Conflict Resolution: A Psychological Perspective

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Abstract

Conflict can be defined as the existence of non-compatibility or disagreements between two actors (Individuals, groups, organizations or nations) in their interaction over the issues of interests, values, beliefs, emotions, goals, space, positions, scarce resources etc. Fink defined conflict as a situation or a process in which two or more social entities are interlinked through at least one form of antagonistic psychological relation/ interaction, while Coser thought that it was a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources, wherein opponents try to neutralize, injure or even eliminate rivals.

Conflict Resolution Process calls for highly specialized expertise in this field. Academics can play a greater role as mediators, facilitators and negotiators in certain circumstances and as arbitrators in some other times to either manage or if possible resolve conflicts. In the unfortunate events of conflict escalating into violence, the academics as a third force, can organize Peace Marches, Peace Prayers and use other intervention techniques to avert the conflict from further deterioration.

Conflict resolution process requires a variety of skills and intensive training programmes to impart these skills. This training could be organized and given to the facilitators and to the members of civic bodies by the people specializing in training programmes.Academics play a key role in this process. Some of the training methods are as follows: Role plays, Brain Storming, Simulation Game, Situation Analysis, Strategy Game, Vision Gallery, Scenario Writing and Sharing, Force Field Analysis, Quick Decision Making, Flow Chart, etc. Fan Harris, a trainer in conflict resolution reported that in New York, Research in conflict resolution has a wide range of activities starting from fact finding to forecasting future conflict. Intensive research is needed in verifying the efficacy of different conflict resolution methods, documenting many case studies, identifying chronic areas of conflicts and traditional and local conflict resolution methods and skills, and analyzing the causes and effects of conflict etc. Conflict forecasting and identifying the chronic areas of conflicts help people prevent violent conflicts. To address the most difficult looking conflicts it is

crucial to draw on viable, effective and dynamic efforts of NGO's, INGO's, social movements and private citizens. Most importantly the academics, researchers and intellectuals should assume responsibility to work for near zero conflict environments.

Introduction

According to Fink, conflict is defined as any "situation or process in which two or more social entities are linked by at least one form of antagonistic psychological relation or at least one form of antagonistic interaction" (Fink, 1968). However, Coser (1956) defined conflict as "A struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources, a struggle in which the aims of opponents are to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals."

Conflict is a universal feature of human society that is an integral part of economic differentiation, social change, cultural formation, psychological development and political organization-each one of them being inherently conflictual. Either the real or perceived mutually incompatible agendas or goals shape and help conflict parties concretize. Conflict situations could occur at various levels but it is identified at the level it is contested and by the issues it is fought over, for example, scarce resources, unequal relations or competing values. The issues themselves may change with time or may itself be disputed over time. Thus in social dynamic conflicts aggravate and alleviate through a complex interaction of material conditions, mutual real threats or threat perceptions mediated by psychological attitudes and behaviors of the groups involved. It is in this backdrop that conflicts materialize.

Although the word conflict evokes negative connotations but it is an integral part of all relationships. Although conflict often is perceived as negative it has the potential to contribute positively to both the quality of relationship and personal development. Effective conflict resolution is associated with overall social competence in adolescents through the component skills of problem solving, decision making, communication, and coping (Van Slyck, Stern and Zak-Place, 1996).

Interpersonal conflict is characterized by opposition and disagreement. Conflict can take place within a dyad or as a function of family or group membership (Maccoby, 1988). Deutsch (1973) described conflicts as either constructive or destructive. Destructive conflicts transgress the immediate issues and coercion, threats or the use of state power are the strategies employed to tackle them. In short brute force is employed to settle the issue. Contrary to the destructive conflicts, the constructive conflicts focus on the presenting issue and are addressed through negotiation and compromise as conflict resolution strategies.

Conflict resolution strategies fall into three basic categories, viz.(1) power assertion (physical action, criticisms, use of threats),(2) negotiation (third-party mediation, compromise, stepping down), and (3)disengagement (dropping the topic, taking no action, walking away) (Vuchinich, 1990). Interpersonal conflict resolution strategies have been found to be a function of factors such as age, cognitive development, gender, culture, relationship type, contextual setting and personality. Conflict resolution refers to what transpires in order to bring a disagreement to an end (Laursen and Mooney, 2008). "Effective conflict resolution involves, managing the emotions evoked in a conflictual situation and using a negotiation or problem-solving process to determine a mutually acceptable solution" (Katz & Lawyer, 1993).

Conflict resolution is an indispensable part of developmental work. Inter alia one of the important lessons of conflict resolution is that short-term denial strategies will not hold on their own and must be attended by the built in middle-term persuasion strategies, long term prevention strategies and international coordination strategies. Following is a summary of component elements of constructive conflict resolution ideas of several authors in the field of conflict resolution and one should be alive to them while developing conflict resolution training programmes. Safe and neutral environment is a necessary prerequisite for successfully resolving conflicts in a nonviolent manner. Moreover, the threat perception on either side of the conflict can be ameliorated to a great extent by a clever reframing of conflicting interests into a joint problem that needs to be addressed and solved cooperatively. The whole process greatly benefits if parties are able to convince each other that there is a sincere desire to reach a mutually beneficial solution and both the parties are aware of their own motives, needs, wants, cognitions and feelings, respect for oneself and one's own interests as well as respect for another and his/her interests. A few additional skills, like the ability to perceive another's point of view, ability to listen attentively and communicate in order to be understood, exploration of possible common/compatible interests and ability to manage/diffuse anger can go a long way in peaceful resolution of conflicts.

To hone the most important and powerful of these skills some core ideas and interventions from psychology can be particularly useful. One such area, viz "brief therapy," located at the fuzzy interface of conflict resolution and psychological intervention is a case in point. For the solution-focused approaches to conflict resolution, careful and strategic thinking and deliberations about how best to translate a deeper understanding of the emotional and neurophysiologic underpinnings of conflict resolution processes into practical, hands-on mediation techniques are imperative. An understanding of the dialectically evolving relationship between

mediation and psychology, would sure lead to better ways of developing competent mediators at conflict resolution. The old adage " agree to disagree", perhaps first printed under the name of John Wesley, is one of the cornerstones of conflict resolution, suggesting the possibility and in turn advice that people can disagree with each other without experiencing conflict. In contradistinction to conflict, disagreement is not attended by "negative" emotions, like anger, fear, anxiety, guilt, and shame. Thus, it is almost inherent in the definition of conflict, that it is characterized by an indispensable emotional component. It follows that conflict resolution has to necessarily address this all important emotional element by professionals adept at handling emotions through acquired emotional processing skills. The job of the mediator/s, then is not only to address the "emotional intelligence" of the leaders/members of the conflicting groups to make them feel that it is not a win-lose duality but a win-win situation. Obviously a social psychologist is in a more advantageous position to appreciate and manipulate the emotional dynamics. Therefore, there is lot to learn for the mediators from the discipline of psychology for being more effective at handling conflict resolution. It is not without reason that Einstein chose to write, a surprisingly little known open letter, to a psychologist, viz. Sigmund Freud, titled "Why War"(The Einstein-Freud Correspondence ,1931-1932), seeking answers to that question. It is well known that an individual's attitudes, intentions, intuitions, awareness, context, and capacity for empathetic and honest emotional communication have a significant bearing on their experience of conflict and their capacity for its resolution. As conflicts are chaotic and rapidly changing it is not possible to objectively know beforehand the ways of tackling them successfully.

These conflict resolution systems design skills apply to a range of social, economic, and political issues. Conflict resolution experts are skilled at mediating the linkages between families, community groups, workplaces, organizations; integrating conflict resolution skills into teambuilding and project management workshops; working with hospital and health care disputes emerging from the need to process grief, guilt, rage, and loss; and most importantly this area of expertise has assumed special salience for new ideas to resolve intractable international conflicts. Galtung (1992) describes conflict as "Some type of incompatibility, one goal stands in the way of another". He explains his theory of conflict through the triangle model. He narrates that "Conflict may take two forms. In the less crystallized form it is an incompatibility between the objective interests of parties in a society. In its crystallized form it is an incompatibility between the subjective goals of action in a society." Conflict related attitudes and behaviour are usually assumed to be negative. It is these negative manifestations that can take the form of sudden bursts of hatred, rage or even direct violence. At other times these negative manifestations can take

the more institutionalized form of generalized social distance and structural violence. It may be broadly stated that the less crystallized the conflict, the more structural the negative manifestations, e.g. social distance and structural violence. The crystallization of conflict triggers the non-structural bursts of hatred and direct violence. Obviously the regrettable instances of direct violence acquire news value and attract far more attention. Galtung sees conflict as the expression of objective, structural dichotomy (asymmetrical relationship / interaction between top dog and underdog).

In spite of the ever increasing global academic growth in conflict and conflict resolution studies, the practicability and acceptability of this method are yet to appreciated in India and in many parts of the world, owing to lack of information on the effectiveness of these methods, unawareness of the anatomy of conflict and conflict resolution, inaccessibility of organizational and training facilities to work at conflict resolution and consequently taking recourse to conservative conflict resolution methods like police, court and panchayat bodies. Even the awareness of the state of the art knowledge of conflict dealing system is pathetically lacking even among the senior leaders and bureaucrats in India and in many other parts of the developing and underdeveloped world. I must hasten to add that everything is not well even with the developed countries particularly when it comes to the resolution of conflict between capital and the labor.

Admittedly, the area is in need of a more systematic and rigorous enquiry and analysis before the researchers generalize the reasons for its non-acceptance by the people. The process of reconciliation during a conflict resolution attempt is marked by dramatic changes in mutual images of the parties, which in turn sets the ball rolling for an agreeable solution to resolve the conflict. The different means of dealing with conflicts have been classified by experts into two broader concepts. "The first is general and refers to any strategy that brings a socially visible or public episode of conflicts to an end" (Avrach, 1998). It is also known as "Genuine Conflict resolution" in which most of the procedural ways of dealing with conflict are addressed to "somehow to get to the root causes of a conflict and not merely to treat its episode or symptomatic manifestation, that is, a particular dispute" (Avrach, 1998).

The second concept arises "with the formal emergence of the field or quasi discipline of conflict resolution" (Avrach, 1998) and defines the process of conflict resolution more narrowly and precisely distinguishing the 'genuine conflict resolution' from the different forms of conflict resolution process such as 'conflict management', 'conflict regulation', 'conflict prevention', 'dispute settlement', or 'conflict mitigation'.

This conceptual distinction separating the "genuine conflict resolution" from other loosely defined terms in vogue is of far reaching consequence.

Conflict Resolution Research

Contemporary world is replete with a range of crises, viz of value, character, morality, ethics and others, to name a few. It is time that researchers, educationists, freelancers and others interested in conflict resolution must address the issue more seriously. The academics focused at conflict resolution may contemplate intervention to resolve both the old and recent conflict issues.

Conflict arises when people or groups perceive that a disagreement threatens their needs, interests or concerns. Conflict is generally viewed as a negative experience due to abnormally difficult circumstances. "The people in the dispute (also known as disputants) tend to perceive limited options and finite resources available in seeking solutions, rather than multiple possibilities that may exist 'outside the box'" (Healey, 1995). Thus conflict can be defined as a disagreement through which the parties involved perceive a threat to their needs, interests or concerns. "Conflicts, to a large degree, are situations that naturally arise as we go about managing complex and stressful life situations in which clients are personally invested"(Ury, 1988).

Advantages of Conflict Resolution Skills Training

Obviously people cannot be expected to agree all the time and conflict arises from differences between individuals, their needs, values and motivations. At times individuals can complement each other through these differences, however, at other times there is conflict. Conflict is not an isolated problem and its handling determines whether it would be aggravated or resolved. Conflict can lead to violent clashes not only between individuals, but groups of individuals and in extreme cases between nations. An efficient handling of conflict towards its resolution, irrespective of its magnitude in terms of the number of people involved, is pregnant with possibilities of providing opportunities for growth, eventually strengthening the bond between two people, groups or countries. "Since relationship conflicts are inevitable, learning to deal with them (rather than avoiding them) is crucial" (Bercovitch and Lamare 1993). For a conflict resolution counselor, recognizing and managing conflict is also an essential part of building emotional intelligence. It is only through equipping clients with the skills needed for resolving conflict that the counselor is helping them keep their relationships strong and growing. Unresolved, unidentified or ignored conflicts can take large toll on one's (also read group's, nation's) attention and

energy. Solutions to the problems triggering conflict are generally not easy but equipping clients with skills that could mange conflicts effectively are highly advantageous. Childhood experiences can affect clients in their adulthood, "as it creates expectations of how others will respond to them in the future"; Hater, 1990). People who grow up believing their needs will be met are resilient and able to remain focused, relaxed, and creative in challenging situations. People who grow up without such expectations will fear conflict, and will not trust themselves in conflict situations. The aim of conflict resolution is to encourage clients to preserve their relationships and help them grow, by being able to confront and resolve conflicts promptly without resorting to punishment, criticism, contempt or defensiveness (Conflict Resolution Network, 2006).

Secure responses to conflict are characterized by the capacity to recognize and respond to important matters; readiness to forgive and forget; the ability to seek compromise and avoid punishment; and the belief that resolution can support the interests and needs of both parties (http://www.edcc.edu/counseling/documents/conflict.pdf). In contrast, an insecure response to conflict is characterized by an inability to recognize and respond to important matters; explosive, angry, hurtful, and resentful reactions; feelings of rejection, isolation, shaming, fear of abandonment, and the withdrawal of love; an expectation of bad outcomes; and the fear and avoidance of conflict (Hater, 1990) benefit from conflict resolution skills training. it is important that the counselor demonstrates the skills through practical application, such as role-play. This ensures the client can translate understanding into action and facilitates learning. "Conflict resolution training helps individuals and groups to manage or resolve conflict situations within or between groups. Some of the skills include: negotiation/mediation, dialogue skills, third party presence techniques, and non-violent intervention"(Coover, 1985).

Further, it need not be emphasized that, conflict resolution training will not be effective if a client learns the skills but is afraid to apply them (e.g. because their communication style is passive). A counselor will need to recognize these factors and modify their training accordingly (e.g. include assertiveness training in the process) (Healey, 1995).

One of the basic tenets for addressing conflict issues is that every client has distinctive viewpoints that are equally valid (from their perspective) as those of the other party involved in the conflict. One of the key ideas at all conflict resolution attempts is that each person's viewpoint makes a contribution to the whole and requires consideration

and respect to reach a complete solution. This wider view can open up the communication transaction possibilities. It may require one party to change their mind chatter that says: "For me to be right, others must be wrong" (Alexelrod, 1984).

A Possible Prescription

One of the points of departure could be to encourage the client to consider how the problem or the relationship will appear after a certain period of time. This change in perspective that enables the parties or clients to look at a larger time window, is likely to help clients realize the consequences of conflict in a longer time frame. This can help clients become more realistic about the consequences of the conflict as well as exploring options to resolve the conflict (Alexelrod, 1984). Conflict situations are characterized by an absence of objective view and clients tend to react on the basis of their perceptions of the situation. Thus having identified one of the fundamental problems leading to conflict, a counseling intervention can facilitate the clients in overcoming their subjective frame of reference. As a consequence of the changed frame of reference, clients filter their perceptions (and reactions) through their values, culture, beliefs, information, experience, gender, and other variables. Conflict responses are both filled with ideas and feelings that can be very strong and powerful guides to our sense of possible solutions (Healey, 1995). Like other human problems, conflicts contain substantive, procedural, and psychological dimensions to be negotiated, and all these dimensions need to be addressed to appreciate and better understand the threat as perceived by those engaged in a conflict.

The conflict counselors can assist clients to develop healthy, functional and positive coping mechanisms for identifying conflicts likely to arise, their consequences, and the possible strategies through which clients can manage their conflicts constructively. "New opportunities and possibilities may be discovered which in turn will transform the personal conflict into a productive learning experience" (Healey, 1995). Creative problem-solving strategies are essential to the application of positive approaches to conflict resolution. The client needs to be able to learn how to transform the situation from one in which it is 'my way or the highway' into one in which they entertain new possibilities that have been otherwise elusive (Ury, 1988). It is only through the integrated viable, effective and dynamic efforts of NGO's, INGO's, social movements and private citizens that the toughest looking conflicts may be addressed. It is the responsibility of the academics, researchers and intellectuals to make people move in this direction through their research, teaching and training.

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From Childhood Sexual Abuse to Dating Violence: Investigating the Role of Fear and Depression

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Abstract

This study examined fear and depression as mediators of the relationship between history of childhood sexual abuse (CSA) and adult dating violence victimization among a sample of 507 college women. Participants completed self-administered surveys containing the Sexual Experiences Survey (Koss & Oros, 1982), the Women's Experience with Battering Scale (Smith, Earp & DeVellis, 1995), The Center for Epidemiological Studies Scale for Depression (CES-D; Radloff, 1977), and the Modified Conflict Tactics Scale (Straus, 1979). Results from Structural Equation Modeling analyses indicated a statistically significant relationship between CSA and dating violence victimization in adulthood, mediated by fear. Depression was significantly related to CSA, but not dating violence victimization. Identifying modifiable mediators of the relationship between CSA and adult re-victimization, such as fear, is central to the development of violence prevention strategies aimed at young women.

From Childhood Sexual Abuse to Dating Violence: Investigating the Role of Fear and Depression

Previous research has demonstrated that the risk of intimate partner abuse, including dating violence, is high for those with histories of childhood sexual abuse (West, Williams, & Siegel 2000; Wyatt, Notgrass, & Gordon, 1995). A relevant theoretical explanation has been offered by Finkelhor and Browne (1985) in their model of traumatic sexualization. According to this model, the occurrence of CSA leads to a host of developmental problems that interfere with the individual's ability to form healthy intimate relationships with others. Consequently, the individual enters adulthood vulnerable to sexual, emotional, and physical victimization in intimate relationships. Based on this theoretical model, we investigated fear and depression

as possible mediators of the relationship between past childhood sexual abuse (CSA) and current dating violence victimization.

The Link between Childhood Sexual Abuse and Dating Violence

Childhood sexual abuse has been defined as forced penetrative intercourse, molestation, or unwanted sexual contact, often times accompanied by physical violence, inflicted on victims in the age range of 12 to 20 years (e.g. Miller, 1999). The National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAWS), one of the largest national survey of adults on this topic, estimated that one in six women have experienced an attempted or completed rape at some point in their lifetime, with the majority of first rape victimizations occurring before 18 years of age. For women, 22% of all first attempted or completed rapes occurred before the age of 12, and 32% between ages 12 and 17 years.

Dating violence has been defined as any physical, sexual, emotional, or psychological abuse inflicted upon an individual by his/her dating partner that causes a certain amount of harm to the victim (Lewis & Fremouw, 2001; Wekerle & Wolfe, 1999). The more common behaviors include insults, threats, and intimidation, such as being hit, slapped, or forced to have sex. The term intimate partner violence is inclusive of various types of violence women experience in their intimate relationships: physical assault, sexual assault, psychological abuse and battering (Basile, 1999; Campbell & Soeken, 1999; Coker et al., 2000; Smith, Smith, & Earp, 1999; Tjaden, & Thoennes, 2000).

Intimate partner violence has been found to be increasingly prevalent among adolescents and young, college-going women. In a study of adolescents in the age range of 13 to 17 years, it was found that 45% had experienced some degree of violence in their dating relationships (Cyr, McDuff & Wright, 2006). Carlson (1987) had predicted that as many as 36% of college students will encounter physical, sexual, or psychological aggression or violence in their dating relationships. In a study conducted by Luthra and Gidycz (2006), it was found that 25% of college women and 10% of college men experienced some form of partner violence. The incidence of partner violence has always been higher for women than for men. Also, as previously stated, the risk is higher for women with CSA histories, as compared to women not sexually abused in childhood. Wyatt, Guthrie and Notgrass (1992) found that women who have suffered CSA were 2.4 times more likely to be re-victimized in their adult intimate relationships. Findings from the 2003 National

Youth Risk Behavior Survey reported that adolescent female students who had experienced forced sexual intercourse at an early age, even if only once, were significantly more likely to report being victims of physical dating violence compared to those who had never been victims of forced sexual intercourse (Basile et al., 2006). The duration of the sexual abuse and the presence of violence or completed intercourse during the abuse have been found to significantly contribute to dating violence (Cyr et al., 2006).

Finkelhor and Browne (1985) attribute this link to an inappropriate development of the individual's sexuality. Their model of traumatic sexualization proposes that by interfering with or altering the individual's ability to form healthy intimate relationships with others, the CSA experience makes the individual vulnerable to re-victimization in adulthood. Although their theory explains that the adverse effects of CSA give rise to an unhealthy relationship schema by putting it into a broad developmental framework, it did not specify psychological consequences that bridge childhood victimization and adulthood re-victimization. In general understanding, a multitude of adjustment problems have been known to accompany CSA (such as fear, mistrust, hostility, low self-efficacy, depression, emotional distress, and distorted beliefs about self and others), which hinder the individual's ability to adopt a healthy lifestyle, part of which is the formation of non-violent relationships (Wolfe, Scott, Wekerle, & Pittman, 2001).

CSA, Fear, Depression, and Dating Violence Victimization

In intimate romantic relationships, women have been found to be subjected to abusive behaviors, other than physical or sexual assault, that are sufficient to create or sustain fear, provoke a loss of power and control, and induce shame and disempowerment in a relationship (Smith et al., 2002). For female victims, a sense of fear of the other is already present that can be easily ignited by a simple suggestion of or tendency toward abusive behavior. This heightened sense of fear coupled with an increased tolerance for abuse (Capaldi & Gordon-Smith, 2003) makes them increasingly vulnerable to re-victimization. On the other hand, re-victimization may also occur in the absence of a conscious (or subconscious) fear of the dating partner. Sexual and physical abuse victims have been found to have trouble recognizing and acknowledging abusive behavior (Wolfe et al., 2004). Therefore, whether affecting them consciously or unconsciously, fear of one's intimate partner is prevalent among abuse victims, making them prone to re-victimization in adulthood.

Since the documentation of the connection between CSA and depression by Browne and Finkelhor (1986), ample related evidence has been reported for an increased risk of depression in women with sexual abuse histories (compared to women without such histories) (Burnam et al., 1988; Kilpatrick et al., 1992; Mullen et al., 1993; Resnick et al., 1993; Stein et al., 1988; Winfield et al., 1990). Additionally, the number of depressive episodes has been found to vary according to the severity of the sexual abuse experienced: more severe the sexual abuse, more the number of depressive episodes in the victims' lifetimes (Bifulco et al., 1993).

CSA, dating violence victimization, fear and depression have been studied together in various sequences and combinations, with similar conclusions regarding the connections between them. CSA has been found to be a significant predictor of both depression as well as adulthood victimization (Virkler, 2006). Fear and depression have been studied as significant consequences of trauma and victimization (Callahan, 1998; Callahan, Tolman & Suanders, 2003; Holt & Espelage, 2005). In our paper, our proposed model will combine and extend these pathways by examining the role of fear and depression as mediators of the relationship between CSA and dating violence victimization.

The Present Study

Our proposed model proposes three paths from CSA to dating violence victimization: one direct path, and two indirect paths mediated by fear and depression, respectively (see Figure 1). First, the direct path states that dating violence victimization can be predicted by previous childhood sexual histories: women who were sexually abused in childhood are more likely to be victims of dating violence. Second, women with CSA histories tend to be fearful of their dating partner, which further predicts their tendency toward victimization by dating partners. And third, dating violence victimization is also predicted by a depressive self-schema held by victims of CSA.

Method

Participants

Participants were 507 female undergraduate students from two Southern California State University campuses. College women received extra course credit for their participation in the study. The sample consisted of 207 Caucasians, 186 Hispanics, 66 Asians/Pacific Islanders, 19 African-Americans, and 28 of other ethnicities. The women's ages ranged from 18 to 52 years, with the mean age being 21.72 years.

Ten women were aged 40 or older. Since the removal of age outliers did not modify the significant pathways in our model, we decided to keep them in our analysis. Only 9.6% of the women were married; the remaining women were never married (78.2%), living with someone (8.4%), or divorced (3.3%). In our sample, 59.3% of the women had experienced childhood sexual abuse. As for dating violence, 76% of the women had been victimized by their dating partners (see Table 1).

Procedure

Women were originally recruited for participation in a larger study of dating violence among college women. Paper and pencil surveys were administered to women in a research laboratory in the presence of a trained research assistant. To ensure participants' confidentiality, the surveys contained no identifying information, and upon completion, the surveys were placed in a sealed box until a different research assistant entered the data.

Measures

Four measures were used to assess each of the four factors: CSA, fear, depression, and dating violence victimization. A latent variable was constructed for each measure, and items with insignificant factor loadings were dropped from the analysis.

Childhood Sexual Abuse: To assess whether the participant experienced childhood sexual abuse, a modified version of the Sexual Experiences Survey (SES; Koss & Oros, 1982) was utilized. The original scale consists of 12 questions about contact molestation, coerced sexual acts, attempted rape, and rape. Five additional questions about attempted sexual coercion and molestation were added. For example, items ranged from "Did someone ever make you kiss him/her when you did not want to" to "Have you ever been raped?" For each type of abuse, additional questions were added to ask respondents their age when they first experienced the CSA event. Sexual abuse experienced until the age of 17 years was classified as childhood sexual abuse. The average age at which CSA first occurred was 6.6 years. Reports of internal consistency (.74) and test-re-test reliability (.93) for the SES have been good (Koss & Gidycz, 1985). Two items were dropped due to insignificant factor loadings. The factor loadings of the remaining 15 items were moderate and statistically significant, ranging from .30 to .70.

