THIRD
CONCEPT

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Trump's trumping tactics

American president Donald Trump's much-touted two-day India visit on 24-25 February has been high on optics. Tens of thousands of people lined the streets of Ahmedabad city in Gujarat, to greet President Trump and he along with Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi later addressed a crowd of more than 100,000 people at the Motera cricket stadium where the program was designated as Namaste Trump on the lines of Howdy Modi in September 2019 at Houston. While President Trump along with PM Modi hogged media headlines, with plenty of fanfare and botched speeches that seemed like songs sung in each other's praise with least tinge of diplomacy or statesmanship on either side. Many observers of Indo-US relations have opined that President Trump's India visit was just not a diplomatic trip, nor was it explicitly a display of solidarity with PM Modi and his government at a critical juncture when Indian economy is in doldrums and politico-social environment within the country is mired in protests and sectarian violence As one expert has put it, Trump visited India as part of his 2020 campaign trial for re-election and definitely his visit was "strategically designed to stoke themes of nationalism and protectionism for those with a foothold in both countries."

Presence of 1.3 million strong Indian Diaspora on American soil has become to reckon with and no presidential aspirant can afford to ignore this community for which Trump has been trying hard to court over the years and his presence at Howdy Modi spectacle was also a part of this strategy. Fully aware of the fact that a vast majority of the American-Indians are traditional supporters of the Democratic Party, President Trump still hopes to garner some support with the help of the influence of PM Modi and that seems to be far-fetched idea for some experts. Barring big-ticket trade deal, just three agreements have been signed between Washington and New Delhi during President Trump's India visit. Two of these are defence deals under which India will buy American choppers worth $3 billion and the second agreement deals with a 'letter of cooperation' in energy sector enabling India to import more LPG from US. The third agreement is a memorandum of understanding (MOU) on cooperation in the field of mental health and safety of medical products. Non-materialization of trade deal was followed by inability to hammer out a possible deal on American sale of nuclear reactors to India.

Taking cognizance of India's acquisition of US choppers that would add to India's logistical capabilities of the Indian Army and Navy, some defense analysts also draw attention to the fact that net gainer is American business in defense and energy and these deals also entail the potential of impacting India's relations with countries wherefrom India has been procuring defense-related equipment and energy-related items. In the wake of deteriorating trade relations between New Delhi and Washington, American move of taking India out from the list of 'developing' countries when it comes to trading rules, is likely to add to India's worries. Sanguinity about reinvigorating trading ties that were about to emerge from President Trump's current visit had already been pushed to the wall by American President when he said that he had saved the big-ticket trade deal for later on. In the election year when Donald Trump is seeking re-election, his every move is probably dictated by domestic compulsions that call for queering the pitch for a suitable trade catering to American economic and trade interests, especially when Trump himself is a businessman and his reported vulnerability to business interests groups within the America vitally caters to his political stakes.

Vast amount of public money spent on Howdy Modi and Namaste Trump events without any tangible gain puts a question mark on India's negotiating skills. Inability of selling the idea of India as world's leading consumer market with potential 700 consumers has culminated in not eliciting foreign investments to take the country on the trajectory of growth. In the face of India already confronted with economic crunch, slowdown impacting all sectors of economy; with unemployment at near a half-century high, and sluggish growth, President Trump's visit to India could be seen as a good exercise in event management and personal image-building wherein Trump succeeded in trumping us very elegantly.

—BK

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Woman Prime Ministers of South Asia – A Brief Study

Dr. G. Lakshmi*

[The present paper attempts to make a brief comparative analysis of the phenomenon of South Asian women assuming top political positions from a historical perspective and their socio-political contexts. Women's emergence to power in this region, overcoming entrenched conservatism, sets as an exemplary lead for the future generations of the world.]

South Asia has a distinction in terms of having the world's largest number of women leaders who have attained top political positions. In spite of the region being characterized by strongly patriarchal societies, Sirimavo Bandaranaike in Sri Lanka, Indira Gandhi in India, Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan, Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina Wazed in Bangladesh, Chandrika Kumaratunga, Sirimavo Bandaranaike's daughter in Sri Lanka — have held positions as Prime Ministers.

While Sri Lanka and India had woman Prime Ministers as early as the 1960s, Pakistan and Bangladesh had woman Prime Ministers by the 1980s and the 1990s. Unlike the Western democracies, woman leaders of South Asia were inexperienced as politicians. They all are either daughters or widows of former Prime Ministers of their respective nations. Besides political inheritance, life stories of women leaders in South Asia exhibit several similarities — in the process of their emergence to power, style of functioning, personal hardships even death of some of them. They faced great family tragedies prior to their ascendancy to political power.

Sheik Hasina experienced assassination of her father, mother, brothers, and other members of her family; Benazir witnessed execution of her father and tragic death of brothers; Chandrika faced the assassination of her father and husband; Khaleda faced the assassination of her husband and death of her son; Sirimavo faced the assassination of her husband; while Indira faced the death of her son. Benazir, Hasina and Khaleda experienced imprisonment, too, in their lives. Sirimavo, Benazir, Hasina and Chandrika survived assassination attempts. Indira Gandhi was assassinated in 1984 and Benazir was assassinated in December 2007.

It appears family background is a prerequisite to attain political leadership in South Asia, especially for women. As a matter of fact, family ties, preferably a male relative — who might be a former Prime Minister or President — helped woman leaders' entry into politics, thereby their access to power. The woman leaders rose to top political positions with an instinctive, massive sympathy wave consequent to a deceased male leader (of their family) and people voting in their favour. However, family background did not assure any hereditary position which is evident from their lives.

Indira Gandhi - Benazir Bhutto

Two most prominent woman Prime Ministers of South Asia, Indira Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto had many similarities in their socio-political lives. Both were daughters of former prime ministers of their respective nations who had political socialization with their fathers. Both had excellent education in the West. Indira did her schooling in Switzerland, France and Oxford and Benazir pursued her higher education at Oxford and Harvard. They had association with great world leaders of their times. Indira toured with her father in all his official visits, although Nehru did not groom her as his political successor. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto purposely promoted and politically tutored his daughter, Benazir into politics which was best seen in her presence during the 1972 Shimla Conference.

However, both had different experiences regarding people and democracy. Indira had political life experience right from her childhood. She became the Congress Party president in 1959 and Minister of Information and Broadcasting in Lal Bahadur

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Shastri's cabinet. Upon Shastri's untimely death, Indira was elected by the Congress parliamentary party to officially succeed *Shastri. She* became Prime Minister in 1966 by successfully overcoming the stiff competition from the veterans like Gulzarilal Nanda and Morarji Desai, though with the support of Kamaraj Nadar, leader of Tamil Nadu (Mishra, 1993). She was the first and to date, the only female Prime Minister of India.

Benazir's life had a similar trajectory. After her return from her education in Europe in 1977, her father appointed her in his office, before she could be sent to the UN as a member of the Pakistani delegation (Gandhi, 1994). The fate after that was quite different for her. Young Benazir witnessed her father's arrest and execution in 1979. Thereafter, she faced a lot of hardships. She was imprisoned in Sukkur and Karachi jails sometimes in solitary and nasty conditions (Bhutto, 1989). Her spoilt health made her to go abroad for treatment in 1983 from where she managed to mobilize the international opinion against military rule in Pakistan.

After her return to Pakistan in 1986 she received full public support in carrying out the "Movement for Restoration of Democracy" that led to her victory in 1988 elections, thus becoming the first female Prime Minister of a Muslim-majority nation. Even after getting elected, Benazir had to face a stiff resistance from the reactionaries' who objected her to assume the position, she being a woman. Finally, she had to get a *fatwa* promulgated by the *moulvis* to sanction her position (Ziring, 1990a)

In order to consolidate her position in Pakistan, Benazir expelled Khan from Pakistan People's Party (PPP), who was once proclaimed by Zulfikar Bhutto as his successor, removed Gulam Mustafa Jatoi as PPP's head in Sindh, systematically relegated all the old guards, minimized the leftist influence, appointed Gen. Tikka Khan as Governor of Punjab (Bhatia, 2008) and also aligned with Wali Khan, the president of National Democratic Party who was once a strong opponent of her father (Naqvi; Ali and Ali, 1986). After Zia-ul-Haq's accidental death, Benazir successfully managed Gen. Aslam Beg, Pakistan's Chief of Army to strongly adhere for the option of a civilian government. Nevertheless, her government was dismissed 20 months later, on

charges of incompetence and corruption. She came back to power in 1993 but once again dismissed on accusations of corruption.

Indira Gandhi served as Prime Minister of India from 1966 to 1977 and from 1980 until her assassination in 1984. Benazir was twice Prime Minister of Pakistan, in 1988–1990 and in 1993–1996.

Sheikh Hasina – Khaleda Zia

For the past three decades, Bangladesh premiership has been alternating between the two mutually opponent woman leaders, Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina Wazed. Since the 1980s both of them have led their respective political parties, the Bangladesh National Party (BNP) and Awami League. While Khaleda is the charismatic 'successor' widow of former Bangladesh President, Zia-ur-Rahman, Hasina is the charismatic 'successor' daughter of first President of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. The fight against the dictatorship of Gen. Ershad was carried out by these two women leaders. They effectively mobilized the students to revolt against Ershad's rule which finally resulted in his fall.

Khaleda entered into politics after assassination of her husband in May 1981 and led a movement for democracy in Bangladesh. Following BNP's victory in the 1991 general elections, Khaleda became Bangladesh's first female Prime Minister and second in the Muslim-majority nations (after Benazir). In 1996, she lost power to Sheikh Hasina.

Hasina, lone survivor of Mujibur's family, took her father's party, Awami League's leadership in 1981. She served as Prime Minister from 1996 to 2001; 2009 to 2014; 2014 to 2018 and secured a fourth term in 2019. Much like Benazir, Hasina was charged with corruption and crimes including murder, but she managed to regain her political stature.

Sirimavo Bandaranaike - Chandrika Kumaratunga

Yet another two prominent woman leaders are Sri Lanka's mother-daughter duo, namely, Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her daughter, Chandrika Kumaratunga. While the former had the political background of her husband, the latter had it both of her parents and her husband, Vijay Kumaratunga.

Sirimavo entered into politics after her husband's assassination. She was elected Prime Minister of Sri Lanka in 1960 and became first female non-hereditary head of government in modern history.

Unlike the other woman leaders, Sirimavo had a smooth way for her entrance as Prime Minster. Born in an aristocratic family, she studied at St. Bridget's Convent in Colombo. Her husband, Solomon Bandaranaike was elected Prime Minister (formerly, Ceylon) in 1956. Following his assassination in 1959, Sirimavo entered into his shoes. She served three terms as Prime Minister of Sri Lanka from 1960 to 1965, 1970 to 1977 and 1994 to 2000. She had been considered for two decades as the "Mother of the Nation." In 1980, the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka found Sirimavo guilty of abuses and the Parliament barred her from political office. She was pardoned six years later and returned to politics in 1986. Later, she served her third term as Prime Minister – this time under her daughter, Chandrika Kumaratunga as President. Sirimavo passed away in October 2000 in Colombo.

Chandrika has the privilege of being the daughter of two former Prime Ministers of Sri Lanka — Solomon and Sirimavo Bandaranaike. She was educated in Sri Lanka and later in the University of Paris. She entered into politics after her marriage in 1978. She and her husband Vijaya Kumaratunga established Sri Lanka Mahajana party in 1984. After her husband's assassination in 1988, she left Sri Lanka and worked for the United Nations in the UK. She returned to Sri Lanka in 1991. Her association with her mother and SLFP led to her political career. She won the 1994 Parliamentary elections and became Prime Minister at the age of 49. In November 1994, she won the Presidential election and as the first female President of Sri Lanka she served from 1994 to 2005. She was instrumental in putting an end to the long-drawn ethnic strife between the Sinhalese and Tamils.

Political Functioning

From the foregoing, it is evident that the emergence of woman leaders in South Asia was political inheritance of a family predecessor in power. However, they rose to prominence by projecting themselves as agents for change or for transforming the respective political regimes of their nations.

Under circumstances of political turmoil, these woman leaders demonstrated abilities on par with men of their respective countries that are evident in their struggle for political survival. Limited success for Congress Party in 1967 general elections, formation of coalition governments in several States after 1968 stood as a political litmus test for Indira Gandhi's leadership. Similarly, the failure in 1965 national elections and coalition politics in Sri Lanka thereafter placed Sirimavo in a political whirlpool. It was their sheer personal abilities that fetched them success during such political uncertainties. Both the leaders played the leftist harp to lure the voters. Indira's 'garibi hatao' slogan and Sirimavo's alliance with the left and call for Sinhalese-Buddhist interests, indicate their political shrewdness to gain electoral victory.

Sense of Insecurity

The female Prime Ministers inducted their own male kinsmen in political positions as a guarantee to their respective positions. Their feeling of insecurity was conspicuous in suppressing the efficient leaders who belonged to their own respective political parties.

Indira Gandhi relegated the position of Kamaraj Nadar, the doyen of Congress party, to an insignificant state who once tried to make "the girl" a puppet in his hands. She suppressed political stalwarts like Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, Morarji Desai and finally brought her son, Sanjay Gandhi to the Congress party forefront and governmental activities which later became the main factor of the Emergency atrocities and her subsequent defeat in the 1977 general elections. She successfully brought her party back to power single handedly in 1980. After Sanjay's accidental death, Indira roped in her elder son, Rajiv into politics and inducted many of her distant relatives into her coterie.

The situation in Sri Lanka is similar in the predominance of Sirimavo's family in Sri Lankan politics. Eight of her relatives got elected to the Parliament in 1970 and gained political importance (Jupp, 1977). William Gopallawa became President of Sri Lanka; Richard Udugama, Commander of the Army from 1962 to 1966 was elected as a Member of Parliament; Hector Kobbekaduwa was Minister of Agriculture, Sirimavo's younger brother,

C.S. Ratwatte and his wife, Mallika got elected Members of Parliament during Sirimavo's rule (Jupp, 1977).

She appointed her daughter, Sunetra as her political secretary and her son, Anura as leader of the SLFP youth league (Jupp, 1977). Anura once claimed that he and Sanjay Gandhi were 'Asia's two rising sons' (Samaraveera, 1977). In Pakistan, Benazir gave top priority to her mother, Nusrat Bhutto in the beginning and to her husband, Asif Zardari later who played a crucial role in Benazir's politics.

Political Manipulation and Miscalculations

The political tactics and efficient manipulation of Indira Gandhi and Benazir Bhutto show some similarities. While Indira played her pawns to topple Janata Government in 1979, initially by supporting Charan Singh to pull down Morarji Desai and later withdrawing her support to Charan Singh which led to collapse of the Janata-led rule.

Benazir followed a twin track policy in 1993, in appearing to compromise with the government by agreeing to chair the National Assembly's Foreign Relations Committee and seeking the release from prison of her husband, Asif Zardari and simultaneously holding secret negotiations through her emissaries with the President assuring him of her support against Nawaz Sharif and office candidacy in the following Presidential election in exchange for promise for fresh mid-term elections (Tahir 1994). Such political tactics finally led in bringing Benazir back to power.

The similarities also appear in the miscalculations of these leaders. Indira, in an extreme step of her authoritarianism, imposed National Emergency in 1975, arrested all her opponents and resorted to a reign of terror that ultimately resulted in her humiliating fall in 1977 elections. In Sri Lanka, Sirimavo too resorted to a similar step during the same period which also cost her power in 1977. Both these leaders had to bear serious accusations of nepotism, corruption and even allegations for criminal offences during the Emergency times.

In Pakistan, when Benazir's husband, Asif Zardari was accused of heightening of political corruption, her opponents capitalized the situation by arousing public sentiment against her. More than 20,000

Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) youth members patrolled against Benazir and thousands of women were marshalled on the occasion, which is said to be the largest gathering ever seen in Pakistan (Ziring, 1991b]. Finally, on August 6, 1990, President Gulam Ishaq Khan declared Benazir incompetent and dismissed her government on charges of nepotism and corruption (Ziring, 1991b).

Out of power, the woman Prime Ministers faced a similar condition of attacks from political circles. In India, the "government atrocities" of the Emergency period were probed by special commissions set up by the succeeding government.

In Pakistan, a special court ordered Benazir to stand trial on charges of misconduct during her office. In 1990, her husband was arrested for allegedly kidnapping a Pakistan-born British citizen and extracting a large sum of money from him (Ziring, 1991b). Benazir was accused of providing personal acquaintances with illegal rights of LPG marketing and Lahore High Court summoned her to appear before it to show cause for acting against LPG production and distribution rules of 1974 (Ziring, 1991b]. Ultimately, she was defeated in the 1990 elections.

In Bangladesh, the political miscalculations of Khaleda rapidly depleted her charisma on account of her hurried decision in 1991 to seek the support of Jamat-i-Islamic party which was associated with 1971 carnage. She was criticized for being surrounded by a coterie of inexperienced advisors. Sheikh Hasina is said to be authoritarian and harsh, bordering on cruelty. She got her father's killers hanged, vanquished the opposition with the army under her thumb. Sirimavo Bandaranaike too had been tough in her policies. She made Sinhalese the official language of the country (in place of English), which alienated the Tamil minority and led to ethnic conflict and dissension.

Charisma

Nevertheless, all the woman leaders of South Asia had been charismatic vote-catchers during their heydays. The 1971 and 1980 elections proved Indira Gandhi's rightful catch of voters' pulse. Indira in India, Khaleda Zia in Bangladesh and Benazir in Pakistan could successfully manage to win back political power in the 1980, 1992 and 1993 elections,

respectively which speaks of their charisma. Hasina's successive fourth time win in Bangladesh in December 2018 shows that the woman leaders stood ahead of their male counterparts as vote-catchers.

Conclusion

From the foregoing analysis, it is noticeable that these woman leaders are rather deviant cases with regard to overall female political participation in South Asian nations. They forayed into politics by virtue of inheritance, wealthy family background, Western education, elite status, support from male patrons and above all, public legitimacy to assume top political power. Tradition absolutely played no role for women to assume power.

This is testified from the fact that the national governments in India and Sri Lanka were headed by three widows, who were by sentiment, considered unholy and the two women who were forbidden from even appearing in public later assumed premierships in Pakistan and Bangladesh, respectively. The facts also represent that the woman under study became leaders in their own right with excellent electoral performance.

