, but then that alone has not been enough in this case.

From Parliament to the Judiciary, and now, at the level of police, the leadership lacked the capacity to handle different crisis situations and instead resorted to public flogging in a barbaric way that eventually led to its downfall. Another drawback associated with Nasheed was regarding his support base that was mostly confined to two cities Male and Addu. Also, he and his team took pains to explain that the charges hurled at his regime were baseless.

Under the prevailing circumstances, Nasheed's peaceful exit as he stepped down without unease and discomfort, rather than indulge in brinkmanship or violence and consequent instability that could have put the young democracy in difficulties, has widely been considered as a cause of satisfaction for regional as well as global peace and security. In fact, the entire episode appears to have been conducted with blessings of the former President Gayoom and his cohorts including his half- brother Abdullah Yameen and the former security officer, Umer Nasser, who not only forced Nasheed to resign at gun point but are also plotting further to bar him from contesting the next elections.

As for future of Maldives, Nasheed has been succeeded by the Vice-President Mohd. Waheed Hassan Malik- an international civil servant in UN agencies across the world-following the US presidential form of government. Being the running

mate of President Nasheed, Malik will go through his full term of five years thereby ensuring against any kind of instability at the top most level. That democracy has taken its deep roots in the Indian Ocean Archipelago was well proved even in the few hours immediately after Nasheed's resignation, when the People's Majlis (the Parliament), met to pass their unanimous resolution adopting the peaceful succession.

But overall situation is very complicated because now Nasheed backs off from his earlier non- negotiable demand of holding early elections due to mounting pressure from the world community and some of his friends. On the other hand President Waheed claims to be the President as per the Constitution and wants to form a national government consisting of all political parties.

As regards India's role into the present impasse, that is important given the geo-strategic position of Maldives in the Indian Ocean. India has been more concerned about the precarious economic situation of the island and its lack of progress in building suitable institutions of democracy because, of late, economy has been on a free fall, and dollar has become a scarce commodity. That is why overseas workers have been told that they would not be able to repatriate more than $ 1000 a month. Also, the not so good state of the judiciary and police are the other concerns for India.

Hence India needs a stable, liberal-democratic and friendly establishment devoid of the influence of Islamist extremists and fundamentalists who are bent upon creating instability and disorder in the region, particularly to destabilise Indian democracy and its secularism at the behest of global terror networks. The haste with which India came out to support the regime change-over has left several people terribly bewildered. Was this the result of pragmatism that runs freely, today, in the heart of India's foreign policy?

Certainly, pragmatism has its benefits, and the art of foreign policy making cannot be mixed with something as ephemeral as friendships, including with democrats. Further China and Pakistan have their own respective interests. As delegations from the UN, US, EU and the Commonwealth have been camping in Male to find out a solution to the crisis, the world is looking towards India to take a lead. It is not totally unfounded because some parts of Lakshadweep even speak Dhivehi, the national language of the Maldives- particularly if India believes that Maldives is a part of its South Asian sphere of influence. Will India grasp the immensely fragile moment at this crucial juncture and ensure that peace and stability returns to the island and that fresh elections are held, sooner than later, is some-thing very precious today.

By doing so as it had done in 1988 in an attempted coup in Maldives by outsiders, India would prove, again, about itself to be worthy of its fair and principled approach which is truly in the interest of humanity and peace towards resolution of political crises not only in Maldives but also in South Asia, Asia and all over the world, particularly to authoritarian rulers. If it doesn't, it would be its second strategic defeat in the island nation. But India must not look like over ambitious as it was declared in Sri Lankan crisis during late 1980s.

Despite serious challenges ahead, particularly from the hardliner and orthodox Islamists having global network, the new President can do well for maintaining peace, security and stability of the country, by forging broad based consensus on value based politics and democratic principles with a view to achieve socio-economic progress and responsive & responsible governance involving both ex-presidents, key political parties and all influential segments of society, polity and also all conscience-seeking populace. These besides, he must strive for making arrangements for early holding of free, fair and peaceful elections so that democratic and progressive forces expressing popular aspirations may come forward to defeat decisively the obscurantist Islamists and undemocratic forces in Maldives.

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Bad Bank and Management of Stress Assets

Dr. D. M. Mahapatra* & Dr. S. K. Baral*

[*Setting up an Asset Reconstruction and Asset Management Company (ARC/AMC) to take up bank strained debt. AMC or Bad Bank has the capacity to resolve NPAs based on international experience. In general, there are four methods to fund an asset management firm. AMC Bonds, a government equity infusion, b special loans from the Central Bank, c and public sale of shares are examples. To deal with NPAs in the past five years. The first was a December 2014-15 plan called "5/25" that allowed infrastructure firms to extend their loan maturities up to 25 years. Second, in June 2015-16, a "Strategic Debt Restructuring (SDR)" plan was introduced. By converting debt into equity, banks may take over companies and sell their assets. They had to sell the assets within 18 months after assuming ownership or face full repayment of the loan. The "Scheme for Sustainable Structuring of Stressed Assets" (S4A) This may need a "Made in India" type of "Bad Bank" that works in an ecosystem.*]

The RBI's asset quality assessment, the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code, amendments to the Banking Regulation Act, and significant capital infusions into Public Sector Banks (PSBs) were starting to reduce non-performing assets (NPAs). The Comprehensive time-bound reforms agenda, *"Enhanced Assess and Service Excellence" (EASE)*, covered 6 areas of reforms for banks: (a) Customer Responsiveness, (b)Responsible Banking, (c)Credit off-take, (d)Focus on Medium and Small Enterprises Firms. (e)Deepening Financial Inclusion and (f)Better Governance (Jha, Samesh, 2018).

PSBs need to strengthen their organisational structure, tighten risk management and improve credit delving, all critical for turnaround. Banks themselves need to pro-acting adopt Artificial Intelligence and Machine Learning to Meet Increasing Customer demands and take the threat from fin tech and disruptive digital banking. Govt approves new program to solve bad loan issue in India It was signed by two dozen banks and financial organizations to settle problematic debts. ICA envisages the setting up of an asset management company with equity contribution from banks to take over bad loans and an alternate investment fund to raise money from institutional investors.

The main benefit of the ICA is the flexibility banks acquire to resolve individual bad loans taking in to account their specifies, instead of being straight jacketed in to resolution under Insolvency Bankruptcy code (IBC). The scheme known as *"Sashakt"* in July 2, 2018. The Stressed Asset is into 03 classes depending upon the size.

1. NPAs up to 500 million Focused verticals among banks will guarantee 90-day resolution.
2. NPAs of Rs.500 million to Rs.5 billion Inter-creditor agreements will be signed, allowing the lead bank to complete a resolution plan in 180 days.
3. NPAs exceeding Rs.5 billion Independent Asset Management Companies (AMCs)

The NPA Management is the need of the hour. It is incumbent to the banks to establish comprehensive fraud risk management and Early Warning Signals (EWS) systems. Rather of preparing for a fraud occurrence, banks will need to regularly evaluate their risk and controls, and deploy technological solutions for fraud prevention and early detection. The official Economic Survey had suggested in the month of January 2017, a *"Centralized Public Sector Asset Rehabilitation Agency"* could be established for Management of NPAs. The Govt. also awaits the Mehta Committee recommendations, a "Bad Bank" Concept. A committee under Sunil Mehta, non-executive chairman of PNB will look into the proposal to form an ARC/ AMC (Asset Re-Construction Company) (Asset Management Company) for resolution of the NPA problem.

Further, the SMA-1 (Special mention account-I) and SMA-2 accounts give early signs of default before 90 days. Corporate slippages (loans turning bad) were from stressed pool with the remaining stressed assets put under the "Watch list". Moreover, banks are subject to PCA (Prompt Corrective Action) limitations on dividend distribution, branch growth, and manager remuneration. In the worst situation, the RBI may force a bank to consolidate or close. In this context, and with NPAs on the rise, banks' concerns are reasonable. A "Bad Bank" concept has therefore been resurrected (Gupta, Uttam, 2020).

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Table-1: stated the India's NPA Ratio of Emerging Markets during 2015-16 to 2019-20.

Country	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019: Q1	2019: Q2
Brazil	3.3	3.9	3.6	3.1	3.1	3.1
China	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8
India	5.9	9.2	10	9.5	8.9	9.2
Indonesia	2.4	2.9	2.6	2.3	2.4	2.4
Malaysia	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.6
Mexico	2.5	2.1	2.1	2.1	2	2.1
Philippines	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.7	2	2
Russian Federation	8.3	9.4	10	10.1	NA	NA
South Africa	3.1	2.9	2.8	3.7	3.8	3.7
Turkey	3	3.1	2.8	3.7	3.8	4.1

Note: Data pertain to end- December; data for Japan are for end-September.

Source: RBI.

Structure of Bad Bank

The Indian Banks Association (IBA) proposed establishing up a "Bad Bank" in May 2020, with government and bank equity contributions. A "Bad Bank" buys other banks' non-performing assets (NPAs) and helps them clean up their books. A committee led by former PNB Chairman Sunil Mehta proposed in 2018 the creation of an asset management company (AMC) called "Sashakt India Asset Management" to expedite the settlement of big problematic loans.

The proposed structure A *"National ARC"* will be formed to acquire 50-60 assets, with debt exposure more than Rs.500 crore each. The equity contribution for the ARC, for cash payout would be infused by 11 identified lenders such as nine banks and two financial institutions. The National ARC would indicate the base offer price for the asset at the time of assignment and the Swiss Challenge method will be followed for compliance perspective.

Presently, the IBA has resurrected the idea. A bad bank is like a normal entity where the bad loans of a bank are parked. This concept initiated in 1988 by Mellon Bank. Such model has been used in such countries like Japan, Sweden, The UK and Slovenia. This concept will accrue to banks as their NPA burden is removed significantly (Kumar, Prashant, 2019). "Board of Industrial and Financial Restructuring (BIFR)", "Asset Reconstruction Companies (ARCs)", "Debt Recovery Tribunals (DRTs)", "Corporate Debt Restricting (CDR)", "Strategic Debt Restricting (SDR)", "Joint Lenders Forum (JLF)", "S4A" and "Insolvency Banking Code (IBC)" (Tandan, Amit, 2018). The Government of India has to set up the *"National Financial Reporting Authority (NFRA)"* and it is a decision to implement one of the Audit reforms introduced in the companies Act 2013. NFRA would significantly reduce the incidence and magnitude of frauds (Bhattacharya, Asish, 2018).

Table-2: Safeguarding Against NPAs.

Particulars	Outstanding loan (Rs. Trillion)	Capital Required (Rs. Trillion)
Assets with Exposure < Rs.500 million.	2.1	230-280
Assets with Exposure (Rs.500mn -Rs. bn)	3.1	370-420
Assets with Exposure > Rs.5bn	3.1	370-420
Assets Already under NCLT	2.3	100-150

Source: Sunil, Mehta. Committee Report on Resolution of Stressed Assets, Business Standard, 7th August 2018, p.6)

Management of Bad Bank

The plan is to create an Asset Reconstruction and Asset Management Company (ARC/AMC) to combine current stressed debt, manage and sell the assets to "Alternative

Investment Funds (AIF)" and other prospective investors to realize value. The development of a giant ARC/AMC structure seems to be driven by anticipated increased risks of systemic bad loans.

According to the RBI's Annual Report, Public Sector Banks (PSBs) have recorded more fraud instances in loan accounts previously flagged for early warning. Some of the loans approved between 2010 and 2014 turned out to be fraudulent, with a discovery time of almost two years. Despite the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) increasing regulation and monitoring, banks and financial institutions recorded a 28% increase in volume and a 159% increase in value in 2019-20. In March 2019, there were 6,799 scams worth Rs 71,543 crore, while in April 2019, there were 8,707 frauds worth Rs 185,644 crore.

Inconsistent audit reports, non-cooperation of borrowers during forensic audits, and lack of decision making at Joint Lenders' meetings are among the causes for fraud detection delays. The central bank is now connecting databases and information systems to enhance fraud detection and monitoring. Online reporting of frauds by NBFCs and the CFR portal of commercial banks are introduced in 2021.

Moreover, the RBI's data on willful defaulters comes from a huge centralized database named "CRILC". This is a database of all debtors with a credit exposure of Rs 5 Crore or more. From February 2019, banks may categorize if a borrower is a willful defaulter in CRILC.

Conclusion

During this time of economic turmoil, the banking industry is suffering from a decline in loan demand together with an increase in Non-Performing Assets (NPAs). "Indradhanush" is a policy for streamlining appointments and establishing up a board bureau (BBB) to search for top positions at state-owned banks, recapitalization measures, and steps to aid the flow of nonperforming assets (NPA) so that economic development may be enhanced with more credit. The many structures used to resolve stressed assets (such as BIFR, ARC, DRT, CDR, SDR, JLF, and S4A) may end up having a major breakdown for decreasing NPAs.

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Impact of Upanishads on Gandhian Thought

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The Upanishads literature has a vast and pervasive influence in Indian life and culture. The Upanishads teaching and Upanishad's type of realization run through a wide range of Hindu religious literature and culture. The Upanishads philosophy and moral teaching stand supreme as regards social and intellectual influence especially in the modem period. Upanishads teaching and ancient traditional works were more influenced and studied by our social reformers, political leaders and philosophers in the nineteenth and twentieth century. They are all stimulated and heavily influenced by Western culture but their fundamental standpoint was consistently Upanishad's tradition in nature; the Universal brotherhood.

In the renaissance period, Rajaram Mohan Roy, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Swami Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, Acharya Vinoba, Rabindranatha Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi etc., have reinterpreted the essence of Upanishads thoughts with the humanitarian consideration i.e., the need and the demand of the society. Gandhiji was a great man and respected personality of the world. He was a great practical philosopher, educator, thinker, and social reformer of India. His ideas and thoughts permeated the entire human community especially the lower caste people of the society.

He made an attempt to eradicate untouchability that was existed among the Indian society, He was a social reformer who preached everything for the benefit of human life. To him religion has got practical importance in life. He tried to spiritualize all aspects of human life.

The central theme of Gandhian philosophy and his ilk is the integral humanism. To prove the integral humanism as the central theme of Gandhian thought it is necessary to prove that integral humanism existed in the Upanishads thought as well. The universal message of the oneness is the central teaching of the Upanishads. Gandhiji added a social dimension to this universal method. The Upanishads gave us firstly the message of non-violence. The Chandogyopanisad declared hat non-violence was an ethical quality of man. Hindu ethics since the time of the Upanishads had always laid stress on the virtue of' ahimsa' to all living beings, human or & otherwise

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Upanishads' philosophy is also deeply entrenched in Indian culture and way of thinking that is Gandhiji in a way epitomizes ancient Indian non-violence and life of renunciation, he in fact, reflects the crux of Upanishads. He said "I believe in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the puranas and all that goes by the name of Hindu scriptures and therefore in avataras and rebirth".[1]

Gandhiji declared, explicitly that he was a believer in Advaita, the essential unity of God and man and for that matter of all lives.[2] The base of Upanishads' tradition and the Bhagavad-Gita mainly form the foundation of Gandhian life and thought. He for the first time read the Gita, the translation of Sir Edwin Arnold. He was ashamed of this and then he read the original Sanskrit version of the Gita and many translations. This was the first Vedantic influence on Gandhiji's life. His philosophy and life were influenced by different systems like Vaishnavism, Buddhism, Jainism and Christianity. But to a great extent the Upanishads' tradition, the philosophy of wielded more influence on the life of Gandhiji.

The period of Upanishads is the most glorious era of Indian ideal Humanism. The Upanishads proclaim the existence of spiritual unity behind all physical existence: According to Gandhiji — "one must give up attachment to things and dedicate one's all to God and make use of his gifts to serve Him only". The first mantra of Isavasyopanisad explains that "all that moves in. this moving world should be known as enveloped by God. Leave the transient and find joy in the eternal. To not covet what belongs to others".[3] Gandhiji said that one is asked to dedicate everything to God and then use it to the required extend.[4] He also said, "The prayer is not restricted to one's caste or community, it is all inclusive. It comprehends the whole-of humanity and- welfare of the society".

The ancient seer prays for social happiness; "Serve bhavanthu sukhinah sarve santu niramayah sarve bhadrani pasyantu makascid duhkhabhag bhvet"[5] i.e., may all of us become happy and healthy in life. May all attain the good thing, may none suffer any moment. This is. We find that a lofty noble and elevating idea of universal brotherhood. This shows that all are equal in the eyes of God The seer's vision and sympathies are not limited to humanity alone but overflow to all beings- "lokab samastah sukhino bhavantu". This shows that the social happiness is a necessary condition for cultural growth

and development. The Upanishads seers and tradition also realised that social happiness should be within the reach and every member of the society - "Bhadram karnebhi srunuyarna devah bhadram pasemah……

These are the universal concepts of Indian ancient "Sanatanadharma". Gandhiji applied pragmatic measures to achieve the fulfilment of the universal brotherhood and humanism. He indulged in pragmatic method in every walk of life, for the welfare of mankind. Dynamism also is a characteristic of Gandhian humanism. He believed that, God is an indefinable mysterious power that pervades everything.

Gandhiji defines God as "Saccidananda". In his view God is present in everything and everybody and He is undetectable and also pure and infinite spirit. It is this spirit that exists in all creatures, both living and non-living. In this view he accepts the Svetaswetharopanisad principle. "The one God, hidden in all things, all pervading, the inner soul of all things".[6] This principle is fully accepted in the Gandhian thought. He also describes God as the nameless and the formless, this idea may be compared to that of Sankara,[7] who describes that Supreme, power through 'Neti', 'Neti'. He said that in God there is no duality[8] He describes God as the essence, pure consciousness, as force, truth, goodness, love etc.

God according to Gandhiji is undefined power pervading all life, the spirit, the formless, the nameless Truth.[9] This God is the creator, preserver and destroyer of the universe The Taittiriopanisad already earlier said this idea related to Brahman i.e., "That verily, from which these beings are born, that by which, when born they live, that into which, when departing, they enter. That seek to know, that is Brahman'[10] Here we can assume that the concept of Upanishads Brahman and Gandhiji." God are one and the same one.

He says, "And where there is truth, there is also knowledge which is true. Where there is no truth, there can be no true knowledge. That is why the word 'cit' or knowledge is associated with the name of God. And where there is true knowledge, there is always 'ananda' i.e., bliss. There sorrow has no place. And even truth is eternal, so is the bliss derived from it. Hence, we know God as "Saccidananda". Thus, the ultimate reality is known as "Saccidananda". He also believed that Brahman is 'Sat', 'Sat' means existence. Brahman is 'cit'. 'Cit' means consciousness. Brahman is 'ananda'. Ananda means bliss. Thus, Brahman is "Saccidamnanda."[11] Brahman is infinite (anandam). This infinite power is the Absolute truth: That is "Truth is God"." The Taittiriopanisad 'Sruti' "Satyamjnanamananclam brahma"[12] is fully absorbed Gandhian concept of God.