Fear: A modified version of the Women's Experience with Battering (WEB) scale was used to measure the extent to which participants reported feeling coerced, lacking in control, and fearful in their intimate relationship in the last year. The original scale was developed for married couples and was modified to reflect dating relationships. In this 11-item scale, feelings of fear constituted fear of physical aggression, sexual coercion, and sexual force. The factors loadings of 10 items of this scale were statistically significant and ranged from .32 to .80. One item was dropped due to insignificant factor loading. The content validation of the WEB scale has provided evidence for its strong external validity (Smith, Earp & DeVellis, 1995).

Depression. The Center for Epidemiological Studies scale for Depression (CES-D; Radloff) was utilized to assess symptoms of depression in the past week. The factor loadings of 19 items of the original 20-items scale ranged from .32 to .80 and were statistically significant. One item was dropped from the scale because of insignificant factor loadings.

Dating Violence: The Modified Conflict Tactics Scale (MCTS; Straus, 1979) was used to assess the occurrence of dating violence victimization in the past year. To adapt the items to dating violence, all references to spouse were changed to dates or dating partners. Out of the original 56 items, only the even-numbered items, representing victimization (as opposed to perpetration), were used. Four items were dropped due to insignificant factor loadings. The factor loadings of the remaining 26 items ranged from .33 to .87.

Results

To examine statistical relationships between the four variables (CSA, fear, depression, and dating violence victimization) correlation coefficients were computed. The correlations between all four variables were statistically significant (see Table 2). Fear was positively correlated with all three variables: CSA, depression, and dating violence victimization (.31, .23, and .47, respectively; $p < .05$). Heightened fear and a sense of perceived threat were reported by participants who had been sexually abused in childhood, who were currently depressed, and who were being victimized in their dating relationships. Depression, was also significantly correlated with CSA ($r = .16$, $p < .05$), fear ($r = .23$, $p < .05$) and dating violence victimization ($r = .17$, $p < .05$). Current depressive symptoms were reported by participants with CSA histories as well as who were victims of dating violence.

Next, we tested our proposed model with Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) with latent variables using maximum likelihood estimation to test the direct and indirect paths from CSA to dating violence victimization mediated by fear and depression. These analyses were performed using the EQS 6.0 computer program.

Determination of Model Fit

To determine model fit in the current study, the following measures were employed: (a) the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA; Steiger, 1990); and (b) Standardized Root Mean-Square Residual (SRMR), with values less than .08 indicating reasonable model fit, for both test indices. A model was determined to fit well if both criteria were met. In evaluating the statistical significance of individual model parameters, a more stringent statistical significance level of .001 was employed.

In the first step of our analyses, we examined the extent to which fear and depression were inter-correlated. A Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA; Joreskog, 1969) was performed to test the fit of a two-factor model with correlated factors. This solution produced a good representation of the relationship between fear and depression, $?^2$ (452, N = 453) = 1212.95, $p < .05$, RMSEA = .070, SRMR = .059. The correlation between fear and depression was .28 ($p < .05$). A two-factor solution provided a significantly better fit than a one-factor model, $??^2$ (1) = 1109.65, $p < .05$. Therefore, the low, though significant, correlation between fear and depression indicates that they are related constructs, yet distinct enough to be measured and accounted for separately.

Effects of CSA, Fear, and Depression on Dating Violence Victimization

The next, and main, step in our analyses was to test the relationship between CSA and the occurrence of dating violence victimization in adulthood, and how fear and depression mediate this relationship. Our model proposed direct paths from CSA to fear, depression, and dating violence as well as direct paths from fear and depression to dating violence (see Figure 1). This model did not fit well statistically, $?^2$ (2139, N = 407) = 3279.93, $p < .001$, but it did fit well descriptively, RMSEA = .036, SRMR = .080.

The standardized path coefficients are reported in Figure 1. As expected, CSA accounted for dating violence victimization, ? = .18, $p < .05$. Women who experienced

sexual abuse in childhood tended to be victims of dating violence in their adult lives. The mediating influence of fear on this relationship was found to be significant. CSA accounted for fear experienced in romantic relationships, ? = .31, p < .05; and fear, in turn, accounted for a significant amount of dating violence victimization, ? = .40, p < .05. Women who had been sexually abused in childhood reported being fearful of their dating partners which lead to their re-victimization in these relationships.

Depression as a mediator, however, did not account for a significant effect. Although depression was significantly related to CSA (? = .17, p < .05), it did not account for dating violence victimization (? = .05, p > .05). CSA survivors displayed a tendency toward depression in their present lives, but this depression was not significantly related to dating violence.

Discussion

We proposed a model suggesting a link between childhood sexual abuse and adulthood dating violence re-victimization for young women mediated by feelings of fear and depression. Our results showed that women who had experienced CSA were more likely to experience dating violence as adults. Moreover, fear significantly accounted for the relationship between CSA and dating violence. Depression was significantly related to CSA, but was not a significant predictor of dating violence, nor did it mediate the relationship between CSA and dating violence as way hypothesized.

Nevertheless, our findings were consistent with previous research: women who had been sexually abused in childhood were more likely to experience dating violence in adulthood. This suggests the need for intervention strategies at an early age in order to prevent the occurrence of future violence victimization. Childhood sexual abuse often occurs at the hands of a known and trusted person in the individual's life, resulting in a sense of fear and mistrust in subsequent intimate relationships (Madu & Peltzer, 2001; Madu, 2001). In addition, because the abuse may have occurred at a young age the victim may not fully understand the complexity of the experience, long-lasting mental health consequences, and may experience feelings of guilt, shame, and self-blame (Virani, 2000; Kenyan-Jump, 2006; Kristenson & Lau, 2007). Thus, it is important that screening and treatment for past abuse experiences be conducted routinely with young, college-age samples in order to prevent the cycle of violence victimization.

The significant direct relationship between CSA and dating violence victimization in adulthood highlights the risk for women with histories of abuse becoming re-victimized. In addition, the finding that fear mediates the relationship between history of CSA and dating violence suggests that the mental health consequences of CSA may result in a lack of healthy relationship boundaries or increased tolerance for conflicting experiences of affection and violence in abusive romantic relationships. This is consistent with Wolfe et al.'s (2004) findings that women with histories of abuse experience confusion regarding when "rough and tumble play" crosses the line and becomes abusive behavior. In addition, young women may disregard threats or occurrences of violence within their dating relationships because of the overwhelmingly positive affect they experienced during the early stages of that relationship (Capaldi & Gorman-Smith, 2003). This disregard of the warning signs for subsequent abuse could be a result of the learning acquired in childhood (from previous abuse experiences) that aggression is normative, justifiable, and expected, and will increase the likelihood of desired outcomes (Dodge et al., 1994).

The significant relationship between CSA and depression is consistent with previous research showing CSA often results in a sense of hopelessness, failure, and loneliness. Based on the circumstances of CSA, depression may result as an outcome of the break in trust that results from the sexual abuse as well as a consequence of the self-directed blame. However, in our study, depression failed to serve as a mediator and predictor of dating violence victimization in adulthood. One possible explanation for this may be that depression measure we used measured general depression as opposed to depression specifically related to CSA or dating violence victimization. Second, it has been reported by some researchers that a large number of sexual abuse survivors suffering from depression recover in relatively brief periods of time (Kendall-Tackett et al. 1993; Koss et al., 1994). However, the more severe the sexual abuse, the more time it took the victims to recover from the depression. Therefore, it is possible that for our sample of women, CSA was not severe enough to cause depressive symptoms which would make them vulnerable to re-victimization in adulthood, or enough time may have elapsed since the last CSA experience so that no relation to current symptoms of depression was present.

In the present study, a severity scale of CSA was not utilized because we wanted the creation of the indices of the CSA measure to be driven by factor analysis. The measurement of CSA experiences was limited to its incidence. This limitation does not permit us to examine the effect of severity of abuse on symptoms of depression.

Although, we speculate that women's symptoms of depression were not strong enough to make them prone to dating violence victimization.

Limitations of the Present Study

The median age of 18 years presents the first limitation of our study by making a clear-cut differentiation between CSA and dating violence victimization difficult. We used the cut-off age of 17 years for abuse to be classified as CSA. Therefore, the median age of 18 years poses ambiguity regarding differentiation of abuse experienced at that age as CSA or dating violence victimization. Although the average age of the first CSA experience for our sample was 6.6 years. Future research should apply more stringent age cut-offs for CSA, and differentiate between sexual abuse experienced in childhood versus adolescence. Owing to different developmental processes, abuse occurring at these two stages of the victim's physical and psychosexual development should be treated as having potentially different consequences and implications.

Second, we made an attempt to establish depression as a mediator in the relationship between CSA and adulthood dating violence victimization. Depression has usually been studied as a consequence, but not as a predictor, of victimization. Our unsuccessful attempt to establish the mediating role of depression in the relationship between CSA and adulthood dating violence victimization was not necessarily due to the inaccurate conceptualization of our proposed model. A reasonable explanation could be the lack of consideration of the moderating influences of other factors in this relationship. The mere occurrence of sexual abuse in childhood is not enough. The moderating influences of, for example abuse severity and disclosure and subsequent support, also need to be taken into consideration to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of CSA and how its adverse psychopathological consequences lead to re-victimization in adulthood. For example, the insignificant link between depression and dating violence victimization could also be explained by the level of support received by the victims upon disclosure of their abuse experience. Even though feelings of low self-worth and hopelessness persisted into adulthood, they were prevented from being strong and pervasive enough to lead to re-victimization by dating partners. Therefore, the moderating influence of disclosure, and subsequent support, on depression needs to be taken into consideration when trying to establish a link between CSA and adulthood dating violence victimization.

Another limitation of our study was the lack of context specificity of the depression scale. Since the scale was a measure of the symptoms of general depression

experienced during the past week, it failed to grasp the specifics of abuse-related depressive symptoms. Future research should adapt existing depression measures to include a measurement of the symptoms specific to the kind of victimization being studied to get an accurate assessment of the consequences of the victimization-related depression.

Finally, this study was cross-sectional and correlational. As such, it cannot be used to infer causality. Longitudinal studies that assess onset of dating violence victimization in relation to childhood sexual abuse will be more informative. The present study is also retrospective in nature, which can lead to potential recall bias. Moreover, the results of this study may not be generalizable to other groups of women, or even other groups of college women. The sample in this study was a convenience sample from one university and may not be representative of college women in other cities or college women as a whole.

Significance of the Present Study and Future Considerations

The rates of CSA and dating violence in our sample is alarming, and highlights the importance of intervening early in order to prevent re-victimization. Identifying factors, such as fear, which link childhood victimization with adulthood re-victimization provides us with an opportunity to enhance intervention strategies that would prevent victimization from re-occurring. Development of prevention strategies is needed for both victims as well as perpetrators of abusive acts, be it physical, sexual, or psychological in nature. Future research should attempt to identify additional moderators and mediators of the relationship between history of abuse and re-victimization in adulthood in order to better target changeable factors that may prevent future abuse.

In addition, to get a better understanding of the different effects sexual abuse victimization experienced at different time-periods in the woman's life has on her personality development, it would be advantageous to measure separately and compare/contrast childhood with adolescent sexual abuse victimization. In the present study, childhood sexual abuse was measured as victimization experienced prior to and until age 17. We did not differentiate sexual abuse into childhood and adolescent sexual abuse categories. The development process goes through different stages in childhood and adolescence. Having accurate information about how abuse experiences shape the victim's personality at these two different, and equally crucial, periods of development would enhance our knowledge and understanding of the consequences of victimization in healthy versus unhealthy psychosexual development. Furthermore, this differentiation would also allow for the invention of age-specific intervention programs for the prevention of dating violence victimization.

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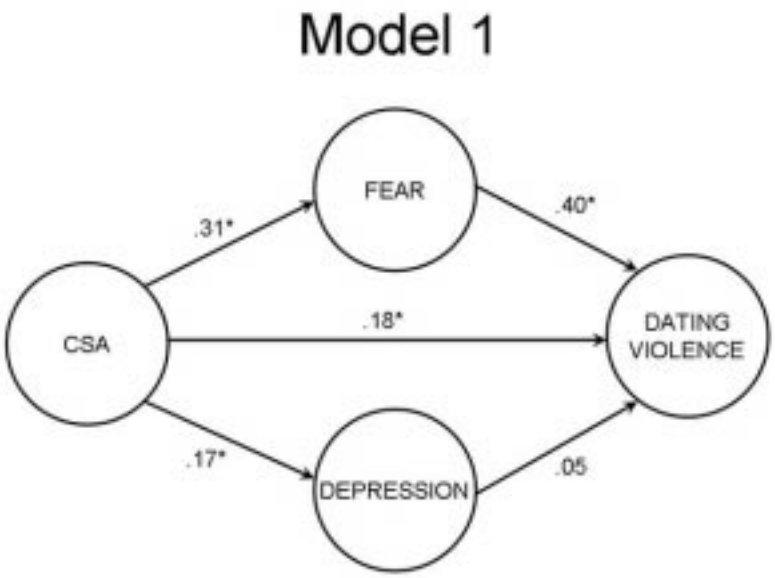

Figure 1.

Table 1. Incidence (in percent) of women who experienced CSA and Dating Violence victimization.

	Childhood Sexual Abuse	**Dating Violence**
Yes	59.3	76.0
No	35.4	16.7

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics.

Table 2. Correlation matrix of study variables

	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. CSA	--	*.31	*.16	*.31
2. Fear		--	*.23	*.47
3. Depression			--	*.17
4. Dating Violence				--

* $p < .05$, two-tailed.

Table 2: Correlation Matrix

Nonviolent Action and the Paradoxes of Sustaining Nonviolent Strategic Choice

Jeremy A. Rinker

Abstract

Why do social movement activists choose nonviolent action to address their grievances? While political process theorists have long argued that strategic choice is shaped by political opportunity structures, new means of agitationhave both expanded the range of political opportunities available to social movement activists, as well as, raised important questions about the relative importance of collective values and 'worldview' in both constructing identity and understanding the successful maintenance of strategic choice. This paper aims to explore the role of shared values in choosing and sustaining nonviolent commitment. While some have argued that "success with nonviolent action does not require (though it may be helped by) shared standards and principles" (Sharp, 2005), dedicated study of the shared values necessary for the success of nonviolent activists'nonviolent contention has been limited in social movement scholarship. Dalit-Bahujan social contention in India provides a unique illustration of the paradoxes involved in naming and framing nonviolent values (what Docherty 2001 would actively term "worldviewing"). Not only do value commitments play an important role in developing the strategic choice of nonviolent social movements, but the narrative identity of Dalit-Bahujan activists in India shows that values are a necessary and critical component of the maintenance of an identity aimed at sustained nonviolent action. Shared worldview conceptions are crucial for the maintenance of successful nonviolent choice and commitment.

Key Words

Nonviolent Social Movements; Worldview; Social Justice; Identity, and Strategic Choice.

"…success with nonviolent action does not require (though it may be helped by) shared standards and principles" (Sharp, 2005: 21)

"The Brahmins have defined knowledge in their own image. But the fact still remains that each caste has built a treasure house of its own knowledge and its own vocabulary. Each caste has built its own special consciousness" (Illiah, 2009: 6)

Introduction

This paper is about collective consciousness, group knowledge systems, and the shared values that social movements create and continually refigure to achieve their strategic purposes. More specifically, it is about how a particular South Asian anti-caste social movement constructs and enacts their nonviolent agenda for social change upon the backdrop of both past-oriented narratives of marginalization and future-oriented rhetoric about the importance of developing a new religious identity. Through a case study analysis of a particular social movement organization's nonviolent activists, the importance of collective worldview commitments in both the creation and maintenance of nonviolent strategy is investigated. Close study of Triratna Bauddha Mahasangha Sahayaka Gana (TBMSG) activists reveals both important factors that shape nonviolent social movements (NVSMs) and the implications of these factors for the politics of marginalized identity in postcolonial India. The TBMSG, an Indian Buddhist order of mainly former 'untouchable' dalits that are mobilizing against caste-based oppression through, among other activities, organizing regular Buddhist retreats between various 'downtrodden' castes, as well as, through ongoing public protests and agitations, represents a nonviolent social movement rife with the many organizational complexities and framing paradoxes that one would expect from a group with such an iconoclastic mission and goals. In focusing on the question of why and how TBMSG social movement activists choose nonviolent action as the primary pragmatic strategy to address their grievances, this paper aims to explore the role of shared values in sustaining successful nonviolent choice and commitment. In asking: "What is the connection between strategic and principled nonviolence?" the paper aims to privilege the role of shared value commitments in engaging in nonviolent activism. Contending that a lack of clarity on shared values in a social movement is the proximate cause for defaulting to violent strategy, this paper further contextualizes the complexity of adequately sustaining nonviolent strategic choice. TBMSG's nonviolent activism articulates an innovative relationship between justice, identity, and storytelling while also exposing the paradoxical implications of marginalized peoples' use and deployment of their chosen identity. Thus, there is much we can learn from Ambedkar Buddhist activists-one larger contingent of Dalit-Bahujans (the oppressed majority) - about the connections between shared values and collective nonviolent action.

Though political process theorists have long argued that strategic choice is shaped by political opportunity structures, modern realities have both expanded the range of political opportunities available to social movement activists and raised important questions about the relative importance of collective values and 'worldview' in understanding successful strategic choice. New electronic means of gauging the pulse of movement activists psychology and beliefs - social media like twitter, the internet, and SMS messaging - has informed activists and academics alike and enabled new knowledge creation, identity construction, and, thus, better informed strategic choice and framing. Beyond the typical exploration of the rational pragmatics of strategic choice, social actors' normative commitments play a critical and under-explored role in maintaining successful nonviolent activism. While new technological outlets of expression have increased the opportunities for activists to engage in the critical processes of "world- viewing," what can this tell us about their ability to sustain a commitment to nonviolence? Through analyzing TBMSG as a nonviolent social movement and exploring TBMSG member's activist discourse as a proximate factor in their nonviolent identity construction, I argue that TBMSG's particular brand of nonviolent activism is rife with an important sense of identity justice; a justice that is both inconceivable outside the auspices of conceptions of collective social identity and critical to TBMSG's nonviolent goals (see Rinker, 2013 for further definition of 'identity justice'). Highlighting the crucial connections of identity and justice helps explain the critical importance of narratives choice and deployment in the maintenance of nonviolent strategy. The pragmatics of strategic choice, do not diminish the importance of principled problem solving, on the contrary the rationality of nonviolent action empowers normative commitments to nonviolence.

TBMSG activists' worldview commitments, as expressed through the narratives they deploy, are as critical as political opportunity structures to the development and maintenance of nonviolent action and this paper aims to underscore this importance. Worldview commitments, while particularly critical to the maintenance of nonviolent activism are also important for the development and dissemination of nonviolent strategy. But, in order to justify the centrality of normative worldview commitments in nonviolent activism, a few points of clarity must initially be made. Firstly, what exactly do I mean by the idea of 'identity justice'? Secondly, what is a nonviolent social movement (NVSM) and why do I classify TBMSG as one of them? Finally, why does the dichotomy of nonviolent action as either principled or pragmatic fail to adequately address the role of worldview in social change? After answering each of these questions briefly in the next three sections, the paper will then move

to a brief case study of TBMSG as a nonviolent social movement by highlighting some narrative conventions of organization activists as a means to illustrate the critical role of normative worldview commitments in maintaining identity as nonviolent activists.

Identity Justice

In describing how identity and justice are imbricated in the narrative processes of social construction for activists it becomes clear that separation of these concepts is not only impossible, but futile. Particularly in any legacy of marginalization and injustice, calls for justice become the leading storyline upon which the creation of a new self-aware identity is based. As Paulo Freire has argued, "without a sense of identity there can be no struggle" (Freire,1970). Justice for self and social identity of group becomes indistinguishable in the context of overcoming oppression and marginalization. Although the ambiguity this connection fosters provides the potential for violent response, it also holds hope for well-maintained commitment to nonviolence over time. Often calls for justice lead to "threat narratives" that engender and justify violence against an out-group (Korstelina and Rothbart, 2006), but such a justice voice also holds the potential to eschew violence and strengthen pro-social identity formation. So, why do some oppressed movements form a 'resolutionary' mindset as opposed to a revolutionary one? And why do shared values converge with identity in such a way as to engender compassion, shun revenge, and sustain nonviolent commitment? I believe the answer to these questions lies in the very imbricated connections between identity and justice. The self is ever aware of its relation to others - this is especially true in relation to questions of equity, equality and distribution. The connection is seen most clearly through narrative constructions - the stories we tell do not construct either simply our identity or our sense of justice - they simultaneously do both!

Take for example the stories of striking sanitation workers in 1968 Memphis during the last days of Marin Luther King's life. Denied the right to organize as public employees and fed up with dangerous and unsanitary working conditions, these men overcame threats and the psychology of marginalization to organize a nonviolent strike in which they held signs that simply read "I am a Man." What better example could be found of the critical connection between identity and justice? The recognition Memphis sanitation workers desired was twofold - - recognition that they were human and the desire to be treated like any other fair-minded human would expect to be treated. Having respect and recognition as productive humans became inseparable

from a sense of justice as fairness. For Memphis sanitation workers aspirations for better working conditions could not be separated from aspirations for recognition - in their minds these aspirations were intricately interconnected. As the city soon realized, attempts to separate these aspirations proved counterproductive; reconciliation involved recognition as much as fairness.

A more recent example of the connection between identity and justice comes from the late 20th Century creation of the identity of 'dalit Buddhist.' Striving for a stronger identity than Bahujan (commonly understood as the oppressed majority in India, and therefore inclusive of many non-dalits as well as dalits) some dalits, as early as the 1920s, began looking to religion to provide a new framework for achieving justice. While this example, more pertinent to my discussion of TBMSG as a NVSM, invokes a set of Western assumptions about both the labels 'Buddhist' and 'nonviolent,' it is important to note that Buddhist values were relatively unknown to early dalit converts. We must, therefore, resist the common assumption that TBMSG is 'nonviolent' simply because they are 'Buddhist' - - far too many examples of Buddhist violence exist in the world to make such a generalized assumption and initial conversion of dalits to Buddhism for many was an expression of identity politics as much as an expression of normative commitments. Too often Buddhism and nonviolence are thoughtlessly equated with no evidence of their congruence or, even, comparative analysis of similar antecedent doctrines, such as ahimsa (the ancient Jain/Buddhist concept of principled nonviolence). While defining either Buddhism or nonviolence is notoriously limiting and fret with complexity, some basic outlines of comparative analysis are possible and must be interrogated to truly understand what it means to be a 'dalit Buddhist.' This identity itself is an expression of justice in the sense that those who use it are accessing a revivalist belief in the historic Buddha as a social reformer. TBMSG dalit Buddhist activists argue that the historical Gautama Buddha was an anti-caste activist organizing the 'dalits' (downtrodden) of his society, which, like today's 'dalit,' had a distinctive identity tied to the fact that they lived on the outskirts of the village. While this historicity is strongly contested in Buddhist Studies scholarship (Williams, 2000), among others, who argue that there is little evidence to suggest that during the time of the historical Buddha there yet existed caste divisions in India] it nonetheless tells one a great deal about the modern identity of 'dalit Buddhists.' Continually aware of the historic oppression that they have faced as dalits, these Buddhists have consciously and actively connected their Buddhist identity with their identity as victims in calls for justice. The narrative structure of these 'dalit Buddhists' makes the actualization of justice inseparable from the identity of Buddhist (Rinker, 2013).

The TBMSG, a nonviolent social movement advocating for dalit rights in India through religious teachings (dharma) of the Buddha, provides an ideal research context for understanding collective construction and maintenance of value-based identity positions. The unique reality of modern dalit awakening, and relatively recent focus on a particular form of modern Buddhism that has been variously labeled 'Ambedkar Buddhism' or 'neo-Buddhism' (Queen, 1996), provides a window into both the process of collective value construction and the difficulties of the collective maintenance of values such as principled nonviolence. These organizational, mobilizing, and framing constraints not only highlight the complexities of consistently narrating identity justice, but also mark TBMSG as a social movement struggling to produce effective modern forms of nonviolent activism. The next section explains why I have chosen to categorize TBMSG as nonviolent social movement and identifies the TBMSG movement as a unique expression of shared values and worldview commitments.

Who are the TBMSG and why are they representative of a nonviolent social movement (NVSM)?

The concept of a nonviolent social movement (NVSM) aims to blend knowledge about social movement and nonviolence in such a way that attention is focused on strategic opportunity for, and framing of, effective nonviolent social change. While all social movements can be said to be involved in conflict or struggle with a clearly identifiable opponent, the degree of definition given to that opponent, as well as, the distinctive identity and social networks that the movement creates and fosters make classification of social movements an extremely complicated task (Della Porta and Diana, 2000). The concept of a social movement, as a collection of individuals organized for collective action with some common threads of collective identity, overlap in important ways with the ideas of civil society and non-governmental organizations (and this is particularly evident in the India context). All have varying degrees of organization, collective constraints, and resource potentials as well as palpable dissatisfaction with the status quo. When coupled with nonviolence as a strategy, social movements are presented with an expanded potential. Both principled and strategic commitment to eschew violence or force provides social movement's political opportunities unavailable to movements that advocate violence. NVSM's repertoire for collective contention is not limited by the structural legacy of violence and force and their identity is malleable and frame-able in ways which those who advocate, or use, violence is not. Further, as purveyors of subordinate (i.e. non-

dominant) ideologies and discourses grass-root social movements routinely find themselves on the bottom of complex power asymmetries. Such a persistent low power position provides the ideal conditions (or opportunity structures) for the effective application of nonviolent strategies. Still, while the shared values and experiences often privilege a nonviolent response, not all social movements choose nonviolent action as their overarching strategy. So what makes a social movement a NVSM? Why do some movements choose nonviolence as a strategy or tactic?