They became career politicians and wielded powers like their male counterparts. They had to act tough and independently for continuation in power and, or regaining power. Stereotyping women as less efficient than men in public affairs has been proved absolutely wrong in these cases. The facts established that women political leaders are more successful than men or at least equally toughened by their circumstances into becoming "great".

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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.*

Revisiting the Ukraine-Russia-EU triangular dynamics

Tanvi Chauhan*

[Taking a cogent overview of the prevalent Ukrainian crisis along with the factors contributing to this crisis, author also dwells on the outlook of Russia in that context and the implications arising for the European Union in the regional and global contexts. AN attempt is also made to suggest a way out of this impasse. Ed.]

With the narrative that floats around, one is tempted to think that the Ukraine crisis is all about Crimea; that it started and ended there. So, what about the internal oblasts like Odessa, Kharkiv, Luhansk, and Donetsk (the South- Eastern regions) where a protracted conflict broke out? Are they not part of the resolution to the Ukraine crisis? But before any party decides on how to resolve the Ukrainian crisis, it is crucial to understand *what* needs to be resolved.

What needs to be Resolved?

First, the negotiating status. Formal peace talks began with the Minsk-I ceasefire in September 2014 but Kyiv refused to engage with rebels as negotiation partners, even while Kyiv's negotiators had no official status, proceeding to brand rebels as 'terrorists' (Matveeva, 2018, p. 260). For as long as the insurgents are not considered cohorts in negotiating a peace deal and power sharing arrangements, the Ukraine crisis will not resolve.

Second, the political fate of the insurgent territory. At the crisis's outset, Donbas seemed to concord with Russia about the federalization idea (Davies, 2016, p. 737), but as the conflict progressed, rebels' aspirations were geared either towards complete independence or irredentism with Russia – the former, Ukraine would never give, and the latter, Russia did not want. The 'Special Status' option running into a political impasse coupled with Ukrainian civil activist efforts against Minsk agreements meant that the crisis was not ripe for peace from Kyiv's side. On the split side, the Donbas rebels' dissatisfaction with Moscow and Kyiv for neglecting rebel wishes also meant that the crisis was not ready to be resolved from their side either.

All parties were dissatisfied with the outcomes. It is not wrong therefore to say that Ukrainian nationalism and monist identity approach was only becoming stronger with rebels' resistance to Kyiv's biddings. Thus, for as long as the rebels are not awarded some sort of autonomy or freedom to live their "Russianness," the crisis will not be resolved. At the same time, for as long as the rebels are firm on irredentist motives instead of attributing some form of loyalty to Kyiv, the SE-Ukraine crisis will prolong and cannot be resolved.

It goes without saying that the resolution needs to be political, not military. As with any conflict, ceasefires are only temporary arrangements for until a greater political plan is formed. As the many (failed) ceasefire attempts indicate, Ukraine needs to seriously determine a political solution for the conflict to truly stop.

Ukraine Crisis and European Security

No matter how the Ukraine crisis is resolved, some things from the crisis serve as important notes for European security. First, the Donbas conflict is a strong reminder that for regional stability and order, it is necessary to devote attention to grassroots rebellions instead of single-mindedly fantasizing over the "all-Putin" narrative. Crimea was the tip of the iceberg; it is possible that such dormant grassroots rebellions could foment and induce a regional domino effect throwing the fragile balance off the continent.

Second, it is unreasonable to take insurgent groups' military organization and political aspirations for granted. Within Ukraine, rebels have showed the skill and experience needed to spontaneously mobilize and acquire modern warfare methods, which means, that such revolutions can very much happen despite state defense methods. Was (is) Ukraine prepared for this? Are Kyiv's European

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friends prepared for this? Furthermore, when grievances are addressed in the form of violent conflict, a pro-war culture unites people with similar ideologies. How can Europe stop *European* fighters from fighting in Donbas?

The moment that a cultural war becomes war-culture is indeed tricky – so Europe needs to take into account the strength of identities, symbols, and beliefs, and how that can affect the fragile security in the region, instead of brewing the 'Russia-orchestrates-all' beverage. Lastly, with whatever political resolution that Ukraine comes up with, European security and stability is only possible with Russia's cooperation. Antagonizing Russia will not help integrate pro-Russian factions within pro-West states like Ukraine. This would mean not only cooperating with Russia for further regional stability, but also not isolating it.

Russia's past attempts of halting the *Novorossiya* project in Donbas, postponing elections in rebel territories, enthusiasm for peace prospects including suggesting UN peacekeeping troops cannot be simply rewarded with more economic sanctions. That defeats good faith from Russia. This causes Russia to turn away from cooperation with the EU, and with it, induce its pro-Russian supporters (scattered all over the FSU) to imitate the same.

Ukraine Crisis and Russian Security

If a political-military resolution is found to end the Ukraine crisis, it has some implications on Russian security too. First, Russia needs to be prepared for calls to the 'Russian World.' A population who was driven to go to war because they had faith Russia would repeat Crimea means that such dormant attitudes maybe present within other FSU populations. Matveeva (2018, 286) states that "Russia does not have a universalist approach to regional conflicts," and Donbas is a clear example of that. Whatever the resolution is agreed upon for Ukraine, a big question that looms over Russian security is about how it would take care of regional military confrontations.

Russia uses a bilateral and multilateral approach in order to bind states into a regional order, but the aspect about a military confrontation remains unanswered (Slobodchikoff 2014). Whether we look at CIS or some other multilateral organization, there needs to be some forum which either addresses collective security operations (actual military confrontations) or allows Russia to intervene as necessary. The Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) has been a good tool for Russia in integrating Eurasia against external threats (Hansen 2013), but has Russia seriously considered civil and transnational (internal) conflicts which can turn into full-blown civil wars if allowed?

Even if Russia finds it pointless to entertain civil skirmishes like the one in Donbas, how can it ignore the fundamental drive – *Novorossiya* – which served as the rebels' motivational catalyst? All this indicates that Russian security is invariably a matter of regional stability, very much taking into account Ukraine. So, it is only in Russian security interests to mollify such uprisings using support from mainland governments and/or a multilateral security architecture, thereby standardizing its approach to such regional hostilities. Unless, of course, it is Russia's wish to stay mysterious with its security approach. If that be so, such an approach does not bode well for regional security. Secondly, for any sort of crisis resolution to sustain,

Russia will have to understand Kyiv's perspective. Although it has to rush to aid its Russian World when she summons her, Moscow cannot overplay this cultural dimension so much as to explicitly challenge the West and thereby feed into the Western normative discourse. Ukraine will be more than unwilling to make any more concessions past Crimea, so Donbas's resolution (when it happens), would require sacrifices on both fronts and acknowledgment of bitter history.

Of course, rebels in Donbas or Kyiv, the governments in Moscow and Kyiv, as also the wider continents of Europe and America would appreciate a true peace, but 'peace' cannot be viewed as an absolute dichotomy: either my way or the highway. A ceasefire may bring about a transient military resolution, but without a political one unanimously agreed by involved parties, it is unlikely that the Ukrainian crisis will end *in spirit.*

In order to avoid such future conflicts, both Russia and Europe must understand how overlooked conflicts such as those in Donbas have security implications for both of them. For Russia, it means acknowledging the dormant (but very potent) society within the Russian World, as also Russia's

obligation as leader of that world – and while doing all of this, maintaining a delicate balance between itself and the West. For Europe it means acknowledging indigenous uprisings, giving due value to cultural enthusiasm uncontaminated by political conspiracies that feed in the all-Putin perspective, and faithfully cooperating with Moscow to attain regional stability.

So, as we see, there is much theoretical resolution to the Ukraine crisis and how that will affect Russian and European securities, but practically, one has to wait to see. As Matveeva (2018, 298) writes, "We can only hope humanity survived in those who went through it," to which it would do well to add: I hope some foresight and rationality is present in those who are to resolve it.

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India's Public Diplomacy towards China

Rejaul Karim Laskar*

[This research paper seeks to find the issues focused in India's public diplomacy towards China. By conducting content analysis of three randomly selected speeches of Indian leaders addressed to civil society in China, the paper tries to find out the issues which are most important for India's public diplomacy vis a vis China. It also measures the relative importance of these issues by means of content analysis.]

The term 'public diplomacy' was first used by U.S. diplomat and scholar Edmund Guillion in the year 1965. Guillion defined it as "dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy, the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries" (quoted in Prabhu and Mohapatra, 2014: 229). Navdeep Suri, an Indian diplomat who was in-charge of the Public Diplomacy Division of India's Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), defines public diplomacy as, "the framework of activities by which a government seeks to influence public attitudes in a manner that they become supportive of foreign policy and national interests" (Suri, 2011: 298). Joseph S. Nye, one of the leading scholars of Public Diplomacy and soft powers, defines public diplomacy as an instrument that governments use to mobilize the resources "that produce soft power" to communicate with and attract the people of other countries. (Nye, 2008: 95).

One thing is clear from the above definitions; Public Diplomacy is aimed at influencing the peoples of foreign countries with a view to secure the foreign policy objectives of the state practicing public diplomacy.

China is an important neighbor of India with which it has differences on some issues while both the countries cooperate on some other issues for mutual benefit. While traditional government-to-government diplomacy is an important means to promote India's interests vis-à-vis China, reaching out to the Chinese civil society to ensure a more sympathetic attitude of the Chinese civil society towards India on these issues is an important way to indirectly influence

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Chinese foreign policy to have a more cooperative view towards India on these issues.

The present study seeks to find out the issues which India focuses in its public diplomacy vis-à-vis China.

Research Questions

This research paper will seek the answer to the following research questions:

Q1. What are the major issues/concerns of India's public diplomacy vis-à-vis China?

Q2. What is the relative importance of different issues focused by India's public diplomacy vis-à-vis China?

Research Methods

This study is quantitative and analytical. The study uses primary resources, viz., speeches of Indian leaders addressed to civil society in China. It uses content analysis of the speeches of Indian leaders addressed to civil society in China to find out the issues/concern which get the most emphasis in India's public diplomacy towards China and also to measure the relative importance of these issues.

Issues focused in India's Public Diplomacy

According to Gregory, in its public diplomacy, a state "needs to focus on issues that are not only procedural but also substantive in the broadest sense. The fundamental goal of public diplomacy is to further public interests in the context of governance and diplomatic relationships between groups." (Bruce 2011)

Some of the issues/themes on which India's public diplomacy frequently focuses are:

1. India's Civilizational Heritage: India's public diplomacy, in particular its cultural diplomacy, emphasizes on India's civilizational heritage. In its cultural diplomacy, India seeks to project itself as a country which has the legacy of millennia-old civilization (Mark, 2008: 181).

2. India's Culture: India's rich and diverse culture is an important theme of India's public diplomacy, particularly its cultural diplomacy.

3. Buddhism: Buddhism is an important theme in India's public diplomacy, especially that with countries having significant Buddhist population.

4. Trade and Investment: Since the economic reforms of 1991, India's public diplomacy including its cultural diplomacy, has been focusing on promotion of trade and investments.

5. Tourism: Another important issue for India's public diplomacy is tourism. In fact, India's Ministry of Tourism had launched the programme *"Incredible India" to promote India as an attractive tourist destination among the citizens of foreign countries* (Mark, 2008: 196).

Content Analysis

Content Analysis is "'a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantifiable manner for the purpose of measuring variables." (Kerlinger, 1986). In studying Public Diplomacy, content analysis can provide an objective and fairly accurate measure of the contents of messages inherent in the public diplomacy activities of a country.

In the following content analysis, contents of three randomly selected speeches of Indian leaders addressed to the civil society in China are analyzed.

These three speeches will be analyzed to find out the frequencies of 20 important terms used (or not used) in these speeches in order to find out the issues/themes which are emphasized in India's public diplomacy towards China and the relative extent of the emphasis on different issues.

The speeches selected for this content analysis are:

i. Speech by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Beijing, January 15, 2008. (Singh, 2008)

ii. "Speech of External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee on "India's Foreign Policy Today" at Peking University. Beijing, June 6, 2008." (Mukherjee, 2008)

iii. "Speech by External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna at the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS) on 'India and China in the 21st Century World'. Beijing, April 6, 2010." (Krishna, 2010)

In order to include only those speeches which can be considered as part of public diplomacy, I have consciously excluded the speeches made at Government-to-Government programmes and instead have selected only speeches addressing a particular segment of civil society namely academic institutions and think tanks.

The twenty terms that will be the basis of the following content analyses are:

Four Terms representing spectrum of political values: democracy, human rights, freedom, and peace.

Four Terms representing economic issues: trade, investment, manufacturing, and energy.

Four Terms representing contemporary international challenges: climate change, environment, terrorism, and security.

Four Terms representing spectrum of Indian thought: Gandhi, Vivekanand, Nehru, and Tagore.

Four Terms representing spectrum of faiths/cultures: Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity.

Results

The results of the content analysis of the following three selected speeches:

i. Speech by Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Beijing, January 15, 2008. (Speech 1)

ii. "Speech of External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee on "India's Foreign Policy Today" at Peking University. Beijing, June 6, 2008." (Speech 2)

iii. "Speech by External Affairs Minister S.M. Krishna at the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS) on 'India and China in the 21st Century World'. Beijing, April 6, 2010." (Speech3)

are given in the Table 1 below:

Analysis

From the above content analysis of the three selected speeches of the Indian leaders addressing the civil society in China, it is clear that peace (finds mention 22 times), security (finds mention 16 times), Environment (finds mention 11 times), Trade (finds mention 10 times) and Energy (finds mention 9 times) get highest emphasis in India's public diplomacy towards China. Next in order of emphasis are Tagore (finds mention 5 times), Investment (finds mention 4 times) Climate change (finds mention 3 times) Gandhi (finds mention 3 times) Buddhism (finds mention 2 times), and Freedom (finds mention 2 times). Manufacturing,

Terrorism, and Nehru also find mention (one time each).

In terms of percentage, 'peace' occupies an overwhelming 24.44% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. What is interesting is that 'security' emerges as the next most important term occupying 17.77% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. Together 'peace' and 'security' occupy 42.21% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. In other words, 'peace' and 'security' gets just slightly less than half of the total space devoted to twenty selected terms. This is a clear indication that peace and security are the most important concerns and goal of India's public diplomacy vis a vis China.

Interestingly, after peace and security, the most important concern of India's public diplomacy towards China seems to be environment. The term 'environment' occupies 12.22% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. A related term, viz., 'climate change' occupies 3.33% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. Together 'environment' and 'climate change' occupy 15.55% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms.

Next in the order of importance seems to be trade. The term 'trade' occupies 11.11% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. A related term, viz., 'investment' occupies 4.44% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. Together 'trade' and 'investment' occupy 15.55% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. It is very interesting to note that 'trade' and 'investment' occupy just as much space as "environment" and 'climate change'.

Next in order of importance is energy. The term 'energy' occupies 10% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms.

Therefore, it can be concluded that and 'trade and investment' and 'environment and climate change' are equally important concerns and goals of India's public diplomacy vis-à-vis China, next only to 'peace and security'. While 'energy' is the fourth important concern and goal of India's public diplomacy vis a vis China. These four important concerns and their relative importance are plotted in a Table 1 below:

Table 1.

Four most important issues/concerns of India's public diplomacy vis a vis China.

Sl.No.	Term	Frequency				Remarks
		Speech	Speech	Speech3	Combined Frequency of the three selected speeches	Frequency of the term as a percentage of the frequency of the twenty selected terms in the selected speeches
1	Democracy	0	0	0	0	0%
2	human rights	0	0	0	0	0%
3	Freedom	0	1	1	2	2.22%
4	Peace	6	11	5	22	24.44%
5	Trade	4	3	3	10	11.11%
6	Investment	4	0	0	4	4.44%
7	Manufacturing	1	0	0	1	1.11%
8	Energy	6	2	1	9	10%
9	climate change	1	1	1	3	3.33%
10	Environment	5	5	1	11	12.22%
11	Terrorism	1	0	0	1	1.11%
12	Security	5	6	5	16	17.77%
13	Gandhi	0	0	3	3	3.33%
14	Vivekanand	0	0	0	0	0%
15	Nehru	0	0	1	1	1.11%
16	Tagore	0	4	1	5	5.55%
17	Hinduism	0	0	0	0	0%
18	Buddhism	0	1	1	2	2.22%
19	Islam	0	0	0	0	0%
20	Christianity	0	0	0	0	0%
	Total frequency of the twenty select terms	33	34	23	90	100%

Analysis

From the above content analysis of the three selected speeches of the Indian leaders addressing the civil society in China, it is clear that peace (finds mention 22 times), security (finds mention 16 times), Environment (finds mention 11 times), Trade (finds mention 10 times) and Energy (finds mention 9 times) get highest emphasis in India's public diplomacy towards China. Next in order of emphasis are Tagore (finds mention 5 times), Investment (finds mention 4 times) Climate change (finds mention 3 times) Gandhi (finds mention 3 times) Buddhism (finds mention 2 times), and Freedom (finds mention 2 times). Manufacturing, Terrorism, and Nehru also find mention (one time each).

In terms of percentage, 'peace' occupies an overwhelming 24.44% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. What is interesting is that 'security' emerges as the next most important term occupying 17.77% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. Together 'peace' and 'security' occupy 42.21% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. In other words, 'peace' and 'security' gets just slightly less than half of the total space devoted to twenty selected terms. This is a clear indication that peace and security are the most important concerns and goal of India's public diplomacy vis a vis China.

Interestingly, after peace and security, the most important concern of India's public diplomacy

towards China seems to be environment. The term 'environment' occupies 12.22% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. A related term, viz., 'climate change' occupies 3.33% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. Together 'environment' and 'climate change' occupy 15.55% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms.

Next in the order of importance seems to be trade. The term 'trade' occupies 11.11% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. A related term, viz., 'investment' occupies 4.44% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. Together 'trade' and 'investment' occupy 15.55% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms. It is very interesting to note that 'trade' and 'investment' occupy just as much space as "environment" and 'climate change'.

Next in order of importance is energy. The term 'energy' occupies 10% of the total space devoted to the twenty select terms.