According to Gandhiji, he who follows the absolute truth can get moksha. This was the fundamental thrust of the Upanishads i.e., knowledge for liberation "Jnanadevatu Kaivalyam". He says there is one absolute truth, which is total and all-embracing. He believed every living being as a spark of the ultimate truth. He also knew that the sum total of all these sparks of the supreme truth. These facts are developed in his thoughts from the help of the Aitareyopanisad Sruti "Sarvam Khaluidarm brahma".[13] He expressed the Upanishads' view that truth and reality are not different. He pointed out that, God or Brahman described as the ultimate reality, highest knowledge, infinite bliss etc. For the Upanishads seers and Sri Sankara truth and reality are individual entities, And long before, the emergence of Gandhian thinkers, both western and eastern treated truth as identical with reality or God.'[14]

Influence of the Bhagavad-Gita

The Bhagavad-Gita is the quintessence of the Upanishads. The Gita constitutes the quintessence of the doctrine of dharma. Gandhiji was very much influenced by the Bhagavad-Gita. It was to Gandhiji the unfailing guide in all circumstances. Gita is the most revered scripture of Gandhiji. He said that "the Gita inspires us to do our duties, neglecting the suffering and the torture that we receive in course of our action".[15] He considered Gita as his spiritual dictionary where he found solution for his problems at the most crucial moments of his life. He said "when doubt haunts me, when disappointments stare me in the face, and when I see not one ray of light on the horizon, I turn to the Bhagavad-Gita and find a verse to comfort me; and I immediately begin to smile in the midst of over whelming. sorrow. My life has been filled of external tragedies, and if they have not left any visible and indelible effect on me, I owe it to the teachings of the Bhagavatgita.[16]

According to Gita 'Karma-yoga' is one of the highest paths to attain liberation. Gandhiji believes in the law of 'Karma', this belief obviously has the source in the upasnishadic doctrine. He learnt from the Gita that religion is no opposed to material good. It is a misconception to hold that in business, vocation and day-to-day work, religion has not place and that religion is only for attaining spiritual salvation. The Gita dispels all such erroneous views. The Gita preaches, we have a right to actions, but not to their fruits, i.e., Karmanyevadhikaras the..."1 The second and eighteenth chapter of the Gita give us the central teachings as their way to self-realization and idea of 'niskamakarma', that is action without desire for the result. This proved for him to be of priceless worth.[17]

No other book influenced him so deeply as the study of the Gita. He learnt a good deal about 'aparigraha' and 'Sambhava' from this moral text only. The teaching of the Gita became an infallible guide of conduct to him. Gita was born to lift Arjuna from his dependency and the teaching given to Arjuna was the teaching given to all mankind and universe.

The Gita teaches the cultivation of 'Samatva' and the means of doing service of every living creature without thought of reward. The secret of the Gita which Gandhiji discovered and deduced in to a commentary on the Gita — "anasaktiyoga". He has treated Gita as a work on religion, ethics and philosophy all combined in to one. Here he said that religion is 'Karmayoga' ethics is "anansakthi" and bhakti and philosophy is Guna as also self - realisation after absolute submission of the self to God. Thus, throughout his life the Gita remained the source of his pleasure and joy, solace and strength, and the reference book for resolving all knotty problems both in personal and public life.

His idea of 'Sarvodaya' also derived its primary inspiration from the Upanishads tradition especially in the Gita. The idea of bread labour equally derived its inspiration from the 'Karmayoga' of the Gita inspired him. His idea of 'Trusteeship' of the rich can be traced to the philosophy of renunciation of the fruits of one's action for the community as advocated in the Gita. Thus, the Gita proved to be a decisive factor in shaping Gandhian life and philosophy in the right path.

Advaita philosophy had great influence on Gandhiji's every activity. His view of ultimate reality as an all-inclusive spiritual one reminds us of idealistic monism. "Ekamsatviprabahu -davadanti"[18] i.e., that which exists is one, men call it by various names. This shruti which had deeply impressed to the Gandhian life and thinking.

Gandhiji like Sri Sankara says that nothing exists except truth, which Upanishads and Sankara call Brahman. Where there is truth, there is also true knowledge (cit) and where true knowledge exists there is also bliss (ananda). The impersonal Brahman and the personal God have been adopted in Gandhiji's philosophy, like advaitin who distinguishes between "Paramarthika drusti" (absolute stand point), "Vyavaharikadrsti" (practical stand point). According to the metaphysical stand point of Gandhiji, God is the only reality who manifests himself in the various existing entities is only apparently real. He also said that moral and spiritual disciplines are essential for knowing God.

It was Gandhiji's life style based on his experimental quest for truth that attracted to him the great scientist like Albert Einstein. It was Gandhi's thought for an eternal modern social system that had brought to him a new generation which had been craving for a new world system. He re-discovered a new vision, a new dimension and a new meaning to life, which had been forgotten by people for a. long time.

According to the principle of "niakjmakarma" Gandhiji dedicated his life to the Indian society. He was against the untouchability and social evils which existed among the Hindus. He considered all human beings are equal and one in spirit. This was based on the inspiration of the universal message of oneness of the Upanishads thought. Thus, Gandhiji was a man of peace and sacrifice, millions of people accepted his teachings which indeed came to constitute a separate religion, namely Gandhism. Thus, Gandhiji become the greatest pragmatic social revolutionary of the century.

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Anxiety, a Variable in Affective Filter Hypothesis

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[*There are myriad variables that affect learning which are linked with various hypotheses. Language anxiety, one such variable, is a prevalent phenomenon in second language learning. Anxiety is a variable in Affective Filter Hypothesis. Dealing with anxiety as part of Affective Filter Hypothesis can lead to better language acquisition. The theoretical background of Affective Filter has been elucidated in this paper with special emphasis on dealing with anxiety in the language classroom setting. This has been done in the backdrop of ESL/EFL learning environment. This study has tried to provide evidence for the affective filter, as well as some major pedagogical implications for lowering it and improving second language acquisition.*]

A filter is something that goes about as a medium to strain or impede material from arriving at a container. For instance, when a coffee filter is placed above a cup and coffee grounds are placed inside and when we pour hot water upon the grounds, the filter acts as an agent that turns the bitterness of the material into a savoury decoction. An affective filter can be described in a similar way, where for example, the "cup" can be likened to language learners themselves; however, they are not just simply empty vessels that are waiting to be filled. They have embedded linguistic devices to accomplish language acquisition.

The "filters" here are a number of variables such as their emotions that will either allow input to pass through, or stand in between, thus filtering out certain inputs. This is a very rudimentary visual of the affective filter but it illustrates an important point that teachers need to be reminded of; their students have a layer of multiple variables that can either hinder or help with language acquisition. Students come to their language classes with various filters in action. These factors not only affect the way they interact with the instruction, but also, most importantly, what will be retained and acquired. A teacher needs to ask:

● What variables contribute to a high affective filter?

● Is there conclusive evidence that affective filters impede language acquisition?

● What are some instructive methods for lowering the affective filter?

● Is there enough evidence that decreasing the affective filter can help with language learning?

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● What are the inconsistencies detected in the Affect Filter Hypothesis?

The primary goal of answering these questions is arrive at an understanding how the Affective Filter Hypothesis can point towards providing meaningful instruction so language acquisition can be better.

Affective Filter - Theoretical background

The affective filter stems from the idea that there exists an intermediary source that meddles with the processes of language acquisition. The thought that no matter how much input is provided the affective filters stands in the way of effective acquisition is aligned with Krashen's (1982) theory of comprehensible input. In his work "Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition" he states, "The filter hypothesis explains why it is possible for an acquirer to obtain a great deal of comprehensible input and yet stop short…of the native speaker level" (p. 32). The following figure from Krashen's work explains this concept:
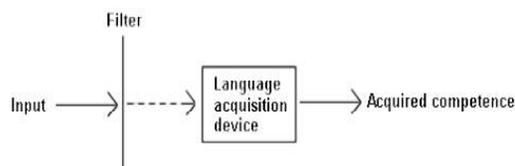

Figure 1. Affective Filter diagram.

The filter's strength in blocking particular inputs is determined by how high or low it is. It also, according to Krashen, determines the accomplishment in language acquisition. He says that

"Those whose attitudes are not optimal for SLA will not only tend to seek less input, but they will also have a

high or strong affective filter – even if they understood the messages, the input will not reach the part of the brain responsible for language acquisition." "Those with attitudes more conducive to SLA will not only seek and obtain more input, they will also have a lower or weaker filter" (Krashen, 1982, p. 31).

In a sense, Krashen is suggesting that if a person's filter is too thick, the input will have a much harder time accessing the devices of language learning, and if the filter is thin enough, acquisition will be far more likely. This paper aims to take a look at one of the important variables of the Affective Filter – anxiety.

Anxiety: One of the Variables of the Affective Filter

When considering what causes the filter to be weak or powerful, keep in mind that there isn't just one variable at play at any given time. Instead, the filter is made up of a number of variables that can be applied to a variety of situations. A closer look at these characteristics might help narrow down which ones require the greatest focus when teaching. Furthermore, a look at these variables will reveal if they are limiting or facilitating second language acquisition.

What exactly is anxiety? When it comes to language learning, one would assume that pupils' fear increases mainly when they are being evaluated. Language learners, however, experience anxiety in a number of ways. In MacIntyre and Charos' (1996) study "Personality, Attitudes, and Affects as predictors of Second Language Acquisition" they say that language anxiety "…is the situation-specific apprehension generated in second language contexts" and that "With respect to communicating it has been shown that speaking in the second language can be especially anxiety provoking" (p. 6). We all know that speaking is an important aspect of an ELL's education. When it comes to speaking, even the most advanced and experienced ELL can show signs of anxiety.

However, anxiety can be triggered in a number of ways other than speaking too. In Kilic and Ucken's (2012) study "Listening Text Type as a Variable Affecting Listening Comprehension Anxiety" they examined the influence of a certain kind of listening exercise on its relationship to anxiety. They state that "…FL listening may provoke anxiety, for it may sometimes be incomprehensible for the learner" and that "When listening comprehension becomes harder, listening anxiety present in the learner becomes more prevalent.

This creates a cycle which needs to be broken to allow for the proper comprehension…" (p. 55).

It is understandable that both speaking and listening would cause anxiety in the ELL, resulting in a thick filter. Listening and speaking are two of the most important aspects of language learning. Furthermore, learners experience anxiety when they encounter "listening text-types," which are recorded scripts of spoken conversations. The study used 130 volunteers who were adult intermediate students to demonstrate this. They provided them a variety of passages, including lectures, radio talk shows, and informal conversations. To measure the conversations. anxiety levels, the students were given something called an "anxometer" and were "asked to grade their anxiety levels on a scale of 1 – 10 after listening to texts of different types (p. 58). The following image shows the anxometer given to the students from this study.
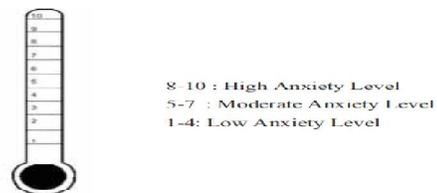
Figure 1. Anxometer (MacIntyre and Gardner, 1991)

Figure 2. Anxometer.

The findings concluded, "While lecture and radio talk show created the higher levels of anxiety…informal dialog…caused the least anxiety…" (Kilic and Ucken's, 2012, p. 61). This finding suggests that anxiousness can manifest itself during the lesson depending on the activity. Understanding what forms of listening exercises can cause anxiety in pupils is critical to bettering their language acquisition.

Dealing with anxiety in the language classroom setting

Another important aspect of anxiety is the area of communication. In Galajda's (2013) study "Anxiety and perceived communication competence as predictors of willingness to communicate in the ESL / EFL classroom" it was noted, "High apprehensives tend to withdraw from communication because of uneasiness…Such anxiety results in a state in which people tend to avoid communication acts…" (p. 36). In this scenario, the ELL's fear of speaking prevents them from participating, limiting the quantity of practice they receive. The

researchers contrasted communicative anxiety and apprehension between formal and informal circumstances, as well as across L1 and FL situations.

The results suggest that, depending on the circumstances, applying L1 can lower the filter This could be beneficial to instructors, as bringing the L1 into the classroom can help students lower their filters. Galajda (2013) states "As communication in formal contexts seem to be hard for the students, they prefer to choose L1 as a language of communication…to convey the message in an easier way" (p. 44 – 45).

Other factors, such as the setting of classroom learning, can serve as filters for students. Learning grammar can play a significant role in inducing high-level Affective filters in learners. Even as an instructor, it can be nerve-wracking to deliver a lesson on a particularly difficult grammar subject or to respond to students' random and obscure grammar questions. In the study "Communication apprehension and second language acquisition among Vietnamese and Mexican immigrants: a test of the affective filter hypothesis" by McCann, Hecht and Ribeau (1986) it was reasoned that "since a second language learner is overtly criticized for grammatical errors in the learning model but not in the acquisition mode, the latter mode should reduce anxiety about communication…" (p. 35).

In other words, in the "learning model" or in class, learners are criticized for their poor grammatical usage, which raises their affective filter. As a result, lowering the filter or being aware that grammatical correction can induce anxiety in learners can help them acquire information more quickly. Krashen (1982) also supported this viewpoint that teaching grammar has an effect on one's filter by saying it puts learners "on the defensive" also that "A sure method of raising the filter is attempting to correct errors…" (p. 75 & 129).

These are only a few examples of factors that indicate a high affective filter in language learners. The work of decreasing these filters may appear onerous because these variables are complicated and can be triggered in a variety of ways, lowering the filter begins with looking at the environment students learn in and the teacher's goals for instruction. Krashen (1982) points to this by saying "The Affective Filter hypothesis implies that our pedagogical goals should not only include supplying comprehensible input, but also creating a situation that encourages a low filter" (p. 32).

Conclusion

Whether the variables of the affective filter are tangible or not, this paper shows that learning that happens within the ESL/EFL context is an extremely emotional task. Understanding this demonstrates that students' emotions toward language learning are filtered not only by their own emotions, but also by aspects inside the learning process. The Affective Filter Hypothesis demonstrates the importance of incorporating these variables in education, as well as the fact that particular areas, such as specific listening contexts or error correction, might cause even greater barriers to acquisition. Developing lessons and materials with the filter in mind, rather than continually attempting to keep an eye out for anxiety, for example, can be more effective in lowering students' filters.

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Vocational Education in National Education Policy 2020

Gagan Singh* & Gopal Datt**

[*Education is fundamental for achieving full human potential and promoting national development. To lead the country into the 21st century and the fourth industrial revolution, it is the need of the hour to focus on a holistic and multidisciplinary education. This kind of education is needed for the present-day India. National Education Policy (NEP), 2020 aims to address the many growing developmental imperatives of our country. In this paper the role of vocational education in imparting holistic and multidisciplinary education amongst the youth of the country has been studied. The paper also investigates the role of National Education Policy (NEP), 2020 in strengthening skills through vocational education in India.*]

Higher education plays an important role in promoting human as well as societal well-being. Higher education significantly contributes towards sustainable livelihoods and economic development of the nation. For becoming a knowledge society, there is an urgent need to aspire more and more young minds for higher education. In order to develop the holistic approach amongst individuals, there is a need to identify set of skills and values which will be incorporated at each stage of learning i.e., from pre-school to higher education. These elements must be incorporated taking into account the local and global needs of the country and also with a respect for and deference to its rich diversity and culture.

The world is undergoing rapid changes in their knowledge landscape. With various scientific and technological advances, it is believed that many unskilled jobs worldwide may be taken over by machines. But on the other hand the need for a skilled workforce will be increasingly in greater demand. Therefore, the gap between the current state of learning outcomes and what is required must be bridged through undertaking major reforms that brings the highest quality, equity, and integrity into the system. (Chankseliani & McCowan, 2021)

The National Education Policy 2020 (NEP 2020; India) is the first education policy of the 21st century. This Policy proposes the revision and revamping of all aspects of the 21st century education structure, including its regulation and governance, to create a new system that is aligned with the aspirational goals of 21st century education, including SDG 4 (Sustainable Development Goal), while building upon India's traditions and value systems.

The National Education Policy lays particular emphasis on the development of the creative potential of each

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individual. In this new policy of education more focus is on the extensive use of technology in teaching and learning and removing language barriers. The vision of this policy is to envision an education system rooted in Indian ethos that contributes directly to transforming India and making India a global knowledge superpower.

The major problems which are currently faced by the higher education system in India are an ineffective regulatory system, limited teacher and institutional autonomy, limited access particularly in socio-economically disadvantaged areas, less emphasis on the development of cognitive skills and learning outcomes, lesser emphasis on research at most universities and colleges and insignificant governance and leadership of HEIs etc.

The key changes which are broadly considered in NEP 2020 are- multidisciplinary universities and colleges, medium of instruction of programmes in local/Indian languages, Multiple entry/exit system, faculty and institutional autonomy, revamping curriculum, pedagogy, assessment, and student support for enhanced student experiences, establishment of a National Research Foundation to fund outstanding peer-reviewed research, "light but tight" regulation by a single regulator for higher education and increased access, equity, inclusion through a range of measures, where more and more focus will also be on Open Distance Learning (ODL), and focusing the potential use of technology for teaching-learning. The NEP 2020 aims to increase the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in higher education including vocational education from 26.3% (2018) to 50% by 2035 (National Education Policy, 2020).

NEP 2020 emphasized on holistic and multidisciplinary education which would aim to develop all capacities of new age learners, i. e. intellectual, aesthetic, social, physical, emotional, and moral in an integrated manner. It is believed that such an education system will help to develop well-rounded individuals that possess critical 21st century capacities in all the fields i.e., arts, humanities, languages, sciences, social sciences, and

professional, technical, and vocational fields (National Education Policy, 2020).

Figure 1: Salient Features of the NEP, 2020 with Respect to Vocational EducationBy 2025

Emphasis on -Focus on

New Education Policy- 2020- Selection of important vocational crafts, such as carpentry, electric work, metal work, gardening, and pottery making etc.

Motivate every child to learn at least one vocation and exposed to several more.

Maximum exposure of vocational education amongst the learners through the school and higher education system.

In Future, the engineering institutions will have to move towards more holistic and multidisciplinary education with more arts and humanities. On the other hand, students of arts and humanities will have to aim to learn more science and all will make an effort to incorporate more vocational subjects and soft skills among the aspirants.

Vocational Education in India

It has been estimated in the 12th Five Year Plan (2012-2017) that 5% of the Indian workforce in the age group of 19-24 years, received a formal Vocational Education. In the NEP 2020, it has been believed that by year 2025, at least 50% of learners through the school and higher education system shall have exposure to vocational education. It is the need of the hour to integrate vocational education programmes into mainstream education in a phased manner. For that vocational exposure must be introduced at early ages and later on this should also be continued into all secondary schools and higher education institutions.

For that there is need to collaborate with Industrial Training Institutes, Polytechnics, Local Businesses, Industries, Hospitals, Farms, and NGOs by the academic institutions with vocational education. The selection of the vocational education courses will be based on skill gap analysis and also on mapping of local opportunities. To oversee the integration of vocational education and also earmark budget for promoting this integration, the Ministry of Education (MoE) formerly MHRD constitute a National Committee for the Integration of Vocational Education (NCIVE) along with industry participation.

As per the NEP 2020 prospects the exposure of vocational education at upper primary stage, there is need to introduced fun-based activities during the year for the students' classes 6-8. There must be hands-on experience of important vocational crafts, such as carpentry, electric work, metal work, gardening, pottery making, etc. to the students of these classes. As far as the vocational education at secondary and higher secondary level is concerned, it has been suggested in the NEP 2020 that in addition to traditional academic courses, vocational courses will be offered in classes 9-12 in secondary schools and students will be allowed to mix and match academics with skills education, with sports, arts, and soft skills trainings.

