

Yoga and Inner Peace: Indian Perspectives

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Yoga, the five-thousand-year-old Indian physical, mental and spiritual system that aims to transform body and mind has long supplemented Indian visions of peace and development. Embedded variedly in ancient Indian knowledge system, the philosophy and practice of Yoga has proliferated globally across cultures and continents. Amid its growing popularity within and across India, it has attracted global attention with the UN declaration of 21 June as the International Yoga Day.

Yoga is generally construed as a traditional Indian way to achieve health and wellness. What is less noticed is its rich philosophical ethos and its spiritual quest for inner peace- a vital vector that links Yoga to the larger quest of social and international peace. The contemporary discourses on peace and conflict resolution have yet to reckon with this aspect of Yoga. This is not surprising. The fact is that like other academic disciplines, peace studies too, remain under the grip of positivists' western pedagogies which resists the inclusion of indigenous normative ideas and practices emanating from other cultures (Upadhyaya, 2014).

The present article argues for the conceptual inclusion of Yoga as a pedagogic approach to social or international peace. It draws on Gandhian premise that what is useful for personal transformation can hold similar potential for social healing and transformation and that, there is no way to peace, but peace is the way. Thus, we look at Yoga as a holistic methodology for personal and social transformation to facilitate peacefulness in today's conflict-torn world. While this article do not lay claims to Yoga being the only path of peace, it certainly argues for its inclusion in today's peace work, especially for reconciliation and conflict transformation.

Imperative of Inner Peace

In general terms, peace is defined as an absence of violent conflicts, more specifically, an absence of war. Such negative understanding presumes that war or conflict is the constant state of affairs whereas peace is an exception. This is indeed a negative notion of peace. The proponents of positive peace, on the other hand, argue that peace is the normal condition and war is abnormal. Only when peace fails that wars or violence happen. Negating Hobbesian definition of peace as the absence of war, Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), famously stated, that peace is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence or a “union or harmony of minds, confidence, justice” (Garver, 2010). In the modern era, Jawaharlal Nehru expressed a similar opinion, thus “Peace is not a relationship between nations. It is a condition of mind brought about by a serenity of soul. It is also a state of mind. Lasting peace can come only to peaceful people (Fishel, 2017: 318).

New generations of peace researchers thus discount the narrow application of a singular and universal the notion of peace and argue that world peace should rather be understood as a plurality in which many versions of peace have been sought in diverse cultures and civilizations (Dietrich et al., 2011). Obviously, there is no single definition of peace which could be applied universally. Certainly, peace has historically embodied a range of cultural values and associations in different communities and languages. In the post-modern context too, peace is always in a permanent flow, to be reinvented in every context and never be kept in the cage of a rigid rational structure (Álvarez, 2014: 63).

In a similar vein, Johan Galtung, one of the founding fathers of peace research acknowledges “... there is always a cognitive, intellectual road to peace... the inner dialogue (along with the outer) is equally important. Ideally inner and outer dialogues should inspire each other”. He further argues that peace research should liberate itself from a materialistic bias dealing with bodies, dead or alive, healthy or unhealthy- in other words with mortality and morbidity only, and not with the mental and spiritual dimensions of violence and human growth and development (Galtung, 1985: 156). John Paul Lederach, another distinguished peace researcher highlights the need to apply moral imagination like a creative artist to surmount the destructive patterns of day to day violence (Lederach, 2005). Wolfgang Dietrich’s framework of ‘*many peaces*’ also integrates spirituality into rational, modern and postmodern interpretations

of peace (Dietrich, 2014). Such pluralistic understanding of peace opens up the possibility of including many cross-cultural and indigenous approaches to peace studies. Meditative traditions like Hinduism, Buddhism and monasticism (Merton 2008), for instance, accord prime importance to inner peace as a state of consciousness or experience of knowing oneself.

Indian Visions of Peace

The peaceful imageries of Indian culture and civilization are long recognized by European commentators ranging from the seventeenth century French traveler François Bernier and German philosophers like Johann Gottfried Herder and Immanuel Kant to the British Orientalists William Jones. Indeed, the vast and varied tracks of Indic religions and culture offer several pedagogies to expand human potential without hurting others in the community, or in the larger ecosystem.

In fact all home-grown religions in India contain elements of spiritual peace which draws on a balance between inner and social peace. Jainism and Buddhism- the two concurrent Indian religions founded by Mahavira and Buddha both abhor violence as a sin and adopt non-violence as an article of faith. *Dhammapada*, an early Buddhist text, for instance, is emphatic that: “Enmity is never extinguished by enmity. It is effaced by friendliness. This is the eternal moral principle” (Verse 5/423). Another celebrated Buddhist treatise *Bodhicaryavataṛa* finds no evil equal to hatred and no spiritual practice equal to forbearance. Therefore, one ought to develop forbearance, by various means, with great effort” (Ch. 6, verse 2). Jainism’ another living India religion accords the highest premium to non-violence expressed in the maxim: “ahimsa paramo dharma”. In the similar vein, Guru Nanak the first Guru of Sikhism, the youngest of Indic religion, thus wrote: “No one is my enemy; No one is a foreigner; with all, I am at peace. God within us renders us Incapable of hate and prejudice” (Kaur, 2005).

Historically Hinduism is acclaimed as a rich resource of peace ideas and practices. The virtue of peacefulness is extolled in many leading Hindu texts and scriptures which were disseminated across time and geographic regions by sages and spiritual leaders. The ethos of religious tolerance and inclusion thrived in the medieval era through spiritual movements like Bhakti and Sufi sprouting exemplarily in religious pedagogies of Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi in modern times.