Therefore, it can be concluded that and 'trade and investment' and 'environment and climate change' are equally important concerns and goals of India's public diplomacy vis a vis China, next only to 'peace and security'. While 'energy' is the fourth important concern and goal of India's public diplomacy vis a vis China. These four important concerns and their relative importance are plotted in a Table 2 below:

Table 2.

Four most important issues/concerns of India's public diplomacy vis a vis China.

Sl.No.	Issue/concern	Relative importance (measured in terms of space devoted to the issue/concern)	Order of Importance
1	peace and security	42.21%	1
2	trade and investment	15.55%	2
3	environment and climate change	15.55%	2
4	Energy	10%	4

Source: Based on the content analysis done by the author of the three selected speeches of Indian leaders addressed to the civil society in China.

Conclusion

By conducting content analysis of three randomly selected speeches of Indian leaders addressed to the civil society in China, this study finds some interesting results. This study finds that the four most important issues/concerns of India's public diplomacy vis a vis China are: (i) peace and security, (ii)trade and investment, (iii)environment and climate change, and (iv) energy.

This study is one of the pioneering studies in the field of India's Public Diplomacy in the sense that no previous study conducted content analysis of speeches of Indian leaders addressed to foreign civil society to measure the relative importance of issues/concerns of India's Public Diplomacy. However, as this study focuses only on twenty important terms from three selected speeches, in future further studies may be conducted focusing on a larger set of terms and a larger set of speeches.

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Minerals and Development: A Review of Empirical Literature

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[There are two prominent approaches, in evaluating the role of minerals in development. The conventional approach holds that there is a positive relationship between minerals and development. The alternative approach is skeptical about the unfailing performance of mining in terms of development. The positive view is highlighted by referring to a few examples. This will go a long way in strengthening the positive view of the role of minerals in development. At the same time, there are many strands of argument in substantiating the latter.]

Some writers have subscribed to the view that prominently mining economies were relatively slow in development, as compared to other economies. There are others, who have highlighted the seamy side of mineral exploitation from the angle of sustainable development. Besides, some authors emphasize the welfare norm of development. They highlight the fact, that alongside exploiting the mineral wealth, the nations are likely to invite deepening of poverty and inequality into their system. A few empirical articles are briefly reviewed here. The studies may be brought under four divisions:

i. Those attributing a positive role to the mineral sector in influencing development:

ii. those who are skeptical about the positive performance of mineral sector:

iii. those which are concerned with the adverse implications of mineral exploitation from a welfare angle.

iv. those studies which bring in certain non-economic dimensions like political governance.

i. Positive role of the mineral sector in influencing development

There are many eminent development economists, like Nurkse (1953) and Rostow (1960), who articulate the positive role of natural resources in economic development. Some authors like Norton Ginsburg (1957) show the role of natural resources in the course of economic growth. He presented some of his reflections. Such as, possession of a sizable and diversified natural resource endowment; abundance of easily exploitable natural resources, with latent utility.

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some countries used their mineral wealth to promote economic development. Wright and Czelusta (2004) supported this view. Historically, Britain, the united states, and Germany are often cited as successful examples. In recent times, it is generally accepted that mineral resources have promoted economic development in Australia, Botswana, Canada, Chile, Malaysia, Peru, the Netherlands, and Norway.

mining can contribute to economic development in several ways. The OECD report (2008) elucidates this. Such as foreign direct investment (FDI), employment, government, revenues, foreign exchange earnings, innovation, and development of related sectors. The report of the International council on Mining and Metal (ICMM, 2012) speaks about the role of mining through macro-economic variables, such as FDI, total national investment, exports, net foreign exchange earnings, government revenues, GDP, and employment.

Some experts are analyzing the case of developed and developing nations foreign trade policy, regarding mineral raw materials. Here Leamer (1984) shows that the developed countries are predominantly the net exporters of labour and capital-intensive manufactured goods and importers of raw materials and resource intensive manufactures, while the developing countries are net importers of manufactured goods and exporters of raw materials. In the context of developed nations, a few studies may be recalled.

Kevin Kearns (1976) who examined the mining activities in Ireland has observed that developments in mining technology has strengthened the economy, provided employment, generated regional development, and helped to stop emigration from rural areas. In examining the relationship between minerals wealth and human capital indicators, Jean-Philippe Stijns (2001) found that mineral wealth and human capital accumulation were positively correlated.

In analyzing the case of LDCs a few studies deserve our attention. for instance, Robert Baldwin (1966) states that in Northern Rhodesia in the 1950s, about half of the territories, GDP originated in mining, and mining accounted for about 90% of exports. In the same way, Robert L. Curry Jr (1987) analysed Botswana's macroeconomic management of a mineral based growth. According to him, it used mining revenues for development. Some mineral

economists are working in the area of how much poverty reduced due to mineral led growth. It is one such study. Thurlow *et al.* (2006) found that copper-led growth in Zambia could predict the national poverty rate fell from 75% to 57% over a 15-year period.

In the same way, Klugman (2002a) asserts that mining generates infrastructure and markets, leading to reduction in regional poverty. In the same manner Graham Davis *et al.* (2008) also examined the dynamics of resource extraction and poverty, making a longitudinal analysis and firmly rejected the view that extraction led growth would be bad for the poor. A researcher tries to prove coal mining generates employment opportunity; a few studies come into account. This is a typical one.

Luthfi Fatah (2008) analyses the impact of coal mining industry on the economy and environment with reference to Indonesia. Sachs and Warner (1999) analysed whether natural resource booms were beneficial in the way big push reasoning would suggest. They found empirically that resource booms seemed to have done little to generate long term growth and may in fact have hindered growth on average.

India is a mineral rich country is a known fact. She has been involving mining activities from the period of Chanakya. But mining related researchers, especially mineral economics related research papers in India are scanty. Following studies are trying to fulfill the gap. Bakul Dholakia (1977) looked at the contributions made by various factors to be observed in explaining the rate of growth of Indian Iron and steel industry, during the post war period. In the same way, James P. Dorian (1989) observed that contribution of India's mining industry to GDP had remained relatively stable between 1970 to 1989. Economic reforms stimulated the industrial expansion in India.

A researcher could get a clear picture about India's mineral deposits. Charles Behre Jr, (1943), argues that India's mineral deposits will determine in considerable measure her place in the world. mineral sector represented an essential element in the economic development of both the resource rich and resource poor countries. Allen Clark (1990). Therefore, he argued that nations must adopt economic development policies that recognize a greater international dependence on foreign minerals

and negative balance of trade, vis-à-vis exports and imports. Economic activities by man causing some damage to the natural capital. Mining activities are not excluded. It is an inevitable one.

To reduce the impact, economists have been working in the area of sustainable mining. This is one such study. Graham Davis (2004) investigated mining and sustainable development with a focus on impact of mining on the welfare of the poor. The author found that poverty levels in the poorest mining and oil intensive economies are lower than expected, and their geographic location and level of income and extractive activities are completely in agreement with sustainable development.

If a researcher tries to establish such an idea, the following study may be given prelude to it. Victor Poltervich *et al.* (2010) discussed whether resource abundance would be a curse or blessing. They found that, some measures are suitable for long term growth and some measures are harmful for growth. Robert L. Curry, Jr (1989) explains in this study, there is a general lesson to be derived from Zambia's overdependence upon, copper as a source of national growth and development. Christa N. Brunnschweiler (2008) explains that, an abundance of natural resources may in fact generally be much less of a curse and more of boon for economic performance than often believed.

ii. Skeptical about the positive performance of mineral sector:

D.C. Kale (1972) discussed the problem of generally worsening terms of trade of developing countries, which exported ores and minerals. He suggested looking for new strategies to obtain better terms for exports. In the context of Botswana, Robert L. curry Jr. (1987) observed that the mining sector's success helped the rich become richer, and poor poorer, leading to the emergence of a dual Botswana. Examining the spatial incidence of mineral exploitation and its macro-economic significance, Thorstun Sagawe (1989) found that mining provided only some islands of prosperity in the regional sea of poverty, to the neglect of social and regional development.

The problem of regional inequality is witnessed in India too. There are some states with rich resources and a high degree of poverty. For example, Mathew Areeparampil (1996) has referred to the problems

of Jharkhand, although it is a mineral rich state. Despite being a major producer of many important minerals, it is a poverty-stricken state. And Dev Nathan and Harishwar Dayal (2009) say that, Jharkhand has been lagging behind in all development indicators. Chandra Bhushan (2008) says that in India, highly mineral dependent states demonstrate low per capita income. This phenomenon is called the resource curse. He adds that environment is seriously affected by mines.

This is not only in India but all over the world. Bharat Dogra (1997) attributes the problems of mineral rich countries to the predominance of MNCs, in exploiting the mineral wealth. As a result, the natives face problems such as illiteracy, unemployment, and poverty. Richard Auty (1998) explains why and outlines the reforms the area required in order to achieve environmentally and socially sustainable resource-rich development.

Discussing the relation between the natural resource abundance and economic growth, Jeffery D. Sachs and Andrew M. Warner (1995) found that the negative relationship was true after controlling for the variables and explored the causes such as relationships, and provided a theoretical model on this. Stuart Harris (1975) analysed the factual situation of the world minerals market and the economic factors which were likely to influence the market in the longer run.

Edward Barbier (2003) discusses the view that environmental and natural resources should be treated as important economic assets. He calls them as natural capital. It is difficult to decide what exactly is lost, when we deplete natural resources and degrade environment. Economic policies should be framed in such a manner to address the issue of welfare damaging environmental externalities. If a researcher wants to know the seamy side of mining, these studies may be helpful. Thorvaldur Gylfason's (2004) paper reviews the relationship between natural resource dependence and economic growth. the author says that nations that depend heavily on their natural resources tend to have less trade and foreign investment, more corruption, less equality, more debts etc.

Graham Davis and John E. Tilton (2005) in a seminal article on "Resource Curse", examined two alternative views on the relationship between mineral extraction and economic development. The central

point of the debate is that whether or not mining usually promotes economic development. The debate still goes on among scholars. Syed Mansoob Murshed *et al.,* (2008) found that there were negative relationships between natural resource rents and institutional development. Kuntala Lahiri – Dutt (2007), suggest that there is an imperative need for strengthening India's mineral resource management, through suitable changes in mining laws, in view of the widespread illegal coal mining in Eastern India.

Shanawazmalik *et al.* (2009) analysed the contribution of natural resources to economic growth in Pakistan. They found out that there was statistically significant but adverse relationship between natural resources and economic growth during the study period. Michael Toman (2003) discusses the links between growth and "natural capital". It is clear that the nation is rooted in a central premise of growth economies namely that growth is fundamentally a process of investment is various forms by society. The author has developed a framework applicable to several specific sectors of the economy. Elissaios Papyrakis and Reyer Gerlagh (2004) examine the direct and indirect effect of natural resource abundance on economic growth in empirical terms. The authors found that the negative indirect effect outweighed the positive direct effect.

In this article, Robert L. Curry Jr. (1985) describes Botswana's record of economic development and social stability is challenged by a set of socioeconomic problems. Such as, inequalities in income distribution, expanding demands for water, etc. Nitish Priyadarshi (2008) says that, Jharkhand is rich in mineral deposits and forests. But a significant portion of Jharkhand's population, 44 percent, is below the poverty line.

iii. Adverse implications of mineral exploitation from a welfare angle.

Central finding of Michael Ross' (2001) study is that oil and mineral dependence are strongly associated with unusually bad conditions for the poor. Some of its key findings are: overall living standards in oil and mineral dependent stated are exceptionally low, higher poverty rates, income inequality etc. A debate is going on among scholars regarding whether mineral wealth alleviate or exacerbate poverty. Michael Ross (2003), in his paper, shows that the mineral and poverty

correlation remains strong. This is a result of three indirect measures of poverty namely, life expectancy, infant mortality, and the prevalence of child malnutrition.

Thorvaldur Gylfason (2008) says that one can get a quick look at twenty-two non-industrial mineral-rich countries that offer their citizens less education with larger families, less health care and less democracy than other countries with similar incomes and fewer natural resources.

iv. Focus on non-economic dimensions like political governance

Rafael Dobado *et al.* (2006) examined the role of mining and government's economic policy in the economic expansion of Mexico. The authors have offered a number of arguments underlining the importance of the contributions made by the state to the long-lasting increase in silver production. Ian-Hore Lacy (1991) reviewed Brundtland report and he referred to the need for intergenerational equity as well as international equity, besides providing for economic and environmental sustainability.

Exercising his mind in this direction, Gerald Manners (1977) referred to three issues that needed classification, for the formulation of public policies on mineral issues. Those issues include fears of mineral scarcity, the desire of mineral users and society for a high level of supply security, and the emerging question of where investment should be located for the processing of minerals.

Francisco Rodriguez and Jeffrey D. Sachs (1999) have referred to an interesting discussion going on among scholars. They have argued that greater resource abundance can lead economies to shift away from competitive manufacturing sectors in which many externalities necessary for growth were generated. On the other hand, authors have proposed that the root of the problem was political. Erika Weinthal *et al* (2006), have referred to several studies that document the correlation between copious mineral resources and a number of negative economic and political outcomes, including poor economic growth, and authoritarian regimes in many developing countries.

There are problems faced by the government underlining the imperative of the contemporary macro-economic strategies and the problems involved in realizing the potential use of minerals. Keshb Das (2006) refers to the politico-bureaucratic pressure

tactics and the process by which major public sector investment proposals eventually have to give way to compulsions of contingent politics of vested interests. An IMF working paper goes into the tradeoff between (Fabian Bornhorst *et al*. 2008) revenues from natural resource endowment. This means that there is a negative relationship between government revenues from natural resources and revenues from other domestic sources.

Resource could also have a cultural or existence value said Ligia Noronha *et al.,* (2009). They also spoke about mineral rich Indian states like Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Jharkhand, etc., that remain economically weak. This paper has suggested the sharing of resource revenues in due appreciation of the federal structure. Matthew Pritchard (2013) argues that reducing complex human environment relations to specific variables requires an understanding of different socio-political, cultural, economic, and historical relations within and between contexts, actors, and institutions. In other words, he pleads for a holistic approach.

Conclusion

Development economists are often engaged in dialogue over the question, whether a resource rich economy is assured of development. The answer lies in examining a number of considerations such as nature of the economy, whether developed or developing, and its phase of development. These factors alone can decide the priorities of the country such as FDI, employment, Government revenue, poverty reduction etc. Also, there are non-economic factors such as political governance which influence the policymaking on resources including minerals.

World over researchers have addressed the question whether being resource rich is a boon or a curse. In substantiating their answer to this question, scores of authors have made empirical analysis of data in different settings. They have studied particular countries or group of nations, accommodating various economic and non-economic factors. This article makes an objective review of the vast literature obtaining in regard to minerals, which would be of both academic interest and policy making.

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Theoretical Aspects of Political Mobilisation

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[*Political mobilisation is a process by which an individual is transformed into an active political actor. It studies about the underlining processes which enable the individuals to form relationships with other like-minded individuals, to do a political action. Numerous researches have been done to study the nature of political mobilisation and the different forms it takes in different societies. But there is a lacuna in formulating a comprehensive theory of political mobilisation, which specifically theorises the meaning, nature and dimensions of political mobilisation. This paper tries to fill such a gap and tries to develop a comprehensive theory of political mobilisation which could be used as a guideline to future studies.]*

Political mobilisation, as understood today, is process by which an individual is motivated to become an active political actor.[3] Any individual, in general, is a product of the society and interacts with the society in different capacities, like a father, mother, student, teacher, consumer, seller etc. He takes different roles at different times and at different context. At the same, almost all societies also expect an individual to interact among them in the capacity of a political actor. The expected political action could either be voting, becoming a member of their political system, or member of political party etc.

These actions are also fundamental in the functioning of any society, anywhere in world today. But most prefer to remain as passive individuals who just like to be passive subject of the political regime, they are part of, a tradition which they

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slavishly follow from ancient times of kingship. But the outburst of democracy all over today's world and the spread of ideals like liberty, equality and justice has created an inevitability of active politics. A citizen can no longer remain just a passive subject, but is demanded to become an active political decision maker, thanks to various political parties, pressure groups, various protest movements etc., which are functioning in these democratic political systems. These mobilise the erstwhile inactive subject to an active political decision maker.

The studies on political mobilisation, in general, worry about why, when and how individuals form relationship with other individuals and what makes them do a political action. They study about the agents that politically mobilise the individuals along with the kind of strategies adopted by all the political actors indulged in the process. Apart from just voting, individuals tend to form groups, attach themselves with parties and other organisations and participate in political process. The study of political mobilisation often examines the underlying processes that happen among the individual actors so that they are mobilised to act politically. In case of institutional political mobilisation studies, the studies are largely concerned about the strategies adopted by institutions like political parties, pressure groups to mobilise the masses.

Defining Political Mobilisation

The concept of mobilisation has been considerably dealt in political sociology and political science from the 1960s. The traditional way of conceptualising political mobilisation was that of associating it with institutions like political parties. It was generally seen as a process of integrating unorganised individuals with that of organised intermediary actors like political parties and other political elites and that of government machinery.[4] Hence, Barnes defines political mobilisation as the development of relationships between individuals and the institutionalised representatives of the political elite[5]. For Inglehart, it is the process by which individual are motivated and informed by external factors like political parties to act politically.[6]

Peter J Nettl defines political mobilisation as the "collective and structural expression of commitment and support within society", giving greater importance to structural institutions like political parties' mobilisation efforts.[7] Even, Rokkan, in one

of his pioneering inmobilisation studies, tends to define mobilisation as organisational penetration by parties.[8] But today the process of mobilisation is seen beyond the activities of political parties and other organised institutions.