Vocational education in higher educational institutions expects partnership with industries to develop industry demanding skills among the learners. Vocational courses, such as- Certificate, Diploma, Advance Diploma, and Bachelor's in Vocation (B. Voc.) will be available to students enrolled in all other programmes.

Role of Open Schooling and Distance Learning in Vocational Education-

National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS) and Open and Distance Learning (ODL) Institutes can play a vital role in the expansion of vocational education across the nation. Currently 5% of the Cumulative Enrolment of 27 Lakh in open schooling is under vocational courses. In this context, NEP, 2020 emphasized that vocational courses offered by NIOS will be expanded and strengthened for meeting the learning needs of young minds in India who are not able to attend a physical school.

Review of Literature

In the recent years vocational education and training has become the centre of key discussion which has the capability to respond to the needs of society in regards to employability (Ozer, 2020). There are more expectations from Vocational education in India. Recent interventions in skill/vocational education in India has imparted awareness and role of vocational education among Higher Educational Institutions. A strengthened Vocational education system in the country cultivates young minds towards- skilling, re-skilling, and up-skilling.

Subudhi (2017) advocates a compulsory partnership with employers towards ground level vocational education in the region where one can involve from training to placement of the trainees, need to revise the existing system of training/skilling into new format. In such vocational education environment one can nurture multiple skills with local demands, and can reduce the gap between government initiation to the local needs and availability. There are several factors involve to weaken

the vocational education system in the country, i. e. low link between curriculum and job market, lack of proper policy, lack of prompting partnerships, lack of trained faculties, etc.

Life skills are essential skills to strengthen the knowledge, and values. Such skills are the part of skill/ vocation education broadly. To cope with the growing needs and modern day of life competencies, everybody requires market-oriented job skills (Saravanakumar, 2020). Syauqi et al. (2020) found in their study that the vocational education is focusing on building knowledge and skills as well as the author(s) analyzed the perception of the students of vocational courses regarding the experience of online learning during COVID 19 lockdown which was not appreciable.

Employable skills are the currencies in twenty first century where industry is demanding highly skilled workforce with encompasses of 21st century skills. Quality education with technical and vocational skills are in top demand for decent jobs, and entrepreneurship from the industry (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 2020). Efforts to be made for developing curriculum and competencies among students of vocational courses in line with the needs of the industry which can strengthen the policymakers' efforts and the proposed framework for utilizing the best practices in the area (Sulistiyo & Kustono, 2018). Excerpts of several reports endorse that the role of skill education in achieving SDG 4 (equitable quality education), and SDG 10 (reducing inequality) are of key importance (Tyagi et al., 2021).

Methodology

The present study is descriptive in nature where review of the related literature is used for critical analysis of research results. Several recent research reports, studies, and policy papers are thoroughly reviewed and analyzed in the area of vocational/skills education in respect to NEP 2020 prospects (India). In addition to literature review and report analysis, the integration of vocational education with academic education, role of Open Schooling and Distance Learning (OSDL) in vocational education, and monitoring and implementation plan for vocational education is discussed.

Vocational Education- Challenges and Opportunities

The role of vocational education is being already felt across various emerging industries in the country. The shortage of factory workers and construction Laboure's, requirement of skilled and talented manpower in engineering industry, need of professional food scientists and technicians in these sectors has already being realized in these sectors. Similarly the demand for animation production services is also growing and this is a good sign for the students of design, fine arts and mass communication. Shortfall of doctorate scientists in the biotechnology sector and shortfall of refrigeration mechanics and electricians and food safety personnel in food processing sector has also been felt in these sectors.

In order to meet the country's requirements and compete with the world, there is need to overcome and resolve the issue of shortfall of skilled manpower in these fast-growing sectors. To resolve the issue of skilled manpower, vocational education can play a vital role in proving the skilled and trained manpower to the respective sectors as and when they realized the shortfall of skilled manpower.

Vocational education can also meet the requirements of retail sector, leather industry, civil aviation, health sector, construction sector, IT sector, education sector, automobiles, logistics, banking and finance sector, aviation sector, textile sector, pharma sector, and project management services. In NEP 2020, MoE identify the 17 job sectors with correspond to 152 job roles for popularizing the vocational education amongst the larger section of the society.

The challenges which caused hindrance in the path of vocational education in India are the shortage of trained instructors and low instructor training capacity in the country, outdated machinery/ tools and technology and mismatch between skills provided and skills required by the industry etc. In order to overcome these obstacles, there is need to expand and upgrade vocational education and training, promote research in educational institutions and redesign the educational pattern at the school level to facilitate skill development.

The central government and state governments of the respective states have also need to redefine their role in reforming and strengthening vocational education and training, making investment in vocational training institutes and also in promoting industry and academia interaction to narrow the existing gap between the demand and supply of the skilled manpower. There is also need to make clear policy for facilitating capacity expansion through private sector participation. It is very important to note that while framing a policy, it should be kept in mind that one policy cannot fit for all. So, during the formation of such policies, the needs of the locality should be of prime concern.

Monitoring and Implementation Plan for Vocational Education

For the effective implementation of the vocational education at upper primary stage, secondary and higher secondary level and in higher education institutions there is need to develop a proper tracking system to monitor the progress of vocational education in the country. In the NEP 2020, there is a clear provision of monitoring and tracking of the vocational education in the country. This way the growth of the number of the vocational courses and the learners enrolled in such courses can be analyzed.

National Skills Qualification Framework (NSQF)

The NSQF sets the qualification standards for the various vocational programs in the terms of knowledge and skills in which the qualification is measured in the form of levels; Level 1 is the lowest, and to Level 10 is the highest. Such levels are the identity of learning outcomes which the learner achieved during their learning. The NSQF is defined as a quality assurance, and nationally integrated competency-based skills framework. Such initiative promotes lifelong learning and skill development among the youth with industry partnership.

Exposure to vocational education by 2025- Exposure of Children to vocational education from Class 6 onwards in all secondary and higher secondary schools through integration of VE with general education subjects.

Awareness Organizing - more awareness programmes to change the general perception and attitude towards Vocational Education; And more focus on good practices and innovations by teachers and students.

Mix and match academics with skills education, with sports and arts, and with soft skills- Imparting skills training through collaboration of schools with Industrial Training Institutes, polytechnics, local businesses, industries, hospitals, agriculture farms, local artisans and NGOs.

Career counselling and guidance- Introduction of Skill Based Aptitude Test (SBAT) in Class 8 to provide guidance to the students for making informed career choice.

Promotion of Innovation and entrepreneurship- Introduction of vocational courses on new and emerging skill demands of the industry, such as Artificial Intelligence, Robotics, and Internet of Things (IoT) will be introduced and promotion of enterprise education from Class 6 onwards

Preparation of Vocational Teachers/ Trainers in selected job sectors-Offering the pre-service Training and Short-Term Training (STTP) courses for preparing Vocational Teachers/Trainers through online and offline mode through SCERTs and DIETs.

Vocational Teachers Training programmes- Implementation and use of the new learning methods and digital tools, like Massive Open Online Courses (MOOC), Flipped learning and Virtual learning methods for training teachers.

Figure 2 Implementation Plan for Vocational Education in NEP 2020-

Conclusion and Recommendations

India's skill development mission is backed by the national policies, yet several challenges are remained to achieve the goal of skill India, i.e., quality of technical/ vocational education, relevance as per industry needs, acceptability, inclusion, and digital divide. In NEP 2020, vocational education is reimagining and identified the potential of such initiatives for paradigm shift towards employability and entrepreneurship culture in India (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 2020).

Vocational education can be viewed as an investment in human capital to the extent that it contributes to the future earnings of its graduates who are employed (Sherman, 1983). The role of vocational education in economic development cannot be ignored. While developing a vocational programme for its aspirants, the component of the local need and requirements must be considered. Because it is the capacity of the programme to meet or adapt to specific needs of employers, not the number of the students trained. Vocational education can be strengthened to contribute most effectively to national education and also to economic goals. The changes in the economy and in the nature of jobs that affect the skills needed in the workplace forced us to think about overhauling the ongoing pattern of vocational education in the country.

The implications of these changes and conditions have to be considered by the respective policy makers while framing new policy and guidelines for strengthening vocation education in the country. Collaboration between educators and business is not a new idea. Presently most of the educational institutions of the country are moving forward for the effective implementation of academic-industry interface in their respective institutes. These collaborative efforts and initiatives definitely help employers to get better trained potential employees and

also help the students to get better training and occupational experiences. In nutshell, these collaborative efforts by way of academic-industry interface improve the education and training of future workforce which ultimately benefits society by increasing the workers productivity and enhancing economic growth.

To monitor the progress of vocational education, there should be more focus on the effective monitoring mechanism system to monitor the modus operandi of vocational education programmes in the country. Availability of the funds to accommodate changing priorities within vocational education and to improve and update programmes is the need of the hour. There is a need to improve access to vocational programmes for the larger section of the society specially for the aspirants of the remote and hilly areas who are economically depressed. For the updating of the trainers and teachers to adequately serve the needs of vocational education, there is a need to develop quality training programmes in their pre-service and in-service period.

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THIRD CONCEPT *welcomes your valuable comments on articles published in each issue. Suggestion to further improve quality and get-up of your favourite magazine, which has a record of uninterrupted publication since 1987, are also solicited.*

Teacher Enthusiasm, Organizational Climate and Quality of Life

Manju Bala* & Poonam Punia**

[*This investigation explored the relationship between organizational climate, quality of life of teachers and teacher enthusiasm. Data was collected from 600 teachers by multistage random sampling from the state of Haryana (India). The results show that organizational climate has a high positive correlation with teachers' enthusiasm and a very small positive correlation with the quality of life of teachers. The findings of the study have implications for government, administrators, policy makers, and principals of schools regarding the three variables.*]

The government and parents have been focusing on the education of children. The consequences of globalisation, privatisation, and technological advancement cannot be ignored by educational institutions. It fosters intense competition among students, professors, and educational institutions. The students are considered as clients (Narasimhan & Das, 2001); their satisfaction is very crucial for retaining and attracting other students. Teachers have a very important role in this whole scenario. A productive and enthusiastic life depends on one's ability to maintain a positive organisational climate at school.

Working life is one of the most important aspects of one's life, and having the appropriate organisational climate at school is critical to maintaining a positive and productive life. In such a situation, it is important to study how teachers perceive the organizational climate of the schools, the quality of life and teacher enthusiasm.

Organizational Climate

According to Hoy (1990), an organization's climate is a collection of internal factors that differentiate one school from another and influence the behaviour of its stakeholders. In general, school climate refers to the long-term quality of the school environment as perceived by its members, as it influences their behaviour, and as it is based on their collective views on school behaviour. The climate is like the personality of the school. It is a relatively stable characteristic of the school (Hoy & Miskel, 1987), but with consistent efforts it can be changed over a period of time.

The school climate is a combination of physical setting perceived psychologically by its members (Perkins, 2006). Climate research began with industrial and corporate groups, and then expanded to include educational institutions. The organizational climate influences the behaviour of the school principal as a leader and the teacher as a team member. A positive school climate is a source of working productively and constructively for teachers, students, parents, and administrators. The positive organizational climate of the school positively affects job satisfaction, acceptance towards change, and using different teaching strategies. When the climate is not favourable, it has a negative impact on teachers, like an increase in absenteeism and attrition of teachers (Sargent & Hannum, 2005); burnout and stress (Betoret, 2009).

Quality of Life

The quality of life is not a collection of objective metrics, but rather a subjective assessment of one's level of contentment. Academician are increasingly recognizing that the information provided by the two types of indicators, objective and subjective. The power and utility of both types of variables may be increased by combining these two. In any organization, the most important assets are its human resources. The quality of life comprises positive feelings that go beyond happiness, and it has the benefit of being applicable to a wide range of life domains, including interpersonal relationships, health-related problems, and professional and educational goals.

A teacher's enjoyment is a prerequisite for good instruction. It is one of the most important variables in assessing a teacher's quality of life, which in turn affects the quality of a school and, eventually, the quality of a nation.

Teacher Enthusiasm

Teacher enthusiasm is defined as the vibrant, expressive behaviour of teachers that shows an interest in teaching their subject and has a good influence on their class (Keller, Neumann, & Fischer, 2014). The phrase "enthusiasm" means "interest, delight, eagerness, and intensity". Teacher enthusiasm is defined as a teacher's pleasant emotional experience while teaching. The importance of enthusiasm in effective teaching cannot be overstated, and it is a quality that can be cultivated and enhanced with effort and experience. In a qualitative study, pre-service teachers' narratives and perspectives on teacher enthusiasm were examined.

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Helpfulness, a good attitude toward students, a passion for teaching, and a desire to spend time with students are all said to be essential characteristics of enthusiastic teachers' conduct (Gabry-Barker,2014). It is a teaching style that reflects a teacher's personal feelings. Such emotions of the teacher have a motivating effect on the students. According to several experts in the field, it is one of the most essential teacher qualities for effective teaching. Teacher enthusiasm has a positive impact on students' learning and success.

Method and Procedure

Six hundred (300 males and 300 females) teachers from secondary schools in Haryana were selected. The sample includes both rural and urban school teachers teaching in government as well as in private schools. The present study is descriptive in nature. The survey method was used to collect the data. The teachers were selected through multistage random sampling. In this study, the independent variable is organizational climate and the two dependent variables are teacher enthusiasm and quality of life.

Measures

1.Organizational climate scale for teachers: Organizational climate scale for teachers by Venita Singh (2015) was used to assess the organizational climate of teachers. There are 66 items on the scale, including both positive and negative statements. Each statement is scored on a 5-point Likert scale. In the context of the present study, the reliability statistics of the scale Cronbach's Alpha were found. 952.

2. Quality of Life: Sarika Sharma and Dr. Nakhat Nasreen developed this scale, which comprises of 42 items distributed over eleven domains of quality of life. The statements were scored on a three-point Likert scale. In the present context, the reliability statistics of the scale Cronbach's Alpha was found to be.832.

3 Teachers' Enthusiasm: The Teachers' Enthusiasm Scale, developed by Punia and Bala (2021), consists of seven dimensions and 78 items (positive and negative statements). Each statement was scored on a 5-point Likert scale. The scale is valid and the reliability statistics of the scale was.957.

Results

Descriptive analysis

The scores of organizational climates of schools and quality of life of teachers were arranged into seven levels with the help of frequency and percentage of the scores as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Frequency and percentage of organizational climate and quality of life (N=600)

Sr. No.	Level of organizational climate			Level of Quality of life		
	Frequency	**Percentage**		**Frequency**	**Percentage**	
1.	Extremely high	43	7.2	Extremely high	462	77
2.	High	117	19.5	High	86	14.3
3.	Above average	223	37.2	Above average	34	5.7
4.	Average	115	19.2	Average	17	2.8
5.	Below average	100	16.7	Below average	0	0.0
6.	Low	2	0.3	Low	0	0.0
7.	Extremely low	0	0.0	Extremely low	1	0.2

Perusal of Table 3.1 indicated that most of the teachers perceived organizational climate of their school at above average level. Then nearly equal percentage of teachers perceived the organizational climate at high level (19.5 %) and average level (19.2%). There was 16.7% teacher perceived their school climate below average level and 0.3% teacher at low level. Only 7.2% of teachers perceived their school climate was at extremely high level. Except 0.2% all the teachers have quality of life range between average to extremely high levels. Most of the teachers 77% fall in the extremely high level of quality of the life.

Table 3.2 Frequency and percentage of teacher enthusiasm scores

Sr.no.	Level of Teacher Enthusiasm	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Very high	90	15
2.	High	154	25.7
3.	Moderate	134	22.3
4.	Low	141	23.5
5.	Very low	81	13.5

Perusal of Table 3.2 indicated teachers have five different level of enthusiasm from very low to very high. It also describes the teacher enthusiasm with frequency and percentage of teacher enthusiasm scores of teachers.

Correlational Analysis

The coefficients of correlation of organizational climate and teacher enthusiasm are given in Table 3.3. The organizational climate and teacher enthusiasm have a statistically significant linear correlation (r =.612, P value .01), which shows the direction of the relationship is positive, i.e., both variables tend to increase together and the strength of association is high. As is evident from Table 3.3, the value of the correlation coefficient between perceived organizational climate and quality of life among secondary school teachers came out to be.068 and the correlation was found to be weak in magnitude and positive in direction.

Table 3: Correlation matrix

		Teacher Enthusiasm	Quality of Life
Organizational	Pearson Correlation	.612	.068
Climate	Significance	.000	.094
	N	600	600

The perceived organizational climate and the quality of life among secondary school teachers do not have a statistically significant linear correlation (r =.068, P value >.05).

Discussion and Conclusions

Findings clearly show that the organizational climate of school and teacher enthusiasm have a statistically significant positive correlation. As the quality of the organization's climate improves, teachers' enthusiasm improves as well. These findings are also supported by Wenstrom, Uusiautti & Maatta, (2018) that a positive school climate is a source of enthusiasm for teachers. The present research finds that perceived organizational climate and quality of life among secondary school teachers have no statistically significant linear correlation. These findings were consistent with findings of Hamidi & Mohamadi (2012) that the quality of work life of teachers in different organizational climates of technical and theoretical high schools has no relationship.

The results of the present study show that 77% of teachers have an extremely high level of quality of life. The first reason may be that teachers have different expectations according to the environment in which they live; the second reason may be that teachers have different expectations at different stages of life; the third reason may be that frame of reference changes over a period of time (Carr, Gibson, & Robinson, 2001).

The findings of the present study have significant implications as the organizational climate of schools for teachers and teachers' enthusiasm are positively correlated. The present study encourages periodic investigations into the school climate for teachers, the quality of life for teachers, and teachers' enthusiasm for making any necessary decisions or initiatives to address any shortcomings or imbalances in the schools. The enthusiastic teachers are more satisfied, productive and motivated. The organizational climate of school for teachers, analysis facilitates management in the creation of greater work place harmony and therefore increases enthusiasm among teachers. The enthusiasm of teachers falling into lower categories can be improved.

Exiting literature gives insights into how providing resources, showing appreciation, encouraging participation, building trust, and allowing autonomy can boost teachers' enthusiasm. The results of the present study also showed that the quality of life of teachers has a statistically insignificant relationship with the organizational climate of the schools, which gives a lead to investigators to find other factors which influence the quality of life of teachers.

The conclusion of the study is that there was a variation found in the perceived organizational climate of schools and teacher enthusiasm, but most teachers perceived their quality of life as extremely high. Teachers' enthusiasm is a skill which can be learned through preservice and in-service education programs which positively influences teachers' effectiveness.