The commitment to nonviolence as an organizing principle is more than just pragmatic or short-term strategic. Long-term maintenance of a nonviolent approach does require shared worldview commitments, values, and experiences - - otherwise reverting to revolutionary violence is too tempting. Looking at TBMSG as a case study, the importance of shared worldview commitment for the maintenance of nonviolent action against injustice becomes evident. Movements choose nonviolence strategically, but maintenance of nonviolence requires shared commitments and shared narrative identity creation. TBMSG is a NVSM because beyond strategy they have crafted a narrative identity that foregrounds a shared commitment to nonviolent resolution of problems.

Professing to be the vanguard of a dalit Buddhist population of nearly 10 million strong (Kantowsky, 2003) the Triratna Bauddha Mahasangha Sahayaka Gana (TBMSG - literally 'The Association of Friends of the Buddhist Order of the Three Jewels') is a diverse spiritual and activist family of organizations and projects aimed at empowering both Buddhism and marginalized dalit communities throughout India. If judged by their strength in places like Pune and Nagpur, Maharashtra the TBMSG movement has accomplished a great deal in the nearly 35 years that it has been in existence as a formal Social Movement Organization. TBMSG's work is both aimed at developing Buddhist awareness and creating civil society opportunities for the most marginalized of Indian society. I have argued elsewhere (Rinker, 2009) that TBMSG represents a distinct form of social movement organization in that it combines a world affirming and a world rejecting worldview aimed at constructing both an engaged Buddhist, and marginalized victim, identity. These, at times, competing identities often obfuscate TBMSG movement goals, but as shared collective commitments and experiences both Buddhist conversion and victimization as dalits act to maintain strategic commitment to change. TBMSG's strength and unique narrative identity as a religious movement provides a principled foundation and narrative identity that sustains commitment to nonviolent action.

TBMSG places itself on the forefront of the wider Ambedkar Buddhist movement by focusing on educating new-Buddhists on how to practice Buddhism. No other Ambedkar Buddhist movement is currently filling this opportunity space and TBMSG clearly attempts to exploit this niche. TBMSG's is a Buddhism that although sensitive to the political organizing mantel of Ambedkar's legacy, in fact, stresses dharma education as B.R. Ambedkar's greatest bequest. For TBMSG, learning the practice of Buddhism (the Dharma) cannot be divorced from actively organizing for dalit rights. This principled engagement with injustice is what separates TBMSG from other 'secular' dalit organizations and human rights advocacy groups. Meaning for TBMSG activists comes through spreading the dharma; all else will be achieved as a result of this first goal.

Specifically the TBMSG seeks to put the Dharma into practice in three ways: 1.) by giving Dharma course lectures, 2.) through retreats of intensive Buddhist practice, and 3.) through the creation of Dharma communities in which members work together for the common good of that community. The first two of these institutional goals were pursued by the TBMSG from the beginning of the movements' 1979 creation, while the third goal was a bit more problematic for an organization focused mainly on Buddhist teaching and practice. In order overcome obstacles of translating Buddhist dharma into social practice (as well as finding donors to support such socially engaged programming) to achieve their third institutional goal the TBM trust (the official ordinal body of the TBMSG movement) decided in 1980 that the creation of a social work arm of the organization was needed. Thus, the Bahujan Hitay, literally meaning "for the welfare of the many," was created, and the first public health project was started in Pune only a year after the TBMSG was itself inaugurated as an Indian organization. Together with the work of the Bahujan Hitay, TBMSG uses its limited administrative and capital resources to press forward in the sphere of community development, by finding new means of livelihood for the Dharma communities that they help to establish and strengthen. With twenty Dharma Centers situated throughout India (mostly in Maharashtra State), the TBMSG movement is the setting for the community-based social work of Bahujan Hitay. These activities include heath projects, educational hostels, kindergartens, and vocational training instruction. All these activities are fore-grounded by an emphasis on teaching dharma practice.

In 1999, Lokamitra (TBMSG's original founder and current leader), frustrated by both the organization's lack of diversified funding streams and the magnitude of the 'work,' founded a new Indian trust that he called the Jambudvipa Trust. "Jambudvipa,

the ancient Buddhist name for the Indian sub-continent, represents for us the transformation of society and culture through the ethical and spiritual values" (Padmapani, 2008). Working on parallel tracts as the TBMSG and Bahujan Hitay, the Jambudvipa Trust runs a number of inter-related programs that are aimed at two areas of societal transformation: the support of "disadvantaged sections" of Indian society and "bringing people together through spiritual practice to transcend barriers" (Padmapani, 2008). These two rather broad aims find life in the work of the Manuski Center, the Pune-based home of Jambudvipa's largest and most fully staffed project. Manuski, like Jambudvipa, has historical and symbolic significance. As "one of the most significant words used by Dr. Ambedkar, [Manuski] has connotations of humanity, compassion, and respect" (Front Cover of "Manuski" Movement Flyer, 2008). Run by local members of various scheduled castes, the Manuski Center embodies Dr. Ambedkar's famous call for dalits to organize, educate, and agitate.

The network of activists and social workers that the Jambudvipa Trust's Manuski Center has cultivated has, over the last decade, helped to foster an enhanced dalit Buddhist presence among even secular Ambedkar followers. By working to expose atrocities against scheduled castes and providing professional training to partner organizations, TBMSG's Manuski Center has fostered low-caste communication, coordination, and expertise in the hopes of developing a strongly unified network of the marginalized to fight caste oppression. While the commitment to nonviolent activism is not publically discussed, in part due to a desire to distance themselves from Gandhian rhetoric that they see as complicit with their oppression, the collective will of TBMSG movement members to actively engage is primarily informed by Buddhist conceptions of nonviolence. Of particular importance to TBMSG activists is a conception of Buddhist practice as a philosophy of life - a way to lead one's life. Adherence to the eightfold path (right action in particular) acts as a normative roadmap to social change and the core of this roadmap lies in principled nonviolence (ahimsa). While this core affects the periphery of action the line between principled and strategic nonviolence, right livelihood, and right action is not always clear. The following section attempts to develop a clearer sketch of the dichotomy between principled and strategic approaches to nonviolence.

The Poverty of the Principled/Strategic Dichotomy

Although Sharp (2005) and Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher (1999), among others, have pragmatically argued that normative commitments to nonviolence are not a necessary perquisite for successful strategic nonviolent activism, the separation of nonviolent activism into strategic and principled types is, itself, problematic. The

creation of a binary dichotomy between principled and strategic forms of nonviolence furthers the assumption that shared normative commitments, though informing pragmatic movement strategy, are formed and fermented devoid of processes of strategic consideration. Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher (1999), in fact, state in the introduction to their geographical reader on Non-violent Social Movements that "nonviolence became more a deliberate tool for social change moving from being an ad hoc strategy growing naturally out of religious or ethical principles to a reflective, and in many ways institutionalized, method of struggle." While such statements give an a priori importance to the normative commitments of principled nonviolence, they also perpetuate the assumption that shared values are somehow forged outside of the processes of social action. In fact, shared values are formed alongside action; collective commitment is forged in collective action. The view of principled nonviolence as forming the seedbed of nonviolent strategies that are later proven to work through practice, arbitrarily separates theory from practice - something that I believe in the construction and maintenance of social movements does not, in reality, occur and further obscures transformative practice. Social movements, as public expressions of collective grievance, are constantly involved in testing theory through practice and activism and adapting based on reflecting on that practice. This hypothesis testing of modes of action is critical to not only the development, but also maintenance of nonviolent action. Separating strategic practice from normative assumptions and commitments about practice is, beyond problematic, it is impossible.

While some scholars of NVSMs admittedly focus on strategic over principled nonviolence because they feel it will be a more effective means of convincing people of the power and usefulness of nonviolent action (nonviolence scholar Steven Zunes in fact made this argument in a public talk at Guilford College in September 2011), the limited emphasis on principled nonviolence has largely been focused on looking at principled nonviolence as foundational, aspirational, and/or the theoretical expression of strategic responses to political opportunity structures. Most commentators attempting to address the role of normative commitments in nonviolent action see such commitments as helpful to develop a shared justification for nonviolent commitment, but mention little about the role of these shared values in maintaining identity groups and opening new political opportunities over time. Principled nonviolence is a resource that effective social movements use to sustain strategic commitment, yet it is seen as secondary to political power and nonviolent tactics as strategic variables. While this should not be surprising, given the dominant paradigm of political realism operating in the world today, there is a sense in which

we can say that principled nonviolence in practice becomes inseparable from strategic nonviolence. If principled nonviolence is an ideal, then strategy becomes the means to reach toward the unachievable ideal. Gandhi articulated this same sense of the connection between the ideal and the real in his lifelong striving for aparigraha (non-possession). The ideal, though impossible to reach, was nonetheless worthy of strategic attempt to reach it, as in Gandhi's conception the mere work of striving for non-possession brought one closer to the real. The principle (or ideal) only lives through the strategic practice of striving to achieve the ideal. Without the principle (ideal) there would be no direction for strategic practice. Principled commitment to a normative set of positions against violence does not only develop nonviolent action, but, indeed, sustains it. Mere strategic success of nonviolence is fickle; shared commitment of norms binds justice activism to identity and change.

The inseparable and interconnected aspect of binary conceptions of nonviolence as either practical or principled can best be articulated through an analysis of activist narratives. Though normative intentions are often very difficult to infer from narrative, the narrative deployment and structure of utterance can provide clues to social actor's sense of meaning. Indeed, narratives, as ever evolving and never constant tropes of lived experience, are the manner in which humans convey meaning. As Polletta (2006:34) says, "Stories assimilate confusing events into familiar frameworks." Therefore, the ambiguity of social movement stories and the "narrative ellipsis" (Polletta, 2006) they engender act to solidify the underlying connections between actors' norms and behaviors. Social movement actors tell stories to attempt to figure out the moral that they themselves are struggling to fully understand. This is clearly evident in the way that Americans have told stories of 9-11 after the events of that tragic day. In the case of TBMSG/Manuski Centre activists by looking at narratives one can uncover how the underlying principles of nonviolence enforce an important hegemonic control on strategic planning that is critical to sustain nonviolent commitment. The story of Khairlanji and TBMSG/Manuski response to this event provides an excellent illustration of the inseparable connection between principled and strategic approaches to nonviolence. TBMSG's narrative of this atrocity also illustrates under what conditions shared commitments to principled nonviolence can break down.

Reportage on the Strategic Difficulties of Maintaining Principled Nonviolence: The Story of Khairlanji and TBMSG's Response

The events that have become known as the Khairlanji massacre have been contested since the moment they occurred in September 2006. On the evening of September

29th, 2006 a mob of about fifty angry caste Hindus, converged on the Bhotmange's family home and attacked and killed all but one member of the family (mother, daughter, and two sons were all killed). Portrayed as a "revenge killing" and a "Naxalite effort" by local authorities, dalit communities in Maharashtra quickly mobilized to force the state to adequately investigate the murders and bring the perpetrators to justice. In local dalits' view there was a clear caste angle to the attack. The Bhotmanges were one of only two dalit (Mahar) families among approximately 150 families living in the non-descript village of Khairlanji in Bhandara district of Maharashtra [the other families were made up of Powars and Kalars which are classified as Other Backward Classes (OBCs) in Indian parlance]. While the mother and daughter of the family had recently testified to the local authorities by identifying one of the attackers in a September 13 altercation in the village, dalit activists believe that the caste dynamics of Khairlanji played a more important role than revenge in the mobilization that eventually ended in this atrocity of mob violence. In the words of Anand Teltumbde (2010:42):

Khairlanji represents the breakdown of the wicked equilibrium that has held the subcontinent historically frozen for thousands of years - and that has carried India through centuries of utterly undeserved self-attribution with qualities such as 'tolerant,' 'nonviolent,' and peace-loving.

Despite initial sensational media accounts of love interest and revenge as the cause of this 'communal' violence in Khairlanji, the caste angle of the events became more and more evident as pressure was put on the authorities to more thoroughly investigate the incident.

Soon after the attack Mr. Bhotmange, who was not home at the time of the brutal attack, began publicly arguing that the 1989 Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act should be invoked to investigate both the murders and the lack of local police response to the incident. Within days of this event dalits in Maharashtra began to organize and support Mr. Bhotmange's, until then, futile pleas. Dalit Buddhists mobilized through social media sites and social networks and took a lead role in this contention to get the authorities to invoke the Prevention of Atrocities Act (hereafter POA) by mobilizing networks of dalit activists and framing dalit sentiment. TBMSG/Manuski activists circulated blogs, e-mail chains, and newsletters describing the event across the state, the sub-continent, and the world in order to raise awareness of the oppressive conditions under which modern-day dalits live. The 2006 events in the village of Khairlanji in Bhandara district of

Maharashtra (reactions to which are developed in more detail below) became the spark for a mass dalit campaign to persuade local authorities to invoke POA against the crime's perpetrators and expose the realities of caste marginalization in rural India. Seizing the political opportunity space that these horrific events created TBMSG/Manuski activists soon faced the paradox of binary conceptions of a strategic-principled approach to nonviolence. Not only did the event expose the brutality of the Indian caste mentality, it exposed the seeming difficulties of nonviolent activists to respond strategically to that brutality. While the 1989 POA act has become an important vector for dalits' claims of social justice, the draconian punishments the act condones seem to be at cross-purposes with important dalit Buddhist value commitments such as nonviolence and interdependence. Activists did not seem to focus on these value paradoxes, but rather seemed constrained by their practical stance on POA and dedication to structural policy change. It is not only this paradox that a closer look at TBMSG/Manuski's Khairlanji response deftly unmasks, but also an opening up of important questions about the interplay between local caste identity commitment sand the micro-politics of local belief and practice. What if nonviolent advocacy and activism leads to perpetuating unjust, or structurally violent, legal policy mechanisms? What does 'nonviolence' really mean in such a case of protest against horrific violence? These are the difficult questions that TBMSG/ Manuski activists faced as they organized for social change, but their inability to frame their activism on their principled identity as nonviolent Buddhists had profound implications for their strategic practice of nonviolent victims of caste marginalization. Without stressing the principled foundation of their contention TBMSG activists overlook potential opportunities for lasting change.

Once the Nagpur Bench of the Bombay High Court ruled that there was no caste angle to the crime, and therefore no legal standing to convene a special court to try the case under POA, dalit contention across Maharashtra escalated. While dalits were joyous when the same court reversed their initial ruling and said that POA could be invoked, dalits were again deflated when in July 2010 the court again reversed itself and failed to confirm the death penalty as appropriate punishment for the six convicted (the POA statute requires that the maximum penalty be, at least, considered).The roller-coaster of cycles of contention between the state and the state's marginalized subjects over the initial Khairlanji event and its legal aftermath resonate with the complexities inherent in the paradoxes of dalit Buddhist identity formation. That Dalit Buddhists would forego their principled beliefs in interdependence and support structural change is quite understandable given the history of structural violence they have faced. As the same time, such foregoing disinvests the movement of its strongest grounding and social position. In being

simultaneously victim and fully capable engaged Buddhist activist, TBMSG/Manuski leaders were faced with balancing the identities of aggrieved victim with that of committed Buddhist. Once protest began over the need to invoke POA, dalit identity as victims had framed the contention and the identity of Buddhist was to take a back seat. When later the court agreed to invoke POA, but did not enforce its ultimate punishment, dalits of the TBMSG held onto an identity justice based on the narrative structure of a victim and not as Buddhist. Attempts to re-frame the contention around a Buddhist identity were not forthcoming among activists of the TBMSG and, thus, normative commitments to nonviolence were pushed to the side almost unconsciously (or at least semi-consciously). Forging a nonviolent response to the state sponsored structural violence, while simultaneously privileging both these competing identities proved extremely difficult for TBMSG activists. The questions that the event and its aftermath raise (particularly dalit reaction to it) go to the core of attempting to understand dalit Buddhist identity and how it interfaces with shared values commitments to Buddhist nonviolence. By looking at the lived experience of dalit protesters of the Khairlanji verdict handed down in the summer of 2010 we have one window into not only dalit Buddhist identity, but how that identity understands the role of principled nonviolence in their strategic activism, as well as Buddhism as a core construct of identity. Why was principled nonviolence not more influential in the framing of dalit Buddhist response to Khairlanji? Given the notoriously backlogged India court system, appellate reviews of the accused are still being actively pursued almost seven years after the precipitating crime event. But, armed with a basic understanding of the situated history of this ethnographic moment, one can explore the dalit reactions as means of struggling with their own identity paradoxes and normative commitments. IN this way the tragedy of Khairlanji still holds the promise of opportunity.

Paradoxes, Complications and Disjuncture: The Analysis of Nonviolent Commitment

When I talked to TBMSG/Manuski activist Priya in July 2010 as the protests against the Nagpur Bench were in full swing, he told me that there was much anger in the dalit community over the decision. I asked him how TBMSG/Manuski members were reacting and he said "the same as all dalits," meaning that non-Buddhists and Buddhists were one in their response. Immediately I was drawn to the paradox of this statement. Why were dalit Buddhists no taking a moral high-ground, but instead focused on identity justice and structural change. While it was certainly justified that dalits would feel that a government structure that had consistently overlooked the Khairlanji incident to begin with, would invariable and consistently seek to circumvent

justice at ever turn, the fact that the court had ruled against violent retribution for the perpetrators of the Khairlanji massacre, I assumed would be accepted by nonviolent dalit Buddhists with some releief. Yet, Priya himself (along with others from TBMSG/ Manuski) were on the organizational front lines of the fight to force the government (in this case the courts) to impose the ultimate punishment on the Khairlanji perpetrators. I asked Priya: "Isn't there an implicit contradiction in dalit Buddhists protesting for the death penalty?" His response was telling - - he simply stated: "Not really. This is about justice." When I protested by asking "since when have Buddhists been concerned with justice?" Priya responded by re-iterating this was a Dalit issue. In effect the Buddhist identity and any examples of Buddhist historical calls for social justice seem to have faded away. Despite the fact that research shows the paucity of the deterrent effect of the death penalty as well as its dubious record of providing 'justice' for victims' families, Priya simply said he knew these ideas to be true theoretically, but that this was different. What made it different? What identity markers superseded Buddhist? For many TBMSG activists clearly Ambedkar dalit identity was primary to other identities. This reminded me of something that Susan Hirsch writes in her gripping account of loosing her husband in the terrorist attacks on the U.S. Embassy in Tanzania. "In pursuing one's unilateral interests, including legitimate self-defense, it is easy to put aside even strongly felt values, such as the need to treat others with humanity." Though paradoxical, the dalit Buddhist response to the Nagpur bench's decision to take the death penalty off the table doesn't completely defy explanation, it does point to how commitment to principled nonviolence can break down in the face of victims collective sense of strategic justice in a punitive sense. Victim identities can overpower normative commitments to nonviolence and stop potentially nonviolent social movements' from engaging in principled nonviolent action. Still, I would argue that in cases of paradoxical commitments to justice and nonviolence, deeply embedded shared value systems remain a requirement for the maintenance of nonviolent action. One could argue that the core social values of Buddhism have not penetrated the dalit Buddhist identity deeply enough, but such argument is fraught with interpretive claims that are too much for the present work.

The story of dalit Buddhists protesting for the implementation of the death penalty, certainly raises paradoxes, disjunctures, and complications for understanding their commitment to nonviolent action. But such paradoxes can be seen as a resource that provides a window into a dalit Buddhist sense of identity justice and draws attention to the need for the collective education on the role of shared norms and

responsibilities. The fact that dalit Buddhists could protest in favor of the implementation of the death penalty signals an uneasy tension between their identity as victim and their identity as Buddhist, but it also points to a lack of collective understanding of, or agreement on, the shared value of nonviolence. Does dalit Buddhism stand for principled nonviolent activism or is dalit the more important signifier? Surely most TBMSG/Manuski activists and leaders would answer that dalit Buddhism stands for principled nonviolence, but the fact that they have themselves never had opportunity to critically engage with this question underscores the reasoning of their fully-strategic response to Khairlanji. While TBMSG/Manuski's foundation of principled nonviolence failed to impose a completely nonviolent strategic commitment in this particular case, continued expression of similar paradox and contradiction in future cases of protest may act to break down the movement's core strength - - an ability to recreate Buddhists with a sense of self-esteem. Long-term the commitment to principled nonviolence is critical to the successful sustenance of dalit Buddhist identity and activism. Nonviolent values not only develop the activism, but they are critical to maintaining activist commitment - the story of Khairlanji exposes the paradoxes of nonviolence while also pointing to the role critical attention to shared values plays in successful activism for change.

Conclusions

Rather than accepting the traditional conflict resolution assumption that needs or values are somehow non-negotiable [see Burton (1993)], this research on nonviolent social movements has argued that values are mediated through discursive processes and that these values are critical to the maintenance of sustained nonviolent action. Narrative storytelling is the point-of-access for both realizing the importance of shared values or norms, and presents the lowest common denominator for accessing the complex processes of social construction. In other words, stories provide access to social change in ways that other forms of discourse do not. While this approach to the field nonviolence might not seem radical, it is. Principled nonviolence has too long been understood as just a precursor, or foundation for, the development of nonviolent action - my case study of TBMSG/Manuski and the events in Khairlanji attempts to open understandings of nonviolence to the critical importance of principled commitments as a ongoing resource for social movement actors actively engage in nonviolent social change.

TBMSG's narrative identity of both newly converted dalit Buddhist and victim of injustice provide untapped opportunities to understand the movement's social justice

ideal and prospects to engage in principled nonviolence to make that ideal real. Despite the many difficulties inherent in focusing on the normative commitments of social actors in conflict situations, such focus has long been lacking in the conflict studies and social movement literatures and, indeed, requires further committed and sustained attention. Nonviolent activism is an important vector for this further research. Narrative constructions, as inseparable from value commitments, are ripe fruit hanging on the tree of social life. As research in peace and conflict studies we must pick this fruit! By understanding the narrative constructions of actors engaged in social conflict those studying them can mediate multiple identities, better explain power asymmetries, and help to realize sustained nonviolent forms of collective action. TBMSG's choice of nonviolent tactics of protest is strategic, but the normative commitments activists in the movement collectively share provide a critical resource to not only develop, but maintain, effective nonviolent engagement with unjust structures. Modern forms of knowledge creation demand both scholarly and activist attention to nonviolent social movements' on-going processes of worldview construction. The pragmatics of strategic choice do not diminish the importance of the attention to norms, rather attention to norms empowers the pragmatic dimensions of strategic choice. This dynamic is mutually enforcing.

Notes

1. The word 'Dalit' means 'broken' or 'downtrodden' in Sanskrit and was "used as far back as 1931 in journalistic writing." Michael, S.M., ed. 1999, 99. Teltumbde credits nineteenth century social reformer Jotirao Phule (1827-1890) with coining the term [see Teltumbde (2010) footnote number 2, 35]. Throughout this paper the term 'dalit' will be used instead of the assumption-laden 'ex-untouchable' as per the preference of this marginalized community.
2. By 'violent' here I am referring to not just direct violence, but cultural and structural violence as well (see Galtung 1969 for further explanation of this important peace studies typology).
3. Docherty (2001) defines the process of worldview formation with this active verb, which, as critical symbolic representation, those outside movements often misunderstand. 'Worldviewing' for Docherty is "a process that defies the contemporary separation of individual and social phenomena" (50). As a "reality-defining processes [that] occur[s] prior to and outside of the issue specific negotiation process" (55) worldviewing is of critical importance to effective conflict resolution and I would argue, principled nonviolent commitment.
4. I believe that the recent events in Egypt (referred to be many as the Arab Spring and its counter-revolutions) bare this fact out quite clearly in practice.
5. See Sponberg. A., 1996, 76. Kantowsky (2003) translates TBMSG slightly differently as the "Union of the Helpers of the Buddhist Great Order of the Three Worlds." Kantowsky,

op. cit., 135. In 2010, the worldwide movement changed the beginning of its name, upon the request of English leadership, from the Trailokya to Triratna; this not insignificant change established the focus of the community on the three jewels (Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha) as opposed to a more numinous conception of the three realms or Worlds.

6. Ambedkar Buddhism arose in India after the October 1956 conversion of social reformer and first law minister of India, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956). Since much has been written on Dr. Ambedkar and the many political and social movements he spawned, I, here, limit discussion of Dr. Ambedkar to his legacy and influence on the TBMSG movement. For more on Dr. B.R. Ambedkar see Jaffrelot (2005), Queen (1996), Keer (1992), and Zelliot (1969, 1992).
7. Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher (1999), 1 - emphasis added.
8. Bondurant (1958), 154.
9. see Polletta (2006) for a nice discussion of this
10. The term 'caste Hindu' is used here to denote those Hindus (of both high and low caste) that benefit in social, economic, and/or political ways from the current caste-based status quo in Indian society and as a consequence consider themselves within the Hindu fold.
11. The Hindu Opinion Online, "Khairlanji : the crime and punishment" (August 23, 2010) - http://www.hindu.com/2010/08/23/stories/2010082355871100.htm - accessed 2/25/11.
12. How quickly this dalit response happened is a matter of some contestation. Teltumbde (2010) in detailing the events of Khairlanji argues that the Jubilee celebrations of Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism, as well as, initial assumptions on the part of dalits about the caste elements of the family effected (Bhotmange is not a typical Mahar dalit name) highlights that "caste identity becomes more important than human identity in India, even for Ambedkarite dalits" (107).
13. http://www.europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article4101 - accessed 2/11/11.
14. Hirsch (2006), 262.