The work of action groups, mass media, social media are widely accepted in mobilisation studies and people have started to conceptualise mobilisation with these new developments.[9] Hence, today mobilisation is considered as "a process of social construction of those interests with which the individuals are able to identify, in orientation to which they structure relationships with other actors and try to realise them."[10]

The process of political mobilisation is traditionally seen as a by-product of social mobilisation that happens in a society. The pioneer of such point of view is Karl Deutsch who defines social mobilisation as a process in which "old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken, and people became available for new patterns of socialisation and behavior."[11] Many scholars of political mobilisation believed that socio-economic changes that happened in the society dictated the general political action of the country.[12] In other words, the political actor was considered as a passive actor acting according to the dictates of social mobilisation.[13]

The social process explanation of political mobilisation is the dominant form of political mobilisation in political sociology. With some basic modifications to the social process school of political mobilisations, scholars have successfully explained political mobilisation with regard to rise of Hitler[14] and war between countries[15] etc. Trying to separate political mobilisation from social determinism, Marquette developed a logistic diffusion model of political mobilisation, which treated political mobilisation as a process of innovation diffusion.[16] Similarly, Cameron argues from a complete opposite standpoint. For him, "political mobilisation (is) far from being socially determined, may in fact be largely socially undetermined and may depend instead on the patterns of public policy making."[17]

The concept of political mobilisation is also considered as one aspect of a larger process of modernisation.[18] Many scholars believe political modernisation[19] is essence of any democracy and

political mobilisation is essential in creating a modernised political society.[20] Similarly, political mobilisation process is also considered to be integral in integrating people into their national culture and ethos.[21]

Dimensions of Political Mobilisation

The process of making an individual into a political actor has three dimensions to it. The first dimension is the cognitive dimension.[22] It is known as the process of interest formation. It is the process of which an individual clearly understands what is their basic interest which they have to protect, secure and requires a political action. Unorganised people generally do not form their basic interests due to their social apathies and situation. These social apathies are just reasons for interest formation, but it needs agents like political parties, pressure groups, action groups, social media activism, mass media etc., to be a catalyst for forming solid interest in individual minds which could transform into political action.

This concept is akin with Marxist concept of class formation and class consciousness[23] which believes individuals do not form themselves into a class because they are born in one, rather forms as a class only in a continuous struggle against another class. Hence, the class enemy is first perceived and then it transforms into a so-called class interest in the minds of the working class and this finally transforms into a class action.

Attaching oneself to the political party apparently informs the individual about their interests and helps in transforming into an active political actor.[24] At the same time the information age has made mass media as one of the important agents of interest formation. Dalton in his study found that television played a major role in creating awareness.[25] It could be safely said that mass media explosion has reduced the role of parties in political mobilisation. The mass media helps in informing the individual actors about various political issues and hence mobilises the individual actor into a political actor by forming political interest in individual's mind.[26] Hence, because of this effective interest formation,[27] individual actors make informed political decisions and, in the process, rely very less on the political parties.[28]

Similarly, the social media has given a new impetus to interest formation vis-à-vis political mobilisation.

Studies show that young adults who get political information from online are more likely to be a mass political actor.[29] Social media like Facebook also is used as a medium to exchange political views among friends and relatives. This also enhances the possibility of an individual to become an active political actor.[30]

The more traditional way of mobilising people was based on class interests. Almost all parties in the world, at some point of time in history, would have spoken about the oppressed classes and defined them either in Marxist paradigm or otherwise and mobilised the people. Class interest have always been central to mobilisation process and continues to be central to mobilisation process even today.[31] Race[32], caste[33], ethnicity[34], and religion[35] have also been one of the basic interests through which people are mobilised.

Today the post-industrial and post-modern world is also witnessing mobilisation of individuals based on many diverse ranges of interests. The new social movements[36] have shown that people also mobilise for interests based on gender, culture, environment, lesbian, gay, anti-nuclear, peace etc. The important among them are feminist movements. In women mobilisation studies, scholars opine that feminist movements which are happening all over the world today are successfully mobilising women as an informed political actor and makes them aware about their 'strategic gender interests.'[37].

Another important dimension of political mobilisation is affective dimension of mobilisation.[38] It is the process by which emotional attachment is created among the individuals towards the cause, so that people are mobilised as political actors. Sometimes, as Max Weber[39] theorised, individuals' inclination towards charismatic leadership creates an emotional bond between them and the elites, and hence mobilisation of the individuals is fostered easily. The charisma of their leader induces the people to emotionally attach to their leader's ideas, methods and policies and without question they do a political action dictated by their leader.[40]

But many times, the parties or mobilisation agents must produce and manage these emotions so that mobilisation could be carried out successfully.[41] In today's world, every religious, caste, ethnic or any other fundamentalist organisation creates a common enemy and through that manipulates negative

emotion, creates a sense of oneness and feeling among members of their religion, caste[42], ethnic group etc., and hence positively mobilise people towards a political action.

The next dimension of political mobilisation is institutional dimension of Mobilisation.[43] It is, as mentioned earlier, the process of by which mobilisation is institutionalised or in other words, it studies about the ways, strategies by which organisations, pressure groups and political parties mobilise the individuals towards a political action. The importance of political parties in creating interests in individuals was first successfully carried out by Lenin through his Vanguard party thesis.[44] He opined that the revolutionary spirit must be cultivated among the working-class population and the communist party must take that role of developing and unifying the revolutionary spirit among the working class and then successfully mobilise them towards a socialist revolution.

Lenin succeeded, and the first successful socialist revolution came in Russia in 1917. This awakened all the parties and all parties since then are creating numerous strategies to create respective interests among their target people and try to mobilise them. The cognitive and emotional attachment to a political party does the political mobilisation in an effective way.[45] Party identification have successfully institutionalised political action most of the times.[46] But, as mentioned earlier, it is alleged that people's party identification and the nature of giving constant support to a political party has reduced in recent times.[47] Scholars argue that people are increasingly becoming sceptical about parties and their manifestos.[48] Yet, these institutions like political parties and organised pressure groups are central to any mobilisation efforts in general.

Classifications of Political Mobilisation

Rodolph and Rudolph in their seminal work 'The modernity of Tradition'[49] have found three kinds of mobilisation happening in India. They categorised them as vertical mobilisation, horizontal mobilisation and differential mobilisation. In case of vertical mobilisation, Rudolph argues, people are mobilised through elites, where a local notable on the basis of his power over his people in the locality induce them into political action. People generally follow the elite and perform a political action based on

their fear, deference or esteem over the elite's persona.

Similarly, he identifies another category of mobilisation happening in India, where people are mobilised based on ideology, affection or sentiment. He named it as horizontal mobilisation and noted that in this form of political mobilisation, people form relationships among themselves based on class, caste or community feelings and affection. The real agent of such type of mobilisation is the individual's common interests and feelings. Rudolph also finds another kind of mobilisation happening in India. He terms that as differential mobilisation. It is a type of mobilisation done by political parties or other institutions like pressure groups. According to him, the strategies of political parties and other organisations vary from horizontal to vertical and their final goal is mobilising people towards a collective political action in their favour.

In political-sociological tradition, four types of political mobilisations[50] are generally theorised. Scholars classify three such types of mobilisation as vertical mobilisation[51] and one type is regarded as horizontal mobilisation.[52] The first type is called as 'Stalactite mobilisation'[53] or downward mobilisation. This is the type of mobilisation carried out by political parties and other organisations following a top-down approach. They form interests in the mind of the individuals in the style of Vanguard party of Lenin and mobilise people based on such formed interests. The second type is called as 'Staglamite mobilisation' or upward mobilisation using a bottom-up approach. Here the individuals will try to reach the parties and get their support for a political action based on their interests which they developed due to their social situation.[54]

The third type of mobilisation is called as conflict-integration dialectic.[55] In this type, the mobilisation process, that is, development of political relationship between actors for political process and gains, originates from the people and parties at the same time and both converge, and it is converted into strategies of parties to realise the common interests. The final type is known as horizontal mobilisation, where processes of mobilisation happens between individuals without party or any organisation as a unitary actor. Sometimes, the internal processes of mobilization happening within the party is also known as horizontal mobilisation.

The process of political mobilisation can also be classified based on the kind of political action for which the mobilisation is done. There are various political actions, with prominent ones being voting, joining a political party, joining pressure groups, contesting elections, writing petitions or letters, creating political awareness, legitimate protests (both organised and unorganised), attending meeting of political party or related organisations and donating for a political party or similar organisations related with politics.

These political actions can be broadly classified into three major groups like becoming a member of political organisation or political system, participating in the political system through voting or similar political actions and protesting for securing rights from the existing political system or protesting to overthrow the very political system. These above corresponding groups of political actions leads to different types of political mobilisation such as political organisational recruitment, electoral mobilisation and protest mobilisation.

The concept of political recruitment is a well-developed one in the field of political science and political sociology. It is generally conceptualized as a process by which an individual is selected as a member of a political organisation or the decision maker in the political system.[56] It refers to the selection of people for political activity and government offices.[57] Here, the term political organisational recruitment' refers only to the recruitment of individuals as a member of political organization,58 selection of candidate contesting an election for political office etc.

Hence, in political mobilisation studies, the political organisational recruitment is concerned only with the underlying processes that governs recruitment to organisation and its various function. It also studies about how and by what means a political clientele is created and maintained by the political party. Political parties have their set of own political clients. They are interdependent on the parties and their electoral gains and losses. During a political mobilisation study, these aspects of political clientelism and underneath forces behind these phenomena could also be studied. The next classification is electoral mobilisation.

Electoral mobilisation is a process by which people are mobilised to vote in elections. Different parties follow different strategies to make the voter vote to their party in elections. The strategies range from charismatic control to populism. Through political mobilisation studies, the underlying processes that govern the strategies of the political parties in mobilising the individual to vote could be studied. The next important kind of political mobilisation is Protest mobilisation. Every organisation or movement like feminism or political parties will try to mobilise the people based on their interest or ideology to fight for a common cause. The strategies adapted by these parties or organisations to mobilise the individuals to fight for a common cause can be studied under protest mobilisation.

Conclusion

Political mobilisation is one of the interesting studies in political science. It is essentially related with the concepts such as political culture, political socialisation, political recruitment, political clientelism etc., but at the same time is fundamentally different from them. A comprehensive study of the strategies adopted by the organised parties or socio-political movements to mobilise the individuals or group of individuals in an area, can give valuable insights into the political culture, the patterns of political socialisation and political economy of the region. Development of approaches to the study of political mobilisation is essential in today's era of democratic globalisation. Such an exercise, if done, will not just help the scholars to understand the socio-political processes happening in the society with microscopic lenses, but also will help in developing political science into a more strict and specialised discipline.

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3. S.H. Barnes, "Parties, mobilization and the new citizen'. *Paper presented to the meeting of subgroup B of the project. 'Future of Party Government'.* Florence. Quoted in Birgitta Nedelmann

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7. Op. cited, Nedelmann, pg. 183

8. Ibid, Pg. 186

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12. Theodore Abel, *Why Hitler came into power* (New York: Prentice hall, 1938). Pg. 350-351.

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16. Ibid, Pg. 141.

17. Political modernisation refers to modernisation in political attitudes, political organisation and political system of a country. They denote structural differentiation, structural specialization, democratization, national integration, secularisation of political culture etc.

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23. Russell J Dalton, *citizen politics.* (New Jersey: Chatham House, 1996). Pg. 24

24. Scholars argue that, in postmodern world as people are largely working in service sector were strong trade unions do not exist, a process of individualisation starts. The individual start to define their interests in a more individual manner based on the information they receive from mass media etc. see Ulrich Beck *reinvention of politics: rethinking modernity in global social order.* (Cambridge: Polity press, 1997) pg. 94

25. There are few people who argue, even though people are informed about political issues, they will seldom act as a political actor other than just voting. There exists a 'collective action problem' which stops the actor joining hands with others do a collective action. See Mancur Olson, *The logic of collective action* (Cambridge: Harvard university press, 1965). Hence, analysts say it needs institutions like parties to convert that information into interest and mobilise people to other forms of political participation, other than just voting.

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30. Whole mobilisation of Nazis was based on the superiority of 'Aryan race' and that led to the second world war.

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32. Susan Olzak, "Contemporary Ethnic mobilization". *Annual review of sociology 9* (1983). PP 355-374

33. Rise of religious fundamentalism all over the world is showing us that people are more and more mobilised on the basis of religion and supremacy of religion. See Michael o Emerson and David Hartman "The rise of religious fundamentalism". *Annual review of sociology* 32. (2006) PP 127-144.

34. Joel F Handler, "Post-modernism, protest and new social movements". *Law and society review* 26. No.4 (1992) PP 697-732

35. R. Ray and A.C. Korteweg, "Women's movement in the third world: Identity, mobilisation and autonomy". *Annual review of sociology, 25* (1999) PP 47-71. Pg. 49

36. Op. cited Birgitta Nedelmann, pg. 187

37. Max Weber, *On charisma and institutional-Building* in *selected papers* ed. S.N. Eisenstadt. (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1968)

38. People do a political action as dictated by their charismatic leader as they believe their leader can never-ever go wrong.

39. R Collins, *Conflict sociology* (New York: Academic press, 1975), Pg. 58

40. In India every caste has an enemy caste and generally brahmins are portrayed as enemies of other backward castes and scheduled castes. Similarly, historically Muslims and Hindus are manipulated as enemies of each other by fundamentalist leaders of each religion.

41. Op. cited Birgitta Nedelmann, pg. 189

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46. Max Kaase and Kenneth newton *Beliefs in government.* (oxford: oxford university press, 1995) pg. 432

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48. Op. cited Birgitta Nedelmann, Pg. 191

49. Which has an established institution as one of the unitary actors of political mobilization

50. This does not have an established actor as an 'unitary actor', that is, a single decision- making body, as one of the actors of political mobilisation.

51. For stalactite and staglamite mobilisation, see op. cited Peter J Netel, Pg. 68 – 70. For critical review of these concepts see Michael F Lofchie "Review of Political mobilisation: A sociological analysis of methods and concepts" *American journal of sociology* 74. No 1 (Jul 1968), PP 84-85

52. It could be caste, ethnic or linguistic cleavages, or, neighbourhood issues etc.

53. Op. cited Birgitta Nedelmann, Pg. 194

54. Political recruitment is generally conceptualised as "a process by which individuals…… are screened by political institutions for elective office". See David C Schwartz "Toward a theory of political recruitment" *The western political quarterly* 22. No3 (September 1969), PP 552-571, pg552.

55. Gabriel A Almond et al., *Comparative politics today: A world view* (Noida: Pearson, 2011), Pg. 34

56. The political organisation could be either a political party, a pressure group, spontaneous political movements etc.

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Women and Work in 'Ascending India'

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[*India ushered into a new era in the early 1990s with a view to forge global linkages on the basis of a New Economic Policy. The policy was comprehensive as it sought to open up the Indian economy to international flow of goods, services, capital and human resources. Its primary aim was to accentuate efficiency and productivity of the system. It was done by enlarging space for private players in the country to explore new areas in the hitherto traditional economy which resulted in diversification of industries into new areas such as the information and communication technology, industries, retailing, servicing, to name of few.*]

Premised on the positive side of the global market linkages, it was expected that the New Economic Policy would not merely lead India to a growth-oriented economy but also result in increased opportunities for labour force participation for various sections of the society. Within a decade, the extensive programmes of integration and domestic deregulation coupled with sound macro-economic management, Indian economy came to be celebrated as one of the fastest growing economies of the world. At present, the World Bank and other international agencies consider India as one of the countries with a potential for rapid economic growth in the world. There are high expectations from India with the growth of investments and increase in consumption. India is, indeed, ascending even in the rankings of doing business.

One of the most important expectations from this phenomenon of economic ascendance of India was growth of employment that was to bring about transformation in the lives of the citizens. However, there has been shocking results as the employment rate slowed down to 1 per cent per annum (from 2 percent per annum during the 1970s and the 80s) between 1990s and 2000s. Between 2011 and 2015, the actual employment lowered down to 0.6 per cent (Azim Premji Foundation, 2018: 17). According to NSSO data for the financial year 2017-2018, the rate of unemployment is an area that demands attention.

It was also expected that with the opening up of employment opportunities, there would be an increase in the women's workforce participation. However, the scene has not been very positive even after nearly three decades of adoption of the liberalization policy. Various governmental and non-governmental agencies report serious under-representation of women in the labour force participation.

Women in Labour Force

Women's under-representation in the country's economy is being currently debated by both policy makers and academicians. This is being seen in two ways. First concerns the low number of women in the labour force participation while the second concerns women's being in disguised employment owing to low level of both skills and bargaining power. A report titled, *The Power of Parity,* prepared by the McKinsey Global Institute in 2018 indicates that India has one of the lowest shares of women's contribution to GDP compared to the global average as well as those of many regions of the world. Indian women contribute only 18 per cent to the country's GDP compared to the global average that stands at 36 per cent (MGI, 2018: 3).

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Chinese women contribute 41 per cent, Sub-Saharan African women contribute 39 per cent and Latin American women contribute 33 per cent to the GDP of their respective countries.

The report also suggested that women constitute only 24 per cent of the labour force that is engaged in any form of work in the India's market economy compared to the global average of the same that stands at 40 per cent. The position of Indian women in relation to their contribution to the GDP is quite akin to the countries in the Middle East and North Africa where women are not permitted by law to work outside. Part of the explanation for lower workforce participation of women in India is due to prevailing social structure among many communities of the country that do not permit women to engage in work in the public sphere.

However, given the fact that India has been making sincere and serious efforts to be a model economic power in the world, there has been increasing debate over the fall in the female labour force participation rates in India over the past few years. The World Bank has also indicated that positive changes are happening in India with the decline of total fertility, achievement of phenomenal results in the field of universal enrolment and more women attending educational institutions. A report shows that fraction of women aged between 15 and 24 attending educational institutions has gone up from 16.1% to 36% between the years 1994 and 2010 (Fletcher, et al., 2017: 2).

Thus, while positive trends can be seen in the form of decline in fertility rates, illiteracy and gender education gap due to consistent state interventions, these have not produced the expected rise in women's participation in the workforce that would consequently result in their greater contribution to the overall GDP of the country. Thus, it is indeed puzzling, for policy makers and academicians alike, that against this opportune background, female labour force participation in India is continuously declining and has languished at about 27.4 percent in 2015-16 (Employment and Unemployment Survey, 2016: 26).

There has been much celebration of feminization of employment opportunities in many of the traditional and modern sectors based on visibility of women in them. Traditionally, textiles have been one of the most important sectors associated with women's employment. In the years following the adoption of the New Economic Policies, agricultural sector has also been celebrated as giving more employment to women. In reality, however, there exists a paradox. Visibility of women in many of these dominant sectors of the Indian economy such as agriculture, textiles and services do not necessarily mean a positive news for women in relation to economy. At one level, it has been argued that economic activities of women have registered a rise that is reflected in their visibility in these sectors.