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Accessibility of PDS Products in Tamil Nadu to Tribals

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Poverty in India is widespread and it is estimated that India accounts for one third of the poor in the total world's poor population. In 2010, the World Bank reported that 32.7 percent of the total Indian people were below the international poverty line. According to 2010 data of United National Development Programme, an estimated 29.8 per cent of Indians live below the country's national poverty line. Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI, 2010) stated that 8 Indian States have more than 26 per cent of poor people. Household food security is the application of this concept, to the family level, with individuals within households as the focus of concern.[1]

Poverty in India

The percentage of people living below the Poverty Line in 2011-12, has been estimated as 25.7% in rural areas, 13.7% in urban areas and 21.9% as a whole. The respective ratios, for the rural and urban areas, were 41.8%, 25.7% and 37.2% as a whole, in 2004-05. It was 50.1% in rural areas, 31.8% in urban areas and 45.3% as a whole, in 1993-94. In 2011-12, India reported 270 million people below poverty as per the Tendulkar Poverty Line estimate, as compared to 407 million in 2004-05, that is a reduction of 137 million people over the seven year period[2].

Poverty Scenario in Tamil Nadu

Tamil Nadu has registered a remarkable improvement, in poverty reduction. Scheduled Castes constitute 20.1 per cent of the BPL population in Tamil Nadu, though they are only 21.1 per cent of the total population of the State. Scheduled Tribes constitute 1.10 per cent of the total BPL population[3].

Tribal Poverty

India is a home to almost half the tribal population of the world. Tribals are characterized by a distinctive culture, primitive traits and socio-economic backwardness. As per the 2011 Census in India, tribal constituted 8.6 per cent of the total population (104 Millions) and they belong to around 698 communities or clans. According to the 2011 Census, Madhya Pradesh accounts for the highest percentage of ST population to total ST population of the country (14.7 percent), followed by Maharashtra (10 percent), Odisha (9.2 percent), Rajasthan (8.9 per cent). Around 90 per cent of the total population still lives in rural areas and only 10 percent live in urban areas. 1.1 percent of the tribal population are found Tamil Nadu[4].

Objectives of the Study

To examine the extent of accessibility of Public Distribution System (PDS) of tribal people living in hills.

Methodology of the study

The main thrust of the present study is the role of PDS, with reference to tribal population in the Salem district of Tamil Nadu. According to 2011 Census, maximum number of Scheduled Tribal population resided in the Salem District of Tamil Nadu. The primary data were generated by multi-stage sampling technique. The sample was identified after four stages in which purposive sampling was used in the first stage. In the second stage, out of the listed unions, Pethanayakkampalayam Panchayat was selected, as it recorded maximum number of ST population. The third stage focused on Chinnakalrayan Hills Vadakku Nadu Panchayat, among the listed Panchayats as it reported maximum number of ST population. In the last stage eight hamlets were selected.

Among eight selected villages, four of hamlets have ration shops, namely, Karumanthurai (KM), Maniyarkundam (MK), Pudhur(PR) and Theakkampattu (TP). The four hamlets are without ration shops, namely, Chinnamanakadu, Perinchanattanvalaivu, Vengadanvalaivu, Navampattupalayavalaivu. From the eight villages, 360 samples were taken and analysed for the study

Accessibility and Utilization of PDS Service

A study by Stacay Rosen et.al. (2012)[5] found that the food insecurity was projected to decline, from 24 per cent in 2012 to 21 per cent in 2022. Sawant and Jadhav (2013)[6] concluded that only small proportion of the peoples were satisfied with the current PDS because the Government did not ensure timely supply of commodities, with good quality and satisfy the needs of the society. According to Richa Singh (2013)[7] PDS is the cornerstone of any Government. It ensures the availability of certain essential commodities (Rice,

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Wheat, Sugar and Kerosene), at free of cost or affordable price, especially to the needy.

According to Kumar (2013)[8], as per 2005 report of the Planning Commission, 58 per cent of the food grain, meant for TPDS, is diverted to the market. This is not only a huge loss to the exchequer but also people lose access to required nutrition. Asmila Srivastava (2013)[9] found the production of food grains, in India, to have increased, from 154.3 million tons, in 1991 to 205.2 million tons, in 2009. Procurement volume, on the other hand, also, increased from 19.6 million tons to 35.6 million tons in the same period. Similarly, the food grain distribution, during 1991, through the PDS, was 20.8 million tones and this quantum had increased to 41.3 million tons in 2009, which was 98.56 percent increase over a period of 18 years.

Mahendran and Indrakant (2014)[10] studied the problems and policy in the supply of rice. The study concluded that only 17.4 per cent of the poor families were benefitted and others were buying in open market or in black market. Raja (2014)[11] found that the Act claims to provide citizens, access to adequate quantity and quality of food, at affordable price, to live a life with dignity, and to provide food for nutritional security, through a human life cycle approach.

Table 1 displays the households' monthly average consumption of rice in the PDS as well as in the open market. The households' monthly average rice, consumption, from both PDS and open market, ranged from 25.9 kgs. to 30.3 kgs. The households' highest monthly average rice consumption, through PDS was 25.9 kg., while rice consumption through open market was 26kg. The households' least monthly average rice consumption, from PDS and open market, was by agricultural and agricultural labour households, 25.9 kgs and 25.8kg respectively.

The Business households' average monthly rice consumption, from PDS, was more than from open market while for government employees and other categories consumed more rice from open market than from PDS. The difference in rice purchasing between PDS and open market was high for government category, followed by others' category and it was marginal for agriculture and agriculture labour. The percentage of rice consumption, from PDS to the total rice consumption was more than 40 per cent in all categories and it indicated the high dependency on PDS products by tribals. The finding of this study also coincides with the surmise by Tara Kaul (2014)[12].

Table 2 reveal respondents' perception about location of PDS. Out of 360 respondents 30 respondents (8.3 per cent) reported that the location of ration shop was not easily reachable because of the hurdles, found throughout the path, three respondents (0.8 per cent) reported that the location of ration shop was not good for ladies, to access. 46 respondents (12.9 per cent) reported that route and location of ration shop was not at all hygienic. The remaining 26 respondents (7.2 per cent) say that root and location of ration shop is not suitable for ladies and four of them recorded that route and location of ration shop were not suitable for ladies.

Reasons for not satisfaction were uncertainties found along the route, unhygienic, lack of security, lack of transport facilities and lack of road facilities. The difficulties in communication regarding the PDS, was another important reason because they are foregoing their wage of the day while coming to the PDS shop.

The quantity provided and the satisfaction, on PDS products, by respondents are highlighted in figure 1. Out of 360 respondents, 185 (51.4 per cent) reported that they were satisfied with the existing system while 92 (25.6 per cent) reported that they were not satisfied about the quantity supplied to them and 83 (23 per cent) of them maintained the answer, 'don't know', in the study area. The quantity provided by PDS, highly satisfied by the respondents who lived in the village where ration was available rather than the respondents, who lived in the village where there was no ration shop. The food subsidy had increased by 300 per cent, between 2006-2007 and 2011-2012 and the distribution of food grains, through PDS, had increased from 20.8 million tons to 41.3 million tons, in 2009 (Srivastava, 2013)[13].

Though the above findings are in favour of PDS food grains supply, Sawant and Jadhav (2013)[14] conclude that only 29 per cent of the peoples were satisfied with the current PDS system. Similarly, Nawani (1995)[15] highlighted that the PDS was playing a marginal role, in meeting the nutritional requirements of the poor people. As Ittyearah (2013)[16] recommends, effective grievances redress system, for both the Fair Price Shops and beneficiaries, is needed immediately.

Figure: 1 Quantity provided and Satisfaction of Respondents on PDS Products
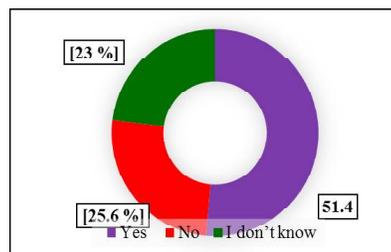
Source: Compiled from Primary Data

Note: Figures in Parentheses represent percentage

Findings and Conclusion

Inadequate storage capacity, with FCI, in some districts, poor financial condition of many State Food Corporations, allocations, from Government of India, are valid only for a month, and if the state government is not able to lift it within that time, its quota lapses, the poor do not have cash to buy 35 kg at a time, and often they are not permitted to buy in instalments and low quality of food grains are found in the study area. But Vijay Paul Sharma and Munish Alash (2013)[17] reported that the food subsidy has grown very sharply in the post-reforms period, from Rs. 4333 crores in period-I to 49,070 crores in period-IV.

In fact, it is more than 300 per cent, in a period of just six years, between 2006-2007 and 2011-2012., however remote villages especially, tribals in hills, are suffering in accessing PDS. Hence, the government has to take necessary action in this regard by ensuring the availability of quality products, strengthen the communication of PDS products and support the tribal people especially living in hills to enrich their nutrition.

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Plight of Small Tea Growers in India

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The tea economy today is a mix bag of organized and unorganized sub-sectors and deviated from its classic characteristics of Estate Farming which was initiated by the colonial rulers in India. This sub-sector within tea economy contributes 696.49 M.Kgs (51.59 percent) and 653.55 M.kgs (48.41 percent) respectively out of total of 1350.04 M.kgs (Tea Board, 2018-19). The 1990s has witnessed structural changes in tea economy and many small-scale farmers popularly known as Small Tea Growers (STGs) entered into tea cultivation.

Earlier tea cultivation was confined to Assam, West Bengal, Tripura, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala only and known as traditional tea growing states. This geography of plantations is changed now and one may find it in all hilly and mountainous states of North-East India and farmers are engaged in small-scale tea cultivation. Besides, the states like Bihar, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh etc. also grow tea in the farming sector. The table-1 below demonstrates the distribution of 15 tea producing states today. It is evident that in *unorganized* sector there are 210,225 STGs having tea area of 215,886.40 hectares. The average farm size is 1.03 hectares in India as a whole and highest size of farms exist in Nagaland with 6.79 hectares.

The highest numbers of STGs are found in Assam, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal in descending order. More than fifty percent STGs are situated in North-East India. There are 571 Bought-Leaf Factories (BLFs) situated all over the country and purchase green leaf from STGs (CISTA, 2019). The organized sector has 1569 tea estates with tea area of 420,670.60 hectares and average size of estates in 268.11 hectares in India. The average size of tea estates in hill states is relatively small particularly Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Sikkim.

Table-1: Geography and Size of Tea Economy in India (2018-19)

States	Unorganised Sector			Organised Sector		
	No ofSTGs	*Area (Ha)*	*Avg.Size*	*No ofEst.*	*Area (Ha)*	*Avg.Size*
Arunachal P	1690	4630.50	2.74	28	2593.23	92.62
Assam	101085	105291	1.04	765	232399.4	303.79
Meghalaya	644	910.35	1.41	2	96.99	48.50
Mizoram	364	182.80	0.50	1	15	15.00
Manipur	489	1382.61	2.83	1	312.44	312.44
Nagaland	3354	22772.27	6.79	1	200	200.00
Sikkim	30	8.75	0.29	1	177.64	177.64
Tripura	2766	1407.28	0.51	52	6904.05	132.77
North East	*110422*	*136585.60*	*1.24*	*851*	*242698.7*	*285.19*
Bihar	3500	3900	1.11	6	107.37	17.90
Himachal P	1526	710.22	0.47	15	627.26	41.82
Uttarakhand	3150	2127.08	0.68	4	751.11	187.78
West Bengal	37365	33711.27	0.90	451	114410.5	253.68
North India	*45541*	*40448.57*	*0.89*	*476*	*115896.2*	*243.48*
Karnataka	-	-	-	16	2171.74	135.73
Kerala	8497	5567.74	0.66	93	30303.42	325.84
Tamil Nadu	45765	33284.57	0.73	133	29600.56	222.56
South India	*54262*	*38852.31*	*0.72*	*242*	*62075.72*	*256.51*
India	210225	215886.40	1.03	1569	420670.60	268.11

Source: Computed from Tea Statistics, 2019

Tea Marketing Control Order (TMCO), 2003 and 2015 (Amended)

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The expanded geography and changing structure has invited series of new policies and programmes and the Tea Board of India has responded such performance of the industry over time. Similarly, the newly entrant states are also trying to develop new institutions to look after the STGs in respective states. In exercise of the power conferred by sub-sections (3) and (5) of section 30 of the Tea Act, 1953 (29 0f 1953), the Central Government modified the Tea (Marketing) Control Order (TMCO), 2003 and the Department of Commerce, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India has notified the TMCO, 2015 (Amended) vide S.O. 1012 (E) dated 15.04.2015 ordered the Tea Board of India to implement it and to form the *District Green Leaf Price Monitoring Committee* (DGLPMC) in each tea growing districts of the country to monitor the farm gate prices and green leaf being paid to the STGs on real-time basis.

Consequently, the Tea Board of India has notified and implemented vide Ref. Law/08/2013 dated 21.05.2015. In the amended TMCO vide notification of S.O. 1012 (E) dated 15.04.2015 under section (9)30A is added in the principal order (TMCO, 2003) after paragraph 30 states as follows:

"30A. District Green Leaf Price Monitoring Committee. – (1) There shall be a green leaf price monitoring committee in each tea growing district comprising of two representatives each from Bought-Leaf Factories, small tea growers and estate factories and one officer of the Board not below the rank of Assistant Director and the Collector or Deputy Commissioner of such tea growing district shall be the ex-officio Chairman. The officer of the Board shall be the member secretary of the committee.

(2) The Registering Authority shall notify the constitution of the committee and the tenure of the committee shall be for three years from the date of such notification and the committee shall be reconstituted after the expiry of every three years".

Implementation of Tea Marketing Control Order and DGLPMC

To understand the nature of implementation of the TMCO, 2015 (Amended) an application under the Right to Information Act, 2005 was filed to the Tea Board of India and reply was received on 30.12.2019. It has been transcribed that the DGLPMC are formed and notified in 28 districts of six states of India i.e. Assam, West Bengal, Tripura, Bihar, Kerala and Tamil Nadu (RTI dated 30.12.2019). Out of 28 districts, 16 districts are situated in Assam, three districts in Tripura, two districts in West Bengal and one in Bihar, the DGLPMC is constituted and notified in March 2016 and consequently their tenure expired which is three years (RTI reply, dated 17.02.2020). In case of their reconstitution of DGLPMC the Tea Board is silent. The districts are *Baksa, Bongaigaon, Cachar, Charaideo, Dibrugarh, Goalpara, Golaghat, Jorhat, Karbi Anglong, Kokrajhar, Lakhimpur, Nagaon, Sivasagar, Sonitpur, Tinsukia, Udalguri* in Assam, *Dhalai, Unakoti* and *West Tripura* in Tripura; *Darjeeling* and *Uttar Dinajpur* in West Bengal and *Kishanganj* in Bihar.

As per the Tea Statistics (2019), there are 55 districts and 15 states where STGs are producing tea. Out of which 27 districts where there is no existence of DGLPMC and it is yet to be constituted and notified. The state-wise distribution of absence of DGLPMCs are found Arunachal Pradesh (8 districts), Assam (6 districts), Meghalaya (3 districts), Nagaland (2 districts), Tripura (3 districts), West Bengal (1 district), Himachal Pradesh (1 district), Kerala (1 district), Karnataka (1 district) and Tamil Nadu (1 district). As per records of Government of Assam, it has to be emphasized that the STGs are found in 27 districts in Assam (Hannan, 2019)

But only 16 districts, DGLPMC are constituted and notified till date. All these have far- reaching consequences for the labourers and laboring conditions engaged directly or indirectly Small-Scale Tea Economies in India are estimated at 2.51 million people (Hannan, 2017). It has cascading impact on the local economy of the respective districts and regions in different states.

Table-2: Tea Production and Status of DGLPMC Constitution by the Tea Board (2018-19)

States	Tea Production (M.Kgs)			Small Tea Growing Districts (No)		
	Organised Sector	UnorganisedSector	Total Tea	STGs Districts	DGLPMC Notified	DGLPMC Not Notified
Arunachal P	3.89	7.78	11.67	8	0	8
Assam	389.79	311.55	701.34	22	16	6
Meghalaya	0.10	0.46	0.56	3	0	3
Nagaland	0.00	1.68	1.68	2	0	2
Sikkim	0.09	0	0.09	-	-	-
Tripura	6.38	2.24	8.62	6	3	3

North East India	400.25	323.71	723.96	41	19	22
West Bengal	178.67	215.56	394.23	6	5	1
Bihar	0.69	4.35	5.04	1	1	0
Himachal P	0.30	0.48	0.78	1	0	1
Uttarakhand	0.02	0	0.02	-	-	-
North India	179.68	220.39	400.07	8	6	2
Kerala	49.64	11.12	60.76	3	2	1
Karnataka	4.83	0.27	5.1	1	0	1
Tamil Nadu	62.09	98.06	160.15	2	1	1
South India	116.56	109.45	226.01	6	3	3
India	696.49	653.55	1350.04	55	28	27

Source: Computed from Tea Statistics 2019 and RTI Reply of Tea Board dated 30.12.2019

Now if we look further down at district and sub-district level from field inputs, the situation is depressing. The Tea Board of India announces Minimum Benchmark Price (MBP) throughout India and it is more of ritualistic in nature. Since, the author was visiting field in different districts of West Bengal, had an opportunity to interact with the President of the Confederation of Indian Small Tea Growers Associations (CISTA) at Jalpaiguri. It has been understood that MBP of green leaf is announced based on auction price of CTC teas in a particular region. It is circulated over email to all the stakeholders in tea industry and bulk messages are sent to the STGs (who have smart card) over phone.

However, this announcement does not confirm that the STGs are recipient of the prescribed price of Tea Board but it confirms the TMCO,2015 (Amended) vide notification of S.O. 1012 (E) dated 15.04.2015 under section (9) of 30A of clause 5 (a) which states that "to monitor the average green leaf price payable to the small tea growers for each succeeding month based on the last month average auction price of Bought leaf factories of such district by applying price sharing formula as notified by the Registering Authority under the provision of paragraph 30" . Here one prominent gap is identified that factory-wise price paid to the STGs is not notified or announced by the SROs of Tea Board in the concerned district which was in existences in 2005-06 (Hannan, 2019).

As per mandatory provision of TMCO, 2003 under Clause (7), E-Form return is compulsory by each BLFs where actual price paid to the STGs is disclosed. This gives an opportunity to the Bought-Leaf Factory or Estate Factory an upper hand to hide the actual prices paid to the STGs in a particular month in a district and STGs are not aware of such provisions. Whereas the TMCO, 2015 (Amended) vide notification of S.O. 1012 (E) dated 15.04.2015 under section (9) of 30A of clause 5 (b) which clearly states that "to oversee the compliance of payment of such average price to the small tea growers and bring to the notice of the Registering Authority about the errant Bought Leaf Manufacturer".

It has been reported in media time and again that the STGs are paid less than MBP of green leaf in North Bengal, particularly in the district Uttar Dinajpur, therefore it is chosen as area of study by the author. As per the Secretary, Uttar Dinajpur Small Tea Growers Association, the DGLPMC has failed to discharge its responsibility and STGs are paid Rs.3-4 per kg green leaf and lower than production cost (Uttarbanga Sambad, October 2017). In May 2018, the MBP of green leaf was Rs. 14.36 (Darjeeling), Rs.15.31 (Jalpaiguri), Rs.14.20 (Uttar Dinajpur) and Rs. 9.40 (Cooch Behar) in West Bengal (Uttarbanga Sambad, May 2018).