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Naya Nepal : Challenges of Governance and Institutions

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Introduction

Nepal has been one of the most significant countries for India. Notwithstanding very brief periods of disenchantment that Nepalese have displayed toward India, it has been integrally connected from time immemorial. In terms of the diverse relationships that they both share with each other, Nepal remains by far the closest country to India. Naturally then, any significant transitions that Nepal undergoes have important ramifications for us. The present paper briefly examines the various aspects of this relationship, glances through the very recent violent conflict that impacted Nepal most severely and goes on to assess the challenges and achievements that the current situation in Nepal has on governance and institutions. It then winds up with the analysis of these changes that have taken place in the country to locate them in the wider context of India Nepal relations.

The Relationship

Nepal has been one of our closest neighbours, not only because it shares an extraordinary long, more or less, open border (1751km) with India[1], but also as there has been a remarkable continuity in our relationship with this country. The treaty of 1950 (MEA, 1950) that enables the borders to be more or less open, commits to the 'National' treatment of the citizens of each other's country. This treaty is variously seen more as a consequence than a cause of mutuality between our two states. Various provisions of the treaty enabled free and uninterrupted mobility between people and goods between the two countries that led to further enrichment of our relationship.

The people of both the countries have a majority of Hindu population (about 80%) and they share a common cultural heritage. The holiest shrines for the people of the two nations lie across each other's boundaries. Ganga remains the holiest of rivers for most people of Nepal as well as India and Himalayas remain the 'abode' of most of the Hindu Gods. Many religious rituals of Hindus continue to be performed on the sites that do not take cognizance of the fact that the sites lie outside their state territories. Shradha (A Hindu ritual related to death) are performed in Gaya (India) by the Hindus of both Nepal and India. Not only the Hindus but also the Buddhists routinely pay homage to Buddha in Lumbini (Nepal) and Sarnath (India).

Ethnically India and Nepal more or less share a similar caste structure (the Chaturvarna). This has resulted in interstate marriages that are still mostly negotiated by the families instead of the couple themselves. Such marriages take place not only amongst the people from the plains but are also common amongst the hill regions of the two countries. Consequently there have come to prevail strong familial ties and have also resulted in generating shared elite between the two countries.

As observed earlier the treaty of 1950 grants 'national treatment' to each other's citizens. Though India has come forward to incorporate the clause in word and spirit Nepal is yet to achieve mutuality in this sphere. Notwithstanding this unusualness of the treaty implementation, Indians and also Nepalese have come to enjoy a significant shared space. It is estimated that about one third of Nepali population lives in India and about more than 10 lakh Indians have made Nepal their home. Though most of the Nepalese in India are engaged in service sector, Indians settled in Nepal have trade and commerce interests in Nepal. This has further necessitated the mutuality that the two countries need to have.

Thus there has been a great deal of shared space, literally and metaphorically between the two countries: history, geography, culture and tradition. Not only in the plains but also among the hill people there are bonds that go way beyond marriage and customs.

The Strains

Having said that, it is important to keep in mind that like other neighbours, Nepal too is currently engaged in her own 'nationalism project' of which propelling anti India feelings come as a ready tool. Some of the major issues mentioned in the forty points demand made by the Communist Party of Nepal(Maoist)related to the 'Imperialist expansion of India'. The foremost concerns of the Maoists were the

Treaty of Peace and friendship between India and Nepal, Tanakpur and Mahakali treaties, India Nepal border openness, Gorkha recruiting centres and the 'cultural pollution' by the Indian songs and movies. Years later when the conflict was over and the peace agreement signed between the seven parties of Nepal and the Maoists, we still come across the acrimony revolve around various issues that were once voiced during the armed conflict. One major point around which much of the anti-India campaign focuses today is the issue of encroachment by India on Nepali borders. The main area in which there has been a dispute on Nepalese borders is Pasupatinagar in the east, Susta in the south and Kalapani in the west.[2] Though talks between the home ministries of both the countries have more or less sorted these discrepancies, pending an agreement on the issue largely due to political instability in Nepal, there has been a routine anti India sloganeering by the ultra-leftist forces on these sites in the past.

On the other hand India suspects her neighbours of flooding India with fake currency notes that according to the Indian intelligence estimates are reportedly around $6 billion. It is commonly held belief that the main origin of these fake currency notes is in Pakistan, Nepal having open borders with India is looked upon as one major route of this flooding. The problem gets so acute that in Nepal where Indian currency notes are commonly used, notes of a higher denominator than one hundred had to be declared illegal. Yet it is interesting to note that Indian currency in these high denomination notes flows freely in Nepalese markets. The issue nonetheless remains one major irritant between the Nepalese law enforcing agencies and the Indians settled especially in the tarai (plains) region that are suspected of using these denominators more than their Nepalese counterparts right under the watch of the central government not only in Bhootahiti[3] but also in Durbar marg.

There have also been many other serious issues concerning the relations between these two neighbours. One of the foremost issues of late has been the question of the use of porous borders by the militants from third countries. This came to light during the horrendous Mumbai attacks when some of the militants were perceived to have entered India via Nepal borders (Upadhyaya, 2011). The arrest of dreaded terrorist like Yasin Bhatkal on India Nepal borders has been put forth as one example of the border between the two countries being used for illegal activities.

The Conflict

Nepal has recently come out of a violent conflict that lasted for ten years (1996-2006). Described as 'the People's war' the conflict focused on bringing about changes

in the basic structure of not only the government but also the hierarchical social structure. There have been various studies to examine the causes of the conflict that have emphasized diverse factors at the root of the conflict. Some of the earliest studies often reached to contradictory findings. For instance Bray et al. (2003) have suggested that the Maoists found support from the oppressed lower castes (Bray, Lunde, and Murshed, 2003). This study has found further endorsement by subsequent works (Sengupta, 2005) that conclude that the Maoists 'People's war' got support from the longstanding grievances that the oppressed ethnicities had against the upper caste groups. On the other hand Gersony (2003) asserted that caste and ethnicity was not the major cause of conflict. This study is further supported by Thapa and Sijapati(2004) who conclude that the major cause of the war was poverty and underdevelopment. Many studies have emphasized the role of landlessness or relative deprivation (Deraniyagala, 2005; Murshed and Gates, 2005; Macours, 2011). More recently exclusion was identified as the 'single most important cause' of the conflict (Surhke, 2014). Landlessness, discriminatory practices against certain ethnic groups, caste discriminations, combined with poverty and acute underdevelopment of major areas within Nepal all led to support the violent conflict that had far reaching consequences.

Conflict in Nepal has had nonlinear consequences. During the ten year long armed struggle that the country experienced, the Maoists attempted to bring about a basic change from an autocratic unresponsive elitist rule to a more inclusive democratic egalitarian system. However, since the process that attempted to bring about this change was violent, the established institutions and the calm that many described was only superficial, was disrupted.

The Aftermath

Once the peace was agreed in 2006 and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed between the seven Parties and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoists) the process of transformation has been peaceful. This itself is no mean achievement.

The first and the foremost task of the post conflict Nepal was to restore law and order. For this Disarmament, Demilitarisation and the Rehabilitation (DDR) process of the former Maoist combatants had to be undertaken, a task that was expected to be completed in six months took nearly five years to complete. However notwithstanding the criticism and the gaps in the implementation of this process, it should be looked upon as a major achievement of governance of the post conflict Nepal. In not many post conflict countries has the DDR process been as smooth as in Nepal.[4]

Elections for the Constituent Assembly (CA-I)[5] for framing of a new constitution were also completed smoothly without much serious challenge. And though the constitution could not be framed by this mammoth assembly of 601 representatives despite several extensions, elections for the second CA too have taken place amidst protests from the disgruntled splinter group from the former Maoists. Yet it goes to the credit of governance of Nepal that this task too was completed with utmost smoothness.

The judiciary in Nepal is three tiered: The Supreme Court at the apex, Appellate courts numbering 16 and district courts in each of its 75 districts. In comparison with other institutions of governance, the judiciary fares well. According to a recent study by Transparency International, less than half of citizens who had regular interaction with the judiciary reported encountering corruption, as opposed to a major proportion of respondents in many other countries of the region (World Bank, n.d.).

Similarly, Nepal has shown positive trends in the social sector indicators. In 2010, Nepal received Millennium Development Goal (MDG) award for its national leadership, commitment and progress toward improving maternal health. In 1990, Nepal had 850 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births. After two decades, Nepal´s Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) was reduced to 229 deaths per 100,000 live births. And by 2013, two years ahead of the deadline, Nepal has already achieved one of the two key indicators of the MDG-5. This is no mean achievement for a country that is just coming out of a decade long violence, notwithstanding the fact that MMRs among Muslim, Madheshi and Dalit women are still higher than those among Newari, Brahmin/Chhetri and Janjati women. The Nepal Human Development Report-2014, published by the NPC and the UNDP, clearly demonstrates that regional, caste/ethnic and gender inequalities not only continue to exist in Nepal but have also impeded the country´s overall human development growth (UNDP, n.d.).

Challenges of Governance

Efficiency and accountability in public institutions is still lacking. Corruption remains one of the major concerns of the citizens and scams are a plenty: Dhamija episode, Chase air issue, China South West Airline deal, Lauda Air sale, purchase of law makers and human smuggling to name a few. Bureaucracy suffers from poor incentives (World Bank, n.d.). So does academia. Some major steps have been

taken to redeem the situation. A National Vigilance Centre and a Commission for Investigation of Abuse of Authority (CIAA) has been set up. While the record on enforcement and prevention has improved, considerable work remains in improving the capacity, professionalism, and outreach in these units. Yet another redeeming feature is that there prevails a free press and a vibrant civil society.

But the most pressing challenge in recent years has come from the debris of the conflict in the form of humanitarian costs. It is never easy to come to exact number of casualties, or the amount of damage that a country has suffered as a consequence of civil conflict. Therefore it is not surprising that there have been revisions on the number of persons that died or were disabled or even displaced during the Maoist conflict of Nepal. Nepalese government has revised the number of casualties from 16, 278 now 17625 (Nepal Monitor, n.d.).

The number of people forcibly disappeared have also varied. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) estimated in June 2014 that there were 1,359 people missing in Nepal due to conflict-related causes. However, some local NGOs or family groups put the number of missing much higher. For example, the Society of the Families of the Disappeared (SOFD) has said that there are about 5,700 cases of conflict-related disappearances in Nepal.

The number of people who have been forced to leave homes due to conflict cannot be estimated. According to the March 2011 data from Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction (MoPR), the number of internally displaced people (IDP) owing to conflict was 78,675. The same source puts the number of disabled to 4305, as a result of the conflict. These are losses that are high, given the total population of Nepal being only 26,494,504 in 2011 (CBS 2012).

The two most promised commissions: Commission of Inquiry on Enforced Disappeared Persons and Truth and Reconciliation Bill has received approval by the legislature (25th April, 2014) has been labelled as far from satisfactory from many quarters (Human Rights Watch, 2014) The Bill has failed to come up to the international standards of transitional justice in as much as it eludes the very process of prosecution. The Supreme Court had, in the month of January, directed the government that the Attorney General's office be empowered to prosecute, but the bill has not paid any heed in this direction. Similarly the Court's directive that torture and disappearances be criminalised by law has been bypassed. Even the statute of

time limitations for prosecuting rape cases has not been amended. The bill thus fails to bring the culprits to books, making grave crimes not cognisable.

Commenting on the bill, Kanak Mani Dixit, one of the leading Political analyst of Nepal said

> The government of Sushil Koirala has succumbed to Maoist blackmail in presenting the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and Disappearances bill before Parliament, as if the people who voted in November for transparent governance and rule of law did not matter a whit. This action does not bode well for the Constituent Assembly's work-a leadership that cannot stand up to the pressure of demagogues on human rights can hardly be expected to guide us through the shoals towards a democratic constitution (Dixit, 2014).

The International Commission of Jurists, the Human Rights Watch and also the Amnesty International has criticised the bill severely. Sam Zarifi, Asia-Pacific regional director at the International Commission of Jurists is quoted saying, "The Nepali government seems to have simply tabled a mildly reworked version of the 2012 ordinance despite the Supreme Court's landmark judgment on transitional justice….This deliberately undermines the judiciary, and raises serious concerns over the government's respect for the rule of law in Nepal".[6]

The agenda of decentralisation remains yet another prominent one in popular discourses of state restructuring and thus governance. The issue has intermingled with the demand for a federal Nepal. The matter of Federalism was at the very centre of the struggle during the five years from 2008 until 2012 and occupied great deal of political and social space. It was discussed and debated in the Constituent Assembly, media, seminar rooms, living rooms of people and also in the social media.

Yet no agreement on this issue could be reached and this became the final straw on the camel's back. The CA-I disintegrated without reaching any conclusion on the new constitution mainly on account of no agreement being reached on federalism. The CA-II is yet to start functioning. None the less, the nation remains quite fixed on the federal system as it seems the best option for a state as diverse as Nepal, to now even consider any other option than a federal form of government. Here too any major change in the internal instruments of governance in Nepal is likely to

have consequences that are least anticipated. China's interest in Nepal for instance is likely to grow in an unanticipated manner once Nepal becomes a federal state, for the obvious reason that this is likely to promote assertion of ethnic identities within Nepal having cross border repercussions for China.

The Local Self Governing Act that was passed in 1999 has been hailed as one of the best instruments for decentralization. However, as the situation currently stands, the local village/district councils in Nepal are not functional. The last elections that took place were some sixteen years ago and though Village Development Council (VDC) and District Development (DDC) are expressions that are frequently used in common parlance across the country, what this actually boils down to is the village or the district level clerk who sits in the council building and more or less represents the state authority. After the expiry of the term of the elected councils and once peace was brokered and yet the prospects of fresh elections were nonexistent, there was a home grown technique of co-opting all party representatives in the local council. Representatives from the three leading political parties, the Congress, the UML and the Maoists continued to be informally nominated at these Committees till very recently when this too was withdrawn. The absence of any form of representative body at the local level has an extremely damaging impact on the representative nature of the institution and the mediation or governance in which the institution is indulging in.

In the wake of absence of proper functioning organs of the state, there is enough space in the Nepalese theatre of governance for innovative institutions. It is in this context that the work being done by committees known as Local Peace Committees (LPC)[7] and Paralegal Committees (PLC) becomes significant. We will now proceed to discuss the working of these two committees as aides to governance institution at some length. The paralegal committees too were brought into existence and also became effective in resolving minor disputes and issues of justice.

This was to support the work of Peace building. Peace building is the process of restoring normal relations between not only the warring parties but also communities that are severely disturbed by armed conflict. It requires the reconciliation of differences, apology and forgiveness of past harm, and the establishment of a cooperative relationship between groups, replacing the adversarial or competitive relationship that prevailed in the past. The LPC was an attempt to provide local support to the national peace building process. It is an acknowledgement of the capacities of the local people to transform, resolve or manage conflicts at the grass

roots level, and also an assertion of the fact that the local and national conflicts are interconnected. It is important that agencies in whom both sides of the party have faith should address the dynamics of local conflict reduction techniques and be a strong source of conflict resolution.

In Nepal during the post conflict period, LPCs were installed to play a positive role in this direction. Given the trust deficit of the post conflict , especially as the elected local councils were neither in place nor was there a probability of the same being established in near future, the LPCs were mandated to work at the local level, they were expected to work under the full mandate from and support of the national political leadership.

The political discussions that led to the formation of LPCs were complemented by consultations held among political party and civil society representatives in forums such as the Peace and Conflict Management Committee (PCMC), Nepal Transitions to Peace (NTTP) and in the cabinet's relevant sub-committees. Similar consultations took place in the United Nations and among the donor agencies. Since this effort was in line with the peace agreement, it did not take any opposition to set up these institutions. Initially set up under the Peace Trust fund, that was later on transferred to the Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction formed a Local Peace Committee (LPC) in every district with the aim of building peace at local level in the district. The LPCs were legally mandated and guided by a set of Terms of Reference (ToR). The LPC comprises of representatives from political parties, civil society organisations, local organizations, human rights activists, victims of conflict, business personnel, indigenous groups and women who play an important role in peace building in the district at grass root level.

The major task of these committees was to create an environment conducive for a just system in a transitional period through restoration of sustainable peace by resolving the remnants of conflict at the local level and systematically promoting the processes of peace and reconstruction through mutual goodwill and unity. Thus LPCs should have been a source of strength to the task of peace building. However in many cases, the remnants of conflict hindered smooth functioning of the LPCs towards achieving their objects. In absence of elected local representatives, political cadres or persons backed by political parties have been involved in various activities and institution formation. National level political and policy complications affected the formation process, structure and activities of the LPCs significantly.
As mentioned earlier, LPCs were established to institutionalize the peace process

at the very local level. Their to reinstate a sustainable peace by ensuring mutual understanding and reconciliation among the victims of the conflict, to provide relief to the displaced persons by conflict, to return their properties, to rehabilitate them and to make the devastated infrastructures reconstructed by reinstating a sustainable peace with participation of all sides. They did contribute to resolve disputes in some districts but were heavily politicized and thus could not help in building mutual trust and confidence in the community.

The concept of Local Peace Committees was first discussed at a joint meeting of some key political parties (Nepali Congress, CPN-UML, Nepali Congress (D), Nepal Sadbhavana Party (A) and the CPN-Maoist) and the then Peace Secretariat in July 2006.Subsequently Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of November 21, 2006 mentioned that local structures would be formed as mechanisms to secure the peace at local level. These committees started working under the Ministry of Peace and reconstruction.[8]

The LPCs, right from the beginning were under tremendous pressure of working neutrally. Though members were appointed informally in proportion to the elected political parties in the CA, yet since the Ministry under which they were working was headed by a member of a Political Party that then did not quite represent the orientation of the 'revolutionaries' the committees were almost non-functional for a long period. The Terms of Reference (TOR) were also not much known to the members, who thought these committees were more in the tradition of arbitration than reconciliation.[9] The membership positions were honorary, members were constrained to act with the kind of enthusiasm that they would have otherwise done. In some cases monetary support was offered to the members to conduct a particular task, their sense of pride did not allow them to accept support that came from individual initiatives. Most importantly the committees, despite being owned by the people and looked upon as their very indigenous idea (though it was mooted by South Africa and supported ideologically by the United States of America) remained replicas of the larger political picture. They were then obviously far from reaching any consensus on matters of dispute. The National contentious politics more or less replicated at the local level. That was equivalent to an almost surgical division along party lines.

There were issues of competence too. The officials were not trained enough to carry out diverse training programs and there were not enough resources to outsource the task. They also lacked dispute resolution skills. Though in addition to

the political parties they had representation of conflict affected people, women, lawmakers, but the Committees simply replicated the patronage politics as opposed to the policies of conciliation. Corruption as was mentioned earlier remained rampant at the VDC and the DDC level. Bribes were common to provide documentary evidences that were needed for compensation to conflict affected people. The LPCs though not accused of such corrupt practices helped conflict victims. But that too was along party lines. 'Conflict has actually sliced the entire country across party lines, and so although we are concerned with victims per se, but the victims approach us through the party lines only' said one of the active members of a LPC.

Members were nominated by the All Party Mechanism, thus it was natural that its decisions and works were heavily influenced by the politics. Political parties had proxy presence. Victims who had no party affiliations were either sidetracked or were forced to accept one party patronage or the other. It also failed to reach the grass roots of the society, especially in the village areas, an area where its services were most needed.

In addition to the above, people have become institutions, because a single person often ends up being nominated in different institutions, thus affecting the work of LPC and other government organizations, and helping to benefit the private organizations on the basis of their political attachments.

In contrast to the LPCs the Paralegal Committees set up across several districts of Nepal were much more successful. Though set up to address the issue of gender based violence focusing mainly on domestic violence these committees were established to ensure security and justice to women. Gender based violence (GBV) in Nepal has been a major phenomenon. In some of the districts as many as 80% women have faced GBV.[10]

The formal launching of the 'Paralegal Movement' in Nepal dates back to the 1990s. This was then focused on preventing trafficking of women and girls for sexual exploitation. It also focused on elimination of discrimination based on sex, a factor largely responsible for GBV. Institutionally the concept was first used by Centre for Legal Research and Resource development in partnership with UNICEF-Nepal. It established its VDC and DDC level committees and named its initiative as the Community, Surveillance System against Trafficking (CSSAT). Supported by the DFID, this initiative provides legal and human rights advice to disputants and refers serious and criminal cases to the relevant authorities. The apparent success of the

PLC too is questionable. In the enthusiasm for peace, matters of justice have often been overlooked. However, with the overburdened judiciary and the highly sceptical credentials of the police, the justice gap, the PLCs do fulfil some role, that may be inadequate as per parameters of absolute justice (Tamang, 2013).

No discussion on governance in Nepal can be complete without a mention of a very important player in Nepalese socio- political system: The Nepalese Civil Society.

Civil society in Nepal has flourished since the late 1980s, with significant expansion after the democratic revolution of 1990. Donors have played a major role in these processes: donor-led economic liberalization was accompanied by a thrust toward decentralization of governance-spawning the emergence of user groups (of forest resources, irrigation and so on) and savings/credit associations throughout the countryside and urbanized areas. In addition, many development projects seek to work through 'local service providers' or NGOs constituted within localities to deliver their project programmes. As part of their contracts with service providers, projects place conditions on the modes of operation and the nature of these organizations being inclusive of gender and caste. While these are notable aims, they nevertheless represent significant influence extending into the realms of everyday practice. The mandate for and activities of these groups increased many fold in the aftermath of and during the political turmoil of the last decade, when formal institutions of governance broke down. Though much of the positive work in Nepal is being done with the donor money, there have been two major mostly unintended outcomes of the same. First of all with the presence of a large donor community in Nepal there seems to be a culture of dependence growing. This has been pointed out by many activists themselves who question the very negative impact that these donor agencies make on the Nepalese sense of self reliance and indigenous mode of development. And secondly this phenomenon is then resulting in a unwarranted interference of outside powers in the region. Though of late there has been gradual withdrawal of donor agencies (Denmark and Germany) yet their presence is still a significant presence.

To conclude, Nepal has come a long way from the time when violent conflict had gripped more or less the entire country. Even after the 2006 peace agreement much has been achieved. The language of the agreement as one observer has remarked was 'progressive, reformist, and, in the Nepali context, radical' (Surhke, 2014). Article 3.5 of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement committed to change the Nepalese system to an 'inclusive, democratic progressive system'. The Interim

Constitution of 2007 bore promise to this commitment. As has already been mentioned there are positive signs towards making Nepal a more democratic, egalitarian and inclusive society. Yet there are major road blocks that need to be attended with urgency. Though the peace process has formally ended, Nepal is still in a prolonged transition period. Many of the promises that were made during negotiating peace are still not fulfilled. One of the major promise that was made during the peace process was of bringing the guilty to book, a promise that is not likely to be fulfilled due to the various lacunae in the bill on Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Commission on the enforced Disappearance of people that has been passed by the Parliament. A whole new generation has grown up since the 'war' broke out in 1996 and is waiting for 'Naya Nepal' to emerge. There are issues of urgent nature as well as those of long lasting importance. Unless Nepal focuses on these with utmost sincerity common citizen is losing faith in the efficacy of the state institutions. And this does not bear a good omen for her immediate and closest neighbour.

Notes

1. Ministry of Home Affairs, Department of Border Management. n.d. Online. http://www.mha.nic.in/hindi/sites/upload_files/mhahindi/files/pdf/BM_Intro_E_.pdf (Accessed on 21 June 2014)
2. Gyanu Adhikari. 'Nepal-India agree to find missing border pillars, enhance security.' Online. http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/south-asia/nepalindia-agree-to-find-missing-border-pillars-enhance-security/article4778679.ece
3. A less fashionable shopping street of Kathmandu
4. For a detailed analysis of the DDR process in Nepal, please refer to report by Bleie and Shrestha (2012).
5. There have been two elections for the Constituent Assemblies in Nepal. One in 2008 that was in office up to 2012 and the other more recently in November 2013. Here they are being referred to as CA-I and CA-II
6. Proposed Measure Contravenes International Law (HRW, 2014); National plan for action on 1325 and 1820 is in place. Eight years have elapsed since the peace accord was signed. Though much has been achieved there is scope for a great deal of improvement still.
7. A local peace committee is a generic term for a committee comprising of a representative group of people from various sectors of the community. The committee addresses the local issues of reconciliation, peace building and conflict resolution. The other names of this committee are: District Peace Advisory Councils; District Multi-Party Liaison Committees; Village Peace and Development Committees, Committees for Inter-Ethnic

Relations, etc. They have been instituted in many post conflict communities. Thus, the LPC helps local people to come to face each other, talk to each other about the problems of the present and the past, to find solutions and to make sure that a new future is built with the help of each other. Since the structures of government are week in a post conflict state, the LPCs are put in place to handle the task of reconciliation and transformation so that the society moves forward. The task of such committees is of course transitional and is meant to cease to exist once proper institutions of governance are brought back in place.