This has given rise to concepts such as 'feminization of agriculture'. However, studies have uncovered that 'feminization' of agriculture cannot be seen as a fair and empowering phenomenon as most women are marginal workers and not main workers. The concept of main workers vs. marginal workers relates to division of workers who have been engaged in economically productive activity for at least 183 days vs. workers engaged in economic activity for less than 183 days (Pattanaik et al, 2017). This implies that most women's engagement in agriculture is devoid of standard payment and job security. Such status of workers certainly cannot make 'feminization of agriculture' a positive and sustainable trend.

There is also a need to understand the fact that while there has been a decline in the female labour force participation in the overall economy while the visibility of women has increased in the new sectors such as the information technology, services and retail sectors. With the increase of level of education, aspirations among women for well-paid employment have naturally grown. This has been supported by increasing social acceptability of late marriage and small families. Information technology, services such as health and retails being the most well-paid sectors have attracted both young aspiring women and men in India. However, a close look at the available data from various governmental as well as non-governmental sources indicates a striking gender gap in these sectors.

A survey by the Belong, an online Human Resources team, in 2017 informs that women comprise of only 34 per cent of the technical workforce. The survey also found that the transition of men to managerial positions happens within 5 to 6 years while women to these positions after a minimum of 8 years of experience in the lower positions. It also revealed

that as many as 45 per cent of women move out of core engineering roles within 7 to 8 years. Most such women move on to non-technical and flexi-time jobs such as marketing or consultancy.

Table 1: Average share of women (vs. men) in the total tech workforce across levels

Entry Level	40
Mid-level	30
Senior level	20

Source: Women Techmakers India Research Report, 2017

Another study by NASSCOM in 2017 titled 'Women and IT Scorecard' reveals that IT sectors do face challenges of retaining women especially after they become mothers. On the basis of survey of 55 companies, the study stated that women's career progress is much slower compared to men in the sector.

Challenges for women

The recent social media movement under the title #Metoo turned the attention of the entire nation towards the unsafe and insensitive workspace for women like no other movement had. It brought issues related to sexual harassment at workplace especially in the new sectors to the centre of the debate. Most of these sectors such as the film industry, media, corporate sector are some of the sectors where women's visibility is more. Yet, such a movement is just a tip of an iceberg. There are many more deep-seated societal reasons that have direct bearing on women's lower rate of labour force participation. Some of these are discussed below.

One of the most important challenges comes from traditional mindset that pervades all aspects of the Indian society. This traditional framework relegates women to the private sphere of domesticity while men are supposed to be the legitimate occupants of the 'public' space. Women are conveniently placed in domestic sphere to perform familial caring and nurturing activities which are not paid. When women make headways into paid employment in 'public spaces', this upsets the traditional framework. Reflections of this are still found as women have to bargain both within homes and at workplaces for 'legitimacy'.

This explains the shift of many women from challenging technical jobs to flexi-time non-technical jobs after marriage, especially after attaining motherhood. National Family Health Survey conducted in 2015-16 informs us of a sharp decline in the proportion of working women compared to 2005-06. As per the survey, 43% married women in the age group of 15-49 were reported to be working while the number had gone down to 31% in 2015-16 (NFHS, 2015-16: 508).

Since the 1990s, a concept of 'feminization of economy' also started gaining ground. The truth, however, is far from positive. Many feminist academicians and practitioners have brought to notice the low-skill nature of women labourers which leads to their low bargaining power (Srivastava, 2011; Nanda, & Alam, 2013). Even the Economic Survey of 2018 has agreed with this view. It has observed that women workers are the most disadvantaged in the labour market as they constitute a very high proportion among the low skilled informal worker category, and are engaged in low-productivity and low paying work. Owing to this, it said that the women earn very low wages, mostly piece rates in highly insecure jobs. India had the largest gender gap in median earnings of full-time employees in 2015, in comparison to countries like South Africa, Brazil, and Chile, it added.

Invisible barriers often termed as 'glass ceiling' are also at work in various sectors that affect women's career advancement. Despite making forays into various sectors, women still face gender bias within organizations that is reflected in their negligible presence in the top positions. Studies have found that even in the information technology sector capable women have to bow down to gender challenges that hinder them from reaching heights in their career (Azeez & Priyadarshini, 2018).

Another workspace challenge that specifically relates to women is that of the fear of sexual harassment which can take both mental and physical form. While the Indian law requires an internal grievance cell to be set up at each workspace, the # Metoo movement showed the reality of sectors such as media and film industry where sexual harassment is an everyday challenge for women yet no institutional set up has been created to deal with it. It is also important to note that many cases of violence against women have been reported in public places such as bus-stand, streets in the absence of safe transportation and secured accommodation.

All these challenges block women's entry, sustenance and evolution as workers who can provide best to the ascendance of India as an economic power.

The way forward

As it can be understood from the above discussion, the economic potential of India's women is not achievable without addressing the gender issues rooted in the society. This requires gender sensitization of families who need to look at women's roles beyond familial care and nurturing. It is important to make the families as well as the larger society understand the need of women's contribution to the country's economy. There is also a need to make workspaces sensitive and harassment-free for women. This implies having the internal complaints committee in place as well as having creches and child-caring centers at the workplace. It is also important to provide attention to suitability of working hours. Transportation and accommodation of women employees also needs to be taken into account in this regard.

There is also a need to make socially concerted actions in not only expanding education to girl children across the country but also build their skills in areas that would facilitate their inclusion into the economy. In all this, the Indian state will have to play a major role right from creating an enabling environment in work places to sensitize the society with a view to make it women-friendly. It is only with the help of the state and Indian society that women will be able to attain real empowerment and contribute to India's ascendency as an economic power to reckon with.

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Job skills among ST youth in Kerala

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[*Tribes are one of the diverse groups among the Indian population. They remain disadvantaged mostly as they are considered as the lowest section of the Indian society since the ancient times. The tribes remain underprivileged due to various factors like geographical and cultural isolation, lack of proper health facilities, inability to satisfy basic needs, lack of control over resources and assets, lack of education and employability skills, malnutrition, etc. As we know, as a secular state, India gives considerable importance to all castes and religions. On this behalf, the country launched many schemes and policies for the empowerment of marginalized groups after attaining independence. Currently, the schemes which focus on youngsters, especially in the form of providing skill development training, are much significant today. Based on this, the level of development attained by various communities is high in India. So, this research gives importance for the level of employability skills attained by the scheduled tribes in Kerala. The study is based on both primary and secondary data analysis. Primary data has been collected from 105 samples from various districts of Kerala. The statistical tools like, percentage analysis, Friedman savage test, chi-square, tables have been administered to analyze the primary data. The significance level has been taken as 0.05 in this research. The study found; the youth have the selected employability skills. But lack of awareness, Social Stigma and lack of career development exposure makes them underutilized resources.*]

India's population of over 1.3 billion, is one among the world's highest, in terms of proportion of people in the working age. By 2020, the average age of an Indian will be 29, compared to 37 in China and 45 in Western Europe. With 0.8 billion young workers, India also has the lowest dependency ratio (the ratio of dependents to earning members). This translates into a demographic dividend that could result in rapid economic growth, as a high percentage of the population engages in productive work and contributes to GDP growth. If this demographic dividend is collected by 2025, India's per capita income could rise from around $1500 today to $4000. However, 90 percent of workers in India are in the unorganized sector, and most have no formal skills or vocational training.

The Economic Survey 2014-15 has stated that as per the Labour Bureau Report 2014, the present skilled workforce in India is only 2 percent, which is much lower when compared to developing countries. The situation is not much improved now. The WPR in Kerala is 43.8 percent as against the all India average of 47.8 percent (EconomicReview, 2017). Among all States, only small states like Sikkim, Tripura and Himachal Pradesh have a higher unemployment rate than Kerala.

The work participation rate (WPR) of the ST (Scheduled Tribe) population in Kerala is 47.4 percent which is lower than that of all ST at the national level (48.7 percent). There is a slight erosion of 0.4 percent to the WPR registered in 2001 census. The work participation rate of males is higher than females. Among the major tribal groups, Irular, Muthuvan, Paniyan, Marati, have higher WPR than the state average. Similar trends have been noticed among these in respect of female WPR also. The highest proportion of tribal workers in the state is agricultural laborers and it is clear that there is a huge shortfall of skilled workers among this marginalized category (Census, 2011).

When the economy evolves, young job seekers should try to enhance their skills in order to cope up with the growing requirements of new kinds of jobs. As per the Annual Report for 2015-16 of the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, the following are the top most incremental human resource where skilled workers are required, i.e. building & construction, Organized

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Retail, Transport & Logistics, Beauty & Wellness, Furniture & Furnishing, Tourism, Hospitality & Travel, Textile & Clothing, Handlooms & Handicrafts & Domestic help.

The Skill India program provides a route map towards meeting these skill needs. Under this Skill India initiative, the programmes like PMKVY, DDU GKY, DAY-NULM, Hunar Se Rozgar Tak, Nai Manzil, etc., are the employment generation programmes to train the youth. In this regard this paper tries to analyze the employability skills of tribal youth to cater to the needs of current trends in the industry which will help to understand the skill set of the youngsters which leads to the effectiveness of the skill initiatives. (MSDE, 2016).

Methodology

The study is based on both primary and secondary data basis. The primary data has been selected from the scheduled tribe youth in Kerala, based on simple random sampling method. The sample consists of 105 respondents from various districts of Kerala. The statistical tools like, percentage analysis, Friedman savage test, chi-square, tables have been administered to analyze the primary data. The significance level has been taken as 0.05 in this research. The test statistics equal and below 0.05 is considered significant and *vice versa*. The important observations have been put in place where these tests are administered. The secondary data has been selected from various sources like, articles, reports of economic review, census 2011 etc.

Objectives

- To understand the socio-economic status of scheduled tribes in Kerala.
- To analyze the employability skills among scheduled tribes in Kerala.

Data analysis

Socio Economic status (SES)

Tribes are one of the diverse groups among the Indian population. They remain disadvantaged mostly as they are considered as the lowest section of the Indian society since ancient times. The tribes remain disadvantaged due to various factors like geographical and cultural isolation, lack of proper health facilities, inability to satisfy basic needs, lack of control over resources and assets, lack of

education and skills, malnutrition, lack of shelter, poor access to water and sanitation, vulnerability to shocks, violence and crime, lack of access to proper infrastructure facilities and technologies and lack of political freedom and voice. All these challenges can make their living a difficult task. Considering these issues, the government is trying to help the tribes through different welfare schemes (V Vijaya Lakshmi, 2019).

In any research, analysis of Socio-Economic Status (SES) is significant. Here also give considerable importance to know the SES of young stakeholders in Kerala. The age group of the scheduled tribe youth belongs to 18 to 29 years. It also deals with youngsters' perception on developing employability skills. This analysis of socio-economic conditions and their excellence of employability skills will help us to examine interest and skills to meet the requirements and demands in skilled workers market. The youngsters can be diverted as per their interests, aptitude and attitude where they can perform well to build a bright future with their in-built skills and talents and through developing scientific training.

The part of analysis in this section has been divided into two, based on the objectives. The first part analyses the socio-economic status of the sample respondents from the study area. The important variables underlying this part will be, community or caste of the respondents, age, education, category and source of income. The second part of the analysis comprises employability skills among the sample group. Among different type of employability skills, the researcher gave importance to communication skills and leadership skills. There are eight statements that have been framed to get the response. The observation has been made on the basis of these responses.

In Kerala, there are different types of scheduled tribal groups among these 16 different groups are identified for the purpose of this study. The highest number of youngsters is associated with Panniyan caste (27.6%) this was followed by Kurichiyar (18.1%) and Mudugur (12.4%) caste respectively ranking top among 16 castes. It was clear that these communities belonged to Wayanad and Palakad districts of Kerala. The age composition of sample beneficiaries reveals that majority of them i.e., more

than 50 percent of the beneficiaries, are in the age group of below 20 years and another around 20 percent fall in the 21 -22 age group and only around 10 percent of them are above 23 years of age. For the research purpose, all the beneficiaries are selected in between the age of 18 to 29 years because all the employability development programmes are designed by Central and state government are for these category people.

The gender composition clearly shows that majority (85.7%) of them is male and others are females. In Scheduled Tribe category, male candidates are more interested in work than females. Especially in Kerala state, the female tribes are not much involved in economic activity due to various reasons such as cultural and family restrictions. Generally, the proportion of female candidates is less than minimum in work participation because of lack of women beneficiaries coming forward to take the advantage of the available resources and benefits provided to them by the government.

The education level of sample beneficiaries reveals that quite majority are having education up to high school only. Only less than 3 percent are having graduation and above. Around 30 percent of them are having higher secondary qualification. This kind of educational background requires an improvement in employability skill training. To sustain in job market with this minimum qualification, a separate training is needed in particular trades like Computers' software and hardware, technical, hospitality and designing courses. The overall education qualification is not satisfactory and this category requires a huge support on development and training to engage in an economic activity.

More than eighty percent of them are in the category of Below Poverty Line (BPL) and around 10 percent of them are on Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) category. Only less than 7 percent people are in Above Poverty Line (APL). From this, it is very clear that most of the Scheduled Tribes are not involved in economic activity which could enhance their standard of living. Stable and permanent earnings are needed for this group for their overall development.

Agriculture is the major source of income among the scheduled tribe category and almost same persons are engaged in salaried job. Most of the people are in forest-related works, drivers, watchmen and other daily-wage jobs. Very lesser percentage is involved in skilled work and government jobs, even though they are having reservation system in almost all sectors. Mostly they are not willing to work out of their boundary and are not ready to lead a life out of their customs and culture.

But now-a-days youngsters are willing to work out of their region and even abroad. So, a well-designed employability development programmes will help them to find a suitable job. For this their employability skills and talent should be identified in a proper and scientific way.

The test statistics associated with employability skills found highly significant (chi-square P value <=0.05) among the beneficiaries. In order to identify the same, 16 statements are framed which include both positive and negative statements. The mean rank equal and above five is considered as significant by the researchers and vice versa. All the variables found highly significant with employability skills.

It was clear from the mean ranks that, both communication and leadership skills are significant in this research. The statement associated with communication skills found, the stakeholders have the ability to speak in front of the audience (9.32), and they are all attentive listeners (9.59), respondents are able to use simple words that can be understood by all (10.66), they are good at written communication (7.31) and can write with minimum errors (8.23). The respondents know that gathering information will help them to speak well (7.13) and they ask questions to clear doubts (8.01) and are also good at spelling and grammar (5.98).

In regard to the leadership skills respondents are good at motivating others (9.68) and can shoulder responsibilities (9.08). They will initiate to get things done (8.25) and accept responsibilities for their mistakes (8.9). The respondents are able to introduce on a regular basis (9.49) and encourage team members to think creatively (10.05). The respondents refuse to cooperate which is negative sentence and the mean rank is not significant (3.92) that indicates respondents are very cooperative with team members. The respondents are very flexible with changed situations (10.32).

Conclusion

The concern for employability is growing more day by day with the advancement in educational sector on the magnitude of new reforms in India (Sarang S bhola, 2012). The skill gap is reported high in respect to the demands of human resource. The analysis of socio-economic condition and employability skills among the scheduled tribes in Kerala has been made and the results thus obtained reveal that, the major respondents belong to Wayanad and Palakad districts of Kerala. Among the selected samples, more than 80 percent of the youngsters are male with having a qualification of high school. The highest number of respondents belong to BPL categories and earning their income from primary activities like agriculture and related works.

While analyzing the employability skills among the youth, the study further found that they have the employability skills like communication and leadership skills with high potential. But they lack in securing job based on their skills. It clearly specifies that proper training is required to develop the employability skills in the youngsters to build a career. Only then it is possible to place these youngsters according to their skills and abilities and also as per the demand in current market. Then it will be helpful for them to sustainably develop themselves as well as their communities.

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Women empowerment through Education

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[*Women empowerment is the process in which women elaborate and recreate what they can be, what they can do, and accomplish in a circumstance that they previously were denied. Empowerment can be defined in many ways. However, when talking about women's empowerment, empowerment means accepting and allowing women who are on the outside of the decision-making process into it. This puts a strong emphasis on participation in political structures and formal decision-making and, in the economic sphere, on the ability to obtain an income that enables participation in economic decision-making. Empowerment is the process that creates power in individuals over their own lives, society, and in their communities.*]

People are empowered when they are able to access the opportunities available to them without limitations and restrictions. Feeling entitled to make their own decisions, creates a sense of empowerment. Empowerment includes the action of raising the status of women through education, raising awareness, literacy, and training. Women's empowerment is all about equipping and allowing women to make life-determining decisions through the different problems in society.

Alternatively, it is the process for women to redefine gender roles that allows for them to acquire the ability to choose between known alternatives that have otherwise been restricted from such an ability. There are several principles defining women's empowerment such as, for one to be empowered, they must come from a position of disempowerment. Furthermore, one must acquire empowerment themselves rather than given to them by an external organization. Other studies have found that empowerment definitions entail people having the capability to make important decisions in their lives while also being able to act on them. Lastly, empowerment and disempowerment are relative to other at a previous time; therefore, empowerment is a process, not a product.

Meaning of the Concept

A Nobel Laureate from our neighbouring country, Malala Yousafzai who suffered a lot in life, famously quoted "I raise up my voice not so I can shout, but so that those without a voice can be heard…we cannot succeed when half of us are held back.", and this sentiment precisely outlines the basis of new age women empowerment. Discrimination against women is rampant all over the world even in this 21st century. Patriarchal societies in most countries are adept at exploitation as well as victimization of women.

Even though nearly 50% of the world's population consists of women, but unfortunately most of them are denied basic rights of education, freedom of speech, voting power and even independent identity. Crimes directed specifically against women are reported from all over the world. There still remain questions about acceptance of women empowerment in the most advanced countries, while developing nations and nations under political duress in which any unlawful threat or coercion is there, are far from achieving the desired status for women.

Women empowerment refers to the ability for women to enjoy their right to control and benefit from the resources, assets, income and their own time, as well as the ability to manage risk and improve their economic status and well-being.