During the said month, STGs were receiving Rs.12-13 per kg green leaf in Jalpaiguri and Rs.6-9 per kg green leaf in Uttar Dinajpur. Again in August 2018, the MBP of green leaf was Rs. 13.58 per kg in Uttar Dinajpur but the STGs were receiving Rs.8-10 per kg green leaf (Uttarbanga Sambad, August 2018). To have deeper understanding of the impact of DGLPMC, the author made an attempt to visit the Collector's Office headquartered at Raiganj, Uttar Dinajpur. The concerned officials of District Collector were met and interacted (2018). It is transcribed that very few meetings were held since the formation of the DGLPMC and even do not have monthly MBP notifications in their records. Only one monthly meeting minutes and proceedings dated 22.07.2016 of DGLPMC were found on records wherein that it was mentioned that STGs were paid less than price-sharing formula and leaf trade occurs through middlemen (FAO-Islampur, Tea Board dated 22.07.2016).

It is further stated that factory-wise Green Leaf price paid to the STGs are not notified in the district and are not kept on record. Whereas the TMCO vide notification of S.O. 1012 (E) dated 15.04.2015 under section (9) of 30A of clause (6) states that "the member secretary of the committee shall ensure to conduct at least one meeting of the committee in a month". While interacting with the STGs in different parts of the district Uttar Dinajpur, it was noticed that they have not heard of DGLPMC though there is a sub-regional office of the Tea Board situated at Islampur Town of Uttar Dinajpur. It gives an impression that the TMCO makes mandatory provisions to oversee the farm gate prices in every tea growing districts of the country yet its implementation is doubtful.

The SROs of Tea Board should be accountable to convene monthly meetings compulsorily, records of minutes of the said meeting under the Chairmanship of the Collector or Deputy Commissioner and should create district-level database and report to various authorities of Tea Board. The SROs and Officers of Tea Board as Member-Secretary should ensure to notify and publish the Factory-wise monthly green leaf as per E-Form under the provision of TMCO in the districts and maintain the records of such notifications at Collector or Deputy Commissioners Office and circulated to all stakeholders in the respective district on monthly basis.

It is also found among the four districts in North Bengal that the price realization of green leaf is lowest in Uttar Dinajpur in comparison to other districts of North Bengal. The adjacent district of Kishanganj in Bihar is the only tea growing district and recipient of lowest price of green leaf even after Uttar Dinajpur of West Bengal. There is a mismatch of top-down approach of monitoring the farm gate price and the ground information from below which is found in four districts in North Bengal and one in North Bihar. The field experiences also suggest that wherever there is an existence of active and functional Small Tea Growers Association, the price of green leaf is better in comparison to counterpart of the same district.

In April 2013, the Tea Board of India constituted Small Growers Development Directorate (SGDD) headquartered at Dibrugarh and 12th Plan outlay of 200 crores was approved for Small Growers Development under Tea Development and Promotion Scheme (62nd Annual Report, Tea Board). There are 67 sub-regional offices (SRO) established in all small tea growing districts in India under the SGDD with an objective to provide technical knowledge to the tea farmers, monitor green leaf prices, farm inputs and quality production. All the SROs are headed by Development Officers, Factory Advisors and Assistant Directors of Tea Development.

It is reported that during 12th Plan, 400 SHGs are planned and 346 SHGs are formed in different states. It has been stated that a total of 174 STGs are benefitted and 6.12 crores of rupees are spent (63rd Annual Report, Tea Board). It is further stated by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (PIB, 2019) that the Tea Board of India spent for the development of STGs under Tea Development and Promotion scheme of Rs. 8.05 crores (2016-17), 14.00 crores (2017-18) and 20.45 crores (2018-19). However, the desirable results and proactive role of the efforts is not evident and impact on farm gate price on ground. The fate of STGs did not change and they are still at the mercy of BLFs and Estate factories and trade relations are yet to bring expected results (Hannan 2019).

It is also found that the SROs of Tea Board have casual approach of their extension services and factory-wise green leaf prices paid to/received by STGs are not notified on monthly basis. Even though SROs are established small tea growing districts and regions, they hardly disseminate the factory-wise list of actual prices of green leaf paid to the STGs. This is authentic violation of Tea Act and TMCO and evidence of policy paralysis and regional inequalities exist in tea supply chain across districts.

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Trauma and Postmodernism: Analysis of Uzodinma Iweala's
Beasts of No Nation and Chris Abani's Song for Night

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[*The postmodernist embedding of trauma theory is prevalent in several holocaust trauma narratives that unveil the canonical emblems of trauma, angst, and suffering. Holocaust narratives from third world nations are often sidelined as many of them owing to the quality and depth appear remarkable. Postmodern narrative techniques have been successfully employed in some of the literary artifacts, in order to express the real crux of trauma. Significantly, trauma narrative techniques in fiction appeal crucial as they attempt to depict the inexplicable and unintelligible. This study analyses two Nigerian fictions, Song for Night and Beasts of No Nation that focus on Biafran civil war experiences. The aim is to find out how far the use of postmodern techniques in the narration has helped in conveying the intensity of the traumatic experience. This article specially evaluates how de-centering of trauma theory can be clubbed with the aid of postmodernism*]

The need of humanity to be heard and understood is one of the basic secondary necessities of life. Every literary work turns out to be the mirror that the society holds to the posterity to see how the past continues to have an effect on the future. Literature transcends the limitations of language, time, space, and narrow mindset formed due to social conditioning and borders. Trauma narratives have risen out of the ashes of human history and memory. One common feature that connects trauma narratives across the globe is memory. While the historical reality accounts for specificity and chronology of events, Trauma studies focus on the history generated by the victims based on the gravity of the experience and the psychological devastation they faced. It is a shared history of either loss and suffocation and indulgence in criminal activities. Nevertheless, Trauma studies, as a theory that has originated in collaboration with psychoanalysis has remained more inclined towards the traumatic notions of European and first-world nations, while giving fewer regards to the experiences of other non-Western nations.

In her introduction to *Decolonizing Trauma Studies: Trauma and Postcolonialism*, Sonya Andermahr opines that "Rather than forging relationships of empathy and solidarity with non-Western others, a narrowly Western canon of trauma literature has in effect emerged, one which privileges the suffering of white Europeans, and neglects the specificity of non-Western and minority cultural traumas" (1). The major issue in the theory addressed by many theorists focuses on how the event-based trauma excludes every other trauma like colonialism, racism etc. that are not of a single origin.

Postmodernism and Trauma Fiction

In her work *Trauma Fiction,* Anne Whitehead details upon the critical engagement of trauma theory along with

other theories: "Trauma fiction overlaps with and borrows from both postmodern and postcolonial fiction in its self-conscious deployment of stylistic devices as modes of reflection or critique" (3). Postmodernism theoretically opposes the formation of grand narratives and status quo dictum. As the foundation of Trauma theory is based on canonicity and a non-favourable attitude towards non-western experiences, a new wave of resistance is deemed possible both in narration as well as selection of themes. In this regard, postmodernism is crucial in postcolonial Trauma fiction. While deep sentiments are expressed for holocaust narratives and event-based trauma in the western canon, experiences of third world communities are completely neglected. Postmodern narrative features used in trauma fiction serves the dual purpose of implicating the fact that trauma is never directly articulated and gives an impression about the realm of unspeakability expressed only through broken heaps of sentences and hauntingly symbolised instances.

In this article, two postcolonial war novels that mix postmodernist narrative features with regular mode of narration are analysed. A critical analysis of the novels gives a better understanding of how postmodernist narrative techniques highlight the trauma of Nigerian child soldiers, which is a prevalent theme in both the novels. This study focuses on how far these writers have successfully employed postmodern elements in their narratives and their role in intensifying the effects of trauma that they want to convey.

Beasts of No Nation by Uzodinma Iweala and *Song for Night* by Chris Abani focus mainly on the child soldiers who are both victims and perpetrators in a difficult situation during the Biafran civil war. Both novels present a common theme of stranded children due to war that has killed their parents joining the army partly by force and partly by the helpless situation in which they are thrown into. The narratives are built around in the background of the Biafran civil war that happened mainly between two tribes in the decolonized nation of Nigeria

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during 1967-'70. The war was on the terrible incidents that happened in the land of Nigeria making the world witness all kinds of brutalities. The war mainly between the Igbos and Hausas with the aids of Britain ended up in famine, casualties and it somehow ended with Biafra's surrender to the federal force of Nigeria. Even now the transgenerational effects of the war continue.

The postcolonial writers use crude plots filled with loss, anguish, sympathy, and hatred by giving utmost justification to the theme of Biafran civil war. The postmodern fiction questions the very foundation of a single linear history that focuses on a specific chronology and at the same time, it questions the temporality too. This aspect is adapted in the Nigerian war narratives rather than expressing directly. Instead of providing a conventional method of storytelling, Uzodinma Iweala opens *Beasts of No Nation* saying "It is starting like this" (1). Chris Abani gives the opening statement rejecting the very notion of speech. Chris Abani's *Song for Night* begins dismissing the agency of voice by stating "What you hear is not my voice" (1).

Beasts of No Nation tells the tale of a small boy Agu, who upon losing his father to death and his mother missing, was forced to join the army when they find him. Forced to rape and being raped, the boy somehow stays on the edge of sanity, loses his temper many times and starts killing innocent people. The rudimentary language of *Beasts of No Nation* intentionally avoids the rules of grammar and syntax and that turns out to be a major specialty of the novel. The intentional lapse and neglect of grammatical structures implies the tender age of Agu who has just started his studies. At the same time, it can also represent the absurdity of the instances that tends to make humans do unimaginably terrible things to their own folks. The play with time is another feature in the novel which is found in most of the postmodern narratives. Flashbacks are presented in the form of an unexpected leap that the protagonist takes while staying in the present. For example, the instance, where Agu and his fellow soldiers rape a woman after killing her daughter in the most monstrous way, is paralleled with a glimpse of his old village life which Agu remembers while hearing the screaming lady (Iweala 49). In the same situation, Agu returns to the present time and kills the woman with rage and hatred.

The trauma narrative time frame that negates the usual time-structured narrative that offers only limited scope in the expression of the emotions and feelings is an added advantage of employ the postmodern techniques in trauma fiction. This method opens up a renewed sense of temporality and makes the readers understand the gravity of the situation. The horrible picture portrays not only the boy raping and killing a woman but also the inner turmoil of the boy who cannot express because of the difficult time and space. "I am grabbing the woman and her daughter. They are not my mother and my sister.

I am telling them, it is enough. This is the end" (Iweala 48). It can be said without apprehension that the broken words present broken images that represent agony to the fullest. Here an apparent question about the status of Agu as a perpetrator, for the time being, seems a bit hard to be taken into consideration. Many theorists including Dominick LaCapra in *Writing History and Writing Trauma*, indulge in categorization and compartmentalization of the people involved in traumatic experiences and thereby ask to use discretion regarding sympathizing (LaCapra 27). Stef Craps accounts in *Postcolonial Witnessing* that "Calling someone a trauma survivor or trauma victim does not in and of itself confer any moral capital on that person, as both victims and perpetrators can suffer trauma" (15).

Syntactic Inferences of Trauma Narratives

The temporal dysfunction of language is explicit. Both present and past are told in the present tense, implying the intentional breaking of norms and rules of grammatical structures. The protagonist is also haunted by the presence of the recurring past in the present. In the same novel, Uzodinma Iweala presents another character, Strika, a boy who kills and gets along with the army but always keeps silent.

If I am asking him question, then he is only shaking his head yes or no. So I am asking him all the time, even now while we are just sitting here waiting, are you Strika, and he is nodding yes. Are you having parent, and he is shaking his head no. Are you liking plantain? Nodding yes. Fish? Yes. Pear? Yes. Are you stupid? No. Why are you not talking? No answer. What is it like to be killing somebody? No answer. Strika! He is looking at me. (Iweala 13)

The silence can be interpreted as his solution to the forced explanation that he has to give for the gruesome acts he has done. Another interpretation focuses on the intensity of trauma he has faced. The latter must be convincing for many readers as he draws horrible pictures of mutilated bodies hanging without heads and the like. The denial of voice can be viewed as a predicament from the postmodern absurdities of the narrative.

Next in the same line of unique narrative comes Chris Abani's novel *Song for Night*. The novel follows the thread of a group of child soldiers, who were trained to be mine detectors and get along as a group in spite of all the traumas they undergo. The protagonist is My Luck, a quite ironic name of a child soldier who lost his parents to the war and left alone as the only survivor. After he has witnessed his mother being murdered and himself going through a series of terrible situations owing to the tribe he belongs in the war-torn Nigeria, he voluntarily joins the army when they ask him to join. Without the permission of My Luck and his platoon, the major with the help of a doctor cut off the vocal cords. Since then, they have used a sign language according to their own convenience with all sorts of limitations. The chapters are structured according to the sign language the protagonist and his platoon use after their vocal cords are severed. The play with the language used in the narrative needs

a special mention. Here, My Luck and his platoon are trained to become mine detectors. In order to avoid the risk of being audible to the enemies, their vocal cords are forcefully severed in a surgery so that they do not make any noise while injured by a probable mine explosion. All the chapters are titled with the codes that they use for communication. "Silence is a steady hand, palm flat" (Abani 9), "Dawn is two hands, parting before the face" (Abani 31), "Fish is a hand, swimming through the air" (Abani 50), etc. The titles of the chapters represent the limitation of communication in the traumatic situation. Everything cannot be verbal. Just like the severed verbal cords of the child soldiers in the platoon, the language used in trauma narratives also cannot be filled with complete sense of grief. The usage of language and the efficiency of human speech is questioned through the gestured language intentionally used by the author. In this way, Abani complicates the entire structure of the language used so that the readers primarily understand that My Luck is presenting his experience to the readers, and not exactly "telling." Memories and remembrance of the past are the only solid things in the narrative. The present state of existence of the protagonist is complicated as the novel reaches the end. One question that may arise in this context is the relationship between postmodernism and memory. It is to be noted that postmodernism actually aids for memory and recollection through the narrative technique itself.

Memory and forgetting do not oppose each other but form part of the same process. In the face of mounting amnesia, there is an urgent need to consciously establish meaningful connections with the past. Postmodernist fiction is part of this memory project. Its innovative forms and techniques critique the notion of history as grand narrative, and it calls attention to the complexity of memory. (Whitehead 82)

My Luck's attempts to remember his grandfather's song that gives comfort is a recurrent action to remember his past. The song that is supposed to give him comfort and save his soul was lost in the crevices of memory which was not at all retrievable from the past. As memory is part of him, so is forgetting and Chris Abani makes use of both these in his narrative. The constant attempts of My Luck to remember the song shows the effort of bringing sense into life with the help of language, in which he fails. The failure of expressing grief and the sense of loss is successfully conveyed through the careful use of language inadequacies by the author.

Postmodern Heterogeneity in Narratives

In both the novels there is heterogeneity in narration. The writers have employed many postmodern narrative features and they have attempted to bring in variegated and divergent narratives. De-centering the agency of narration is an attempt Uzodinma Iweala has done by turning a boy who cannot produce standard language as the protagonist of the novel. The same thing happens in *Song for Night* as My Luck is a person whose voice is muted in the literal sense. These techniques have thereby given the readers an opportunity to make multiple readings of the situations.

The postmodern language usage in holocaust narratives has definitely aided the portrayal of trauma in front of the readers. Adapting the same methodology by postcolonial war narrators has its own benefits and adversities in Nigerian literature. As evidenced by the analysis of the two novels based on the narrative structure and language use, postmodernist adoption of narrative features has given a prospect for multiple readings and interpretations. It has also paved the way to enter the minds of readers and retain some heaps of images that are symbolized through the unique narration. However, it cannot be denied that the narratives have drifted from a realistic presentation. Agu from *Beasts of No Nation* turns out to be an unreliable narrator. Though unreliable and multiple narrators are features of postmodern narratives, here Agu is portrayed as a very young boy who barely starts his school, elaborating on the minute details of war and showing great wisdom in his actions. The only postmodern characteristic the author brings in through the character of Agu is the grammatically loose and syntactically incorrect sentence patterns. During the course of the narrative, Agu employs highly metaphorical language. The less convincing part of a very young boy in an unimaginably terrible situation, becoming such a prodigy in metaphorical language use and at the same time grammatically incorrect, may sound unreasonable for some among the reading community. This is not at all present in the characterisation of My Luck in *Song for Night*.

Conclusion

The empirical inferences obtained from both the narratives enunciate that though postmodernist characteristics observed in Nigerian trauma fiction intensify the theme, the underpinning postcolonial theme does not actually necessitate a validation of the narrative structure. Decentralizing and deconstructing the theory is essential in order to avoid marginalization of the postcolonial narratives. However, practicing this holistically is not possible just by adopting unique narrative features. The culture and angst associated with the life of third world nations, the uniqueness and the diversity of each literature need to be expressed in the narrative. Henceforth, the return to the roots is deciphered to be essentially indispensable in trauma narratives to restrict hierarchies based on maps and borders as perceived through this study.

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Relevance of Panchayati Raj Institutions

Dr. Vikram Singh*

[*In India, since ancient times, village Panchayats have been organized in various forms at the village level, in order to carry out customs, traditions, deliver justice, establish social unity, take policy decisions, government and administrative systems in the village. Panchayats have been the main institution, though its form, function and role have changed during the reign of each ruler. The past of village Panchayats has been very glorious, the people's participation in the power and governance of rural citizens is determined through the Panchayati Raj Institutions i.e., village Panchayats, the decentralization of power and the gram Panchayats in moving the democratic system towards direct and participatory democracy has played an important role. Under the 73th Constitutional Amendment, many constitutional rights have been provided to empower the Panchayats, but due to the apathy of the State Governments and the lack of political awareness of the villagers, the empowerment of Panchayati Raj Institutions is not being done much, these institutions have to be fully empowered. Rights need to be given.*]

Decentralization of power and governance has emerged as a strong pillar in the various ideological political systems and societies of the world, thus the form of decentralization of power and governance is also present in the Indian democratic system, but the case of India has been different as compared to different countries of the world, because it does not take its inspiration from the ethics of decentralization of modern democracy, but it has its own old history in India, we have rural self-governing institutions since ancient times. With the passage of time these institutions assumed the form of Panchayat. However, modern local institutions were created during the British colonial rule and modernized after independence (Mishra, 2018: 36).

Evolution of Panchayati Raj in India

In India, Panchayati Raj institutions have been a major base and driver of democratic decentralization and have ensured people's participation in democracy to the lowest level, it is the gift of India's own talent and nature (Kashyap & Gup, 2009:11). The first mention of rural administration i.e., 'Gram Panchayat' is found in ancient Indian literature only (Publications Government, 1989:9), the word 'Panchayat' is derived from the Sanskrit language Panchayatan, which literally means a group of five persons. This group of some five intelligent persons in the villages of the then society was then called 'Panchayatan' (Verma, 2009:2).

In modern times, Panchayati Raj institutions may have contributed significantly in deciding and empowering people's participation in the Indian democratic system and moving towards direct democracy, but since ancient times in India, Gram Panchayat has been organized in various forms at the village level. Panchayats have been the main institutions in the village as well, although its form, functioning and role have changed during the reign of each ruler.