8. The Interim Government formation upgraded the Peace Secretariat to the Peace and Reconstruction Ministry.
9. Based on personal interviews in Rupandei, Siraha, Kathmandu and Lalitpur districts of Nepal during 2012-13.
10. This is based on a study conducted by Saathi/UNFPA in 2008 that relates to the situation in Surkhet and Dang districts of Nepal.

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Natural Resource Conflict and People's Movement in Sambalpur

Suvrashree Panda

Abstract

Growing disillusionment with the state's development interventions culminating in people's movement points towards the critical need to understand various impulses of development vis a vis current resources crunch. This study provides an overview of the resource conflict around Hirakud water. It does so through the finding, drawn from the fieldwork based on account of focused group discussion, interviews and questionnaires. Focused group discussions were organized in villages located in upstream, downstream and tail end areas to identify diverse problems from disparate geographic communities. Interviews were elicited from environmentalists, leaders of movement, academicians and politicians to understand varied perceptions about collective actions and how hydrological and behavioral data matches with it. This study employs narratives to interpret concerns of the people in the words of the respondent.

Introduction

Conflict over the use of natural resources or resource conflict has emerged as a new kind of conflict, thereby becoming a matter of contemporary focus. Increasing dependence of the industrialized society on natural resources, through the rapid spread of the energy and resource-intensive production technologies accompanied with the rising population has generated increasing demands on the world's total stock and flow of natural resources. Conflicts over natural resources, according to some opinions, are embedded in the current patterns of resource utilization. Such conflicts however, remain guised and become visible only when the communities thriving on such depleting natural resource interrogate the unbridled utilization of resources on the name of development and industrial progression leading to their unremitting degradation (Shiva, 1991).

In the recent past, drastic changes in resource control have been initiated to meet the international requirements and the demands of the resource intensive

development, leading to acute conflict among the diverse interests involved. The relationship between development and resource starts with the premise that any development initiative does require resources both renewable and non-renewable because of their inherent value in human life. Development that concentrates on natural resource sectors has in many cases evoked conflicting claims on the resource use pattern. This is evident from growing disillusionment or protest against large infrastructure projects seen over the years. Moreover, the growing body of literatures linking resource conflict and development also makes the study of resource conflict important for policy prescription. In addition to it, various environmental movements and its concerns about pollution and resource shortages have called for more research against the environmental aspect of development.

Resource conflicts can be traced to factors like frontier-led-development as explained by Webb (Tsing, 2003) Frontiers are defined as, "relational zones of economy & nature or spaces of capitalist transition where new form of social property relations and systems of legality are established in response to market imperatives" (Berney, 2008). This thesis recognizes the role of new reserves of natural resource (commodification of resources) as the basis of economic development and frontier expansion. These frontiers are characterized usually by abundant unexploited natural resources and the state policy favors corporate control of natural resources. Frontier-led-development was interpreted as highly damaging and extractive operation causing environmental degradation, livelihood insecurity and conflict (Jepson, 2006). Similarly, as argues, Vandana Shiva, natural resources, like land, forests, water which had been utilized and managed by village communities for longtime in a sustainable manner but witnessed changes during colonial period. According to Vanda Shiva, it is the colonial domination which transformed the common vital resources into commodities for gaining profits. This led to the extensive use of resources which was followed by the emergence of conflicts over natural resources. Thus, major conflicts can mainly be associated with involvement of non local actors who brought about radical change in resource control (Colonial domination vs Indigo movements). Nevertheless, same resource use pattern were adopted even after the end of colonial domination to shape development. More recent explanations have focused on resource abundance theory linking natural resources with armed conflict in many African countries. The argument of the abundance or renteir state theory states that abundance of natural resources can be factor of poor economic growth and prolonged conflict (Dilohn, 2002). According to this theory, primary commodities are easily and heavily taxable and therefore, attractive to both the ruling elites and their competitors (Collier and hoeffler, 1998; Le billon, 2008). It is

argued that the availability of abundant resources act as prize of the state satisfying the greed factor and provide armed groups funds coming from natural resources sector to purchase military equipment (Neumayer, 2000). However, these models are less applicable to understand complex social or structural factors and role of renewable natural resources causing conflict. These explanations are more focused on economic factors. These models help explain the exogenous process of conflict.

Conflict is understandable in a context, which demands knowledge of the relationship between socio-economic, political and environmental factors. Factors like specifically, power and access systems play an important role resource contestations (Ruckstuhl, 2009) . "Scarcity" as an important political economic factor influences resource access, which, in turn, is more greatly impacted by environmental quality, which is linked to development activities. In this context, comprehension of environmental scarcity-conflict link will be a useful exercise to understand the interplay of resource conflict and development. The environment-conflict thesis explains conflict over resource in terms of environmental scarcity. The proponents of scarce resource- as the leitmotif of conflict contends that scarcity of shrinking resources induce conflict between nations, communities and people. Expanding demands of scarce resources would thus aggravate conflicts seamlessly (Homer-Dixon, 1999; Urdal, 2008; Theisen, 2008). Homer Dixon's environment thesis argues that scarcity of critical environmental resource especially of cropland, fresh water, forests along with population growth can generate social stresses like migration, institutional failure, social segmentation and finally conflict (Homer-Dixon 1999). Therefore, natural resource related conflict is not strictly about the resources themselves, per se (Ruckstuhl, 2009). These conflicts can be intelligible in a context. Scarcity has complex causes. It can arise in three ways, through a drop in the supply of a key resource (environmental degradation), owing to an increase in demand (due to population pressure), and as a result of change in the relative access of different groups to the resource, which is also called structural scarcities (Homer-Dixon, 1999). Numerous factors such as ecological, demographic, socioeconomic and sometimes contextual along with scarcity can cause conflict (Krummenacher, 2008). Sociological and environmental changes perpetuate a perception of relative scarcity and contribute to conflict escalation. These types of changes are related to development actions that can be extrapolated from literature. Development activities like heavy industrialization, hydropower projects, and mining contribute to environmental degradation and socio-economic inequality through displacement, marginalization, and deprivation. In addition to it, changes brought about by state (development) policies often result in severe imbalance in resource use (Pérez

Arrarte and Scarlato, 1999) .Conflicts become noticeable when the local communities threatened by livelihood insecurity, defy development interventions. Protest or ecological movements emerging from conflicts over natural resources and the people's right to survival are spreading in regions like the Indian subcontinent where most natural resources are utilized to fulfill the basic survival needs of a large majority of people.

In India, resource use process is questioned from both ecological and sociological perspectives. Industrial activities and various development projects like large dams, industrial projects and mining require expansion of resource exploitation and are alleged to have destabilized traditional form of community based management of natural resources. Evidence shows that many development programs have culminated in environmental degradation, marginalization, deprivation and finally conflict (Swain, 2010; Narayanan, 2003). Instances of such conflict include Chipko movement, agitation against Hirakud dam, Narmada and Rihand, oppositions against POSCO and VEDANTA in Odisha. Conflict around wetland in Kerala, pastoralists' movement in Saurastra over grazing resources, farmers unrest against industrial use of Hirakud dam water establish positive relations between development and natural resource conflict. Hence, protest movements have frequently appeared in the context of increasing resource competition. These are conflicts between people and the state. These conflicts reflect social contradictions inherent in the development process. The resource demand of development has indeed led to shrinking of the natural resource base essential for livelihood needs and survival of the economically poor people. It also leads to destruction of ecological process that ensures renewability of the life-supporting natural resources (Shiva, 1991). These movements interrogate the rationale of the entire development process and call for reevaluation of some development projects and policies .

Odisha has become a focal point of People's movement. Incremental changes wrought by development processes have given rise to deep discord related to resource use process and livelihood calculation. Hirakud dam project is taken here as case study to examine what initial conditions led to the conflict on the use of resource in question (water). An attempt is made to examine the debate on the use of a scarce resource like water of Hirakud reservoir in the background of conflicting interests of agriculture and industries. The construction of the dam has changed the pattern of resource use in the local region. Recent decision of government allocating water to industries has led to the people's movement in the region (Richard, 2007). Farmers dependent upon its water for irrigation are dissatisfied over the fact

that industries mushrooming around the dam are drawing away the water meant for irrigation.

Detangling Responses : On Causes of Conflict

Saroj Mahanty[1] Coordinator of Paschim Odisha Krushak SangathanSamanmaya Samiti says state is favoring discriminatory industrialization. It is creating conflict between agricultural and industrial labor. It does not create employment for local people. There is no impact assessment by the government. Government is pursuing an exploitative resource policy. Government is sponsoring corporate interest. People are being deprived of their property in the name of development. He conceptualizes this conflict as a civilizational crisis. He vehemently criticizes the mineral based development. He said this movement is not only a environmental movement but apolitical movement too.

Durga Nayak[2], Retd Professor finds the lineage from past grievances. During building of the dam thousands of people lost their land and livelihood. They sacrificed their home and livelihood on the hope that the constructions of the dam will agricultural growth and prosperity to the entire region. They are given assurance from the authority that they will be rehabilitated. Properly and adequate compensation would be provided to those who lost their land for the dam. But till date they are lying uncompensated. Industrial drawl would affect irrigation in delta area. Quoting GOI report (2007) he said industrial drawl of water would also affect electricity generation.

Ashok Padhan[3] Farmer's leader, narrates the whole farmer's issues and chronology of the movement. According to him, present conflict is not wholly devoid of the economy of agriculture. It should be seen in the context of agrarian unrest. He describes about Mandi system. He unraveled the intricacies of Mandi politics. He sees the movement as part of a larger farmer's movement (2001 to 2003) to get right price for their paddy. "We sit in hunger strike in the month of May, 2002. We tried to break for the nexus of bureaucrats, politicians and millers. First we fought for the minimum support price and vibrant working of Mandi. They were exploited since they used to lower the paddy price in the name of bad quality. We got support of intellectuals and experts. Previously farmers were fall prey to rice millers.

Lingaraj Pradhan[4], farmer leader question the rationality of the ongoing development process. To him people have the first right over the local resources. He informed about the efforts undertaken to mobilize people and associate with other movements.

He called for making the movement more robust. He cited achievements of various local movements like Gandhamardan movements, and Niyamgiri Movemnts his concern.

Praffulla Samantray[5], Bhubaneswar based leader and environmentalist blamed the whole development process. This development pattern is faulty and going against science of nature. We want people and environment friendly development.

Rabi das[6], senior journalist showed his concern over reduction of water availability. He said the movement is about industries vs people. Politicians are not visualizing the crisis. No serious studies have been done to measure water use. He blamed vested interests and lobby of industries influence the political class.

Prasad Harichandan[7], present congress chief ex minister gave an affirmative answer when asked whether the conflict is an outcome of wrong development process.. For him a balanced water study is need of the hour. He quoted water allocation policy should be scrapped. jayaselam committee report.

On Environmental Aspect

Karunakar Supakar[8] showed his concern about the serious implications of industries growing up in clusters around Hirakud dam. Industries are openly violating environmental rules.

Arta Bandhu[9] expressed his concern over the continuing damage to rivers and industrial effluents. According to him Hirakud dam is damaged by 50%. He described about the ecological magnification of pollution of Mahanadi water as a result of mixing of toxic water in river water.

According to Ranjan Panda[10], coordinator of water initiative says river should be treated as ecological entity. He expressed his concern about the shifting of river water from rural to urban use. He was critical about the overwhelming role of Supreme Court. Mahanadi River is cut down into small water bodies to provide water to industries.

Allocation of Water and Livelihood Insecurity

In the words of Sitaram[11] "we were first displaced by the Hirakud dam, later gave land for reconstruction of railway track but there was a hope that everything is

happening for their betterment. At present, we are not getting our land irrigated for the drawl of water by industries." People say why we should pay water tax if we don't get water for irrigation. Some people complain that certificate cases are labeled if we don't pay taxes.

Focused group discussion in khandual (Populations 1500-1600): Livelihood security has been lost due to shortage of water. The so called development has not reached to the people. Ten to fifteen percent have migrated from this village. In the word of a khandual based farmer "where is irrigation Government has already taken away land as ceiling and rest of the land could not be irrigated due to this situation (less water in canal)." So what kind of development took place we did not know? Our situation is worsening so we are protesting. Members of Pani Panchayat do not exercise any real power to get full availability of water their village. People of Sankarma village say "in these years no progress has taken place in our life". People disillusioned with the allocation of water to industries since there is no surplus water in the dam. People of Malipali (canal irrigated village) complain about scarcity in the canal water.

Maneswar based farmer leader Harisankar Purohit[12] said ten percent of land still lays un-irrigated after modernization efforts taken to renovate canal. Even we face scarcity during rainy season. Villages in command area like Naksapali (nearer to Hirakud dam), khaeerpali do not grow Rabi cultivation. Even if assurance of canal water is given till April still our situation has been worsened when we cannot sell our paddy due to shortage of storage facility (go downs) in government. We are bound to sell our crops to millers. Government owned markets are highly corrupt they refuse to buy crops unless they are given bribes. Sometimes they cut values of crops by doubting its quality. We need water for all our land. We give water tax even if we do not get water. He said from 2001 to 2012 nearly 2000 farmers have committed suicide. Government does not recognize such kind of death as suicide. Farmers are committing suicide due to non-fulfillment of livelihood needs. He cites case of Biseswar Rana who committed suicide due to non payment of debt. He reveals that poverty is the cause of suicide. There should be a fund that can assure fund for farmers. There should be provisions for pension. Sometimes farmers don't recover money they invest in cultivation. Marginal farmers cannot sell their paddy as they cannot afford for transportation. Added to it, land ownership has decreased. He gives two main reasons for shortage of water in the dam. One is silting and the other is industrial drawl of water by industries. According to him, near about eight villages namely Naksapali, Sargipali, Gugharpur, Huma, Haldi, Bausmura, Putiband,

Sankhla, Sahaspur, Batemurahave witnessed lose of crop due to flood water. He said cultivation has become a non profitable business. Cost of production has become so high that we hardly save money for ourselves.

Conclusion

Rethinking priorities of development is required to avoid unintended consequences (Panda, 2012). Nevertheless, there was a shift in paradigm in regard to development in the early 1990's owing to the failed development strategies and unsustainable use of resources. The new understanding of development stands, in contrast, to the traditional concept of development as economic development. Now focus is on human centered and peace oriented development as conceptualized by Amartya Sen, (1999). This approach stresses on the enhancement of capabilities of the individual through enlargement of choices. However, this discourse does not discuss development and resource link except touching on environmental security aspect. With the influence of environmental movement, the concept of development has been revisited to accommodate with sustainable development, which insists on sustainable use of resources so as to give priority to the concerns of future generations. However, no comprehensive planning has been made so far. In the context of increasing number of conflicts in Odisha serious efforts should be made to build a development framework which would provide provisions for responsible industries, strict observance of environmental rules, recognition of indigenous rights and livelihood security. Development assistance could be useful for conflict prevention. There is a need to address deep rooted structural problems. Prioritized strategy should be placed to ensure livelihood security. There should be enhanced citizen participation and community consultation in making development policies. Dissentious actions of local people points towards the need of a framework of alternative development.

Notes

1. Mahanty, Saroj. Interview by Suvrashree Panda. Sambalpur, Odisha.19June -2012
2. Durga nayak is well known for his research on Hirakud displacement issue. Nayak, Durga. Interview by Suvrashree Panda. Sambalpur, Odisha. 27October2012
3. Ashok pradhan is farmer's leader under whose leadership the movement was organized. Pradhan, Ashok. Interview by Suvrashree Panda. Sambalpur, Odisha. 26 June/2012
4. Pradhan, Lingaraj. Interview by Suvrashree Panda. Bargadh, Odisha. 24December2012
5. Prafulla Samantray is an environmentalist and activist. Samantray, Praffulla. Interview by Suvrashree Panda. Bhubaneswar, Odisha.27December2012

6. Rabi Das is a senior journalist. Das, Rabi. Interview by Suvrashree Panda. Bhubaneswar, Odisha 05 January 2013
7. Prasad Harichandan is leader of congress party. Harichandan, Prasad. Interview by Suvrashree Panda. Bhubaneswar, Odisha. 05January2013.
8. Karunakar Supkar is the retired chief of Odisha Hydrological ccorporation. Supkar, Karunakar. Interview by Suvrashree Panda. Sambalpur, Odisha. 06 February 2013.
9. Arta Bandhu is an academician and noted environmentalist of Odisha. Bandhu, Arta. Interview by Suvrashree Panda. Sambalpur, Odisha. 06 February 2013
10. Ranjan Panda is convener of water initiative. He is an environmentalist and activist. Panda, Ranjan. Interview by Suvrashree Panda, Sambalpur, Odisha. 06 February 2013
11. Sitaram is a Sankarma based farmer. His family was displaced by Hirakud dam. Sitaram. Interview by Suvrashree, Panda. Sambalpur, Odisha. 26 December 2012)
12. Purohit, Harisankar. Interview by Suvrashree Panda. Sambalpur, Odisha 27 December 2012

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Unorganized Women Workers of Uttarakhand
Conditions and Living Standard

Hemlata Mishra
Dinesh Kumar Pandey

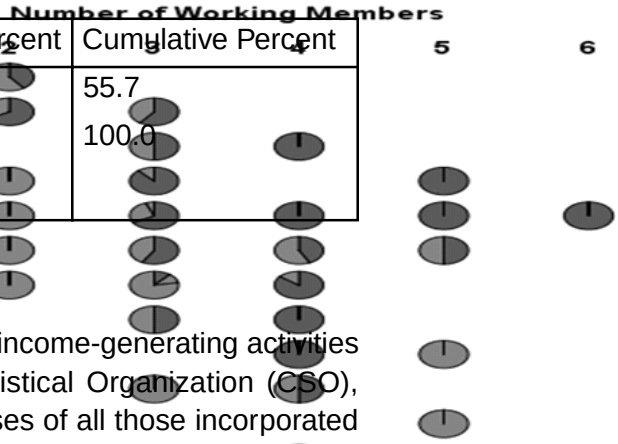
Introduction

This paper attempts a review of conditions and living standard of women workers in the informal / unorganized sector with special focus on Uttarakhand. An effort has been made to analyze the empirical evidences in the overall context of available secondary sources to make a few suggestions for the overall improvement of their livingstandard. The work critical evaluates the effect of schemes run by Central or State Governments. It also looks into the impact of political decisions ofconcerned governments and political participation of unorganized women workers. This study examines conceptual issues along with empirical problems.

Research Area, Sample Size and Methodology of Research

This research was conducted in Nainital and Udham Singh Nagar in Uttarakhand to interview 106 women workers working in various informal sectors. The data were collected through a structured questionnaire (Annexure 1) administered in the mentioned area where the respondents were selected randomly by visiting to their working and household locations wherever necessitated. Snowball random sampling method was adopted to trace the respondents. Following graph (Figure 1) shows a cross-tabulation of working members against the total number of family member households in the two selected areas.

Figure 1



Both the areas have been represented almost equally while conducting the survey (Table 1).

Table 1

Survey Area

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 (NTL)	59	55.7	55.7	55.7
	2 (US Nagar)	47	44.3	44.3	100.0
	Total	106	100.0	100.0	

Informal / Unorganized Sector

Generally speaking the informal sector refers to such income-generating activities which are outside the formal contracts. Central Statistical Organization (CSO), Indiathus definesthis as, "Unorganized sector comprises of all those incorporated and household industries which are not regulated by any legislation and which do not maintain any balance sheet or annual accounts. It comprises of marginalized economic units and workers who are characterized by serious deficits in decent work."Therefore, it is not easy to elicit a concise and all-inclusive definition of unorganized labor. Yet it is possible to spell out the scope of unorganized sector as

a workforce, which is not associated with any recognized union with defined ideology, goal, and area of specialization. The classic traits of informal sector are unhygienic conditions, insufficient wages, extended hours of work, exposure to noxious materials, lack of adequate lighting, etc. In general, informal sector reveals unity and diversity in the workers' experience. The effectiveness of organizations also varies in nature.

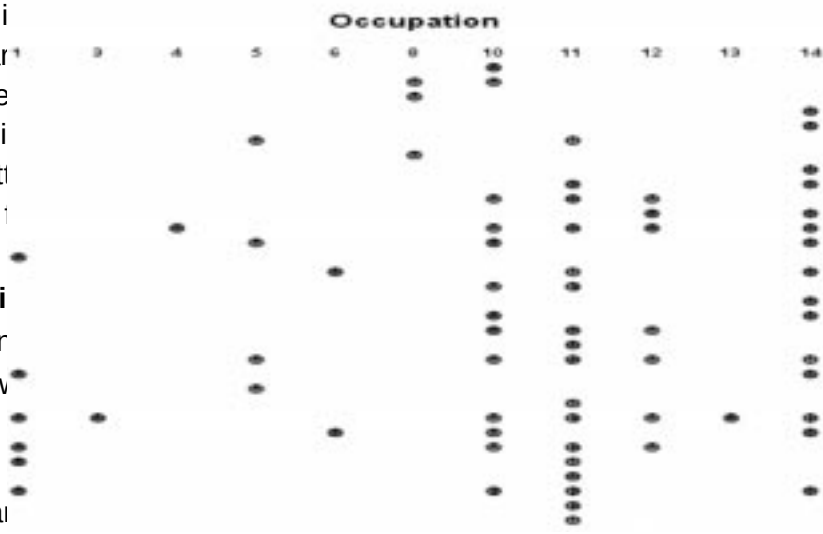
Women workforce in the Informal / Unorganized Sector in India

According to an ILO (2003) women's labor market especially in informal work sector is affected deeply by the recent changes brought by the globalized economy and fast paced technological progress making it difficult for women in this sector to sustain employability, and find skilled jobs. Concerns about unfavorable employment situations regarding the women workforce have been raised for quite sometime. For instance, the ILO report 2003 finds highlights the severe bias against women among women of all the young, the old and the less skilled are present and they are being engaged disproportionately in non standard forms of work such as temporary casual employment and part time jobs. Along with the increasingly discriminative employment situation of women in informal sector there has been a marked increase in the wage difference in comparison to the male workers. This has been due to the biased methods of recruitment, piece rate or daily/ weekly wage rate, ease of entry,hours of work and extent and nature of supervision etc.,

Our survey study shows that in Uttarakhand more than 52% of women workers (out of our respondents) are illiterate and just about 21% of them have attended school up to class 5th, i.e., primary standard (Please refer to the Education Table in Annexure 2 for detailed educational profile of our respondents).

Following graph (Figure 2) represents the cross-tabulation of women workers in various informal sectors in Uttarakhand. Here number "1" represents "Agriculture", number "5" represents "Mining", number "10" represents "Manufacturing", number "11" represents "Other Occupation" and the number "12" represents "Retail Business". Clearly most of the households members, i.e., 37% are engaged in Other Occupations which are majorly not defined or categorized as standard occupations while a few are engaged in Manufacturing. The noticeable point here is that just about 6% of the households are engaged in Agriculture (Cross-tabulation of occupations against age): Please refer to Annexure 1&2 for full occupation details.

Talking about the scenario across India, the trends and patterns in the informal sector at the macro level have been observed and analyzed by A Kundu and Alaka N Sharma (2001) using secondary data. According to Arup Mitra between the size of the informal sector and urbanization and industrialization, exist an inverse relationship which implies that developing
formal and informal sector may help their i
of employment of women in this sector ar
physical work of different types, ignorance
in wage structures, lack of guarantee of mi
minimum facilities, traditional bound att
payment; migration and disintegration of



Present Conditions & Standard of Livi

During the survey a few questions pertair
schemes provided by the Government v
presented below:

While asking if they feel benefitted with a
& 3) more than 96% of the respondents' responses were negative. When asked specifically about programs such as MNERGA, more than 95% of the respondents

had negative response. This indicates directly that State or Central Government must offer schemes which would benefit the poor women and be sustainable. It seems that most or some of the schemes, which are on offer in the present time, are obsolete. These people need some permanent solution such as a sustainable social security allowance.

Table 2: Do you feel benefited with the government initiatives by which you can earn more?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 (Don't know)	2	1.9	1.9	1.9
	1 (Yes)	2	1.9	1.9	3.8
	2 (No)	102	96.2	96.2	100.0
	Total	106	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey

Table 3: Do you feel benefited with the government initiatives (MNERGA etc.)?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 (Don't know)	4	3.8	3.8	3.8
	1 (Yes)	1	.9	.9	4.7
	2 (No)	101	95.3	95.3	100.0
	Total	106	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey

Before the questions of domestic violence were asked the respondents were first detailed about the meaning and legal status of the term 'Domestic Violence' and then the question was raised. In response the majority of the respondents feel satisfied (Table 4). Only about 19% respondents think that domestic violence has increased. Also, more than 92% of the respondents have not faced any kind of

domestic violence themselves (Table 5). In this regard this survey gives out a positive response and indicates that the State policies have been effective in protecting the rights of women at home and to a great extent within the society.

Table 4: Do you think domestic violence has increased?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 (Don't know)	3	2.8	2.8	2.8
	1 (Yes)	20	18.9	18.9	21.7
	2 (No)	83	78.3	78.3	100.0
	Total	106	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey

Table 5: Have you faced domestic violence?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 (Yes)	8	7.5	7.5	7.5
	2 (No)	98	92.5	92.5	100.0
	Total	106	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey

We tried to investigate about the social and political participation of our respondents by administering through a few questions. Following are the responses tabulated (Table 6, 7, 8 and 9).