Significance of the study

In today's world of crimes and atrocities against women, the study of empowerment of women through the education has greater significance. Because, for the development and empowerment of women in any field of life, education is a very essential tool which everybody should adopt. Therefore, in this context, the study of contribution

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of educational institutions for the empowerment of women in general and Brahmin educational institutions in Kalaburagi district in particular is of great significance.

Several studies have been made about the role of educational institutions for the empowerment of women. But no studies have been made to assess the role of Brahmin educational institutions in the empowerment of women in the area which is proposed under the present research. Researcher intends to make the comprehensive study of the role of Brahmin educational institutions for the women empowerment in the chosen area. This research will provide useful data about the empowerment of women in that area which is considered as the backward area in the state of Karnataka. So, the proposed research is having greater importance for our Hyderabad Karnataka Region.

Limitations of the study

Present study is limited to the study of Brahmin educational institutions in Kalaburagi district in general and Nutan Vidyalaya Society of Kalaburagi in particular. Nutan Vidyalaya Society had been established in the year 1907 by Vithal Rao Deulgaonkar. Again, the study is confined to the 4 colleges of the society viz; N.V. Degree College, N.V. Bed College, N.V. Pre-University College and N.V. Polytechnic College. For the proper and systematic study of the role of Nutan Vidyalaya Society in the empowerment of women has been confined for the period of 10 years from the academic year 2002-03 to 2011-12.

Objectives

Following are the objectives of the study:

1. To assess the role of education in the empowerment of women.
2. To assess the Socio-economic conditions of the empowered women.
3. To evaluate the role of empowered women in the upliftment of the social values.

Hypothesis

1. Women education play vital role in the empowerment of women.
2. High Socio-economic status is enjoyed by the empowered women.
3. Women empowerment is beneficial for both the society and family.

Statement of the problem

Observing the present status of the women in India, we find that globalization fails to develop the status of women population to the expected standard. Women population, particularly in India, has been excluded from the favourable impact of globalization. In the Millennium Declaration, 2000, the member states of United Nations declared that for true sustainable development it is necessary to abolish poverty, hunger, diseases etc. and announce the empowerment of women as one of the Millennium Development Goals.

Literally, empowerment means to give some power in the hands of powerless. It enriches person with power. Many developmental projects have been undertaken by the governments of various countries. But the fact is that most of these mainstream developmental projects, latently or actively, bypass women population. Even when mainstream development projects include women by increasing investment on women's health and education, it is for lowering birth rate and to improve the well-being of children. These are the policies not for women's own well-being so that they can expand their ability to exercise choices (Mehra, 1997).

As a result, women population remain far below the male population not only in terms of numbers, but also in terms of various development indices such as literacy rate, employment, access to medical facilities, enrollment in educational institution etc.

Review of Literature

Nisha Nair's Women's education in India: A Situational Analysis (March 2010) notes that free and compulsory education to all children between the ages of 6 and 14 is a fundamental right of citizens under the 86th Amendment to the Constitution of India. Yet, the state of education of women in India is far from 'free' or as totalizing and encompassing as the right appears to guarantee. Although the government, through its various initiatives such as the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (aimed at providing primary education especially to girl children from disadvantaged rural areas), attempts to improve the education of women, the barrier to educating women is not always monetary and within the purview of the state.

In post-independence period, there has been a concerted attempt to improve literacy levels of the population in India. Many schemes have been introduced to increase the access, expand coverage and improve the quality of education. Amongst them the universalization of elementary education, incentive schemes for retention and non-formal education for adults are noteworthy for their scope and intent. Special attention has been given to the education of women in all of the schemes. However, despite the varied attempts of the government and various NGOs operating in the field of education, the statistics for women's education leaves a lot to be desired.

According to the 2001 census data (Census Report, 2001), national literacy rate stands at 64.84%. While male literacy was noted as 75.26%, female literacy lags behind at 53.67%. A more recent government report on education statistics (2008), notes that the literacy rates for women in India has steadily increased from 8.9% in 1951 to around 57% in 2004. Although substantial progress has been achieved since India got its independence when less than 8% of females were literate, the gains have not been rapid enough to keep pace with population growth.

Although there has been marked improvement over the years, there is still much to be achieved in terms of women's literacy. The problem is further compounded if we look at the male-female gap in literacy rates. This has almost always been more than 20% over the years.

Dreze and Sen (1995) have described women empowerment as ability to define self-interest and choice, and consider woman as not only able but also entitled to make choices. In order to improve the level of women's empowerment they have proposed to reduce gender biasness in mortality rate and natality rates, in access to education and professional training, in employment, in the ownership of property and in household work and decision making. Analysing the data from India they have illustrated that female literacy reduces child mortality rate while both female labour force participation as well as female literacy reduced female child mortality rate. They have interpreted these results as evidence of the fact that women's access to education and employment had enhanced their ability to exercise agency, i.e., the process of empowerment.

Kishor (1997) has conceptualized empowerment in terms of 'control' by which women would be able to access information, take decision and act in their own interest or for their dependents. She has considered three categories of composite indicators to measure women's empowerment. These are 'direct evidence of empowerment', 'source of empowerment' and 'the settings for empowerment. She has grouped the indicators of behavioural and attitudinal factors into ten dimensions. We have listed these indicators including the variables.

Research Methodology

Method of study adopted for the present research will be both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary sources of data consist of the information collected from the respondents. Empowered women who have studied from the Nutan Vidyalaya Society are the respondents for the present study. 450 respondents will be interviewed to gather the information in accordance with the objectives. Secondary sources of data consist of the books, magazines, articles and online information available about the research area.

Conclusion

This research proposal intends to make the study of the contribution of the Brahmin educational institutions in kalaburagi district with special emphasis on the comprehensive study of the role played by the Nutan Vidyalaya Society in empowering the women. It is the general view that education of women is playing a significant role in empowerment of women. Therefore, present study makes the comprehensive analysis of the contribution of Nutan Vidyalaya Society in empowering women through the education which is being imparted by this educational institution since 1907. Along with the study of this particular educational institution, other educational institutions run by the Brahmin Management in Kalaburagi district are also included.

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Probing the Mind of Celeste Price in Alissa Nutting's *Tampa*

Sana Farooq Lone*

[*The present paper aims at bringing forth an unseen reality of sexually offending behaviour of female paedophiles. It is a much common perception in any kind of society that boys are rarely the sufferers of sexual abuse. Paedophiles and sexual offenders are males only, is a stereotype that exists from a long time. Alissa Nutting is an eminent contemporary American writer known for her transgressive fiction. Her attempt at writing a fiction, that brings to light something unacceptable to society, resulted in her most famous novel, Tampa published in the year 2013. The novel is about a female paedophile named Celeste Price who narrates her experiences of acting on her overpowering sexual desire for fourteen-year-old boys, very boldly. All the characteristics and traits of her personality point toward her psychopathic nature. This paper is an attempt to analyse the sexually offending behaviour of the female paedophile Celeste Price, by probing inside her mind and reflecting the cause of her behaviour along with the factors that help her in achieving her targets.*]

The Tenth Revision of *International Classification of Diseases (ICD)* defines Paedophilia as, "A sexual preference for children, usually of prepubertal or early pubertal age. Some paedophiles are attracted only to girls, others only to boys, and others again are interested in both sexes" (219). Alissa Nutting's most famous novel published in 2005, *Tampa*, is successful in breaking the stereotype of regarding paedophiles and sexual offenders to be males only. She presents the image of a sexually offending female paedophile through the protagonist of the novel named, Celeste Price.

The novel is basically inspired by a true story of a female predator named Debra Lafave who was a

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teacher at a middle school in Florida. She was charged guilty of having sexual intercourse with her fourteen-year-old student in the year 2004. The trials of her case were carried out by Police department at Ocala (a city in Florida) and Tampa, which is a major city in Florida, United States and so the title of the novel. *Tampa* is replete with satires where the female paedophile, Celeste laughs at the people surrounding her, makes fun of the law, clinicians or psychologists. She deceives everyone with her smartness and good looks.

When the novel opens, Celeste Price is seen preparing for her first day of her job as an English teacher at Jefferson Junior High school in United States. She is married to Ford Price, a thirty-one-year-old good-looking policeman belonging to a rich family. She finds it hilarious that people look at them

as a perfect couple. She met Ford Price for the first time at university. She reflects that at the time of marriage, she had a notion that his wealth would offer her some distraction from her illicit desires.

She accepts that Ford looks attractive to everyone but then she recognizes his age being her real problem, "Since I'm twenty-six myself, it's true that he and I are close peers. But thirty-one is roughly seventeen years past my window of sexual interest" (1). She thus discloses her age of interest to be only fourteen years.

Celeste evaluates herself in order to know the cause of her uncontrolled and deviant sexual urges. She points out one childhood event that seems to be responsible for her pervertedness. She had her first sexual experience when she was fourteen years old with a boy of same age, Evan Keller and she got fixated there, "Whether or not it's the cause, I blame my first time at fourteen years old in Evan Keller's basement for imprinting me with a fixed map of arousal—my memory of the event still flows through my mind in animated Technicolor" (2). It is the only incident in her early childhood life that appears to be the cause of her deviant interest.

She got repulsion for Evan after he started growing suddenly and it changed their sexual dynamics thereafter. She broke up her relation with him. Sigmund Freud explains the accidently experienced sexual stimulations in childhood to become the cause of fixation for an individual. He asserts very aptly in *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*:

These stimulations (first and foremost, seduction by other children or by adults) provide the material that, with the help of the psychical factors, can become fixated as a permanent disturbance. A good part of the deviations from normal sexual life which are later observed in both neurotics and perverts have thus been established from the very first by the impressions received in childhood–a period which is regarded as being devoid of sexuality. (129)

When the novel starts, Celeste has only one night to pass before she could actually meet the young boys who would satisfy her lust. She masturbates on the side of her mattress when she is alone in her bedroom. It is there in the school that Celeste reveals ground for selecting her preys, that is, a decent skin, free of acne and a tender body. On entering her class, Celeste finds the first two boys there, as a jumble of "pre- and post-puberty." She finds the prominent muscles of one of the boys and the dark-haired manly arm of the other, visible from several feet. After a lot of scanning, Celeste catches sight of a student named Jack Patrick. She develops a liking for his body and regards him to be at the very last verge of androgyny, where puberty permitted him to be male but not manly. Thus, the body shape and size appear to be an essential criterion in Celeste's selection of young boys.

Celeste identifies Jack as a shy boy with stretched limbs and a suitable target to pursue her sexual desires. She begins to fantasize him satisfying her excessive sexual arousal. Michael Seto, a Canadian psychologist, in his book *Pedophilia and Sexual Offending Against Children*, quotes a study of another psychologist, G.D. Wilson, where he mentions several characteristics of children that paedophiles look before selecting them like, "Innocence, Curiosity, Spontaneity, Enthusiasm, Lack of inhibition, Honesty, Warmth, Conversation, Charm, Friendliness, Softness, vulnerability, modesty" (40). Celeste seems to be following the same criterion to find a simple, innocent and a vulnerable boy who would be interested in satisfying his budding sexual desires and lacks any kind of inhibitions.

Celeste recalls her past sexual experiences when she was in high school. She used to prefer sex with otherwise unpleasant older boys in a hot car where she enjoyed the closed air surrounding nearly suffocating that added to her sexual pleasure, when she otherwise could not enjoy with them. She calls those encounters as having a shade of autoerotic asphyxiation. The fifth edition of *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders* defines this disorder as "Asphyxiophilia" under the category of Sexual Masochism Disorder, where a person is aroused sexually by the suffocated breathing, "Sexual Masochism Disorder. . . With asphyxiophilia: If the individual engages in the practice of achieving sexual arousal related to restriction of breathing" (694).

Celeste keeps eye on Jack secretly to learn more about his family and his ways. She fantasizes about Jack, being in front of her so that she would feel the heat of his genital organ and enjoy oral sex with him. She watches him from the street doing routine work and starts masturbating. It is this masturbation to her deviant sexual fantasies that increases her interest in fourteen-year-old boys. D. R. Evans, a Canadian psychologist in his article titled, "Masturbatory Fantasy and Sexual Deviation" asserts very aptly, "masturbation to deviant fantasy tends to increase

the habit strength of sexual deviations" (17). She gets completely sweat out while masturbating and goes back to her home in sweat so that Ford would believe that she has worked out in gym and is too tired to engage in any sexual activity.

Celeste manipulates Jack's budding sexuality to satisfy her illicit desires. She pursues sexual relation with his father, Buck as well to gain access to his home more often. She remains successful in contemplating Jack only after observing him as a vulnerable child. She comes to know that his parents were divorced and the absence of a cordial bond between father and son serves to help her more in achieving her target easily. David Finkelhor in his research article titled, "Current Information on the Scope and Nature of Child Sexual Abuse" very aptly asserts regarding the children who are usually at high risk of abuse that:

The risk factors for sexual abuse that do show up most consistently in epidemiological studies are those elements of the child's environment related to parental inadequacy, unavailability, conflict, and a poor parent-child relationship. In many studies, for example, children who lived for extended periods of time apart from one parent have been found to bear elevated risks for sexual abuse. Marital conflict also seems to create vulnerability for abuse. (48)

Celeste traps another shy student in her class named Boyd, after Jack leaves to live with his mother and changes his school. Jack's father dies of heart attack on seeing his son and Celeste in sexual intercourse. She finds Jack's house as the best place to carry on her sexual relation with Boyd, in Jack's absence. One day Jack catches Celeste and Boyd in a state of sexual intercourse. He gets shocked and while in a state of rage, hits Boyd on his head to make him fall with excessive bleeding. Jack feels betrayal when his trust on Celeste breaks. Celeste is least worried about his mental shock and worries more about her secret being disclosed.

While Boyd is in bleeding state, Jack holds Celeste from her shoulders and neck with his hands covered in blood. He asks her reasons for deceiving him and blames her for murdering his father. But then a thought of being caught strikes his mind and he runs away from there. Celeste could not understand anything and she chases him with a knife, running after him naked. The neighbours see her naked and call the police. Her case brings a lot of media attention and she is detained after that. Celeste's uncontrolled sexual desires and her acting on those desires appear

to be beyond normal and thus she can be referred to as a "Sexual Psychopath" along with a paedophile.

She is aware of the unacceptable sexual expression that she possesses and is least worried about the impact that the child would have because of her depraved actions. Benjamin Karpman, an American psychiatrist in his article titled, "The Sexual Psychopath" elaborates upon the term "sexual psychopathy" which means a sane person who has lost his power to direct his sexual impulses in a repeated transgression in sexual behaviour and the person is likely to inflict any kind of pain on the object of his desire.

Celeste gets astonished on being caught by the police but more than that, she worries about getting caught by her husband, Ford. It is not that she feels his pain or suffering, but she fears of losing an opportunity to maintain a false image of being married, in society. He gets shocked on hearing the news regarding his wife but Celeste lacks empathy for her husband and for deceiving him in such a manner. While pondering over a common unpleasant and perplexing theme that is present in the case histories of all the psychopaths, Robert D. Hare in his book *Without Conscience: The Disturbing World of the Psychopaths Among Us* evaluates the presence of a lack of empathy to feel the pain of others.

He writes, "They seem unable to "get into the skin" or to "walk in the shoes" of others, except in a purely intellectual sense. The feelings of other people are of no concern to psychopaths" (45).

Celeste is set free after accepting a plea deal of probation for a period of four years where she is not allowed to visit within an area of one thousand yards near school. She is not to be left unsupervised among children under the age of eighteen and she has to attend sessions for convicted female sexual offenders. After a year of Celeste's release, she is permitted to move to a beach town. She starts working at a cabana bar for a seventy-year-old man named Dave, too fond of offensive jokes. She begins to think about starting her age-preventive treatment for maintaining her youth and get engaged after her trial ends, to another wealthy man for financial assistance.

She formulates strategy for catching her future prey that would be only motherless boys or those who were so sexually ravenous that they would not mind her worn-out condition. Celeste fantasizes both Jack and Boyd but their adult images in her mind make her feel sickened and masturbation difficult for her. In order to orgasm, she re-imagines the past, with

Jack suffering a fatal wound at her hands in woods when she ran behind him with knife in her hand and Boyd dead at Jack's bed due to shock and bleeding from the back of his skull.

Conclusion

The novel ends with weird imagination of the female paedophile, Celeste Price. It is left open ended as there is no revelation of her fate afterwards and she is only fantasizing about her future. It is not made clear how society receives her after few years. It very well elaborates the ways in which a sexually offending and paedophilic female school teacher tracks fourteen-year-old children, attempts sometimes successfully and sometimes unsuccessfully at trapping them and misuses their developing urges towards satisfying herself. She plays with the emotions of her students and the other people associated with her. However, it is clearly evident through her ways, that the children, who never fall prey to her shrewdness or for whom she could not think of pursuing, were those who shared a healthy and friendly bond with their parents or were bold enough to express their feelings openly without any fear and were extroverts.

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Depiction of Women in Indian English Novels

Dr. Reshma Banu*

[The perception of women in Indian female novelists has undergone change during the last four decades. Female characters from 1980s onwards portrayed by them defy marriage and motherhood. They have moved away from traditional portrayals of enduring, self-sacrificing female characters to more dynamic, ready to unyoke the barriers of tradition, and to spend their lives in search for identity within and outside the social system.]

The works of some recent well-known Indian English women writers like Shashi Deshpande, Anita Desai, Bharati Mukherjee Kiran Desai and others offer full range of experience of the emerging Indian women who are rooted in traditions. She is firmly committed to redefining her role-relatedness to various institutions of the society in the light of modern thought and consciousness. They have also analysed the socio-cultural modes and values that have given Indian new rules and images as their well-argued motives and efforts to achieve a harmonious relationship with their surroundings.

Feminist approach is prominent in modern and postmodern literature. The modern and postmodern women writers advocate feminist approach in their writings. Feminist literature in English is not a recent innovation. It is a product of the Western liberalisation in general and feminist thought in particular. The 'feminism' is world-wide movement to secure equality of women with men with all human rights-social, political, economic, moral, religious, education and so on.

Feminism argues that a woman should be left alone to live on her own strength and means to fight against the unjust system and obtain her own subsistence and thereby remove her dependence status. It is an assertion of the value of woman as woman, and expression of struggle to establish a woman's identity. It is global and revolutionary ideology signifying the emergence of female power in order to get rid of their excessive and undue dependence on men. It is socio cultural movement that aims at the freedom of women from male domination in the patriarchal society. In patriarchal culture woman is a social construct.