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Indian villages have been the pivot of administration since ancient times. At that time people were very less attracted towards the life of the town. The important place that the village of ancient India got, can probably be attributed to the organized unity, which was established through the Panchayat institutions. The residents of the village used to run these Panchayats with justice, honesty and efficiency, the head of these Panchayats was the villager. Gramani was considered as a kind of parent of the people of the village. His main function was to collect state tax and keep complete records of it. In short, Panchayats governed the entire village, they had a wide range of functions (Maheshwari, 2017:19).

Even in the Vedic age, there were village councils in Jan (village) and Janpad period also, the function of these councils was to establish village, land, system of taxation and power security. Local government was very developed during the Maurya period. Village was the lowest unit of government, whose ruler was called Gramik. The moralist and political scholar Kautilya accepted the village as the unit of politics, he has mentioned the word 'Gramaki' many times in his book 'Arthashastra' (400 BC) (Sharma, 2009:1), who was the head of the village.

The mention of village Panchayats is also found in the Gupta Empire, in which the highest official of the village was called Gramik, for whose assistance there was also a committee, which was called Gram Sabha, the head of this Gram Sabha was called 'Gram Pradhan' (Sharma, 2009:12). The importance of village Panchayats decreased during the Rajput period because the power of feudal lords came over them. The administration of the Sultanate was basically military and the Sultan was autocratic, during this period there was no such situation of village self-government which was seen in ancient India.

The village was the smallest administrative unit of the state during the medieval and Mughal period, the Mughals did not interfere in the system of these local

administrative institutions in the beginning, they used it to strengthen their rule, but when their feet were well settled, the Zamindari system was started. In this system the Jagirdar used to collect revenue, in this system the system of ancient traditional local government weakened and gradually the destruction of the Panchayat system started. later on, the local system which was prevalent in India was destroyed by the British rulers and their local system of government was implemented in its place.

As a result, the originality of local government in India since ancient times, and the importance of village Panchayats decreased during the Mughal period and the British period (Maheshwari, 2017: 22).

During the British period, the Gram Panchayat became the main basis for the solution of administrative needs and financial institutions. The British government cleverly arranged that the collector would constitute Panchayat bodies consisting only of members nominated by him and would appoint the watchman of the village, and at the village level, would mobilize resources through taxes and other financial levies, from which funds would be available for the salary and security of the watchman. May it be in this way, for the purpose of financial exploitation of the administrative unit (villages) of India on the basis of law and order, the British formed the local government institution Panchayat (Mishra, 2018:36).

The condition of village Panchayats has been good from the Vedic era to the Gupta Empire, during that period the condition of village Panchayats has been good till the social unity, civilization, Panchayats at the village level are the symbols of social unity, civilization and culture. In the Rajput period, due to the influence of the feudatories, due to the autocratic power of the Sultans in the Sultanate, the importance of village Panchayats started decreasing than before. It became a means of collecting revenue and taxes, as well as established the villages as administrative units to administer the law and order.

Model of Panchayati Raj Institutions after Independence

It was the responsibility of the Constituent Assembly to prepare such a constitution which could fulfill the ultimate goal of social revolution and the objective of national awakening. Therefore, it was an important question that what kind of social and political institutions should be created in the country so that along with fulfilling these concomitant objectives such conditions can also be created in which the work of social change can be done relatively easily? (Austin, 2017: 64)

The challenge before the Constituent Assembly was to adopt the form of a democratic system, a model of democracy to accept, the flow of democracy from top to bottom as well as social activities at the village level could be carried out. Intensive discussions were also held regarding the role and model of village Panchayats in bringing about economic and political change.

After independence, there was intense discussion among the members of the Constituent Assembly, Mahatma Gandhi and his disciples emphasized on the adoption of the democratic model of Panchayati Raj institutions based on villages in the form of Gandhian types of indirect decentralized government. The alternative to the village-based system in front of the Constituent Assembly was demanding a little finer investigation, a handful of Englishmen and some Indian people on the same lines have been glorifying the village.

Even in modern times many advocates of the rural system have been praising the ancient way of life and thinking system. It has been the belief of such people that this was the only stronghold in India which remained untouched by foreign cultural influences. Mahatma Gandhi was the staunchest advocate of this matter. In Gandhiji's view, the village was like a unit of social organization, in which the Panchayat could handle the government and the village industries could take care of the needs of the consumers and the farm-barn and food-supply, he felt that on this basis such a state and classless society could be created. There would be no need for a prime minister or governments.

Gandhi's somewhat incomplete ideas regarding government could to some extent become systematic because on the one hand Gandhi himself had advised them to be included in the constitution of the Congress and on the other his disciples had recommended these ideas in the Constituent Assembly (Austin, 2017: 65).

Gandhi had presented two proposals in January 1946 and then in January 1948 before the committee to review the constitution of the Congress. In this resolution, it was said that the Congress should relinquish the role of the medium of propaganda and the parliamentary form and transform itself into a social service organization based on a country-wide network of Panchayats. Gandhi's proposal said that each village Panchayat would form a unit, forming a working party by merging two such Panchayats and electing its leader and he would be the coordinator of the work of these leaders and also for national service, will be available. Due to the influence of the Executive Committee, the Constitution Committee of the party rejected Gandhi's proposals. It believed that the Congress could neither abandon its political role nor decentralize its organization to such a degree (Austin, 2017: 66-67).

Mahatma Gandhi's disciple Shriman Narayan Agrawal drafted a Gandhian Constitution for an independent India - the Gandhian Constitution for Free India. This work of Agarwal was based on Gandhi's well-known principle that violence logically favors centralization: the essence of non-violence is decentralization. In this draft of the constitution composed by Agrawal, the village Panchayat was kept as the basic unit of politics, the right to elect

its members was given to the adult people of the village. Agrawal also believed that the Gandhian constitution would again enable a rural society in India that would be based primarily on agriculture, in which industrialization would be avoided except in some very important aspects.

Gandhi and his disciples felt that by doing this work the moral upliftment of the people of India would be done and this ideal of revival of rural life in which benevolent Panchayats and decentralized government were being considered as the means of establishing grassroots democracy (Austin, 2017: 69). This thing was attracting the members of the Constituent Assembly, but some other idea was going on in the minds of the members of the Constituent Assembly regarding the Gram Panchayat model of the Gandhian Constitution.

Regarding Panchayats in the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar was strongly opposed as he considered villages as synonymous with spatial ignorance, narrow-mindedness and communalism. If the villages are empowered on the basis of social structure, then there will be an empire of the oppressed in the society and there will be further oppression of the weaker sections, Dr. Ambedkar believed. But Gandhiji did not agree with this, he advocated for the constitution of Panchayats (Mishra, 2018:37). Before and after independence, Gandhiji was always in favor of village state. He believed that in the political system of independent India, the village should be at the center and should be considered as the unit of the system.

Gandhiji wanted the country's Panchayati Raj institutions to be made stronger and more effective (Jain, 313:2014), but the members of the Constituent Assembly did not adopt the democratic system based on the Gram Panchayats suggested by Gandhi, instead more importance was given to the democratic system of America and Europe and as a result, there is only one Article under the Directive Principles of Policy regarding Panchayats in the Constitution. The matter of adding Article 40 was also accepted with great difficulty and the responsibility of their upliftment and development was left to the state governments by including Gram Panchayats in the state list.

The development of Panchayats under the Constitution has mainly three goals: - To increase the participation of the people in the democratic governance of the whole country, to ensure the participation of the rural people in the national development starting from the village level and to reduce the burden of provincial administration through decentralization (Austin, 2017:77). With the coming into force of the new constitution in the year 1950 Panchayati Raj Institutions entered a new era in the form of local self-government.

Between 1952 and 1992, the central government carried out some experiments regarding the constitutional autonomy of Panchayati Raj institutions and to increase public participation in the social, economic and political fields of the villagers. On the one hand, to give constitutional autonomy to Panchayati Raj institutions, many committees and commissions were formed and the constitution was amended.

On the other hand, many national schemes for economic planning and social revival continued to be operated. So that by achieving the goal of social equality and economic justice, the concept of welfare state can be established and the faith of the villagers in the democratic values   can be maintained. But both these experiments did not achieve any success for a long time.

The Central Government first implemented the Community Development Program and National Distribution Service in 1952 for the development of the rural people and 35000 Community Development Blocks were established, in which the Ministry of Community Development of the Central Government has been in the role of coordinator, finance provider and initiative, In this regard, the plan was to achieve the goal of Panchayat Raj by setting up a set of administrative Panchayats in the whole country and the people's participation of the villagers could be fixed, all these experiments were being done so that economic planning and social revival could be done.

National plans can be used to generate active interest among rural people (Awasthi, 2011:781), but there have been a number of problems with Panchayat Raj and community development schemes and it is perhaps not too surprising that such a huge success of the new type of program required coordination between the somewhat skeptical people of the villages to the untrained community development activists (Austin, 2017:78). Balwant Rai Mehta Committee was formed in the year 1957 to review the progress of Community Development Program and National Distribution Service, which found that the political administrative work culture of these blocks did not show any kind of public enthusiasm.

Therefore, it suggested the formation of elected three-tier institutions. There was some initiative in the states, but there was formation of three-tier and sometimes two-tier Panchayat institutions, but there was no uniformity in their structure and responsibilities. Therefore, people's participation in development increased but those institutions did not have any regulatory administrative authority (Mishra, 2018:37).

After a few years, the enthusiasm of the states towards Panchayati Raj Institutions started decreasing. Due to the disinterest and indifference of many state governments, these institutions started becoming dormant by the mid-1960s. Thus, by the early 1970s,

the Panchayati Raj institutions began to decline. But in the year 1977, there was a change of power at the center and the Janata Party government came to power in place of the Congress and it formed the Ashok Mehta Committee in 1979 (Sharma, 2010: 835) to empower the Panchayati Raj institutions anew.

This committee in its report said that the Panchayats have not only stagnated but also declined. He recommended the formation of Panchayats as political institutions and reported the participation of political parties. In the meanwhile, the Janata Party government fell and it could not do any constitutional experiment. The Congress government again came to power and did not take any interest in the report of the Ashok Mehta Committee, but Karnataka, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh partially implemented the reports of the Ashok Mehta Committee by changing their laws, making them second generation Panchayats (Mishra 2018: 37).

An important report of the Ashok Mehta Committee was that a central law should be made regarding the conduct of Panchayat elections from time to time. In the year 1980, Rao Committee 1985, Singhvi Committee and Thugan Committee also supported it. Although the Co-operative Commission had objections to this. Nevertheless, after extensive deliberations, the government had almost made up its mind to give a constitutional form to the Panchayats. As a result, the 64th and 65th Amendment Bills were introduced for rural and urban local bodies.

The opposition parties viewed the hidden intention of the federal government behind these amendments with suspicion and did not allow them to be passed in the Rajya Sabha despite being passed in the Lok Sabha (Mishra, 2018:37). Congress came back to power and Parliamentary democracy was empowered in the form of people's participatory democracy by the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act 1992 by providing constitutional rights to Panchayati Raj Institutions (Kumari, 2004: 4).

Form of Panchayati Raj Model after 73rd Constitutional Amendment

Right from the making of the constitution, there was a campaign to provide constitutional energy to the Panchayati Raj institutions in the model of decentralization of power, for this work, many committees and programs were conducted on time, finally after long efforts, the central government approved the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments. Through the amendment, the constitutional status of Panchayati Raj Institutions as local self-government was given. Local government has been placed in the state list in the Constitution and the states are required to make their local government acts in accordance with the amended provisions of the constitution within a year.

Under Article 243 of the Constitution, Panchayati Raj Institutions were entrusted with many rights and powers for the development and empowerment of villages. The 73rd constitutional amendment can be seen as a paradigm of maximum democracy and maximum decentralization in rural areas, in which a 'Third Generation Panchayat' can be termed. The suggestion of giving constitutional recognition to the Gram Sabha and giving them more powers by the state legislatures gives an impression of direct democracy at the village level. It entails features like definition of village and composition of Gram Sabha, direct election of village headman and removal of no-confidence motion against him and conferring powers on Gram Sabha and Gram Panchayats.

Reserving seats in Panchayats for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women to increase their leadership was a revolutionary step in itself. The formation of a State Election Commission at the state level and the system of ensuring elections every five years or earlier brought an enthusiasm in the minds of the people. Panchayats were given an effective role by giving them the responsibility of economic development and social justice (Mishra, 2018:38).

In the rural society of India, the model of village Panchayat has been there since ancient times, although their roles have been different in the era of each ruler, with time there has also been a change in the form, but India is now a democratic country after being governed by many government systems. Here the governments work from the center to the local levels, the form of Panchayati Raj institutions at the lowest and local level and village Panchayats are the main units. It is important in taking Indian democracy towards direct and participatory democracy. Village Panchayats are playing a contribution but due to some reasons the relevance of the model of Gram Panchayats has decreased, there are some necessary suggestions to maintain its credibility, there is a need to implement them, only then the significance of the model of Gram Panchayats in Indian democracy will remain. Some of the major suggestions for this are as follows: -

1. The full responsibility of the development of Panchayats is on the State Government, often the State Governments have doubts that if all the functions and powers are allotted to the Gram Panchayats, then in such a situation the power of the State Governments will be reduced, but the question is that in our democracy, a strong state government can also exist along with strong Panchayats or not.

2. If the politics of the Gram Sabhas under the Gram Panchayats is marked by elements such as culture, style, dialogue, consent, cooperation and public participation, then the highest order of democratic life can be represented and achieved with great ease.

3. According to the vision contained in the 11th Schedule and Article 243 of the Constitution, the

plans for economic development and social renewal of the villages should be implemented.

4. Full financial authority of Panchayati Raj Institutions i.e., Gram Panchayats should be given.

5. At the village level, 100 percent responsibility of selection, implementation, construction and evaluation of government schemes should be given to Gram Sabhas and Panchayats.

6. The control and supervision of Gram Sabha should be implemented effectively on the working of Gram Panchayats.

7. All classes and castes should be taken into confidence in every policy-making and decision-making process at the Gram Panchayat level.

8. There is a need to make the villagers aware about the right to information and social audit in order to bring transparency in the government schemes prescribed for the development of the village.

If all the state governments of the country, keeping in mind the status of Panchayati Raj Institutions, are concerned about the development in their progress, then it is necessary for this, by making some necessary rules and laws, empower them by transferring power and rights to the Panchayati Raj Institutions. To increase the participation in each area, there should be need of strong political will of the State Governments.

Conclusion

The position of Panchayats in India has been very useful and respectable in the past, but in the Rajput period, the past glory of Panchayats gradually began to decline, the Mughal and British rulers destroyed the system of village Panchayats. After the independence of the country, it was expected that Panchayats would be given a proper place in the Constitution, for this Gandhiji and his disciples were strongly supporting that the future democratic system of India should be based on village Panchayats, but the Constituent Assembly did not accept any of them. Therefore, making Panchayats a subject of the State List, left the responsibility of its development to the State

Governments. On the basis of the recommendations of some committees and commissions, the Indian Parliament made a plan for the basic structure of Panchayats by making the 73rd Constitutional Amendment, but entrusted the responsibility on the states to give life to it and in doing so they should take care of the local elements. The state governments have maintained control and supervision over the Panchayats. Since the constitutional provisions did not significantly alter the character of local governments, the old concepts about them persist but do not qualify them. So far, the state governments have not given any autonomous

administrative machinery to the Panchayats, nor have they given them financial autonomy, due to the lack of political will power of the states, the apathy of the bureaucracy and the activeness of power brokers at the state and district level.

Also, the lack of political awareness among the people at the village level has also been one of the main reasons, so even after getting the constitutional status, the Panchayati Raj institutions are on the margins, the people who are in power do not want these institutions should be strong, while about 70 percent of the population of India still lives in villages, the responsibility of development of these people lies with the villages, that is, with the village government which is the village Panchayats.

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Dr Ambedkar and Formation of United Maharashtra

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[Today, Maharashtra is on the verge for its completion of sixty years of formation. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar played significant role in the formation of United Maharashtra. As well as, he suggested to divide Maharashtra into three parts and stressed on the formation of three states. He also recommended the division of Uttar Pradesh into three states, Bihar into three, and Madhya Pradesh into two states. Dr. Ambedkar backed the demand of united Maharashtra when the division of Mumbai from Maharashtra got momentum. He instructed his party members to participate in this movement. As far as the progression of Maharashtra is concerned, the demand of independent Vidarbha and Marathwada state has been getting impetus from the formation of Maharashtra. Vidarbha and Marathwada are still lagging behind from the expected standards of development as compared to other regions of Maharashtra.]

The demand of linguistic reorganization of states had been increasing during British rule in India. British Government had taken some steps towards it. Congress Party propagated its agenda in this context in the 1920s conference. Government gradually inclined towards the linguistic reorganization of the states as per the increasing demand of the people. Dr. Ambedkar kept himself aloof from the regional conflicts. But he strongly advocated linguistic reorganization when he felt its necessity. He supported linguistic reorganization of the states to maintain regional balance. He had also shown his willingness to form many states on the linguistic basis.

Many small states have been recently formed i.e., Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand, and Telangana. The demand of separate state is spurring in various states of India such as Vidarbha in Maharashtra, Gorkhaland in West Bengal, Harit Pradesh in Uttar Pradesh, Bodoland in Assam and Naga state for Naga tribals. Dr. Ambedkar's thoughts regarding reorganization of the states are significant in this context. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the role of Dr. Ambedkar on this issue and its usefulness to solve existing issues of various states in the country. Thus, it is essential to retrospect his thoughts in this context.

Demand of Linguistic Reorganization

The necessity of linguistic reorganization of the states had been the matter of discussion since 1903.[1] The demand of linguistic reorganization of every state had been stirring-up in India since pre-independence era. In 1917, Prof. V. W. Tamhankar of Jaipur in his 'Lokshikshan' periodical had proposed the idea of connecting Marathi speaking people's regions in Hyderabad princely state and Warhad Central Province, with the Marathi speaking districts in Mumbai state.[2] Thereafter, the demand of linguistic reorganization of Karnataka had been advocated in 1938. At that time, Dr. Ambedkar opined that it was the inappropriate time for

linguistic reorganization of the country. In his mouthpiece entitled Janta, he stated that the separation of Karnataka from Mumbai or Madras region would be resulting into the unpredictable consequences of linguistic reorganization movement in Maharashtra as well as Gujarat regions.[3]

Dr. Ambedkar stated while about division of Karnataka that, "...the people of these three prominent provinces have been happily residing in Mumbai area since last 115 years... I never discriminate between any region as well as never feel proud to be Maharashtrian. I also never inclined towards the discrimination between any language, region and culture. I also reject the principle of 'firstly, I am Hindi then I am a Hindu or Muslim'. I approve to be a Hindi, firstly and lastly and this is the only tendency which is congenial for the freedom struggle. Therefore, I strongly condemn the division of Karnataka."[4] Thus, Dr. Ambedkar had sternly rejected the idea of dividing Karnataka from Mumbai-Madras regions.