Table 6

Participation in Local Activities

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 (Don't know)	1	.9	.9	.9
	1 (Yes)	70	66.0	66.0	67.0
	2 (No)	35	33.0	33.0	100.0
	Total	106	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey

Table 7

Do you discuss your problems or propose solution of a problem in public?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 (Don't know)	2	1.9	1.9	1.9
	1 (Yes)	59	55.7	55.7	57.5
	2 (No)	45	42.5	42.5	100.0
	Total	106	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey

Almost two thirds of the respondents participate in several local activities in their area of residence, whereas, about one thirds don't. When asked about their participation in the local meetings in their society to discuss and resolve their problems with the help of the society about 56% of the respondents agree to do so actively. But there are more than 42% who don't participate at all in any such meetings. We also discussed to know if they have formed or be a member of any local social gathering / meeting / panchayat and if they discuss their family problems in such a meeting to seek solutions, following are the responses tabulated (Table 8 & 9 and Figure 3)

Table 8

Do you get solution?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 (Don't know)	2	1.9	1.9	1.9
	1 (Yes)	30	28.3	28.3	30.2
	2 (No)	74	69.8	69.8	100.0
	Total	106	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey

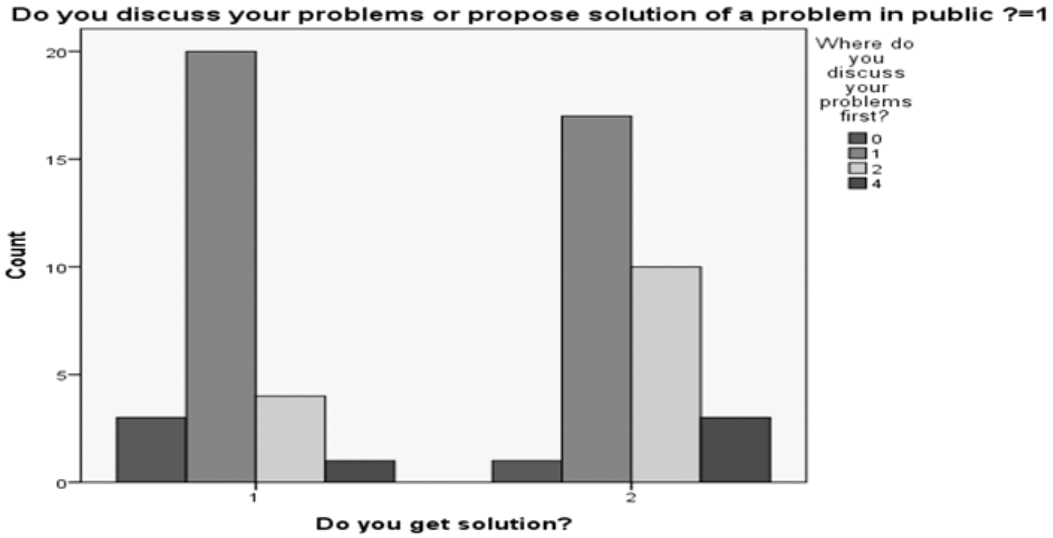
Table 9

Where do you discuss your problems first?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 (None)	6	5.7	5.7	5.7
	1 (Society)	55	51.9	51.9	57.5
	2 (Pradhan)	31	29.2	29.2	86.8
	3 (Police Station)	1	.9	.9	87.7
	4 (Others)	10	9.4	9.4	97.2
	5 (Neighbors)	3	2.8	2.8	100.0
	Total	106	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Survey

Figure 3



About 70% of the respondents who participate and even those who don't think that most of the time they don't get any solution to their problems. When asked where they discuss their problems first, approximately 52% of the respondents say that they keep it before the society which consists of their fellow villagers and the head

of the village (Pradhan). But about 29% of the respondents say that they discuss their problems first with the head of the village (Pradhan).

We finally asked a few questions on overall satisfaction with the performance of Uttarakhand Government and following were the responses (Figure 4): While asking a general sort of question such as the one mentioned in the table below, almost all of them respond negatively by saying that the State Government doesn't support them to live a proper life.

Figure 4

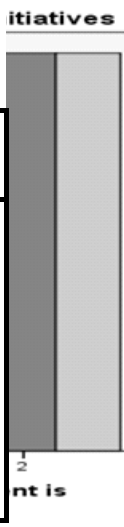


Table 10

Do you feel that Uttarakhand Govemment is supporting you to live proper life?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 (Don't know)	2	1.9	1.9	1.9
	1 (Yes)	3	2.8	2.8	4.7
	2 (No)	101	95.3	95.3	100.0
	Total	106	100.0	100.0	

Perseverance on the Need for Minimum - Adequate Standard of Living

Need for 'minimum / adequate standard of living' for citizens is considered as an important element these days. At adequate level, international human rights instruments recognizethe right to an adequate standard of living as a human rightand establish a minimum entitlement to food, clothing and housing. The right to an adequate standard of living is enshrined in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which aimed to create conditions under which women and mothers would be economically secure and independent. The Convention requires states to end discrimination against women in relation to employment and other economic activities.

Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) recognizes the right to an adequate standard of living, stating that:" (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All Children, whether born in or out of wedlock shall enjoy the same social protection."

Although, defining - "standard of living" -is not easy; to evaluate properly the cost-of-living requires a soundclarity of what the concepts - "standard of living" - and - "minimum-adequate standard" - involve. It is closely linked to the economic and

Table 3: HDI and IHDI estimates across Indian states

State	HDI	IHDI	Ratio	Loss (%)	Rank HDI	Rank IHDI	Difference
Andhra Pradesh	0.485	0.332	0.685	31.55	11	12	-1
Assam	0.474	0.341	0.718	28.17	12	11	1
Bihar	0.447	0.303	0.679	32.06	18	16	2
Chhattisgarh	0.449	0.291	0.649	35.14	17	18	-1
Gujarat	0.514	0.363	0.705	29.50	8	7	1
Haryana	0.545	0.375	0.688	31.18	5	6	-1
Himachal Pradesh	0.558	0.403	0.722	27.81	3	3	0
Jharkhand	0.464	0.308	0.663	33.67	15	14	1
Karnataka	0.508	0.353	0.696	30.44	10	9	1
Kerala	0.625	0.520	0.832	16.78	1	1	0
Madhya Pradesh	0.451	0.290	0.643	35.74	16	19	-3
Maharashtra	0.549	0.397	0.722	27.75	4	4	0
Orissa	0.442	0.296	0.669	33.11	19	17	2
Punjab	0.569	0.410	0.720	28.04	2	2	0
Rajasthan	0.468	0.308	0.660	34.02	14	13	1
Tamil Nadu	0.544	0.396	0.727	27.28	6	5	1
Uttar Pradesh	0.468	0.307	0.655	34.47	13	15	-2
Uttarakhand	0.515	0.345	0.670	33.03	7	10	-3
West Bengal	0.509	0.360	0.707	29.30	9	8	1
India	**0.504**	**0.343**	**0.680**	**32.00**			

Note: 'Difference' denotes the difference between the 'Rank HDI' and 'Rank IHDI' above, and therefore denotes the gain/loss in ranking due to inequality-adjustment.

cultural advancement of a particular country andto the extent thatan individual is concerned, it is very controlled by the customs of a particular group to which she belongs and the area in which she lives.According to HDI (Human Development Index), Uttarakhand stands 7th on the HDI ranking and 10th on the IHDI ranking list below.

Something which enables a person to have the minimum amount of those things that will permit conformity with the set of values of the group to which she attaches herself is called a minimum-adequate standard and in order to keep up the appearance of meeting.It is also to be noted that the standard of living of a group and of a society changes over a period of time.

A number of proposed policies to guarantee people a basic standard of living have already been introduced in developed countries. The basic concept that backs up such offering is a 'basic income guarantee' essentially gifting all citizens a basic level of 'free money' to facilitate basic needs such as food and shelter.Article 37 of the UDHR and Article 14 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) protectthe right to an adequate standard of living. Fulfillment of this right depends on a number of other economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to property, the right to work, the right to social security, the right to health and the right to education.

According to the UDHR it requires different measures, depending on the situation of a person, to fully enjoy the right to an adequate standard of living. It says that peoplehave a right to care if they are unable to secure the enjoyment of conditions necessary for an adequate standard of living. Article 25 is closely related to Article 22 of the UDHR and it explicitly incorporates the right to social security.

Right to an adequate standard of living, as further defined in Article 11 of the ICESCR, defines the right to an adequate standard of living in two paragraphs. Paragraph one says that: "The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent."

Health and medical care have been included in the UDHR under the right to an adequate standard of living which were included in Article 12 of the ICESCR under the right to health. Article 10 of the ICESCR on the protection of the family recognizes the rights pertaining to motherhood. During the period when ICESCR was being drafted there were increased malnutrition and it was the need of the hour for the international community to be concerned to come out with Article 11 giving an overall emphasis on food.

Paragraph two of Article 11 states that: "The States Parties to the present Covenant, recognizing the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger, shall take, individually and through international co-operation, the measures, including specific programs, which are needed: (a) To improve methods of production, conservation and distribution of food by making full use of technical and scientific knowledge, by disseminating knowledge of the principles of nutrition and by developing or reforming agrarian systems in such a way as to achieve the most efficient development and utilization of natural resources; (b) Taking into account the problems of both food-importing and food-exporting countries, to ensure an equitable distribution of world food supplies in relation to need."

Overall the right to an adequate standard of living is understood as a social right, which requires respect for a number of other economic, social and cultural rights, including the right to education as enshrined in Article 26 of the UDHR and Articles 13 and 14 of the ICESCR, the right to property, which is enshrined in Article 17 of the UDHR, the right to work as enshrined in Article 23 of the UDHR and Article 6 of the ICESCR, and the right to social security as enshrined in Article 22 of the UDHR and Article 25 of the ICESCR. When the right to property, the right to work and the right to social security, three core economic rights, are implemented in combination, it is assumed that an adequate standard of living can normally be secured. By detailing the above arguments we have tried to focus on the need of uniformity among the countries on an international platform about women and their rights in India. Uttarakhand is not more than an example here. The same conditions are there of women in almost all other states as well.

Challenges of Globalized Economy

India Development Report (UNDP) pointed out that one out of every three persons in India earns less than a dollar a day. New threats created out ofglobal economic integration are alike to human security to both rich and poor countries which has created several challenges in assuring equal economic and social outcomes. Social

safety net supported by Subramanya (1995) is probably the best source to remodel social security issues of the unemployed, underemployed and partly employed in India. He evaluates the feasibility and possibility of introducing such schemes.

Social security protection to informal sector workers and rural agriculture in India has been denied for long except for the Act came out in 2008, one that is enjoyed by other sectors of population especially in the developing countries. Jenkins Michael (1993) investigated such issues and made a few suggestions for a strategy pertaining to the extension of coverage. Jha (1996) emphasized the protective social security in the unorganized sector and so also is the need to integrate various schemes to improve the sector's operational efficiency.

The worker's quandary in informal sector activities can be made better by providing better social protection, improving labor skills, increasing access to credit andimplementing labor laws. According to Harjit Anand (2001) sectors of construction, scrap collection, handicrafts, tourism and IT expose that workers except IT suffer from low educational skills, low wages, poor working conditions and high exploitation by middle menin informal sector activities.

Housing is another important social security program. Mahadeva's (2005) work depicts some lessons for the Indian circumstances in which resource crisis has provoked the problem in the context of housing. The most interesting part is the financial support by private institutions hasencouraged the market to produce housing surplus. The Canadian practice of market supported housing success could be one of the choices in Indian circumstance as the National Housing and Habitat policy is intended to form a favorable milieu for various players in the market to assuage housing scarcity. It offers some policy options for financial facilitation for housing development too.

Suggestions

Micro credit could play afundamental role in economic empowerment of women in unorganized sector. The success of micro finance institutions (MFIs) working in the area seemingly offers great trajectories to achieve economic empowerment for women. Thus Ajith Kantikar (1994) finds that micro enterprise has become successful in the rural non-farm sector due to unemployment. Our study also suggests that it is not just the unemployment but also the underemployment of women, which has become conspicuously higher in the informal sector. Our study indicates the scope of such financial institutions as SHGs or MFIs being harnessed to encourage the

Uttarakhand women in unorganized sector to become micro entrepreneurs. This will certainly not only improve the self-confidence among them but also empower them economically, politically, socially and in every day family decisions. This section of society mainly needs a comprehensive package of social security including but not limited to secure their health, be empowered at home and in society.

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Political-Economy of Mining: A Case Study of India and Brazil.

Bagisha Suman

Mining is an enterprise in which humanity has indulged itself since antiquity. Resource extraction from the resource-rich areas on the earth in the form of precious minerals, ores, etc. has been taking place for long though hardly ever in a fair and just manner. Most of the times, it is the powerful and the ruling who initiated this activity in the areas rich in resources for their own strategic benefits for the sheer reason that these activities needed the power and knowledge of the basic geographic locations and other geological data needed to trace the availability of the huge resources in many unexplored and undeveloped corners of the world. It was precisely because of this reason that colonialism became the most important driving force in stripping off many of the resource-rich regions of their natural wealth for it brought many of the yet undiscovered areas before the already industrialising, modernising world which needed minerals and metals to sustain their increasing needs for the ever growing industrial plants and expanding markets. The colonial history as we all are aware is a brutal period of suffering and mass plunder. Colonialism entailed plundering of the local wealth in the far-flung areas of Africa, Latin America and Asia. It involved the payment of huge costs by the locals in the form of their flesh and blood for the minerals, metals and many other valuable resources like spices, cotton, and sugar. Thus since the very beginning, the areas blessed with resources were actually cursed to be the victims of the powerful in this world. Mining as an activity has thus since its genesis involved unequal power relations for someone has always had to pay the price for this kind of activity and history is full of such stories of extreme exploitation. However this doesn't end at some point of time with the formal ending of colonialism in many of the countries which started in the 1940s and continued till very recently for power resurfaced in the relationship between the now newly independent countries but rich in resources and the former imperial powers who had devised new ways to have the control over these regions.

Mining as a human activity has significance because with it is attached the development of humankind in many ways and mined materials certainly have a critical role in the modern economies. And indeed it is true that historically, and continuing even today in many parts of the world, the mining industry has been responsible for the worse kind of human rights abuses and unnecessarily negative

environmental impacts. Such abuses of human rights are not new and were prevalent even among Romans, who used slave labour in most of their mines and caused severe (if localized) environmental degradation (Richards, 2009).

The purpose of this paper is to highlight the underneath equations of power in the mining industry which has been continuing till date, the difference being that now new actors and new configuration of players have occupied the stage. The paper thus presents the politico-economic interlinkages behind mining as mining being an economic activity has never been confined in its repercussions to just economic sector and its proliferation always demanded and had roots in deep political motives thus making it inevitably an analysis involving politico-economy which seeks to explain how political power shapes economic outcomes and how economic forces influence political action in the case of mining. The paper will present the changed nature of mining in the recent years and mark the patterns of continuity and change from the past. It will then take the issue of development and the changing discourses on development in the context of mining and strive for bringing a case for studying mining in this larger developmental perspective. It will also present the case studies of Eastern India and Brazil to substantiate the points advanced in the study which will focus on the effects on the local livelihoods and environment.

The Nature of Mining, its Impact and Consequences: A General Outline

The key characteristic features of mining as a human enterprise is its dependence on depleting natural resources, and, in some instances, its scale relative to the host economy. According to Crowson (2009:3),

> "Mining differs from other industries in the importance of economic rent in their value added. The relative costs of production of the mining industry are dictated not so much by the costs of labour and intermediate goods and services used, as by the characteristics of the underlying resources. Those persist over the life of a project, although potential economic rent can be enhanced by skilful management, or whittled away through mismanagement. A marginal project, whose production costs, including the opportunity cost of its capital, equal its revenues, earns no rent."

Mining is, as many scholars have argued time and again a quintessentially "boom and bust" industry. As suggested by many, mining operations may differ in terms of

the kind of mineral commodities, the abundance of deposits, and operating lifespans, but the depletable nature of mineral deposits almost always results in the termination of the mining-dependent economies (Aschmann, 1970). Changes in the mining industry's nature started being witnessed with the demands and claims of the workers' organizations in the late nineteenth century, who placed a further strain on the profitability of mining operations by claiming a larger share of the return from the mines' output (Lingenfelter, 1974). Although technological innovations in mining and mineral processing and increases in commodity prices have extended the lifespan of mines to an extent, sooner or later all mines cease to be profitable. Closure of mines gives way to the deindustrialization of the mining region caused by the continuous decline in mineral production and employment which could in some cases be accompanied by a rise in alternate industries but this is not a general rule. In reality, the majority of mining areas, no matter howsoever remotely located and poorly diversified have caused serious consequences like economic stagnation and decline following the closure of mines. Mining towns often fail to survive the deindustrialization followed by the closure of mines owing to the fact that mining of the non-renewable minerals constitutes the only industry for the region or the community. It is important to recognize, however, that community annihilation is not an inevitable outcome of mining's demise. In the words of Robertson (2010:3),

> "Mining communities often outlast their industrial usefulness. It is a phenomenon that has not been quantified, but the survival of large numbers of American mining towns suggests that many persist in the midst of decay. For these settlements, a mine's closure is followed by a period of economic decline characterized by falling income levels and high rates of unemployment. Significant population loss involving out-migration of younger, working-age residents may also occur. Economic decline and depopulation erode the local tax base, resulting in the loss of public services and a decline in the quality of community infrastructure. Residents of onetime mining towns are typically older and poorer than their rural counterparts, and more often than not their settlements have a worn-out appearance."

The most visible impact of mining is land disturbance. Mining and mineral processing produce at least two kinds of changes on the land surface. The ones associated with mineral extraction which cause shafts, pits, quarries, and subsidence depressions and those associated with deposits of mining, milling, and refining

wastes which leads to piles of overburden and milling waste and deposits of slag and tailings. These land disturbances have the potential to cause drastic alterations in the local topography, drainage systems, and vegetation regimes, and both aquatic and terrestrial habitats tend to suffer long-term harm. Mining also produces a variety of pollutants. The most troublesome are those resulting from the huge bulk of solid waste material that mining and mineral processing typically produce.

Changing Nature of Mining

Mining industry has witnessed plethora of changes where the stakeholders have changed and also the role of native government as the number of players and actors has increased manifold involving the major Transnational corporations, international financial institutions, development oriented and environment NGOs, governments, local communities and mining companies of varying stature and significance. All these players have a stake in the mining industry and the orientation of each is determined by divergent interests.

The role of state has definitely changed in this regard. Mineral resources have always been a coveted source of wealth for countries but the role of states in mining industry has also varied over the period of time and across the world in the form of the kind of strategies employed by the states in accessing this wealth. This has witnessed a change from early twentieth century state which was direct participant in the mining industry through public-sector or state-owned companies whose role declined in the later part of the twentieth century and gave way to the increased role of the private sector soon flooded with the arrival of many multinational companies. Here the role of the state was more of control through taxes levied.

Another important change has been the shift in attention towards the developing countries rich in mineral deposits which are being extracted at a scale and speed never witnessed before. The 1990s especially saw significant shifts in global investment flows in mining, an effect of changes in the national regulatory frameworks of more than 90 countries in the world in the time period that followed (Bridge, 2004). Accompanying this growth in investment in extractive industries has been an equally remarkable surge in social mobilization and conflict in many countries, two important among these being Brazil and India.

Another major change has been on the front of the technical nature of mining which has for reasons good or bad (as debated by scholars) has brought remarkable

changes in the industry itself. Mining used to be labour intensive in the old days dependent upon the muscle power rather than machinery. The requirement of labour, together with the greed for precious metals like gold situated in the gold mining districts led to the migration of the people to the mining areas and to the host countries as in the case of Brazil. The large work forces needed regular supplies of food and basic needs such as housing and clothing, including other more sophisticated products. Thus the development of mines often was accompanied with the expansion in the local economy that, in their initial stages, could only be supplied at great cost and with logistical ingenuity. Crowson (2009) thus argues that this kind of huge demand caused by the immigrant labour force had multiplier effects on employment and incomes of the local economy. In the words of Crowson (2009:32)

> "High prices for supplies fostered local production of wide ranges of goods and services, so that the multiplier effects on employment and incomes tended to be relatively large. Once local industry had developed, and especially agriculture and commerce, it commonly became self-perpetuating through its own multiplier effects. The initial participants in the nineteenth century gold rushes needed a minimum of equipment, and the miners themselves often built it. The rough and ready nature of much mining equipment and machinery of the period meant that skilled mechanics or blacksmiths could fix most problems without recourse to overseas expertise or suppliers. Although capital intensity soon rose with the introduction of machinery, that remained relatively easy to maintain by local skilled workers."

The average scale of the new mines has risen evidently since the nineteenth century, with an especially noticeable upsurge since 1990 (Crowson, 2003). The new mining projects are marked by their large scale and capital intensive nature which employ far less workers than the earlier days. Thus unless there is a parallel development of a sufficient number of mines in a given area, the long term labour force is usually inadequate to support much development of local agricultural production or commercial services as used to be the case of labour intensive mining. The areas in which mines are being developed these days are generally are not very receptive to the permanent settlement of the work force as many of the mining districts of the past used to be. Also technically complexity of the very process of mining means that there is much less dependence for local skilled workers or maintenance workshops as in the earlier times. This changed nature of the industry's capital equipment has further reduced the scope for backward linkages between mines and the local economy (Crowford, 2009).

The developments in transport and communications have strengthened the changes and growing complexity in the mining industry as discussed above. The real costs of transportation and of telecommunications have fallen markedly since the Second World War, let alone since the nineteenth century (Crowson 2006). In the past days, mining companies that relied on overseas sources of equipment and supplies had often had to wait several expensive months thus making them naturally and inevitably dependent on the local suppliers. This paved the way for the development of ancillary industries, particularly for repairs and maintenance which consecutively, had multiplier effects on incomes and employment in the local economy (Crowson 2009:33).

However, today the scene has quite reversed because of the fast communications throughout the world. Today the needs and complications of a remote mine can be immediately communicated to equipment suppliers and relevant experts situated even not in the vicinity. Thus the dependence on the local economy has greatly reduced.

In the words of Crowson (Ibid: 34):

> "In the structural global economy where the World Bank has been a major proponent of mining and resource development for developing countries, mining has seldom provided such envisaged benefits as direct employment of the local population, because mining recruits few direct employees and, invariably, local inhabitants do not possess the education or skills required to operate and manage a capital intensive mining project. Instead, an assumed multiplier effect is anticipated to create indirect jobs created by the project's existence."

Thus, the very forces which led to globalization have led to the decline in the linkages of the development of local economy and mining in that area. Thus mining mineral deposits seem to have very less likely the multiplier effects on the local economy as was advanced by the supporters of mining in the past. The mining districts have over the years been known to suffer economic decline and depopulation unless alternative sources of wealth creation have developed (Crowson, Ibid). The fundamental issues however remain debatable even with the changing nature of mining which is the degree to which the earnings and rents accrued from mining have been retained within the local economy and invested productively. Also the question or issue concerning the level to which mines are actually able to attract on the host region for their inputs of goods and services is also very pertinent. Thus

the debate on the desirability and necessity of the mining industry over the years continues despite the changing nature of mining industry.

Mining and the Development Debate

Mining as an industry has an associated automatic link with the whole discourse of development which despite its skewed definition and changing meaning over time is an integral part of the repercussions mining brings. Even the staunchest advocates of mining defend its rampant march on the basis of it having positive impact on development patterns in the region. However this whole idea is highly debatable. This section deals with this whole debate surrounding mining and development. Thus it will first try to trace the different ways in which development has been understood and associated with an industry like mining.

Development for a very long time was taken as synonymous for Economic Growth measured in terms of the Gross Domestic Product. A country was deemed to be developing for the reason that its economy was growing through national accounts. There are at least two problems with this economic-centric and aggregating analysis. First it ignores the other vital dimensions of development, namely, sociological and cultural and secondly, economic growth measured in terms of the aggregate variables like gross domestic product does not take into account the impact on internal redistribution and the impact of an industry or activity on the specific social classes within the state or region (O'Brien and Williams, 2004:255).

This narrow conception of development predominated until the mid-twentieth century. Since 1960s the concept of development till now equated with aggregate national growth came to be challenged. And now scholars like Dudley Seers were influential in challenging this notion of development and rather putting strong case for a more multifaceted development rather than the accepted but quite narrow and restrictive growth centred concept of development. Seers insisted that measures of equity as well as social objectives such as health, employment and shelter, should be included in ones understanding of development (Ibid).

The insight provided by Seer and other scholars helped in shifting the debate from purely economic measures of development to a concern with what came to be later known as sustainable development. This shift was reflected in the 1990 Human Development Report which stated that "while growth in national product (GDP) is absolutely necessary to meet all essential human objectives, what is more important

is to study how this growth translates or fails to translate into human development in various societies" (UNDP, 1990). In 1987 the World Commission on Environment and Development defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their needs" (WCED, 1987: 8).

However, applying the concept of sustainable development to the mining industry is fraught with challenges. Firstly, there is the existence of a fundamental incompatibility between the fact that the mined resources are non-renewable in nature, and the inherent meaning of "sustainability" as the maintenance of a constant level of consumption of these resources across the generations. Secondly, in reality it is a known fact that mines do negatively impact the socio-economic wellbeing of the nearby communities thus contradicting the notion of sustainability as properly meeting the needs of both the current and future generations (Waye et al, 2009: 152).