Feminism is generally seen as a struggle against all are patriarchal and sexiest oppression. It is concerned with the emancipation of women by liberating them from man's domination. It demands that women should be treated as an autonomous individuals and not passive objects that equal attention and opportunities should be given to women for education and employment for their economic independence.

What particularly signifies the situation of a woman is that she finds herself living in a world where she is compelled to assume the status of the other. Society decrees that women are inferior to men. Legally, she has been given equal rights with men but the submissive and gentle nature of women embedded deeply into their psyche, which did not disturb the male dominance in the family. The issues regarding feminism have been keenly handled in the works of Indian English fiction writers like Anita Desai, Shashi Deshpande, Bharati Mukherjee, Geeta Hariharan, Kamala Markandaya, Shobha De; Arundhati Roy, Mahashweta Devi, Nayantara Sahgal etc. This Indian women novelist have presented women's issues realistically, both psychological and physically, in their novels.

They have broken the literary and social norms of the past by studying deep into psyche of their characters and projected various images of women and their status in society. The present research article deals with the feminist aspects and images of women in Indian English fiction with special reference to the select novels of some Indian women writers.

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Anita Desai, one of the prominent Indian women English novelists, was born on June 24, 1937 in Delhi to German mother and Bengali father. She grew of speaking German at home and Bengal, Urdu, Hindi and English at school and in the city streets. She married Ashwin Desai, a businessman and they have four children, including Booker Prize winning novelist Kiran Desai. Her first book 'Cry, the peacock' was published in England in 1963 and other novels include 'In custody' (1984) and 'Baumgartner's Bombay' (1988).

She is a very distinguished Indian novelist and has been recognised as such both in Indian and abroad. Women writers of all ages naturally prefer to write about women characters. Anita Desai is an exception in so far as she has written by and large about women characters throughout her fiction. Her female characters go through psychological turning point. She herself has admitted that she is a painter of the inner world of her protagonists. Being writer, she is more aware of the pains and pangs of the women and she tries to present psychological world of the woman through her fiction, shedding light on the psyche, tortures, familiar troubles, partial social treatment and maladjustment, outdated social and cultural traditions which affect the psychological life of the women.

Throughout her novels and short stories, Desai focuses on the personal struggles of anglicized middle-class women in contemporary India and their attempt to overcome the societal limitations imposed by a tradition-bound patriarchal culture. Horror novels move around female characters although she is preoccupied with the theme of incompatible marital couples. Most of Desai's works engage the complexities of modern Indian culture far form feminine perspective highlighting female Indian predicament of maintaining a self-identity as an individual.

Cry the Peacock is a novel mainly concerned with the theme of disharmony between husband and wife relationship. It deals with the psychological consciousness of the female protagonist and is aptly illustrated amidst detailed images, monologues and flashbacks. The female character Maya in the novel envelopes the reader as she unfolds the growth, development and climax of her neurosis. Maya is young girl obsessed by a childhood prediction of disaster that the story unfolds that Maya's father

without thinking much married her of to his one lawyer friend Gautam who was middle-aged man. The marriage was never fruitful and slowly Maya turns into psychopath whose emotional needs were seen to be collided with that extremely practical outlook of her husband.

The climax of the story lies when Maya's attachment with her father further develops into an 'Electra Complex' which again acts as the catalyst in following her marital relationship with her husband becoming extremely frustrated. Maya then looks back to the class of her childhood spent with her father. This reminds her of those long-lost days and serves as the defense mechanism to set her free from her inner frustration and conflicts. This dark state of affairs is again unacceptable to the conscious mind of Maya. She relaxes her tension by pondering unconsciously on how "peacocks break their bodies" in order to receive their own pain. Then comes the sense of violence, the feeling of killing or get killed that engulfs Maya.

The violent desire of killing her husband is an awakening from her own frustration as a revenge against his icy old impressiveness. The very concept that women need something more than just food clothes and recommendations are applied instead in this novel. The hypersensitive mind of the woman is illustrated by Anita Desai in the tender way where the atmosphere of tension is set ideal against the backdrop.

In her novels like *Cry The Peacock*, *Voices In The City*, and *Fire on the Mountain*, Anita Desai has explored the psyche of both childless women and women with children, and has covered women of all age groups and types Anita Desai's work represents a unique blending of the Indian and Western her novels that catch the bewilderment of the individual psyche confronted with the overbearing socio-cultural environment and the ever-beckoning modern promise of self and self-fulfillment.

Shashi Deshpande, born in 1938, is one of the leading post-Independent India's women fiction writers. She is known for her sincerity and ability in voicing the concern of the urban educated middle-class women. Her novels reflect the gamut of Indian cultural issues. She is the living dynamic woman writer on Indian English literary horizon with seven

novels and four collections of short stories to her credit. She has been awarded with prestigious Sahitya Academy Award for her novel *That long silence* in 1990. Her novels like 'The dark holds no Terrors' 1980, 'Roots and Shadows' 1982, 'That long Silence' 1988, 'The binding Vine' 1993, 'A matter of Time' 1996, 'Small Remedies' 2000 etc., reflect images of women and feminine consciousness.

The protagonist of her novels are tradition-bound women who stand on the threshold of modernity, the new vistas offering them new opportunities but the old values holding them back. Through her work, she tries to depict the struggle of a contemporary Indian woman who is educated and economically strong, but yet succumbs to the pressures of marriage and society, and turns into another submissive one. For her, her novels are about the women trying to understand themselves, their history, their roles and their place in the society.

Her novel, 'That Long Silence', tells us the story of men and women from woman's point of view and of wife and husband from the wife's point of view. She expresses the silence of the women protagonist Jaya as expression of the silence of the modern Indian housewife. Although modern women writers tried to express the silence that had turned women into non-entities; they could only provide psychological depth to their characters. They either created unreal sentimental romance or succumbed to the temptation of feminist ideology. But Shashi Deshpande's success lies in her representation of real-life experience. She realistically depicts the inner complete of Jaya and her quest for the self-identity.

The novel sustains its credibility from the fact that Jaya is a convent educated- English- speaking lady with the literary taste It portrays the conflict ranging between the narrators split self and the housewife. Jaya represents urban and middle-Class woman. Her upbringing demands the suppression of the self. Pent-up feelings make her neurotic (she is) and content to play the role of caring wife but like Sita, she fails to accompany her husband in exile. The experience turns out to be thematic as she lives for several days in her traumatic state. That Long Silence is the masterpiece of feminist writings in Indo-

Anglican fiction that raises the status of Shashi Deshpande among writers of the present.

The novel highlights the image of middle-class women sandwiched between tradition and modernity. The novel is about gender discrimination and inequality prevalent in the society. Here the protagonists raised voice against the role of models of the age-old patriarchal setup. Romantic appearance is the familiar mark of the new woman but she concludes that husband is sheltering tree and see play again the role of an orthodox Hindu wife. Shashi Deshpande's protagonists look silent and their silence becomes their destiny and their silence is imposed one. For PG Joshi, Deshpande suggests that women prepare to remain silent about their conditions and when they begin to assume 'Terminator Mode' that finally results in the definition of women.

Women refuse to react to this domination either in speech or action and this makes them silent forever. In Shashi Deshpande's novels silence has negative connotations. It stands for passivity, inactivity, fear, escapism, the inability to communicate and so on. (2003, 71). Though women seem silent, meek and ill initially, they emerge as also strong individuals as we reach the climax of the story. In some novels, her female characters are close to life with real joys, woes, desires and aspirations. The same are ready to fight the male dominance in their own way not overthrowing their marriage or discarding their home and children but while balancing their newfound individually with their traditional roles of mother and wife.

Bharati Mukherjee, an Indian immigrant in the USA, is one of the major novelists of Indian diaspora. She contributed to the field of fiction writing with special focus on dysphoric experience. She was educated in India, England, Canada and America when she was in Canada, she married a Canadian novelist in America immigrated to Canada with her husband and became naturalized citizen. Her life in Canada was very hard as she found herself discriminated and treated as a member of the visible minority. She said in her many interviews about her difficult life in Canada, a country that she is as hostile

to its immigrants. Source of our creative writing for works focuses on the status of new immigrants and the feelings of alienation often experienced by expatriates. Her biography and her work have close connection.

In her novel *Jasmine*, Jyoti an innocent Hindu girl, begins her life in a small village Hasnapur in Punjab and ends up in Iowa. Gist of the novel undergoes the experience of expatriates in the new land of multicultural society. The protagonist was married in her teenage to Prakash, a young engineer and a modem city-man; who always thinks of making India new and modern. He refuses Hindu traditions, feudalism in Indian society. Marriage with Prakash brings different change in her life. Prakash changes her name to Jasmine and he wants her to modify her lifestyle according to his own thoughts. Having known the nuances of the of the traditional Indian society where usually women are not allowed to address their husbands by their name directly forever; Prakash wants Jasmine to call him by his first name. She is happy with Prakash because for her Prakash is an idealist and man of dynamic vision but unfortunately are married life is cut short as Prakash died in the bomb explosion.

After the death of her husband, she was not ready to go with her mother and having been widowed, she wants to complete the incomplete mission of husband. Jyoti dies with the death of Prakash and Jasmine, who is the product of new life created by Prakash, towers over new life. She decided to fulfill the plans of her husband and her brothers made illegal document and for convenience her age was portrayed as 19-year old. As a lonely girl, Jyoti turns towards the USA in the search of another destiny.

Throughout the novel the protagonist Jasmine seems to disconnect and again relocate herself during her journey developed in the different stages like Jyoti, Jasmine, Khali and Jane. Each stage provides new experience to her and she is transformed in various images of stages. Transformation is full of violence, fear and terror. Each stage of her life ends in the fear and terror. Each stage of her life is spent fair and Jasmine undergoes several transformations during her journey of life in America from Jyoti to Jasmine. After experiencing deep sense of estrangement resulting in her fluid state of identity, this journey becomes a tale of moral courage in search for self-awareness and self-assertion. Uprooted from her native land India, Jyoti does her best to introduce herself into the new culture as an immigrant. Throughout her life Jasmine has created many selves and she is aware of the fact that is now the power to continue and create her new identity, get the idea of the familiar terrain, and approaching her journey from Hasnapur to the USA is not geographical only but it is from Indian feudalism to modern liberalism.

In a nutshell, many Indian women novelists have explored female subjectivity in order to establish the identity that is not imported by a patriarchal society the image of the new woman and her struggle for an identity of her own also. Images in the Indian English novel project female struggle that needs support structures outside the family to enable to survive. Anita Desai Shashi Deshpande and Bharati Mukherjee have presented the image of suffering woman preoccupied with her inner world, her sulking frustration and the storm within, along with existential predicament of women in male-dominated society. Women characters they have portrayed epitomize Indian women and other suffering wives and mothers silenced by patriarchy.

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Cultural Practices and Gender Inequality in Adi Society, Arunachal Pradesh

Kasimang Moyong*

[*Most of the tribal societies in India's north-eastern region are patriarchal in nature, resulting in male domination. Although, the status of women varies in different societies and particularly northeast tribal women appear to enjoy higher status and freedom as compared to the rest of the country but in reality, traditional and customary practices act as flag bearers of female discrimination. Undeniably, with the onset of modernity and development programmes women have come to enjoy more freedom and economic independent; nonetheless, they are entangled with the traditional and customary laws which prohibit their mobility and create gender disparity. Women still suffer profoundly. Gender roles are socially constructed which validate the status of women in particular societal roles through its culture, socialisation and inequalities that determine the position of the women in the society*.]

Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim are some of the most ethnically and linguistically diverse regions in India. Located in the northeastern India, they contain some of the highest concentrations of tribal population in the country (Shimray, 2004). These tribes are patrilineal, with a few exceptions and can be identified by their distinct historical, cultural, social, and linguistic thumbprints. Women in these regions, compared with their counterparts in other parts of the country, appear to be more flexible and less restrained by social strictures.

In fact, northeastern women are portrayed to be enjoying higher status and greater freedom in terms of mobility and equal opportunity of rights (Xaxa, 2008). Although, the tribes, unlike the mainland India, do not encourage practices like the dowry system or restrict the mobility of the women; but in reality, the women are obliged to follow certain customary laws that reinforce male dominance and gender inequality, particularly amongst the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. This is equally true of the Adi community, one of the major tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. It comprises more than fifteen sub-groups that inhabit the districts of Siang, East Siang, Upper Siang, West Siang, Lohit, Namsai and some parts of Lower Dibang Valley.

Thus, the study area of my paper is based on the Adi women of Arunachal Pradesh, who are perceived to possess equivalent freedom, equal rights and opportunities as the male members of their society.

Nevertheless, in reality there exists an indubitable discrimination against women enforced through their system of traditional and customary practices. The paper therefore aims to look at the influence of cultural practices as flag bearers for gender inequality among the Adi tribe of Arunachal Pradesh. The paper also explains how the Adi women still play a submissive role in social life even after being economically, socially and politically empowered, as they are held back and entangled within the tradition and customary practices.

Social Moral Which Portray Women as Inferior

Adi society, like most of the tribal societies, do not have any written records but possess a rich oral history in the form of legends, myths and folktales which have been transmitted from generation to generation (Tabi, 2006:1-4). Oral transmission plays a dual role of positive preservation of traditional practices and negative perpetuation of customs that may have become obsolete in the society. Thus, they continue to this day in the 21st century, phrases and metaphors are prevalent and in common use among the Adis that portray women as inferior and negative.

Various phrases for instance, the Adi men believe that if a woman touches their hunting weapons before going out on hunting, it may bring bad luck or omen for the whole group. Therefore, in general women are strongly restricted from touching and handling male hunting weapons as even the women would not want to bring bad luck and omen to the male members while hunting. Among the Mizos is a saying, which compares a woman and old fence, and says that both can be replaced at any time.

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Again, the way the frugal meat extracted from the crab is not, counted as meat, similarly, women's word cannot be given credence equal to a man's word. Another saying equates unthreatened wife with a creeper and states that are both unbearable (Dena, 2008). Therefore, according to Chakraborty (2008), such sayings indicate 'historical and substantial roles ascribed to women along with stereotyped construction and justifications of gendered practices in the society' (Chakraborty, 2008:28).

Further, the patriarchal Adi society believed that women are not capable of heading community meetings or participating in decision-making; rather their binding duties and responsibilities to take care of household chores and rearing of children. Some of the women, I interacted with during the course of my study, confided that during their monthly cycle women are not allowed to go near 'Banggo Resingg' (a place where head of male family carries out rituals especially after hunting). In addition, they are prohibited to go to Mushup (male gathering place/ dormitory) during this period of time. Lucy Vashum Zehol corroborates in her article 'Status of Tribal Women' that taboos of practices can be seen in the northeast India, where contact with women on certain occasions is considered to bring misfortune and bad luck to men (Vashum, 2003).

Gender Socialisation and Division of Work

The pattern of socialisation in the Adi society has been shaped by the deeply rooted culture of patriarchy. Thus, when a child is being born, gender socialisation starts from that moment and does affect the 'self-concepts of women and men, their social and political attitudes, their feelings and relationships and their perceptions about the other people' (Anderson and Howard, 2008: 305). Further, gender socialisation also grows in the mind-set and is reflected as 'self-concepts of women and men in the social context.

This mode of socialisation and influence has a greater impact on the societal proclivity, attitudes and outlook. Conversely, 'Socialisation is also deûned as the process through which people come to know about the expectations of the society' (Anderson and Howard, 2008:66). Besides, gender expectations in the meanwhile come to influence the way boys and girls are treated and teach their gender roles (Basin, 2000).

In the Adi society, the boys and girls are taught to act and follow certain ways of division of work, where the girl child is schooled into the home-based or indoor domestic duties and household chores like cooking, washing, carrying water, cleaning the house, and looking after their younger siblings. While boys are taught and prepared for outdoor activities like; working in paddy fields, cutting firewood, fishing and hunting etc. This process of social conditioning results in the men considering doing household chores as undignified work; and conveniently extrapolated into other spheres and social positioning within the Adi society.

Subsequently, such a framework reflects the basic differentiating factors as assigned specific roles by the cultural norms for men and women in society. According to Lakshmi (2007), 'there is always an expected role from the girl child how she has to behave and remain at home to look after the family. Since childhood the girl child are being made to think that the domestic activities and nurturing are women's work and on the other hand boys are made to supervise outside work, depicting the 'gender-stereotypical roles' (Lakshmi, 2007:213).

But in the present contemporary societies, the economic potential of women no longer restricts them to only household or agricultural work. The rapid onset of development programmes and economic changes has disrupted the traditional structure and stratification of society and allowed women to win and secure new positions and status. Therefore, modernisation has brought enormous changes for both men and women across the globe and consequently the tribal societies have also been drawn into this 'brave new world'.

Unfortunately, it has not made traditional female role any lighter. Educated women who have started working in government and in private jobs now carry a double burden of domestic and professional roles, which makes it difficult for women to compete at par with their male counterparts, who only carry one role. This is the reason why men are better trained in their respective profession and have achieved higher positions than that of women generally in the society as they do not have to carry the double burden of work (Basin, 2000).

In the Adi society no matter how great a woman's achievement may be, the society still expects from a woman, by virtue of her gender, to look after the household work and all other responsibilities.

Gender and Customary Laws

Almost in every tribal society, the gender inequality can be constructed and interpreted through the customary law of the tribal communities in the region. Customary law is part of the tribal traditional customs and practices where the tribes considered it 'intrinsic to their identity and culture' (Fernandes and Gita, 2009: 95). Most of the tribal societies in the northeast India are patriarchal in nature and form patrilineal societies. Thereupon, the male possess supreme power over the women subjugation and the descent is traced from father to son except for the state of Meghalaya, where the Garos and the Khasis follow the matrilineal system and descent is traced from mother to the daughter.

Still, the family or kin group system is never allowed to be represented through women; and therefore, by default, a patriarchy prevails, without rights at the social level. Therefore, even though women have property rights in the matrilineal society, and when it comes to decision-making whether it is in patrilineal or matrilineal societies, men always rule over the society (Gneezy, 2009).