Demand of Independent Vidarbha

The demand of independent Vidarbha was stirring-up from the Marathi speaking areas of Central Province-Warhad. In 1940, many activists of Congress from Vidarbha established 'Mahavidarbha Sabha' and started the movement for independent Vidarbha.[5] G. T. Madkholkar, President of Marathi Sahitya Sammelan (Marathi Literary Convention) organized at Belgaon in 1946, passed a resolution regarding the demand of Maharashtra. As per the resolution, the committee was formed including the members like Datto Waman Potdar, Shankarrao Deo, Keshavrao Jedhe, S. H. Naware, and G. T. Madkholkar.[6]

Gopalrao Dalavi, a renowned Maratha leader in Nagpur, in his article in Tarun Bharat newspaper dated 23rd June 1946 appealed that, "Kunbi, Mali, Teli, Koshti, Untouchables, Kalar, Bhandari community's people in Maharashtra should come together considering themselves as Maratha".[7] Thereafter, Congress activists in Maharashtra established Council for United

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Maharashtra on 28th July 1946 to form United Maharashtra encompassing Vidarbha, Marathwada, and Mumbai regions and started its movement accordingly.[8]

Role of Dr. Ambedkar on the issue of United Maharashtra

Schedule Caste Federation was a prominent organization which was fighting for the issues of downtrodden people in Mumbai province. The members of United Maharashtra Committee realized that they couldn't organize the movement without participation of Schedule Caste Federation on the issue of United Maharashtra. So, Madkholkar and other prominent leaders including Shripadrao Naware went to meet Dr. Ambedkar in Siddhartha College in August 1946. At that time, Dr. Ambedkar suggested to committee's members, "...convey this issue to Dadasaheb Gaikwad by visiting him at Nashik as you have told it to me."[9] But, it was totally futile. Thereafter, Schedule Caste Federation had to face the defeat in 1952's General Elections.

It resulted into the idea to support other parties with the same ideologies. The demand of independent Vidarbha was the biggest hurdle in united Maharashtra movement. So, the leaders of united Maharashtra movement tried to dissuade the leaders from independent Vidarbha movement by approving some privileges to them and signed 'Nagpur Pact' on 28th September 1953.[10] It paved the way for the formation of United Maharashtra. Schedule Caste Federation Party endeavoured to participate in United Maharashtra Movement and it could be observed in contemporary epistolary.[11]

Dr. Kailashnath Katju proposed a bill regarding independent Andhra Pradesh in Upper House of the Parliament on 1st September 1953. Dr. Ambedkar expressed his views on this Bill on 2nd September 1953. He said, "...vernacularism is another form of casteism in our country. We handover the power of administration to a particular community which is most populous in the particular region when we form the separate linguistic province. It can be observed from the administration of many provinces. This community has started the system of casteism by exaggerating their sacred existence. It is widely known as the discrimination. This discrimination paves the way for injustice and this injustice creates malignant feelings among the people. Our vernacularism can't prove harmful for us if it is not marred by the casteism."[12]

But it happens prominently due to the dominance of casteism over vernacularism. Upper caste people treat untouchables like the slaves. That bill hadn't provisioned equal political, religious, social and economic rights of all castes. Therefore, Dr. Ambedkar raised his voice against the bill.

Dr. Ambedkar austerely expressed his views regarding linguistic reorganization of the states. He recommended to divide Maharashtra into three states. In this context,

he said, "...the first historical evidence regarding Maharashtra is identified during the reign of Emperor Ashoka. It is mentioned in the book entitled 'Mahavansh'. Ashoka sent many apostles for spreading Buddhism across India and this reference is cited in this regard. The reference of three Maharashtra is cited in the Pali literature as *'Trayi Maharashtrika'* which stands for three Maharashtra. This reference is the solid evidence of the existence of three states of ancient Maharashtra. It clearly indicates that the concept of Maharashtra's three states dates back to the ancient era."[13]

There is the reference of four Marathi provinces in Mahanubhav literature. These four provinces include Falenana means the Southern region, second encompasses the region till the end of Balaghat, third comprises the region of Godavari and Vainganga and the fourth was Warhad region.[14] As stated by Dr. Ambedkar, it clearly indicates that Maharashtra was not a particular state since ancient era. Its ancient traditions, social and economic condition, and contemporary lifestyle were completely different from each other. The population of Marathi speaking people were recorded at 3 crore 30 lakh 80 thousand at that time and the area of Marathi people was 1 Lakh 74 thousand 514 square miles.[15] It was so large area that it could not be merged in a single state and administer on it.

In this context, Dr. Ambedkar said, "...the Maharashtrian people who are demanding for the united Maharashtra haven't tried and trusted the massive area and population of Maharashtra... I can't understand the ideology behind the demand of united Maharashtra. There are two aspects which are totally different from each other. First one is independent state of Maharashtra and another one is a united state of Maharashtra. I support the different state of Maharashtra from Gujarati and Hindi speaking people. But I never support the united nature of independent Maharashtra. Maharashtra's people haven't rebelled against the Northern regions for which they need undivided alliance of Maharashtra..."[16] In this way, Dr. Ambedkar rationalized the issue of united Maharashtra.

But, the supporters of united Maharashtra stated, "If the education and daily administration of the state is governed by the language of majority of the community, then the state must be formed on the basis of vernacular aspects. If the state is multilingual, it gives rise to the problems. The medium of education and communication can be bilingual or multilingual. Therefore, it will be appropriate to reorganize the state on the basis of language. It is observed that the culture of the people changes according to their language, they have their own traditions, and specific literature. Linguistic reorganization of the state helps for the all-pervasive development on the basis of these things."[17]

'One Language, One State' was the sole concept of United Maharashtra with Mumbai movement. The main motive behind was to include the people who speak one language

in a particular state without considering or tolerating others' regions, population and dissimilarity of condition. This theory proves completely erroneous and unjustified as there is not a single instance in the history in the support of this theory. So, this theory should be thrown away.[18] That's why Dr. Ambedkar recommended to form multiple states of a particular language speaking people. Large states dominate smaller ones. According to Dr. Ambedkar, Maharashtra should be divided into four parts to maintain the balance in administration.[19] He suggested division of Maharashtra in Maharashtra City State including Mumbai, Western Maharashtra, Central Maharashtra and Eastern Maharashtra. Dr. Ambedkar was Marathi by language and he was proud to be a Marathi. Still, he remained aloof from the regional conflicts.[20]

State Reorganization Commission published a report on 10th October 1955. Commission vetoed the demand of independent Maharashtra including Mumbai. At that time, Bhai Dange and Acharya Atre went to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to discuss the issue of United Maharashtra. Dr. Ambedkar clarified, "...I feel very proud of Maharashtra than others. But you should be Indian first and then whatever you wish to call yourself." But State Reorganization Commission formed flawed and inappropriate states for governance. Though the principle of 'One language of One State' has been enacted, injustice has been imposed on Maharashtra by tagging it as a bilingual state. We should collectively cast off this injustice.[21]

Thereafter, Central Government declared its verdict on 16th January 1956 stating Mumbai city as a Union Territory and remaining other regions would be considered as United Maharashtra. While condemning the decision, Dr. Ambedkar said, "Is there any place India worthier than Mumbai where people are politically powerful? And you are telling that you will bring them under the dominance of Central authority? Maharashtra and Mumbai's self-esteemed people will not tolerate this humiliation. You cannot compare Mumbai's people with Delhi and Manipur."[22] He was absolutely sure that Mumbai is an integral part of Maharashtra.

In this context, he said, "...Marathi people are too generous by heart. If Mumbai falls under Maharashtra, the rights of Non-Maharashtrians will not be grappled regarding the use of harbour. Mumbai's trade and industry is not flourished by Gujarati people, it was enhanced by Europeans and the officers of East India Company. Gujaratis were brought to Mumbai as the brokers or mediators necessary for the trade. They never came to Mumbai as traders... Maharashtra has supplied water and electricity to Mumbai. Separation of Mumbai from Maharashtra may dilapidate and endanger the financial structure of Mumbai... Mumbai is a part of Maharashtra. Marathi people have their rights over Mumbai. Even, Brahma can't separate Mumbai from Maharashtra."[23]

Dadasaheb Gaikwad asked Dr. Ambedkar regarding the role of Schedule Caste Federation amidst these circumstances. Dr. Ambedkar replied Dadasaheb Gaikwad, "...they should compel the government to stop the administration of Local Governance Institutions..."[24] He instructed Dadasaheb that Schedule Caste Federation should pass a resolution regarding the resignation of all party members elected on Bombay Municipal Corporation as the protest against the status of Union Territory given to Mumbai by Central Government.[25] While stating in the Upper House against the decision given by Central Government, Dr. Ambedkar said, "For the integrity of the country, Uttar Pradesh should be divided into three states, Bihar also into three and Madhya Pradesh into two states. Mumbai city and Marathwada also should be declared as the independent states. But Government is trying to impose the status of Nicobar on Mumbai. So, I will change my mind and stout-heartedly stand with Maharashtra's people to fight against this conflict..."[26]

As per the statement Dr. Ambedkar, Members of United Maharashtra Committee felt that he would participate in the movement. Amidst these circumstances, K. C. Thakre published a letter in a weekly Marathi newsletter entitled 'Jay Maharashtra' on 25th July 1956, requesting Dr. Ambedkar to participate and accept the leadership of Maharashtra.[27]

Committee enthusiastically worked after United Maharashtra Committee had decided to fight the general elections of 1957. A meeting of United Committee's members was organized in Mumbai to discuss about the participation of other parties. Mr. S. M. Joshi telegraphed Dadasaheb Gaikwad inviting him as a representative of Federation for the meeting.[28] In this meeting, Dadasaheb demanded committee members for allocating reserved seats as well as a general seat at every district for Schedule Caste Federation. Dr. Ambedkar conveyed Dadasaheb Gaikwad to arrange a meeting with committee's members at his house in Delhi in November 1956 regarding the agenda of forthcoming elections.[29] United Maharashtra Committee approved all the conditions of Schedule Caste Federation which included allocation of general seats to the candidates of Schedule Caste Federation and supporting them in winning it, all the reserved seats should be given to Schedule Caste Federation, committee should strive hard for the educational, social, political and economic development of the untouchables to eradicate atrocities or injustices meted out to them in the villages.[30]

Thereafter, Dr. Ambedkar entrusted all the rights to Dadasaheb Gaikwad regarding their role towards the movement initiated by United Maharashtra Committee. Then, Schedule Caste Federation rightfully entered in United Maharashtra Committee on 30th November 1956.[31] But, Dr. Ambedkar died on 6th December 1956 yet Schedule Caste Federation vigorously participated in the struggle for United Maharashtra and gave their remarkable contribution for it. Then, Schedule Caste Federation had been dissolved and Republican Party was

established on 3rd October 1957. This party also supported the movement led by United Maharashtra Committee. So, this newly established Republican Party was divided into two groups regarding their participation in United Maharashtra Movement.

Conclusion

Maharashtra has been formed with Mumbai on 1st May 1960. But the principles of linguistic reorganization hadn't been truthfully followed while forming Maharashtra. So, Marathi speaking Dang district has been attached to Gujarat and some part of Belgaon had been included in Karnataka. It culminates into enraging discontent in these regions. Today, Maharashtra is on the verge to complete its sixty years of establishment. But these Marathi speaking regions are still alienated from Maharashtra. These regions are enthusiastic to come under the ascendency of Maharashtra and they are incessantly revolting for it. After thoroughly studying this entire duration, it can be observed that Maharashtra hasn't accomplished the expected standards of equal development purported by Dr. Ambedkar. The regional imbalance has been increasing rapidly as per the passage of time.

Vidarbha's people changed their minds for 'One Lingual' state by leaving behind the issue of independent Vidarbha for the sake of development, but they are still deprived of the development that they dreamt about. The backlog of Vidarbha has been increasing rapidly according to the passage of time. Therefore, the voice of independent Vidarbha is rejuvenating again with new spirit. The demand of separate state is also enraging in Harit Pradesh in Uttar Pradesh, Gorkhaland in West Bengal, Bodoland in Assam and Naga state for Naga tribals. Amidst these circumstances, the concept of small states propagated by Dr. Ambedkar is equally justifiable and can prove beneficial for the all-pervasive development of the state.

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National Education Policy: An Analysis of Progressive Change

Dr. Reenu Rani Mishra*

The New Education policy 2020, proposed by the Indian Government, aims to restructure the existing pattern of the current education policy. The HRD Ministry of India has presented the new policy; The Union cabinet approved it of the Indian Government on July 29 2020, by replacing the previous education policy of 1986 called "National policy of Education 1986." The current research article is focused on the Progressive change analysis of the New Education Policy. The researcher follows a descriptive approach in this article.

National Education Policy 2020, often colloquially referred to as New Education Policy, is a national level education reform that seeks to restructure the existing educational norms to provide for All Round development of children. The Ministry of Human Resource Development supervises the policy of, Govt. of India. It is in line with The Global Education Development Agenda reflected in Goal 4/ SDG 4 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which India adopted in 2015. It seeks to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" by 2030. That is why a complete Restructuring process needed to be initiated to realize such a tremendous goal (Aithal, P. S et. al, 2019) .

Society is undergoing rapid changes with a growing young population looking for jobs and opportunities; the youth is facing various dilemmas due to lack of skills and knowledge, which can be seen clearly as lakhs of individuals want to indulge in Government Jobs. Still, very few of them possess requisite capabilities and knowledge. This blunder can be attributed to extreme errors made by previous administrations while formulating current educational policies in which only theoretical knowledge was emphasized rather than an overall curriculum that could include practical subjects and the application of theoretical part. Older Educational policies were effective in teaching Theoretical Subject Matter but were formed in a very Rigid manner where inclusion of issues according to changing scenarios wasn't possible.

With a rapidly changing Employment landscape and global educational standards, children must be taught how to learn and how to learn. This New Education Policy aims to foster a habit of learning through practical exposure to the subject matter. Instead of just studying to pass the exams, children must be taught to apply their Knowledge in Day to Day activities to generate employment opportunities by themselves instead of only running after Government Jobs.

The New curriculum includes Arts, Crafts, Humanities, Games, Sports, Culture, Values, literature, and languages. Thus the policy aims to enable learners to be ethical, rational, compassionate and caring while at the same time the learners will be made capable of fulfilling their employment needs as well. There is a gap between the current state of education and the required form of education which the Government wants to bridge by Introducing new structures, subjects and evaluation patterns. These Newer Structures and Patterns aim to enhance a learner's retention skills and Application abilities.

The vision of The New Education Policy:- This policy envisions education as a deep-rooted Indian concept of Ethics, Values and Spirituality. It aims to use practical knowledge to transform India into a vibrant global superpower in the field of skill and innovation. The Government aims to provide high-quality education to all by adding Indian Heritage and moral values alongside general education to make learners proud of being Indian. The policy seeks to install a comprehensive perspective towards global issues by promoting the Indian Concept of "Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam" or "whole world is a family" So that learners can become responsible global citizens and can serve society.

Structure of School Education under N. E. P. 2020:- This policy provides an alternative to the existing 10+2 structure in school education by introducing a 5+3+3+4 structure covering ages 3-18. Children aged 3-6 are currently not considered liable for schooling under the 10+2 structure as class 1 begins from age 6. But the Government aims to augment children's learning ability by including all children above 5 years in the educational framework by enacting the new 5+3+3+4 structure. This new structure emphasizes Early Childhood Care and Education/ECCE from age 3 onwards, which will help children learn and retain better right from an early age.

Foundational Literacy as a Major Factor in Learning Process:- A child's ability to retain subject matter is more significant in early childhood than in teenage; the ability to read, write, and perform basic numerical operations is necessary. It is a prerequisite for all future schooling and learning. Many government sources indicate that the current generation is in a learning crisis with around 5 crore elementary school children who were not provided with proper early childhood care and learning. These Children find it very difficult to cope with the increasing burden of syllabus and studies once

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they get admitted to class 1 since they were not provided with any education before the age of 6.

This problem is comprehensively resolved under the 5+3+3+4 pattern wherein children in age group 3 to 8 years will be considered elementary learners and will be Taught basic concepts and schooling ethics, this includes teaching to read, write and understand alongside providing them with basic calculation performing abilities that will train young minds in the field of Mathematics. Over 85% of a child's brain development is noticed before the age of 6. That's why providing children with sufficient learning before this age is a prerequisite that must not be ignored. Under the New Education Policy, children between the ages of 3-6 will be provided elementary education in Anganwadi centres. Those above 6 years of age will attend regular schools as they earlier did. Moreover, the elementary education process will be continued till class 2. Thus this pattern will lead to a total primal learning period of 5 years [3 years in Anganwadi + 2 years in regular school].

As children between age groups 3-6 will be taught in Anganwadi centres, their curriculum would include a play-based, activity-based learning experience consisting of flexible modules specially designed according to children's cumulative brain development needs. For universal access to ECCE, Anganwadi centres will be developed with high-quality infrastructure, and various Equipment of play will also be provided apart from well-trained teachers and support staff. Anganwadi centres will be Re-designed to have well ventilated, clean, and child-friendly buildings with an enriched learning atmosphere. Children in Anganwadi centres will be given tours to local primary schools to make them aware of the school environment. Their transition from Anganwadi to primary schools can be made smooth once they reach 6 years.

It is also pro[posed that before the age of 5, children will move to a "Balvatika", a kind of preparatory class just before class 1, these Balvatikas will have an ECCE Qualified Teacher. The learning process in the primary category shall be completely play-based, and learners will be exposed to activities that will enhance their psychomotor abilities and early literacy. In addition to that, the Mid-day meal programme shall be extended to preparatory classes in primary schools, that is, to class 1 and class 2 students. Health check-ups, growth monitoring facilities, and required equipment will be available in Anganwadi centres and primary schools. ECCE's will also be introduced in Ashramshalas in Tribal areas. Ashramshalas will also be provided with the required Manpower and Equipment so that children in Remote areas can avail all privileges enjoyed by those in Anganwadi and Primary schools.

Curtailing Dropout rates and Ensuring Access to Education for All:- NEP Aims to make learning enjoyable and make sure that more and more children are enrolled and attend schools and Anganwadi centres regularly. Earlier initiated campaigns such as Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan/Samagra Shiksha Abhiyan and Right to Education Act etc., were highly successful in achieving a near 90.9% enrolment in elementary classes. These campaigns could reach milestones by persuading parents to enrol their children in primary grades by providing other benefits like Mid-Day meals and Free study material. However, in grades 9-10 and 11-12, the enrolment stood at just 79.3% and 56.5%, respectively. This decrease in the number of students enrolling in schools could be attributed to various issues such as lack of Government-sponsored education post class 8, Financial Burden, Lack of interest in further studies, child labour etc. The NEP 2020 thus hopes to address these issues by providing real-time situational awareness to parents and guardians. The policy ensures that student's interest is maintained in studies by providing an interactive practical learning environment rather than just theoretical knowledge and exam-oriented learning.

To facilitate learning for all sections of the society, the NEP emphasizes specially Socially and Economically Backward Classes and aims to provide open schooling and distance learning facilities for those who cannot avail of education due to Residing in remote areas or due to any underlying reasons. The National Institute of open schooling/NIOS will be allocated additional resources for expansion in far-off places to assure universal education to every learner. Besides NIOS state open schools will also be expanded and empowered to meet modern-day educational standards.