The crux of the argument advanced in favour of mining in the developing countries is that this industry has the potential to contribute significantly to economic growth and can generate great revenues for the host country. This argument places its emphasis on the role of economic growth, as advanced by the mainstream economists who call it essential for poverty reduction. According to this logic, if an economy is not expanding, it is not generating the resources and opportunities that are necessary to lift people out of poverty. In the words of Slack (2009: 76)

> "Mining proponents usually concede that the industry itself does not generate significant levels of employment (particularly if one were to compare jobs created per dollar invested.) Modern mining is highly capital-intensive, relying on high technology equipment and relatively little labour. Of the labour that it does need, much of it is skilled and thus usually not accessible to unskilled members of local communities who live in the remote areas that are commonly where large-scale mining operations in developing countries are located."

The important thing about mining is that there are at least two types of views regarding the consequences of mining on economic development. For the sake of convenience we can classify them as conventional and non-conventional views respectively. While the former sees a positive relationship between the two, the later highlights the sharp contradictions associated with the conventional understanding of mining begetting economic wellbeing and overall economic development in a region.

In the words of Davis and Tilton (2005: 234),

> "The positive relationship between mining and economic development advanced by the conventional view rests on neo-classical economics and in particular the concept of the production function. The latter reflects the technical relationships that govern how much output a country can produce from any given amounts of labour, capital, energy, materials, and other inputs. Everything else being equal, the more capital a country has, the greater its output and the greater its per capita income. According to the conventional view, mineral wealth in the form of deposits that can be profitably mined is part of a country's stock of capital."

Generally, it is said and established that the capital a country possesses is directly and positively linked to its output and the hence the per capita income of the country. However this doesn't inevitably apply to the case of the natural capital in the form of mineral deposits possessed by a country. The reason being such capital remains unproductive till the time it remains unextracted or dormant. For the potential of such capital to be realized, mineral deposits need to be extracted. So, according to the traditional/conventional view, mining plays an important role in the development process by converting mineral resources into a form of capital that contributes to a nation's output (Davis and Tilton 2005: 234).

The conventional view however, recognizes that under special circumstances a country may find it profitable to postpone the development of its mineral wealth immediately if the value of its mineral wealth in the ground is appreciating faster than other assets with similar risks. However this kind of practice is not very prevalent. Indeed, countries that deliberately delay the mining of currently profitable deposits in the hope that these deposits will be even more valuable in the future run the risk that new technology or other developments may make them completely uneconomic. In the words of Davis and Tilton (2005: 235):

> "So normally, it is assumed, a country is better off mining its economic mineral resources now… The output associated with extracting mineral resources can be consumed or invested in other forms of capital. Consumption tends to raise current welfare, while investment leaves current welfare unchanged but raises future welfare by leading to economic growth. This assumes, of course, that the funds are

> invested wisely. If they are invested poorly, mining may provide little or no future benefit to the country. In such cases, however, the problem is not mining, according to the traditional view. Mining provides the country with an opportunity. If the country fails to take advantage of this opportunity, the fault lies with the government and the other entities that decide how the newly converted mineral wealth is used. Moreover, at times the welfare of society may require that governments use their available mineral wealth for purposes other than economic development".

Doubts about the conventional view of mining started to arise since the 1980s, mostly because of a growing number of studies of individual mineral exporting countries that showed little or no economic growth over extended periods. For some of these countries, growth was even negative, causing early regional dominance to be lost over time (Davis and Tilton, 2002:8).This research clearly demonstrated that the exploitation of mineral wealth was far from a sufficient condition for sustained economic development (Sachs and Warner, 2001). This argument was earlier advanced by the likes of Richard Auty who propounded the famous "Resource-curse thesis" taking the non-conventional views on mining and development to a new high (Auty, 1993). Auty in his thesis argued contrary to the conventional view on mining and development that countries and regions with an abundance of natural resources, specifically non-renewable resources like minerals and fuels, tend to have less economic growth and worse development outcomes than countries with fewer natural resources.

Though there have been many counterclaims to this view of inverse relationship between mining of natural resources like minerals and development and the debate continues with both sides giving empirical evidences to support their claim, the fact cannot be denied that mining today stands as a controversial enterprise seen often as incompatible to the idea of long-term development (here development is being used in its broader socio-cultural and economic sense). The argument which carries weight is simple that even if like other industries and sectors, a cost-benefit analysis of mining is to be done, what is different about mining, however (and this is particularly evident in the developing world), is the scale and severity of the costs that the industry generates. The sheer magnitude of the disruption that mining can bring to a local community and its surrounding environment places it on a different scale than other kinds of economic development activity. Big industrial mining projects produce hundreds of millions of tons of waste material and have been known for

displacing thousands of people and causing permanent harms to land and water resources, rendering them permanently unfit for any other use. Costs for cleaning up mine sites can be very high, which can be a huge burden on cash-strapped developing country governments if they are left to cover these costs. In the words of Slack (2009:82), the governmental capacity to regulate these ill impacts of mining projects effectively in developing countries hardly ever exists which deteriorates the problems, and almost assures that the long-term costs of mining outweigh the benefits.

The Two Case studies of India and Brazil

The paper till now tried to untangle the major issues relating to mining under the two themes of 'the changing nature of mining' and the theme of mining and developmental debate' which tried to elucidate on the broad areas and issues emerging in the mining discourse. Now this section will try to fit the two case studies in this scheme of two themes, thus citing examples from the mining experiences of these two countries, namely India and Brazil. These two countries very rich in natural resources especially a varied range of mineral resources have seen mining since long back in history. At the very outset I would make it clear as to why this choice for the two countries when rampant mining has been on in many other countries of the world. My case for the same is very clear that these two countries share the status of being among the two most developing ones in terms of their GDP and industrialisation which keeps them at a higher pedestal than many of their not so lucky counterparts in the developing world. Whenever growth and advancement is talked about, these two countries figure out before economists and scholars as the success stories of the third world. However what led me to the choice of these two countries is not their sheer growth and development claims rather the often much less talked about but now an asserting phenomenon of the kind of destruction of livelihoods and underdevelopment witnessed in the interior corners of these two countries. In fact behind the shining urbanised and industrialised faces of these countries is a darker side common to both which has a common culprit in the form of high scale, rampant and unchecked mining.

India is the world's largest producer of mica blocks and mica splittings. With the recent spurt in the world demand for chromites, India has stepped up its production to reach the third rank among the chromite producers of the world. Besides, India ranks 3rd in the production of coal & lignite and barites, 4th in iron ore, 6th in bauxite and manganese ore, 10th in aluminum and 11th in crude steel in the World (Ministry of Mines, Government of India).

India's mining policy since independence was governed by the Mines and Minerals (Development and Regulation) Act, 1957 and Rules made under the Act by the Central Government and the State Governments in their respective domains. However it was revised with the bringing of National Mining Policy, 1993 as liberalisation made its way into India. This led to growth in the mining sector with the increasing role of many private players in the industry. And now the government is ready with its new National Mineral Policy, 2008 to further bring revisions in its approach in dealing with the mining sector. As the text of the proposed National Mineral Policy of the Ministry of Mines in India says "In future the core functions of the State in mining will be the facilitation and regulation of exploration and mining activities of investors and entrepreneurs, provision of infrastructure and tax collection" (National Mineral Policy, 2008).

Since mining in India is a very big sector, this paper will limit its analysis to eastern India basically focusing on the recent resurgence in the foreign companies in the sector and the mass dissatisfaction and resistance witnessed in the local populace. It will also provide a glimpse of the kind of concessions granted by the government at the cost of the local population, their natural livelihood. The tragedy that lies in the recent high-scale mining projects approved by the state is that they all fall in the poorest and starving blocks of the state. e.g. Niyamgiri hills in Lanjgarh block lies in Kalahandi, one of the poorest belts in India, similarly districts like Rayagada and Kashipur fall under the poverty-striken zones and the policies of the state to acquire their land for the purpose of mining creates issues of violation of human rights but these have been compromised by making the indigenous people in these places pay the price for it.

The areas where mineral wealth is concentrated in East India are nearly all in mountain ranges that form the core of tribal areas. And at the core of the government's plan for development are projects meant to vastly expand mining throughout the region, multiplying the factories processing ores into metal, and building more hydro-dams and power stations to supply these factories with water and electricity. The aim of this new wave of rapid industrialisation is to enable India to pay off its debts and become a rich country. Masterminding this are companies and financial institutions that in many ways look like reincarnations of the East India Company, looting India's resources on a scale and at a speed that could never be done before. The dangers are mass displacement, social upheaval and an environmental catastrophe (Padel and Das, 2010).

Orissa has the highest percentage of India's total deposits of chromite, bauxite, graphite, manganese ore, and dolomite; fourth in total deposits of coal and fifth in the case of iron ore deposits. Within the last few years, as many as 56 memoranda of understanding (MoUs) have been signed with different companies just for the mining of natural resources. The present government has invited Hindalco (Aditya Birla group), Alcan (Canada), Vedanta (UK), BHP Billington (UK), Rio Tinto (UK), etc, with a proposed investment of nearly Rs 53,000 crore in order to extract a total deposit of 7,330 lakh tonnes of bauxite from the state. It has also contracted the extraction of 35,670 lakh tonnes of iron ore by TISCO, Vedanta/Sterlite, Bhushan Steel, Jindal, Essar, Mittal, BHP Billington, Rio Tinto and Posco, with an investment totalling Rs 1,30,000 crore, to extract and utilise the state's entire deposits of iron ore. In the case of manganese and coal too, there are large companies waiting to get in. These projects are estimated to displace nearly 2.5 lakh families, perhaps up to one million people. (Debaranjan, 2008) Even the government claims that if all these projects are implemented, only 50,000 jobs would be created. As per a government report, out of 56 MoUs, work has been started on 10 projects. Of these, it is known that Vedanta is facing criticism for violation of forest laws as per the Central Empowered Committee report, set up by the Supreme Court. UAIL in Kashipur has no environment, mining and forest clearances from the central government. (An Enquiry into Mining and Human Rights Violations in Kashipur, Orissa) But both are carrying on construction with virtual impunity. The Tatas in Kalinganagar did not have the environment clearances when land acquisition was done and during the course of which firing took place. Bhushan Steel does not have the required gramsabha resolution but is going in for construction illegally. Sterlite in Jharsuguda and Posco in Paradeep, Jagatsingpur district organised its mandatory public hearing in the presence of heavy armed police, which is illegal and inhibits opposition to the projects. These are completely in violation of the states own procedures and existing laws.

According to the Economic Survey of Orissa (2002-03), global mining giants such as Rio Tinto and Empire Gold Mines NL of Australia have entered into joint ventures and agreements with the Orissa Mining Corporation (OMC). As per the agreement with POSCO, the Orissa government has agreed to provide a mining lease to use 1,000 million tonnes of iron ore, of which 400 million tonnes will be exported to its Korean plants, over a 30-year period. In future, government would consider the extension of the agreement. POSCO's plan to export 400 million tonnes of iron ore to its Korean subsidiary reflects its vested interests in investing in Orissa and vindicates the implications of dependency theory (Das , 2005).

Thus, it quite evident that the Indian State in the recent times seems to have succumbed to the whims of the private sector and the foreign companies. There has also been widespread violation of the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy, 2003 which was especially carved out to prevent the violation of the rights of the displaced indigenous people in these areas. In the context of the ploy of the mining companies, Felix Padel points towards how the aluminium companies constantly try to increase their production, which means increasing people's consumption of aluminium in a wide variety of applications. In India particularly, they are now trying to increase consumption from less than one kilo per person per year (the average till recently) to something approaching the 15-30 kg per year that is the norm in the 'developed world' (Padel and Das, 2010).

In Brazil, the scene is no better than in India. In fact as far as the diversity of minerals and resources is concerned, Brazil and India are quite comparable. Brazil produces 70 mineral commodities: 21 metals, 45 industrial minerals and four fuels. The South American giant is the second largest producer of iron ore worldwide, with 19% of total global output. After oil, iron ore is the second largest Brazilian export commodity. The Brazilian mining market is dominated by approximately 15 mining companies of both international and domestic origin. Iron ore is by far the most prevalent mineral exported to the international market from Brazil. Vale's pre-eminence in the Brazilian mining sector is expressed by the company's dominance over the iron ore market; representing 80% of total Brazilian production, with CSN, Anglo American, MMX and Samarco making up the shortfall (Global Business Reports: Brazil Mining, 2011).

Like India, a major issue of contention has been mining and the rights of indigenous people in Brazil. Brazil has around 895000 sq km of aboriginal land where lies the huge wealth of natural resources. Estimates from ISA, a major Brazilian NGO-covering the 1986-1998 period suggest a substantial increase in the number of exploration permits and mine concessions on aboriginal land. According to ISA, by the end of 1998, about 44% of the indigenous areas officially recognised by the government were susceptible to at least one mineral right, usually exploration claims. This situation is critical in the Amazon region where 60% of the aboriginal population is located (Socioenvironmental Institute).

In Brazil, the inclusion of indigenous rights in the 1988 Constitution resulted in neither political inclusion of indigenous groups, nor in improved access for indigenous people to the policy process. Rather, what can be observed is that, especially in regard to the demarcation of indigenous lands, Brazilian policy has failed to reach the standards set in the 1988 Constitution. Instead, there has been a conflict of interests between mining companies, the state that run contrary to those of

indigenous peoples, and a backlash against gains made in the Constitution. The process of indigenous policy formation in Brazil remains, in practice, similar to what it was like during less democratic times (Rodrigues, 2002).

Thus the case studies of India and Brazil tried to elucidate how mining involves interlinkages between state, mining corporations affecting the rights and livelihoods of the local people who bear the brunt of this enterprise. The paper at the very outset tried to do the same by presenting the various debates and stakeholders in mining which were brought into light through these two studies. This paper moreover tried to capture the contemporary rush among states to attract more FDIs through big MNCs but at the same time they hardly care for the local environment and livelihood issues. Though both the countries have statutory and constitutional provisions to protect the indigenous population, to deal with their displacement and rehabilitation issues, in reality they have hardly seen the light of the day. The recent international norms of conducting impact assessments are also manipulated in the favour of the mining companies. Despite all these, the recent years have seen the rise in social movements in both these countries against the mandate of the state imposed on them. And it has given the mining discourse a new way where unlike the earlier times, exploitation and dispossession is no longer being tolerated in silence. However the question of development and its compatibility with mining remains. This needs to look into the issue by at least slowing the pace at which countries are moving in the mad rush for growth by FDI in mining sector because at this speed development itself remains a distant dream, let alone sustainable development.

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Commentary

Ganga Aarti: A Case Study of an Initiative to Disseminate Message of Environmental Peace building

Gaurav Shah

Abstract

This study investigates whether Ganga Aarti, a kind of religious ritual performed before revered river Ganges can be useful in disseminating message of environment peace building. A thorough research on significance of Ganga and the mythological aspect of Ganga Aarti has been done. An effort has been done to make the ritual a tool for spreading message of keeping river clean and pollution free. Religiosity imbibed into society can be helpful in communicating the issues to save the environment which is threatened daily by the unbridled industrial growth. The mythological component of the ritual has been analyzed extensively and has been used to communicate message of peace building by exploiting religious sentiments of devotees.

Keywords

Ganga, Ganga Aarti, symbols, pollution, Hindus, Ghats, Varanasi

Introduction

सकल कलुश भंगे! स्वर्ग सोपान संगे। तरल तर तरंगे! देवी गंगे! प्रसीद।। (Mehta 2004) (Destroyer of all the sins, forms steps to Heaven, withmost liquefied waves- Goddess Ganga grant us your blessings). India is a land of rivers. The **Ganges** also pronounced as **Ganga** in Devan?gar? and in most Indian languages is the major river in the Indian subcontinent flowing east through the eponymous plains of northern India (Mathew, 2007) into Bangladesh. The 2,510 km river begins at the Gangotri Glacier in the Indian state of Uttarakhand, in the central Himalayas, and drains into the Bay of Bengal through its vast delta in the Sunderbans. The Ganges and its tributaries drain a large - about one million square kilometres - and fertile basin that support one of the world's highest-density human populations. It should be noted that almost

half of the population of India live on one-third of the landscape within 500 km of the Himalayan range along the Gangetic plains north of Devanagari.[1]

Religious Significance of Ganga

Ganga has enjoyed a position of reverence for millennia among India's Hindus, by whom it is worshipped in its personified form as the goddess Ganga. From its origin till its end in the ocean, Ganga is 1500 miles long. Nile River is almost double of it. Even Amazon, Mississippi is longer than it. Then how come Ganga is referred as the greatest river? Ganga is greater in the sense that for the forty three crores of Hindus and others it is the most venerated river. For all of them Ganges is the mother- Mother Ganga (Newby, 1973).

Ganga in Varanasi

Situated on the banks of River Ganges, Varanasi is considered by some to be the most holy city in Hinduism. It is also known as other names as Kashi and Banaras. वाराणसी परं तीर्थं गौर्ये प्राह महेष्वरः। भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदं पुण्यं वसतां गृणतां हरिम्।। (Sharma, 1999). (Varanasi is the greatest Tirth as said by Lord Shiva to Goddess Parvati. Those who reside in Varanasi get salvation.)The Ganga River flows from south to north in a crescent form only in Varanasi. There are 84 Ghats (stairways to the riverbank), forming a symbolic chain of holy sites. Among the 84 Ghats, 5 described as more merit giver and sacred, called Panchatirthis, are - Asi, Dashashwamedh, Manikarnika, PanchaGanga and Adi Keshava.[2]

Taking holy dip at these five Ghats provides merit of bathing at all the Ghats. These five Ghats symbolize microcosmic body of Vishnu, respectively as head, chest, navel, thighs and the feet. Thus the area along the Ghats is eulogized as Vishnu's body. The luminous city is regarded as being lifted up by the trident (Trishul) of Lord Shiva and never conquered, ruined or vanquished. Varanasi means Ganga, Vishwanath, and Salvation. Here every work or ritual begins with Ganga and ends in Ganga. There is a popular saying 'Ganga Nahaye' (I have had a bath in Ganga) meaning I have finally done my duty and in return I ask for nothing. For a Banarasi-Ganga is the mother. She is his life. She speaks to him, she sings for him, she awakens him, she sleeps after he sleeps and when he is in pain or worry she affectionately takes him in her lap. She enchants wearing the Piyari (yellow cloth) but when angry she becomes Mahakali (the goddess of destruction) (Mehta, 2004).

Aarti

Aarti is a Hindu ritual, in which light from wicks soaked in ghee (purified butter) or camphor is offered to one or more deities. Aartis also refer to the songs sung in praise of the deity, when offering of lamps is being offered. Aarti is performed and sung to develop the highest love for God. "Aa" means "towards or to", and "rati" means "right or virtue" in Sanskrit. Earlier Aarti used to be performed by married woman and courtesans. One of Primary object of this ceremony was to counteract the influence of the evil eye and any ill-effects which, according to Hindu belief, may arise from the jealous and spiteful looks of ill-intentioned persons (Dubois, 1978).

It is performed during almost all Hindu ceremonies and occasions. It involves the circulating of an 'Aarti plate' around a person or deity and is generally accompanied by the singing of songs in praise of that deva or person (many versions exist). In doing so, the plate itself is supposed to acquire the power of the deity. The priest circulates the plate to all those present. As in praise of Hindu deity God or Goddess hymns are sung in form of Aarti likewise in many holy places of India; Rishikesh, Haridwar and Varanasi, Aarti of River Ganga is done as Ganga is considered to be a form of Goddess. Since Ganga is a symbol of belief and faith for millions of Hindus, thus to show their gratitude and respect its worship is done in form of Aarti.

Historicity of Ganga Aarti at Varanasi

Ganga Aarti was performed for the first time in Varanasi at Panch-Ganga Ghat. Panch-Ganga Ghat is said to be the confluence (sangam) of five rivers namely; Ganga, Yamuna, Saraswati, Kirana and Dhutpapa. At this Ghat only famous epic "Ganga Lahiri" by Pandit Jagannath was written. So the Aarti done at this Ghat carries special Punya (blessings). With the support and initiative of former king of Kashi, Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, the main Panda (priest) of Panch-anga Ghat Vijay Shankar Upadhyaya started Ganga Aarti on 11th November 1984. This has continued regularly till date.

The Aarti is performed during sunrise and on special occasion like Kartik Purnima and Ganga Dusheera it is done in evening also. Many dignitaries like former president of India Gyani Jail singh have participated in the Aarti. From Panch-Ganga Ghat soon the Aarti spread in other Ghats also like Durga Ghat, Lal Ghat, Shitala Ghat, Dasaswamedh Ghat and Assi Ghat.

Ganga-Aarti at Dasaswamedh Ghat is performed in the most lavish and grandeur way. Ganga Seva Nidhi organizes it. Ganga Seva Nidhi founded in 1992 by Shri

Satyendra Mishra, is a philanthropic Non-Governmental Organization registered under the Amended Societies Registration Act 1860 with Registration No. 207.

Ganga Aarti at Dasaswamedh Ghat

Ganga Aarti started at Dasaswamedh Ghat in 1992 by a philanthropic Non-Governmental Organization registered under the Amended Societies Registration Act 1860, Ganga Seva Nidhi founded by Shri Satyendra Mishra, with Registration No. 207. Earlier Ganga Aarti used to be performed at Kartik Purnima and Dev Deepawali only. Ganga Aarti started at regular basis on 31st December, 1999. Ganga Seva Nidhi celebrated this event as Millennium year. On the eve many spiritual leaders like Dalai Lama, B.K Modi, Chidananad Saraswati, etc… adorned the function. From then on Ganga Aarti was performed at Sun-rise and Sun-set regularly. Daily Ganga Aarti, followed by prayers and discourses, is a constructive effort of GSN to reawaken the latent consciousness of people towards the sordid impurities and pollution of Ganga.

Dev-Dipavali Mahotsava (on Karttika Purnima) - October-November, Ganga Dusshera Mahotsava (celebrated in commemoration of descent of the Divine Ganga on Earth) - May-June, are two main functions, which are held by GSN in which Ganga Aarti is performed on massive and lavish scale. Thousands of tourist flock to see the Aarti. Hindalco (Aditya Birla Group), Reliance Life Insurance, etc… sponsor the function.

Purpose of the Study

According to Ian Harris, "Environmental Peace Building urges the application of standards of justice to human interactions with Nature, providing norms for fairness and equity so that all are treated with full human rights and dignity" (Mishce and Harris, 2008). Ganga Aarti is a initiative to protect environment through communication about importance of river Ganges in our daily lives. Most of the rituals performed in the Ganga Aarti at all these ghats are same like Sankalp Dharnam, Shodashopachar Poojnam. Generally three types of Aarti are done - Dhoop Aarti (Aarti done with incense), Jhar Aarti (Aarti done with lighted lamps) and Sayan Aarti (Aarti done with Camphor). There are many rituals (Karm-kand) used in Hindu religion. All the rituals especially during Puja (worship) are performed with the usage of lots of signs and symbols. Mudra (gesture), Mantra, High, medium, low note of sound during chanting of Mantras, Ingredients used during Puja, colors,

light, clothes, etc… carries different connotations with them. They communicate something. Since Hindu religion is very old and these Puja procedures exists in the society through centuries; that means there must be some meaning, rationale and logic associated with it. Whenever rituals like Ganga Aarti is performed hundreds and thousands gather to see it. What do these rituals communicate to them? What is the science behind them? Can Ganga Aarti serve as a medium to spread the message of environmental peace through control of pollution of the revered river Ganga. All these matters have been taken into consideration and therefore this issue has been chosen to be studied.

Varanasi being the holy city brings in thousands of pilgrims both from India and abroad to visit the city. Ganga Aarti imitating Haridwar and Rishikesh is playing a pivotal role in attracting tourists and therefore adding to the business of the city. Ganga Aarti has also helped in increasing awareness and spreading the communication about the cleanliness of Ganga among masses. All these factors compel to study this issue comprehensively.

Semiotics

Semiotics or semiology is the study of sign processes (semiosis), and communication, signs and symbols, both individually and grouped into sign systems. It includes the study of how meaning is constructed and understood. A science that studies the life of signs within society is conceivable; it would be part of social psychology and consequently of general psychology. Semiology would show what constitutes signs, what laws govern them (Wollen, 1969).

Dr. Bhanu Shankar Mehta in his book "Dhan Dhan Matu Gang", 2004 gives a complete picture of history, origin, current status, pollution in Ganga and what eminent historians and writers say about Ganga. According to him Ganga is an institution. The classical vedic learning of a Brahmin child begins here. Here they finalise the business contracts. They swear by Ganga, take vows in the name of Ganga. When the goal is achieved, they come to Ganga again. At the time of every sanskar and there are about 16 in the life of a Hindu viz. birth of a child, sacred, thread ceremony, marriage, etc. Ganga is the evidence (sakshi). After lone illness when one recovers, he comes here to offer thanks. For every desire fulfilled, Ganga is accredited. Elaborating further Dr. Mehta explains the importance of Ghats for offering prayers. He says that Ganga is a goddess in herself and worshipped by her own waters and

innumerable stones bathe in Ganga-Jal. French Scholar, Abbe Dubois in his book "Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies" (Dubois, 1978) talks about the various Hindu rituals being practiced in Hindu society. He gives an interesting reason for the invention of the practice of Aarti ceremony. According to Dubois, Aarti was invented to counteract the influence of the evil eye and ill-effects (drishti-dosha) on persons of high rank such as rajahs, governors of provinces, generals and other distinguished members of the society. Dubois says that Aarti used to be performed only by married women and courtesans. Widows would not be allowed, under any circumstances, to participate in it. Whenever people of high rank have been obliged to show themselves in public, or to speak to strangers, they invariably call for courtesans or dancing-girls from the temples to perform Aarti over them, and so avert any unpleasant consequences that might arise from the baleful glances to which they have been exposed. Kings and princes often had dancing-girls in their employ who do nothing else but perform this ceremony. Dubois, also writes about the religious connotations of Aarti. He says Aarti used to be performed for idols also. After the dancing-girls have finished all their other duties in the temple, they never fail to perform this ceremony twice daily over the images of the gods to whom their services were dedicated. It was performed with even more solemnity when these idols have been carried in procession through the streets, so as to turn aside malignant influences, to which the gods are as susceptible as any mortal object.