In the Adi society, though customary laws prevailed through the immemorial rules that laid the societal framework, based on experiences and conventional constructs; they simultaneously sustained the inherent and inescapable gender inequality. This is evident from the customary laws which involved a clear depiction of roles of men and women regarding certain acceptance of behaviour and rights; naturally geared to dominance of male power and rights over property over generations.

The girl child has no rights over family property. Even when a man is without a son the property is passed down to the closest relative of the family, the girl child in the family has no right over inheritance of property (Borang, 2013:68-74). Women have no role in decision-making; they have no privilege in sharing their ideas and even in participating in the political activities. Although, there was no restriction in making their voice heard and her opinion known in the social institution (Roy, 1960:206).

In the present Adi society, the importance and value of customary laws is still very much alive and respected among the Adi community. Although Adi Bane Kebang, which is the apex body of the Adi society established for the benefit and welfare of the Adi community, still does not allow women participation in decision-making policy and property rights.

Conclusion

The distinction between men and women are the outcome of the way of socialisation from very early age towards the responsibilities of the household activities which are socially and culturally transmitted from the society. Even with the onset of development programmes and modernity most of the women folks still considered themselves inferior in society, despite their educational and economic parity with men. Since the society is flooded with male domination in the field of economic, social, political and cultural institutions, it reflects clear gender-biased inequalities in the society.

Although, modernization has brought changes both in men and women but the traditional and customary practices influence the behavior towards the women in particular. The study has also found how the traditional and customary practices overlap with gender equity, women's liberation and their empowerment in the name of preserving traditional customs and tribal identities. The customary law of all the community needs to be grounded on equality and human rights such that both the men and women are given equal rights and status in the society.

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Village Panchayats in Tamil Nadu

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[Gandhiji believed that democratic freedoms have to be founded in institutions of self-government in every village in Indian. He drew his inspiration from the traditional Panchayats 'village republics', which he called Panchayati Raj. He based his vision of contemporary democracy in independent India on genuine peoples' participation in the development and welfare of their own habitats through elected Panchayats.]

Today, more than 26 lakh representatives stand elected to the three levels of Panchayats. Of these, over 10 lakh are women, 5.2 lakh belong to the Scheduled Castes and 3.3 lakh to the Scheduled Tribes. The last fifteen years of Panchayati Raj have thus succeeded in empowering marginalized groups who have gained political representation and valuable experience. Many of them have successfully taken on the challenge of governance and brought about enduring social change through their close links with the community.

Constitution of Panchayat at Village Level

Panchayat at the village level in Tamil Nadu is called Village Panchayat. Every village Panchayat consists of the elected Members, like the Members of the House of People and the Members of the State Legislative Assembly representing a part or whole of the Village Panchayat whose constituencies lie within

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the Village Panchayat and the Member of the Council of States who is registered as elector within the Village Panchayat, shall be entitled to take part in the proceedings, and vote at the meeting of the Village Panchayat. Village Panchayats in Namakkal District have been constituted as per Section 6 (1) to (3) of Tamil Nadu Panchayat Act, 1994.

Formation and incorporation of Village Panchayat

The inspector shall, by notification, classify and declare every local area comprising a revenue village or villages or any portion of a revenue village or contiguous portions of two or more revenue villages with a population estimated at not less than five hundred as a Panchayat Village for the purpose of this Act; and shall, by notification, specify the name of such Panchayat Village. The Inspector may, by notification, exclude from a Panchayat Village any area comprised therein, provided that the population of the Panchayat Village after such exclusion, is not less than five hundred. In regard to any area excluded under clause (a), the Inspector shall by notification under sub-section (1) declare it to be Panchayat Village if it has a population of not less than five

hundred or it its population is less than five hundred, include it in any contiguous Panchayat Village under clause (c), (i).

The Inspector may, by any notifications include in a Panchayat Village any local area contiguous thereto; or cancel or modify notification issued under sub Section (1); or alter the name of any Panchayat Village specified under sub-section.

An order made under sub-section (4) may contain such supplemental, incidental and consequential provisions as the Inspectors may deem necessary, and in particular may direct that any tax, fee or other sum due to the Village Panchayat or where a Village Panchayat has ceased to exercise jurisdiction over any local area, such tax, fee or other sum due to the Village Panchayat as relates to that area shall be payable to such authorities as may be specified in the order; that appeals, petitions, or other applications with reference to any such tax, fee or sum which are pending on the date on which the Village Panchayat ceased to exist or, as the case may be, on the date on which the Village Panchayat ceases to exercise jurisdiction over the Local area, shall be disposed of by such authorities as may be specified in the order. Formation and incorporation of Village Panchayat in Namakkal District have been made as per Section 4(1) to (5) of Tamil Nadu Panchayat Act, 1994.

Election of Members of Village Panchayat

The number of elected members of a Village Panchayat shall consist of persons elected from the wards in the Village Panchayat, as may be notified from time to time by the Government based on the population of the village as ascertained at the last preceding census, provided that no person shall be eligible to be elected under this Act as member of more than one Village Panchayat. Election of members of Village Panchayat in Namakkal District has been held as per Section 10 of Tamil Nadu Panchayat Act, 1994.

Duration of Village Panchayat

Every Village Panchayat constituted under this Act unless sooner dissolved shall continue for five years from the date appointed for its first meeting after each ordinary election and no longer. Where a Village Panchayat is dissolved before the expiration of the said period of five years, election to reconstitute such Village Panchayat shall be completed as soon as may be, and in any case, before the expiration of a period of six months from the date of such dissolution.

Provided that where a Village Panchayat is dissolved within six months before the expiration of the said period of five years, it shall be not be necessary to hold any election to such Village Panchayat. Duration of Village Panchayat in Namakkal District has been made as per Section 9(1) and (2) of Tamil Nadu Panchayat Act, 1994.

Reservation of Seats in Village Panchayat

Seats shall be reserved for the persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in every Village Panchayat and the number of seats so reserved shall bear as nearly as may be, the same proportion to the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in that Village Panchayat as the population of the Scheduled Castes in that Village Panchayat area or of the Scheduled Tribes in that Village Panchayat area bears to the total population of that area.

Seats shall be reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes from among the seats reserved for the persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, which shall not be less than one-third of the total number of seats reserved for the persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Seats shall be reserved for women in the Village Panchayat and number of seats reserved for women shall not be less than one-third (including the number of seats reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes) of the total number of seats in the Village Panchayat.

Provided that such seats reserved for women shall be allotted by rotation to different territorial wards in such manner as the Government may, by notification, direct. Reservation of seats of Village Panchayat in Namakkal District has been provided as per Section 11(1) to (4) of Tamil Nadu Panchayat Act, 1994.

Term of Office of Members in Village Panchayat

Except as otherwise provided in this Act, members of the Village Panchayat elected at an ordinary election, shall hold office for a term of five years. The term of office of the Members elected at an ordinary election shall commence on the date appointed for the first meeting of the Village Panchayat after ordinary election. The Member of a Village Panchayat elected in a casual vacancy, shall enter upon office forth with but shall hold office only so long as the Member in whose place he is elected would have been entitled to hold office if the vacancy had not occurred. The term of office of members in Village Panchayat of Namakkal District has been fixed

as per Section 13(1) to (3) of Tamil Nadu Panchayat Act, 1994.

General Powers of Village Panchayat

Subject to the provisions of this Act and the rules made thereunder, a Village Panchayat may also make such provisions as it thinks fit for carrying out the requirements of the village in respect of the following matters, namely the planting and preservation of trees on the sides of all public roads in the Village subject to mutually agreed terms and conditions between the Village Panchayat and the authority which maintains the road in case the road is not maintained by the Village Panchayat itself.

The lighting of public roads and public places in areas other than built-up areas; the opening and maintenance of public markets other than markets which are classified as Block Panchayat markets; the control of fairs and festivals other than those classified as Block Panchayat fairs and festivals; the opening and maintenance of public landing places, halting places and cart-stands and of public cattle-sheds; the opening and maintenance of public slaughter-houses; the opening and maintenance of reading rooms; the establishment and maintenance of wireless receiving sets, playgrounds, parks, sports clubs and centers of physical culture; the opening and maintenance of literacy centers and centers for imparting social education; and the construction of works of public utility and the provisions of other facilities for the safety, health, comfort, convenience, culture or recreation of the inhabitants of the village provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to water supply for non-irrigation purposes and to sewerage. General Powers of Village Panchayat in Namakkal District have been prescribed as per Section 164(a) to (d) of Tamil Nadu Panchayat Act, 1994.

Functions of Village Panchayat

Subject to the provisions of this Act and the rules made there under, it shall be the duty of Village Panchayat, within the limits of its funds, to make reasonable provision for carrying out the requirements of the Panchayat Village in respect of the following matters, namely the construction, repair and maintenance of all village roads, that is to say, all public roads in the village (other than those classified as National Highways, State Highways, major District roads and Block Panchayat roads) and of all bridges, culverts, road-dams and causeways on such roads; the lighting of public roads and public places in built-up areas; the construction of drains and the disposal of drainage water not including sewerage; the cleaning of streets, the removal of rubbish heaps, jungle-growth and prickly-pear, the filling in of disused wells, in sanitary ponds, pools, ditches, pits or hollows and other improvements of the sanitary condition of the Village.

Besides, it will also include: the provision of public latrines and arrangements to cleanse latrines whether public or private; the opening and maintenance of burial and burning grounds; the sinking and repairing of wells, the excavation, repair and maintenance of ponds or tanks and the construction and maintenance of water-works for the supply of water for washing and bathing purposes; and such other duties as the Government may, by notification, impose. Functions of Village Panchayat in Namakkal District have been prescribed as per Section 110(a) to (g) of Tamil Nadu Panchayat Act, 1994.

Gram Sabha

The Gram Sabha is the grassroots level democratic institution in each Village Panchayat. A vibrant Gram Sabha is essential for the effective functioning of Village Panchayats by promoting transparency and accountability in administration, enhancing public participation in the planning and implementation of schemes and in the choice of beneficiaries, and paving the way for social audit. Gram Sabha shall statutorily be conducted in such a way that the intervening period between two meetings of Gram Sabha shall not exceed a period of 6 months. The Government have ordered for the conduct of Gram Sabha meetings, a minimum of four times a year i.e. on 26th January, 1st May, 15th August and 2nd October.

Recording of Gram Sabha attendance and proceedings through proper registers and keeping photographed record have been made mandatory for the conduct of Gram Sabha.

The Gram Sabha performs the following functions:

1. Approves the Village Development Plan.
2. Approves the Village Panchayat Budget.
3. Approves the Audit Report.
4. Reviews the progress of scheme implementation.
5. Approves the list of beneficiaries, intended to be benefitted under various schemes.
6. Promotes communal and social harmony among various groups of people.

The details relating to the organizational structure of the Rural Development Administration in Tamil Nadu and Panchayati Raj Institutions have elucidated above in accordance with the provisions of the prevailing acts. Successful functioning of the Panchayati Raj institutions is key to the grassroots democracy in India.

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Folk Customs of Thengal Kachari community of Assam

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[Social folk customs are one of the most important area of folklore. This area of folklore lies between oral literature and material culture. According to R.M. Dorson, "Here the emphasis is on group interaction rather than on individual skills and performances." The field of social folk customs include the folkways, traditions, taboos etc. of the society which are often recognised by the society as social behaviours. These social behaviours are practised by the members of the society generations after generations.]

Different society has different social customs. These are as divergent that an action looked upon as commendable and laudable in one society may even be condemned in the other. Each society tries to emphasise its own social customs and organises the life of society in accordance with them. The Thengal Kacharis are one of the ethnic communities of Assam and they also have their own social folk customs. This ethnic group is one of the sub-groups of the Kachari group and they are very close to the Sonowal Kachari group of Assam. The major concentration of the Thengal Kachari population is in Jorhat, Golaghat and Lakhimpur districts of Assam. There are few Thengal villages in Dibrugarh, Dhemaji and Karbi Anglomg districts of Assam.

In this paper an attempt has been made to focus on the social folk customs associated with the rites of passage i.e. birth, puberty marriage and death of the Thengal Kacharis residing in Assam.

Customs associated with birth

When a child takes birth to a family, there are some customs which are followed by the Thengals. Though the world of today is a modern world, yet the customs are still seen to be carried on. Specially people residing in the village areas carry on the practices and customs, in a Thengal family when a woman gets pregnant, there is a belief that the husband should not kill any animal till the child is born. The person does not go to the cremation ground during this period.

After the child takes birth the role of an elderly women (midwife) becomes active. The midwife cleans the baby and the umbilical cord is cut by a sharp-edged slip of a bamboo. There is a custom of keeping the umbilical cord in a box. This is practised in many other communities of Assam also. When the new born baby comes to a family, there is a custom of hanging 'bagari jeng' (leafless branches and twigs of the plum tree), 'rash' (the reed of an Assamese loom) at the entrance of the room of the mother so that no evil eyes would fall on her.

There is another custom of keeping a sickle or anything made of iron under the mattress of the mother. This custom is prevalent among other communities of Assam also. Besides these there is a custom known as 'mukhbhanga' among the Thengal Kacharis like the other ethnic groups residing in Assam. This custom is practised to prevent the new born child from any evil eyes. In the custom of 'mukhbhanga' a fire is burnt near

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the mother of the new-born child and some mustard seeds are out into the fire by chanting some charms.

When the child completes three days of his/her birth, there is another custom of 'Kosujal' (curry of kosusak i.e. arum leaves with pepper). There is a belief among the people that the family in which a child takes birth, that family is not allowed to participate in social ceremonies as they are considered to be not pure till the umbilical cord of the child falls. When the umbilical cord falls then there is a ceremony called 'baj uluwa'. In this ceremony the child is taken out of the house to show the sun. Often the child is made to touch the bow and arrow. But now a days there are some changes to be seen also.

Customs associated with Puberty rites

Like many other communities of Assam, the Thengal Kacharis also observe the puberty rites of a girl. This is an occasion when the girl is kept separately in a room, so that no male folk would be able to see her. There is a belief in the society that till the fourth day of her attaining puberty, the girl would not be allowed to come out from the separate room. On the fourth day, the girl is made to take bath in the presence of the women folk. The bathing takes place in a 'bei' (type of square frame made of banana trees for bathing). Then the 'nuai tulani biya' (ceremony of celebrating the puberty of a girl child) is done according to the advice of an astrologer. The astrologer decides whether it will be on seventh, ninth or eleventh day.

On the day of the marriage i.e. 'nuai tulani biya' relatives and friends are invited for the occasion. There is a very symbolic representation of placing a banana tree as the husband of the girl. That tree is planted near the 'bei'. The entire ceremony is performed in the presence of the women folk and they sing the 'biya naams' (songs sung by the women folk) and the mother puts turmeric, oil etc., on the body of the girl. The young girl is then dressed as a bride. Even vermillion is put on her head, which is a recognition of a women being married. Even a symbolic tradition of putting a 'Kanai' (a bundle in the lap of the bride). The whole ceremony of this 'nuwai tuloni' is nothing but a symbolic representation of girl's maturity and adulthood. The puberty rite of the girls in Assamese society is a kind of fertility cult.

Customs associated with Death rites

Like the other ethnic groups residing in Assam, the Thengal Kacharis also perform the death rituals according to the Hindu Vedic rites. Among the Thangal Kacharis the dead bodies are cremated. In some cases, the dead bodies are buried sometimes. For instance, child or a girl who has not attained puberty and the person who has not taken 'Xarana' i.e. who has not taken refuge

to God are buried on death. When a person dies in the Thengal Kachari society, the body is taken out of the house immediately to the courtyard. The dead body is kept on a 'dhari' (mat made of bamboo) and the body is wrapped with a white cloth. There is a custom of carrying the dead body on a 'changi' (made of two pieces of bamboo on both the sides) to the place of cremation.

Along with the body of the dead, there is a custom of giving away all the belongings of the person in the fire. A pyre of seven layers of wood is made below and above the dead body and then mukhangni (setting fire on the dead body) is done. This is usually done by the eldest son of the family. All the customs are done according to the Hindu Vedic rites. The members of the family of the dead remains in fasting for three days and on the third day a ritual called 'tilani' is organised. After the 'tilani' ritual, the family members are allowed to have meal only once immediately after sunset. The family do not use oil or any kind of spice in their meal. The family members are allowed to eat 'pithaguri' (grinned rice), fruits etc. till the tenth day.
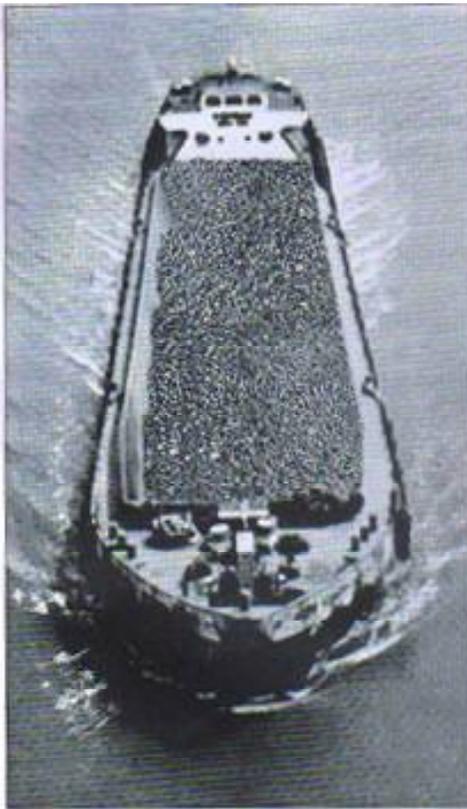
On the tenth day another ritual named 'doha' is performed. The final death ritual called 'kaj' is performed generally on the eleventh day, but some families observe it after a month. In the 'kaj' friends and relatives are invited and there is the custom of 'matsya sparsa' (eating of fish) in the evening. All the rituals of kaj are done according to the Brahmin rites/ According to Jogeswar Borah, there is a custom of mridangia gayan bayan which is a unique custom of the Thengal Kacharis. But now a days Khuliya gayan bayan are also seen to play.

The social folk customs of a particular community are an important part of any social group of Assam and are found to be very rich in their custom and traditions. But in the recent years it has been found that there are changes in their customs due to the conversion of the community into the neo-vashnavite religion. In spite of all these, a section of the intellectual group of society and many other social organizations are showing great concern to revive their lost custom and tradition.

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