NEP will provide a very flexible curriculum whereby students will no longer choose either Arts, Commerce, or Science stream. Instead, they shall be able to select specific subjects post class 10. For example, suppose any student wants to study Physics and History together. In that case, he will be free to do so without worrying about Arts or Science Streams as he can now study his subjects of interest under the NEP. Unlike before, the NEP aims to terminate the existing "Streams" approach where every stream contains a specific set of subjects, and learners have to study only those subjects. But under the NEP, a rigid separation among various streams will no longer exist, and students could pick up any set of subjects to study.

Stages and Structures in NEP 2020:- The Curricular Framework for School Education will be guided by a 5+3+3+4 design, which consists of a Foundational stage (age 3-8 / 3 years in Anganwadi + 2 years in class 1 and 2), a Preparatory stage (age 8-11/grades 3-5), a Middle Stage (age 11-14/grades 6-8), and a Secondary Stage (

age 14-18/ grades 9-12). The secondary stage is divided into two phases: the first (class 9-10) and the second (class 11-12). The Foundational stage shall consist of 5 years of play-based learning to provide Elementary Education alongside Cognitive Brain Development Activities to strengthen a child's retention skills.

The Preparatory Stage will include some Light Text-Based learning modules to apply the child's knowledge sets learned during the Foundational stage. The preparatory phase shall also include Activity Based learning and Interactive play modules instead of fully formalized tests and assignments.

The Middle Stage shall comprise 3 years and will emphasize building a learner's base in more complex subjects, helping the learner establish connections between different subjects along the lines of Arts, Science, Mathematics, and Humanities. This stage will further enforce the knowledge sets acquired during the preparatory stage.

Finally, the Secondary Stage shall be of four years of a multi-faceted study approach built upon the Subject Oriented Interactive approach of the Middle stage. However, the Secondary Stage will incorporate much Deeper and Critical topics without compromising the flexibility and Interactive quality of the subject matter.

Conclusion:- The National Education Policy 2020 is an offspring of Earlier Tried and Tested Acts like The National Policy on Education (1986), which was further modified in 1992. Afterwards, in 2003, the Right to Education became a Fundamental Right which led to free and compulsory education for all individuals between the age group of 6-14 tears (up to class 8). The National Policy on Education (1986) had led to the formulation of the currently pursued 10+2 pattern, which is more or less condemned by most thinkers and intellectuals as the 10+2 approach solely relies on Theoretical Concepts and pays Little to No attention to the practical application of subject matter.

On the other hand, the NEP 2020 aims to turn education into a practical Affair by formulating a new 5+3+3+4 pattern wherein the entire Educational life cycle of learners shall be divided among the Foundational Stage(3-8 years), the Preparatory Stage(8-11 years), Middle Stage (11-14 years) and finally the Secondary Stage (14-18 years of age). Students will be taught in a synchronized manner by providing level-based learning at every stage, further continuing with the more complex subject matter at the next stage. The learners are taught to apply their skills and Knowledge in Day to Day activities by undergoing interactive play-based learning modules that incorporate applicable concepts and awareness in young minds.

The NEP 2020 aims to Provide Indian youth with a standard of education comparable to that of Developed Countries by incorporating global standard practices in teaching and learning. NEP 2020 aims to utilize both Formal and Informal mediums of Instruction so that students in even remote locations can avail of all educational incentives devised by the Government, including Open Schooling and Distance Learning Programmes. Overall the National/New Education Policy of 2020 aims to introduce an educational revolution by introducing a higher level of Practicality and Flexibility in Pre-Existing Subject matter and is ultimately aimed at Fostering Indian Ethics and Moral concepts alongside Modern Global standard Education.

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Political Empowerment of Women

Santi Saya Boruah* Dr. Lanu Devi**

Women empowerment is broadly described as a process as well as the outcome of the process by which women gain greater control over resources - Physical, human, financial and intellectual. Further women empowerment challenges the ideology of patriarchy and the gender based discrimination against the women in all the institutions and structures of society.

It comprehends changing women's beliefs about herself and her rights, capacities and potentials enabling her to acknowledge and rejoice in her strength, knowledge, intelligence and skills. Women's empowerment must become a political force if is to transform society at large. Mass movements and organizations of poor women can bring about the fulfillment of women's as practical & Strategic needs. They can define power as constructing a new society in which the potential of every human being can be realized without regard to gender, race, class, caste, ethically or region.

Static empowerment of women relates to their capacity to participate in decision making that affects their lives and to influence those decisions. Women will have an affective voice in this context.

The dynamic concept of empowerment as a process of developing capacity of individuals to participate effectively in making and implementing decisions that directly or indirectly affect them.

Gender discrimination in India today is one of the most all pervading forms of deprivation. Gender violence both societal as well as domestic continues unabated. Most women continue to be excluded from decision making process. The exclusion pervades all level Government, corporate, Societal and house hold.

Lack of access to social entitlement further exacerbates poverty. Women survive in marginalized state of existence. Low self esteem institutionalized subordination in society, ignorance of laws and above all threats of violence creates a vicious intergenerational cycle of poverty and deprivation. Deprivation is aggravated by lack of education information and lack of training and low level of literary.

Their contribution is largely invisible. The present social construction of gender largely relegates women to the inside sphere .Reproduction and responsibilities of nurturance and management of a fragile environment and low paid or unpaid but heavy work responsibilities in agriculture, animal husbandry and other traditional factors creates a syndrome of gender stereotypes, marginalization, alienation and deprivation (Fourth world conference on women Govt of India country Report 1995)

Critical areas of concern

Following critical areas for women empowerment call for immediate attention according to the country report 1995 of the 4 th world conference on women relating to India.

● Inadequacy of institutional mechanism for advancement of women.

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- Persistent and institutionalized discrimination against girl child.

- Poor participation by women in decision making structures and Processes

- Gender gaps in literacy, education & health.

- Growing trend of violence against women.

- Barriers encountered by women in accessing legal entitlements.

- Gender biased societal norms.

The constitution of India grants equality to women and it also empowers the state to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favor of women. This is intended for neutralizing the cumulative socio - economic educational and political disadvantages faced by them. The constitutional mandate under (Article) 14confers equal rights and opportunities on men and women in political, economic and social spheres while Article15 prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste,sex etc.A provision under Article 15 (3) enables the state to allow affirmative discrimination in favor of women. Article 16 guarantees equality of opportunity in public employment.

The state has enacted various legislative measures intended to ensure equal rights to counter social discrimination and various forms of violence and atrocities and to support service especially to working women.

Such laws with periodical amendments have specific provisions for serving the interest of women viz.

- The special marriage Act 1954

- The Hindu marriage Act 1955

- The Hindu Succession Act 1956

- The family courts Act 1954

- The Immoral traffic Prevention Act 1986

- The Child Marriage restraint (amendment Act 1976)

- The Equal Remuneration Act 1976

- The Factories Amendment Act 1986

- The Plantation Labor Act 1957

- The Employees State Insurance Act 1948

- The medical Termination of pregnancy Act 1971

Political Empowerment

The Indian constitution is one of the most progressive in the world. It guarantees equal right for men & women. However Indian women are still waiting anxiously for their dreams of equality to be translated into reality.

Political power is the strongest tool to eradicate inequality. The constitutional amendment bill which aims at ensuring 33% reservation for women in all legislative bodies including the loksabha has resulted in a unique situation. Reservation at punchayats level is implemented in all states. As a result nearly one million women have entered the sphere of public decision making.

Democratic and secular India endeavors to provide necessary conditions for greater participation of women in all spheres of life. Equality of opportunity is guaranteed and discrimination on gender of sex, language, religion, class or creed is prohibited. Challenges in seeking to reduce inequality in a diverse and complex country like India are enormous. T

The committee on status of women in Indian has observed all the Indicators of participation attitudes and impact come up with the same results of the revolution in social and political status of women for which constitutional equality

was to be only the means - still remains a very distant objective. The large masses of women continue to lack spoke persons who understand their special problems and are committed to their removal in the respective bodies of the state. Participation of women is the integral part of democratic proces.

Women empowerment & participation is a political question linked to change in power relations. Through mutually supportive process of political empowerment which has largely failed to tap the emergency, knowledge and ability of women. Women have been in the forefront in mass movement But their presence has not been felt strongly in structural decision making in the institutions. They have held position of power as prime minister or chief minister. But they have not been able to change the lives of the mass of women working in a predominately patriarchal structure with no gender sensitivity. It has made it is difficult to being about real and sustained changes for women.)

In India political empowerment coincides with the limited franchise granted to women in 1937.In the post independence period the Indian constitution granted equal voting right. Women have been participatory in political process as voters, as candidates, contesting election, in deliberations in the state assemblies and the National parliaments. They have held public office at deferent levels.

The number of women contestant in parliamentary elections has not increased over the years. However there is a greater representation to women in Rajyasabha. Women members are found to participate more in women issues - health, welfare, attrocities against women, crimes like dowry & violation of women right etc. There is a gender discrimination in relation to nomination of women to contest election to the state legislature. Women ministers are often given welfare oriented portfolios - women & child development, culture & youth. Maximum number of women at decision making levels have been in the welfare and development oriented sectors or human resource development which includes education ,culture ,women & child development . Only 5.71% of the total number of persons in administrative service are women.

The three tyre system of local governance from the village to the district level has been mandatory as per the 73rd constitutional amendment Act 1993. All the State legislatures have been directed to amend their respective legislations to conform to the constitutional amendment within one year.

Each punchayats is to have a uniform five years term & elections are to be held to constitute new bodies before the term expires. In all punchayats seats are to be reserved for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in proportion to their number in the population. One third of the total number of seats is reserved for women. One third of the chair persons of punchayats at all levels are to be women.

Women members of the Punchayats Raj Institutions shall be involved in the governance of these Punchayats Raj Institutions in the democratic process of universal adult franchise, multi party system & mandatory elections at regular elections. The results of the Panchayat governance have been extremely encouraging. In the states like West Bengal, and Karnataka women have gained more than the number of seats reserved for them.

The 73rd amendment Act has the potential of enabling women to transform state structure from within is the first step of an emerging view grass root level leaderships. The significant impact of elections on women has been in the areas of social and gender relations and increased self confidence. The 74 th constitutional amendment

Act extends similar provisions as the 73 amendment to urban local bodies, municipalities and notified area authorities. It is the significant in the political empowerment process of women of the country. As individuals and representatives of interest groups, women should be encouraged to participate in the political institution and processes.

The history of the struggle for women's right in India during the last couple of decades has been quite eventful. From the fervent feminism of the sixties to the introspections on women's status in the seventies to women in development debates in the eighties and to focus on gender issues in the nineties has been momentous but short transition. From women's problems to women's issues, finally to women's perspectives there has been a whole reshaping of paradigm of development.

The principle of women empowerment has been basic to Indian thinking from over a century. The 19 th and 20th centuries experienced a succession of women's movement. First round burning social issues such as women's education and widow remarriages and then a round the freedom struggle itself. Gender equality was adopted in the fundamental rights resolutions of the Indian National Congress in 1931.

The Indian planning and policy since independence has recognized that the progress of the nation is integrally linked with the advancement of women. The constitution of India adopted in 1950 grants equality to women. It empowers the state to adopt measures of affirmative discrimination in favour of women.

Strategic Approach for women empowerment

Women empowerment strategy is emerging as a unique. Indian response to the challenges of equality, development & peace. There is need for providing an expanding networking of support service so that women are freed from some of their gender related shackles. The following measures are required for empowerment of women in different areas viz

1. Economic Empowerment: Women should be provided with additional channels Of credit, training ,employment, greater visibility, management skill & Social security.

2. Political empowerment: There is need for resorting to different forms of affirmative discrimination so that women's voice is heard.

3. Access to knowledge, power and resources women should be empowered to demand such education, knowledge & resources.

There is an emergence of gender as one of the basic issue of human progress during the last decade of 20th century. Public concern over the status of women has permitted both thinking and rhetoric. There is a feeling for immediate need to capture women's insight for solving basic problems of poverty ,illiteracy, environmental degradation and violence. This concerns & this increased awareness is a challenge before the country & it should be used to break the stereo type and shibboleths of the past & money towards new generation of men and women working together for an awakened socio – economic system where the women have the right to conquer their destiny.

Women empowerment involves a basic change in the social structure & institutions to bring about of gender just society. The existing biases & growing inequality are not natural. They are socially & politically perpetuated. Hence it is necessary to set in motion a process where gender relations are completely restructured. Special measures would be taken for their training in areas where they have special skills like communication and information technology. Efforts to develop appropriate technologies suited to women's needs as well as to reduce their drudgery willbe given a special focus too.

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Educational Institutions of Christians in India

Mitali Brahma*

In the context of increasing globalization, higher education has become almost a trade and a money-spinning enterprise. There is a rush for 'quality education' and students lured by this quality education abroad do not hesitate to borrow, beg or steal to pay the huge sums demanded by foreign universities. The capitation fee in some of the institutions in India also is of staggering proportions. In this cut-throat competition Christian Colleges are also caught helplessly. In this unhealthy atmosphere only moneyed people could afford 'quality education' and not all. To the vast majority, it is still a forbidden fruit.

Excellence in the teaching-learning process and achievement in education are largely dependent on the quality of the students. The quality of the students in most cases is obtained by some kind of selection process which is manifest and latent. This process allows entry into the higher educational system only to those who are seen to capable of pursuing excellence in education.

For instance, in certain professional courses like medicine and engineering or in certain prestigious institutions such as the IITs and the IIMs admission is based on the candidates' performance in the qualifying examinations or in specially conducted tests. Even in this process, a candidate's educational achievement is determined by the well-known phenomenon of the socio-economic background of the candidates.

Naturally, prestigious courses or institutions, wherein quality is sought to be maintained through an institutionalized selection process, are inaccessible to individuals belonging to certain disadvantaged sections of the society, who are unlikely to cope with the expected quality of educational achievement. The other human input in higher education. What is the net result? Quality education is once again monopolized by the students belonging to the elite sectionst is the net result? ess of selection only. Similarly a lion's share of the well-paid posts is also appropriated by those hailing from affluent and an influential socio-economic background and also from the higher echelons of the hierarchical society.

In this matter even the secular governments have already taken the lead in rendering social justice through reservation. The picture is quite grim but need not be disheartened. Instead of wailing over the dismal situation, it is better to look for remedial measures. For ensuring social equity some kind of compromise has to be made with quality.

It is certainly a sort of protective discrimination or a special kind of discrimination in order to deal with the consequences of a general pattern of discrimination. Indian society is a society of gross injustice and inequalities of traumatizing violence and religious communalism, of mindless consumerism and de-humanizing corruption. Progress and development ought to be sought not only for the elites but also for the majority section.

The higher education is construed as excellence in education and employability of the education youth. But what happens actually? Even well established colleges with sophisticated infrastructure and equipment as well as a highly qualified and competent teaching faculty are unable to guarantee excellence in education and employment to all the students who pass through their portals.

If employability and educational excellence alone are to be given top priority in higher education, then there are umpteen numbers of institutions all over India and abroad to take care of that. They will readily cater to the needs of those who are craving for quality-education. Christian Colleges need not duplicate these efforts by running parallel courses.

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develop a critical mind and a scientific temper among students so that academically trained people should be seriously involved in building up the nation.

History is not a meaningless merry-to-round but it is charged with meaning and purpose because of divine intervention in life. It is due to such divine intervention only that many could boast of having attained academic excellence, a high station in life, a fat pay and a cosy living. But think of the millions in the country still longing for such an opportunity in their life too. They yet remain at the educational periphery only.

The time has come for these institutions to rediscover the educational mission for which they were originally established by the founding fathers.

So, when admission is made and academic staff members are recruited. They should look for the needy and the deserving. One may be academically well-equipped and very competent but may not have any commitment to a social cause. Therefore, it is better to look for men and women with social concern and solidarity with the poor, if they posses the required qualification.

Further, excellence in education cannot be achieved on day one of one's academic career. It is an on-going process. A high level of academic achievement in the subject, research publications, the right temperament and aptitude for the teaching vocation, commitment and devotion to one's job and communication skills are acquired over the years and not at the entry point itself.

Christian colleges engaged in promoting higher education should strive to draw out the best potential from the ordinary, challenging, inviting and stimulating them to pursue the deeper meanings of life and not just to meet the examination and employmenten requirements. One of the important values which they ought to inculcate in their students as well as teacher is true neighbourliness. They are obligated to assist the needy and the helpless by a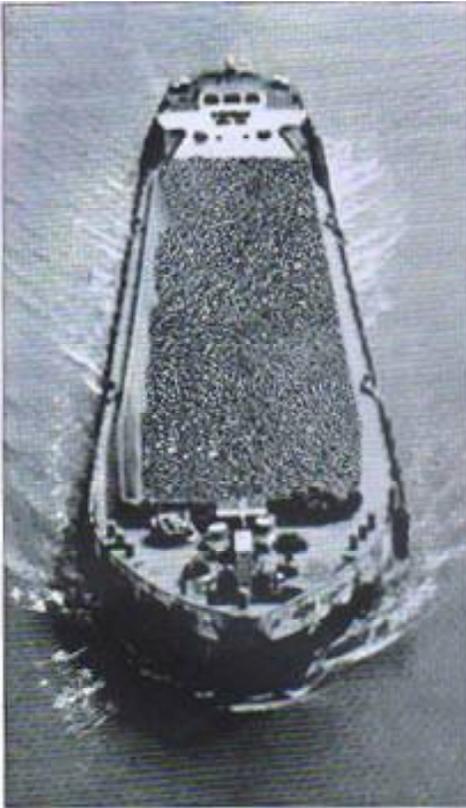ll means. What is being stressed here is that social equity or social justice should be given priority treatment in their educational policy and they need not be apologetic about it.

"In the context of existing inequalities, injustices and dehumanizing poverty in contemporary society, we are committed to challenge and change these oppressive structures through our college towards the integral liberation of man in collaboration with Christians of different denominations, people of other religions and secular movements working with similar vision. who are poor economically and academically and form them as men for others stamped with the Ignition hallmark of excellence and re-orienting itself in order to respond to the crying needs of today's society. They will also promote research to the crying needs of today's society.
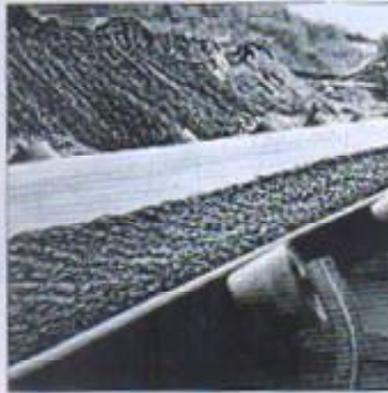
Quality education in the true sense of the term should not be limited to only employability and academic excellence. A true and meaningful quality education is one that should take care of the enduring values in human life. It should take care of personality development and character building among students. Its principal mission should be the preparation of students for life and just for their scoring high level grades in university or competitive examinations. Education should train people to distinguish between what is enduring and ephemeral, between what is genuine and bogus and between what is sense and nonsense. It is important to develop a critical mind and a scientific temper among students so that academically trained people should be seriously involved in building up the nation.

History is not a meaningless merry-to-round but it is charged with meaning and purpose because of divine intervention in life. It is due to such divine intervention only that many could boast of having attained academic excellence, a high station in life, a fat pay and a cosy living. But think of the millions in the country still longing for such an opportunity in their life too. They yet remain at the educational periphery only.

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