Methods

Varanasi being the holy city brings in thousands of pilgrims both from India and abroad to visit the city. Ganga Aarti imitating Haridwar and Rishikesh is playing a pivotal role in attracting tourists and therefore adding to the business of the city. Ganga Aarti has also helped in increasing awareness and spreading the communication about the cleanliness of Ganga among masses. Whenever rituals like Ganga Aarti is performed hundreds and thousands gather to see it. What do these rituals communicate to them? What is the science behind them? Through centuries these rituals have existed in the society. Do these carry any rationale and logic behind them? How are they performed and what do these symbols signify? All these queries made it pertinent to decipher the rituals and symbols used in the Ganga Aarti to understand the actual meaning behind them. Whether there exists a rationale and logic associated with the various rituals (Karam- kand) or not. There are lot of ingredients and tools used in Ganga Aarti and Priests use various gestures during the aarti. Do these carry any meaning? There are different channels of communication through which public comes to know about Ganga Aarti. What are those?

Hence, the purpose to the study was to find the rationale, logic behind Ganga Aarti and to find a gap /divide between what priests say and what audience understands so that a communication strategy can be developed; incorporating message of saving Ganga from pollution, into the rituals and thereby creating awareness among masses. To achieve the purpose, the study was conducted in two phases. Since the study was to observe a process, that is, Ganga Aarti in depth, therefore a case study was done in phase-I. Only the Ganga Aarti held at Dasaswamedh Ghat was included in the study. Primary data based on actual observation was gathered. This was be done by taking interviews of Head priest who perform Ganga Aarti at the above mentioned Ghat. The study in Phase -1 was an intensive one to decipher the rituals and symbols used in Ganga Aarti. To back up the study done in Phase-I, that is, to examine the meaning that the devotees understand from these rituals was done through survey design in Phase -II of the research. The devotees present at the time of Ganga Aarti in evening at Dasaswamedh Ghat formed the population of the study. Since the population was floating one so survey was done over a period of seven days and ten samples were taken as per convenience on each day. As no data was available regarding the profile of the samples so samples taken on each day were different.

For getting the required data different elements were studied. Those elements are: Ingredients used in Sankalp Pujanam of Ganga Aarti - Asanam (A seat presented to deity to sit on), Jal (Water of Ganga), Vastram (cloth), Tilak/Roli/Sindoor (Married women's symbol), Akshat (Grains of rice coloured with saffron), Pusp (flowers), Dhoop (Incense), Deepak (a lighted lamp), Navedyam (sweets); tools used in Ganga Aarti- Shankh, Dhoop Aarti (Aarti done with incense), Jhaar Aarti (Aarti done with lighted lamps), Sayan Aarti (Aarti done with Camphor), Chanwar, MorPankhi (equipment made of feathers of peacock), Achmani (Aarti done with a piece of cloth) and channels of communication about Ganga Aarti among its audience- Inter-personal communication, Mass- Media (Television, Newspapers).

Results

Ritual of Sankalp- Poojnam in Ganga Aarti

Out of 70 respondents, 26 respondents said "yes", 37 said "no" while 7 respondents said that they "didn't remember" the ritual of sankalp-poojnam. This shows that majority of the audience didn't see the ritual.

Use of ingredients in Ganga Aarti

Asanam-According to the head priest worshipping the deity on bare earth is prohibited in Shastra and God is our guest, therefore he is offered a higher seat. Majority of audience also comply with this logic, however many thought that Asan purifies our soul, it pleases God. Asan is a symbol of our culture. Water-According to the head priest water is offered to reduce the weariness of journey of the guest by washing his feet. Ganga jal is auspicious and it destroys our sin to make us pure. Majority of audience agreeing to the same regard Ganga Jal as a symbol of purity but they also see it as a custom, healer, as an element of five natural elements and as a symbol of life. Vastram-According to the head priest, it is a custom and it provides protection from bad weather. It also provides peace and dignity. Audiences completely have a different idea on this. They think garment as a symbol of welcome, grace (punya) and social relations. Tilak- According to the head priest, tilak is a must to make start of any puja successful. It awakens the third eye and is a symbol of knowledge. Chandan (sandalwood) brings prosperity, grace and destroys sins. Audiences differ by considering Tilak as a symbol of good luck and safety. It is also a symbol of married woman, prosperity, social and religious revolution. It relaxes the mind and is a God's gift to woman for all over the year's married life. Akshat-According to the head priest, rice is offered so that all the ventures undertaken by us in life leads to completion. Rice is a symbol of persistent hard work. Ingredient unavailable during puja is compensated through rice. Audiences don't comply with logic of the priests and regard rice as a symbol of start of puja, symbol of peace and prosperity. They also take rice as a source of nourishment and as a fodder for mosquitoes. Flowers- According to the head priest, flowers are symbol of conduct, love and affection. Flowers increase grace and reduce sins in us. Greater number of respondents among audiences agrees with the priests however some believe flowers to be a symbol of purity and earth also. Flowers inculcate happiness, joy and religious inspiration in our lives. Incense- According to the head priest, Dhoop contains valuable herbs and has a very pleasing smell and every deity likes it, therefore it is offered. Majority differs from the logic of the priest. According to them dhoop has a purgatory significance; it purifies atmosphere by killing mosquitoes and helps in creating spiritual atmosphere. According to some devotees, dhoop symbolizes earth element and it also revives our senses. Lighted Lamp- According to the head priest, Deepak symbolizes five vows; nonviolence, truthfulness, non-stealing, chastity, and non possession. Deepak is a symbol of radiance. Majority of audiences agree to this but some also think Deepak to be an atmosphere cleaner

against mosquitoes. Lamp is lighted to attract God's attention. It educates us to progress spiritually. Sweets- According to the head priest, in the pooja, deity is believed to be a guest. So food is offered to him in form of sweets. The food/sweet which is offered to God results in development of divine sanskar inside us. Majority among audiences agree with the former logic of the priest but no one had any view similar to latter logic. According to audience offering of sweets brings sweetness in our life, it pleases mother Ganga.

Glimpse of tools used in Ganga Aarti- Out of 70 respondents 35 saw the tools, 37 didn't see it at all while 3 didn't remember. This shows that the majority didn't see the tools.

Use of tools in Ganga Aarti- Shankh-According to the head priest, sankh is blown to bring silence in the atmosphere and make people conscious about start and end of pooja process. Greater numbers of respondents comply with this reason however according to many Sankh is a symbol of invocation of God, symbol of purity and symbol of Naad from where prana urja emanates. Some also thing that blowing of sankh makes our lungs powerful. Dhoop Aarti- According to the head priest, dhoop aarti is done to please Lord Brahma and it purifies atmosphere. Majority of audiences agree with this. In addition to what priests say audiences think that burning incense creates religious atmosphere, our good deeds reach God and also it concentrates our mind. Jhaar Aarti- According to the head priest, Jhar Aarti is done to please Lord Vishnu. Hexagonal shape of the equipment saves the hand of the performer from burning and 54 numbers is auspicious. Audiences have an entirely different concept about this aarti. They consider jhar aarti to be a symbol of enlightenment and energy. It wards off evil eye and is a sign of welcome of evening. None of the audience is able to answer about the shape and number of lighted lamps in the equipment.- Sayan Aarti- According to the head priest, Syan Aarti is done in praise of Lord Shiva whose one of the disciple is snake so the shape of the equipment is in shape of a snake. The aarti is done with camphor because color of camphor is white and skin of Lord Shiva is also white. Audiences differ from the priest. According to audience sayan aarti checks pollution. Camphor symbolizes intensity of devotion towards God and keeps the mosquitoes away during sleep. Chanwar- According to the head priest, to please Lord Ganesha and to welcome guest chanwar is used. Audience has a different perception. They consider chanwar to be a symbol of respect, bhakt-seva. It is a substitute for fan, keeps the evil spirits away and protect deity from mosquitoes and flies. Morpankhi- According to the head priest, Morpankhi is used to provide peace and tranquility to river Ganga. Majority of the audience

agree with the priest's logic. In addition to that some think that Morpankhi reduces excessive energy emanated due to aarti. Morpankhi educates us to be always cheerful. Achmani Aarti- According to the head priest, Achmani serves as linen for the deity. Majority agrees with it; however some believe Achmani to be like a handkerchief for the deity.

Identify the channels of communication about Ganga Aarti among its audience
Place of Residence- Out of total 70 respondents, eight belonged to foreign country, 29 were from city other than Varanasi while rest 33 were residents of Varanasi. This shows that greater number of respondents is from the city itself while majority are tourists. Age-Out of total respondents, 28 (40%) belonged to age bracket 21-30. This shows that greater number of respondents is youth and is more keen and interested in watching Ganga Aarti. Interpersonal Communication, Mass Media, Other Sources- Out of total respondents, 30 respondents came to know about Ganga Aarti through friends and relatives. This shows that greater number of respondents got informed about Aarti through interpersonal communication.

Solution of pollution through Ganga Aarti- Out of 70 respondents, 31 said 'Yes'. 28 said 'No' while rest 11 said 'No Idea'. Thus greater number of respondents believes that Ganga Aarti can prove beneficial in creating awareness among public to control pollution of Ganga.

Conclusion
The study suggests that a huge gap exists between what the priests decipher from the rituals and what the audience deciphers from it. The most significant aspect of the Aarti; the sankalp-poojnam process is done without inviting and explaining public about its religious significance. As the study indicates, majority of the audience seems to be completely unaware of this ritual. More of mythological interpretations on part of priest have been done in order to explain the logic behind occurrence of rituals. Not even a single scientific reason has been given by the priest for performance of any ritual.

The difference in opinion regarding offering of ingredients such as Vastram, Tilak, Akshat is evident. Majority of public is not interested in the shape and use of tools in the Aarti. Priest and general mass both seems to be ignorant about purpose of usage of tools. Majority of the audience did not take any pain to know about the

significance of the tools. Lack of information and inquisitive mind on part of audience is apparent in the research. There is a stark difference between their beliefs in usage of sankh, jhar Aarti, Sayan Aarti, and chanwar which is an integral part of the Pooja.

The study suggests that people are more interested in watching the gestures used in the Aarti. Lack of dissemination of comprehensive message and logic behind the gestures by the priest keeps the crowd ignorant. They seem to have no knowledge about the logic behind performance of the gestures as mentioned in the Shastras. None among the audience was able to answer the real reason for Aarti being done sitting and facing in east direction and for movement of Morpankhi. Audience have an entirely different perception about the process of Aarti being done standing and facing in east, west, south and north direction respectively. Their views regarding movement of chanwar in specific manner is also contrary to that of the priest. It is strange to know that these rituals are being carried on through centuries and still people don't know the logic and rationale behind the rituals.

Recommendations

Out of 70 respondents, 37 were tourists/ visitors from outside the city while 33 belonged to Varanasi. This shows that Ganga Aarti can play a pivotal role in disseminating message of awareness about the river among masses. Use of technology and mass media can prove beneficial in doing so. An existence of huge gap between the understanding of rituals between the priest and the masses has been observed. Following are some recommendations to bridge the knowledge gap between the priest and the audience regarding deciphering of rituals.

- There is no availability of a big TV screen in which procedures of rituals can be explained. Hence it is recommended that a big TV screen should be installed at Ghat through which mantras and their translation in Hindi and their significance could be explained to the spectators.

- To bring about a coherence between the thinking of the priest and audience regarding offering of ingredients especially Vastram, tilak, akshat, Deepak and sweets, their religious and mythological importance plus their importance in day to day life should be explained to the general mass through TV screen.

- The source/origin from where these rituals have been picked up should also be explained as that will create curiosity among masses regarding our mythological literature.

- It has been observed that audience is not much knowledgeable about the shape of tools and their use. One day in a week, scholars, scientist, etc… should be invited to explain scientific significance of these tools if any to the general audience.

- Significance of geographical directions when procedure of gestures is performed in Aarti should be explained to the public. This can be done by inviting guest speakers from geography department in different universities of Varanasi.

- In the rituals many times hands are washed. During performance of this ritual, simultaneously a message can be delivered to the public that like we wash our hands and keep them clean during Pooja, we should also wash and keep our hands clean during performing other day to day activities. That will protect us from many infectious diseases.

- Recently in intercultural festival 'Spandan' organized in Banaras Hindu University, Ganga seva nidhi; chief organizer of Ganga Aarti at Dasaswamedh ghat performed Aarti which created much curiosity among students about it. The same pattern can be implemented at other universities, schools, prestigious clubs,etc…This will help sensitize people about the importance of Ganga and its cleanliness.

- Finally, a communication strategy is recommended to make the audience aware of the importance of river and its cleanliness.

A Proposed Communication Strategy

The study has indicated that there is a desperate need to develop a communication strategy to create awareness among masses about cleanliness of Ganga through Ganga Aarti. The survey suggests that majority of audience thinks that Ganga Aarti can prove beneficial in creating awareness to keep the river clean. Considering all these factors a communication strategy is formulated. The experience of this study is being presented in the form of an action plan that can be implemented followed by organizer of Ganga Aarti. The action plan is divided into Phase, Phases into steps and each phase having time duration.

Phase-I- It has been observed that majority of the audience do not observe the ritual of Sankalp-Poojan carefully. This is because head priest and the main Jajman

(main contributor in the puja economically or otherwise) take oath separately without inviting the audience.

In Hindu mythology, Sankalp-Poojan is the most important process to start the puja. Once the devotees understand the process of Sankalp-Poojan, they will adhere to it. So in the first phase process of Sankalp-Poojan will be explained. The following are the steps.

Step 1 Process of Sankalp-Poojan will not be done by head priest and Jajmaan (main contributor to the pooja) only. Instead whole of the audience would be made party to it.

Step 2 Whole process in lucid and simple language will be explained through loud speakers. The mantras will be displayed on big screen explaining important factors of puja in Hindi and English both so that tourists from abroad can also understand the process.

Step 3 Oath of contributing something to curb Ganga Pollution should be added in the oath statement as explained below.

ऊँ विश्णुर्विश्णुर्विश्णुः श्रीमद्भगवतो महापुरुशस्य विश्णोराज्ञया प्रवर्तमानस्य, अद्य श्री ब्रह्मणो द्वितीयो परार्धे श्री ष्वेतवाराहकल्पे, वैवस्वतमन्वन्तरे, भूर्लोके, जम्बूद्वीपे, भारतवर्शे, भरतखण्डे, आर्यावर्त्तैकदेषान्तर्गते,.....क्षेत्रे, मासानां मासोत्तमेमासे.....मासे.....पक्षे.....तिथौ.....वासरे..... गोत्रोत्पन्नः.....नामाघ्हं सतपृवति–संवर्द्धनाय गंगा प्रदूशण निवाराणर्थं प्रबल पुरुशार्थं करिश्ये, अस्मै प्रयोजनाय च कलषादि–आवाहितदेवता–पूजनपूर्वकम्.....कर्मसम्पादनार्थं संकल्पम् अहं करिश्ये।

Oh! Lord Vishnu, the ruler and preserver of this vast universe. Oh! Brahma. Oh! Varah (white pig God), the incarnation of Vishnu. Oh! Vaivaswata Manu, the power in the Kali-Yuga. Oh! Continent Jambu in which India is situated. Oh! Great king Bharata. Inside India, in region of Abode of lord Shiva-Kashi, in particular month, paksha, tithi(date according to Hindi Calendar), day and gotra, I take oath for establishment of good deeds and will labor hard to save Ganga from pollution. For that purpose I worship Kalash and all the invoked Gods.

Phase-II- In this phase after process of Sankalp-poojan, audience would be explained about the significance of the river.

Step 4 It has been seen that majority of the audience belong to this city only. Therefore historical, cultural and religious significance of river would be explained to them. They should be made feel proud about being native of a city that has a river which has a rich and revered past. This will be done by citing some slokas from Hindu epics. For e.g.

दर्षनात्स्पर्षनात्पानात्तथा गंगेतिकीर्तनात् ।
पुनाति सा पुण्यपुरुशाञछतषोध्थ सहस्त्रषः ।। (Sharma, 1999)

(Seeing Ganga, touching water of Ganga, drinking the same and chanting the name 'Ganga' purifies hundreds and thousands of lucky People.)

Phase-III In this phase importance of ingredients would be explained to the public.

Step 5 Since findings prove that audience considers ingredients such as camphor, Dhoop, Deepak, etc… as elements that purify the atmosphere. So at the time of their offering it should be linked with Ganga pollution. For e.g. as Dhoop (incense) that has valuable herbs burns to purify our atmosphere, we should also contribute something to save Ganga from pollution.

Phase-IV In this phase Youths will be sensitized about the river

Step 6 It has been observed that Youths are most interested in watching Ganga Aarti compared to other age brackets. Therefore, in the middle of the process of Aarti, on a big screen message carrying importance of keeping Ganga clean will be displayed by some celebrity whom youths adore. He/she can be a movie star, a sportsman, a politician, etc….

Phase-V In this phase after aid of excerpts from shastras will be taken to educate masses about importance of keeping Ganga clean.

Step 7 It has been infered that people are mostly interested to see gestures/ movement of Aarti rather than ingredients used in pooja or shape of equipments. Therefore all the gestures could be accompanied by a message. It can be that Ganga is our mother, so we should not drop sewer, plastics and garbage into it.

Keeping Ganga clean will increase punya which the comparer should tell and simultaneously the message will be displayed on big screen.

Step 8 Messages from Shastras will be taken regarding stopping people from polluting the river. For e.g.

गंगा पुण्यजलां प्राप्य चतुर्दषा विवर्जयेत।
षोचमाचनमं केषं निर्माल्यमघमर्शणम्।।
गत्र संवाहनं क्रीडां प्रतिग्रहमथोरितम्।
अन्य तीर्थ रति चैव अन्य तीर्थ प्रषंसन्।।
वस्त्र त्यागमथाघातां संतारं च विषेशतः।। (Mehta, 2004)

(ब्रह्माण्डपुराण)

Avoid doing following things in the river:

- Defecating near the river
- Mouth cleansing in the river
- Combing hair in the river
- Throwing faeces in the river
- Using soap in the river
- Massaging in the river
- Washing clothes

Along with the above messages from Shastras, people can be educated to not do the following:

- Do not defecate on ghats near Ganga.
- Do not throw dead bodies in the river.
- Do not bathe animals in the river.
- Do not throw garbage in the.
- Use electric furnace for funeral purposes as it will save lot of filth dropping in the river.

Phase-VI In this phase communication material will be distributed to the public educating them about the dangers of polluting Ganga.

Step 9

- It has been seen that interpersonal communication has been most successful in disseminating information about Aarti. After the aarti, it is an usual custom that sweets are distributed by the priest to the devotees as Prasad. Therefore, along with the sweets a booklet explaining dangers of polluting ganga along with the religious and spiritual significance of the river will be distributed.

- The distribution of the booklet can be expanded to colleges, universities, schools, clubs, religious institutions, etc…This would help to create an awareness among people to save Ganga from pollution.

Proposed Process Model

Phase-I	Phase-II	Phase-III	Phase-IV	Phase-V	Phase-VI
Step-1	Step-4	Step-5	Step-6	Step-7	Step-8
Sankalp-Poojan should be done collectively. Step-2	Explain significance of river	Explain significance of ingredients used	Address youths by a celebrity	Explain significance of gestures used. Step-9	Present and Distribute communication material
Display puja process on Big TV screen Step-3				Quote Shastras to curb pollution	
Modification in process of oath					
1 hour daily	15 minutes daily	10 min daily	15 min twice a week	30 min daily	20 min daily

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BOOK REVIEW

Anjoo Sharan Upadhyaya

BOOK REVIEW: Sijapati, Megan Adamson. 2012. *Islamic Revival in Nepal, Religion and a New Nation.* Oxon: Routledge. pages xi+ 188.

Islamic identity in a hitherto Hindu Nepal has evoked more than a passing interest amongst the South Asia watchers. Comprising a 4.39% of the total Nepali Population as per the census of 2011, Muslims form the second largest minorities (after the Buddhists) in this country. It has been observed that their self description has undergone changes in the post secularized republican Nepal. Hence the significance of the work under review: Islamic Revival in Nepal by Megan Adamson Sijapati (2012: Oxon, Routledge).

Divided into seven chapters and spread across 188 pages, the author acknowledges the use of the term 'revivalism' risks 'limitations and over determination' (p5). The author proceeds to unravel the various factors that influence Islamic identity in what turns out to be mainly in Kathmandu valley, and not in Nepal as a whole(as promised in the title), in the aftermath of a violent episode in 2004 known as Kalo Budhwar (black Wednesday). As a reaction to the killing of 12 Nepali migrant workers in Iraq by a militant Islamist group, Ansar al- Sunna, violence against the Muslims erupted in Kathmandu. This prompted 'segments of Muslim population' to embark upon a 'revival of Islam' (p132), especially through a Sunni revivalist approach to religious tradition. The current work under review is an attempt to analyse this phenomenon.

The book is largely based on field work in Kathmandu, during 2005-6, 2008 and 2009-10 which was a period of significant change in Nepalese history in terms of political as well as socio- cultural dimensions. Politically this change was most significant. Nepal switched over from Monarchy to Republicanism and from a the status of being a Hindu State to a Secular State. Under these circumstances the socio- cultural landscape of Nepal, especially in terms of 'visibility' of the Muslim population of the country, too underwent a considerable change. The book undertakes the task of unraveling the past of Muslim communities in Nepal and then goes on to

undertake an in depth research on the two major Islamic organizations of Nepal: 'The National Muslim Forum' (Rashtriya Muslim Manch) and the 'Islami Sangh' that were established in June 2005.

The book provides a fairly layered account of the history of the Muslim population of Nepal. Also valuable is the portrayal of the heterogeneity of the community that can be placed under various geographic categories like the Kashmiri Muslims, Tibetan Muslims, Tarai Muslims, Muslims of the hills, and Nepali Muslims. However how these diverse categories are different from each other finds scanty analysis. Besides the geographic categorization exists the cultural identities: Ahl-e Hadis, Doebandhis, Barelvis, Jamat 'I Islami, Ahmadias and the Hannafis, (Chapter 2) that have been critically explained. Chapter 3 traces the narrative of Hindu national purity and Muslim alterity, a phenomenon that is common in most of south Asia. The Kalo Budhvar episode is examined against the background thus portrayed, mainly in the light of 'revivalism' of Muslim identity in chapter 4. In chapters 5 and 6 respectively the author examines the establishment and evolution of the 'National Muslim Forum'(Rashtriya Muslim Manch Nepal) and the Muslim 'The Islami Sangh' Nepal. Chapter 5 enumerates the various ways in which the National Muslim Forum's call for a unified Nepali Muslim Nation defines a unified Muslim identity and chapter 6 concludes that the Islami Sangh is working to forge a 'discursively oriented' Islamic tradition in Nepal.

Not only the diverse levels of connectivity that Islamic identity of Nepal has with the rest of the Muslim world been identified but also tensions amongst the various competing claims between Hinduism vs Secularism, Hills vs. plains, and Monarchy vs. Republicanism have been brought out well in the volume. The local and global processes that shape them are also focused on. Connection is attempted to link this phenomenon with the similar development in India during the nineteenth and the twentieth century, when the Indian schools of Islamic thought such as the Deobandh were 'responding to the experience of powerlessness, conflict and contestation in the context of British colonial rule'. The work under review is certainly valuable in as much as it traces these aspects of Islamic society in Nepal.

However the author herself acknowledges the cultural contrast that she witnessed between the valley Muslims and the Muslims of Pokhara (p 19) and also that many Muslims are reluctant to submit to definitions. There is ample evidence in Nepal to show that Muslims in the country have a large shared cultural and religious space with the Hindus. Like most of South Asia, Islam in Nepal too is a very liberal and

progressive religion. The socio cultural identity of Muslims in Nepal has remained largely diffused and though the episode of Kalo Budhwar did ruffle it marginally, it remains essentially calm and secure. The Author successfully locates the Muslim discourses against the backdrop of a highly uncertain political climate. The policies of inclusion adopted by majority of the political parties, partly due to the electoral compulsions but largely as a matter of routine, go to show the promise that is held for Muslim representation in the political unfolding.

In sum, a careful reading of the book reveals that the author has remained fairly cautious in concluding that there is an all out effort to carve out a distinct identity of Islam in Nepal. There are serious attempts within the community to provide inspiration to members to establish their religiosity. Translation of the Quran in Nepali, publication of journals like Madhur Sandesh (Journal of the Islami Sangh), circulation of attempts to make this possible. However this is not a unique situation where any community attempts to reinvigorate itself by bringing about an awareness of its diverse religious practices and traditions. To translate this trend into a statement of 'Islamic Revival' as the title of the book suggests, is farfetched to the present reviewer. On the whole the work is valuable in as much as it acquaints the reader with a phenomenon that is both recent and fascinating.

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