In Hindi and Sanskrit, the expression for peace is Shanti (śānti), which emphasizes spiritual and inner peace, and harmony with nature. In classical Hindu texts, the expression of peace does not have war as a referent and neither is peace defined as the absence of war. In fact, war is often described as an aberration, a divergence from natural peace, a disturbance in the natural order. In fact, the *Mahabharata*, the grand treatise of warfare, declared, “Victory through war is deplorable if it could be achieved without war. Nothing is greater than a victory gained through dharma.” And further declared, “Victory creates enmity. The defeated is engrossed in suffering. Having kept himself aloof from victory and defeat, the peaceable person sleeps undisturbed” (Upadhyaya, 2018). It is no wonder Gandhi finds the futility of violence as the core message of the *Mahabharata*. Seemingly many negative assessments of peacefulness in ancient India are grounded in the negative understanding of peace which construes it narrowly as an antonym of war. A recent study thus goes as far as to claim that “Hinduism has been anything but a religion of peace” (Roy, 2014, 2016).

Hindus evoke planetary peace in their routine prayers while the planet earth is celebrated as one family. In Buddhist ethics too, there is a constant evocation of the middle path (Nhat Hanh, 1987). The highly revered treatises of Vedas and the Upanishads, for instance, accord a special premium to the realization of the essential unity of the entire humanity in the spirit of “Live and Let Live’. Many peace liturgies and peace chants (Shanti-path) which embellished Hindu religious texts and rituals refer to peace in relation to planetary entities and nature thus: “Peace be to earth and to airy spaces! Peace to the heaven, peace to the waters, peace to the plants and peace to the trees!” (Atharvaveda, 19.9.14).

In the similar vein, Yajur Veda emphasize the unity and oneness among diverse physical forms on earth, thus ‘May there be peace in the heavens, peace in the atmosphere, peace on the earth. Let there be coolness in the water, healing in the herbs and peace radiating from the trees. Let there be harmony in the planets and in the stars, and perfection in eternal knowledge. May everything in the universe be at peace. Let peace pervade everywhere, always. May I experience that peace within my own heart (Yajur Veda, 36.17).

The aphorism of ‘*Vasudhaiv Kutumbkam*’ (Maha Upanishad Ch. 6, Verse 72) and ‘*Maatbhumi putro aham prithivya*’ (The earth is the mother and we are her children)(Atharva Veda, 12.1.120) resonates in India’s traditional

consciousness signifying an expression of planetary unity and global peace. Another notable peace verses from BrihadâraGyaka Upanishad 1.4.14 says ‘May All become Happy, May All be Free from Illness. May All See What Auspicious is, may no one Suffer, Om Peace, Peace, Peace). In fact, there are countless peace chants and prayers which reconcile the incompatibilities between growing human consumption and the ecological balance and thrive to build a mutually replenishing relationship between human needs and planetary concerns.

Similar ideas have found expressions in other ancient civilization, as well. The Encyclopedia of Peace, for instance, traces the idea of planetary peace to the fifth Century BC Chinese philosopher Mo Tsu or Mozi. (Encyclopedia of Peace, 2010). The traditional African dictum of Ubuntu meaning “together we are one,” also converge with ‘Vasudhaiv Kutumbkam’ in as much it fosters the collective sanctity of human life through mutual love, care, tolerance, empathy, and accountability (Tom, 2018).

Peaces in Hindu religious discourses denote a multifaceted aspiration rooted in inner or spiritual peace and harmony with nature and the planet itself. The notion of dharma in Hindu tradition connotes a much wider template as compared to the way religion is defined in Abrahamic religions. In its generic sense dharma is that which sustains the orderly fulfillment of an inherent nature or destiny.

Also instructive here is Mahatma Gandhi’s oft-quoted comment that there is enough on Earth for everybody’s need, but not enough for everybody’s greed. These transformative perspectives have led to conceptualizations like ‘deep ecology’ and ‘ecological peace” which pose nature and environment as essential to sustain peace’. Mahatma Gandhi’s dictum of living in harmony with the environment influenced philosopher Arne Naess, who in turn coined the term ‘deep ecology’ (Naess, 1989). More recently, there has been a spurt of studies that link hitherto compartmentalized research on ecological integrity, socio-economic justice, democracy, non-violence and peace. Currently the UN is redefining peace on a holistic template as manifest in the emergent trajectory of Sustaining Peace and Sustainable Development Goals or SDG’s, as we call them.

Practicing Yoga for Peace

The term Yoga’ is derived from the Sanskrit root ‘*Yuj*’ meaning ‘to join’ or ‘to yoke’ or ‘to unite. Yoga is a way of life - an art of righteous living or

an integrated system for the benefit of the body, mind and inner spirit (Mathai, 2011). The philosophy and practice of Yoga promotes harmony between individual and universal consciousness and between the mind and body and nature. Drawing from Vedic and Upanishadic traditions as well as folk traditions, Yoga offers a significant link between sustainable lifestyle, social peace, and planetary concerns.

The expanse of Yoga is immense. It is an eternal form of knowledge and practice, Patanjali codified a practice that preceded him in primordial mythic times. Accordingly, Yoga practice helps to control the desires lurking in the heart thus allows the practitioner to transcend the sources of worldly unhappiness. As such, yoga can be called a science (not religion), as it investigates the nature of Truth by following the rational and scientific method of experience, experimentation, and verification. It draws on the tested techniques of holistic health and wellness. Any religion or any cultural group or any society or any nation can adopt it and use it for benefit. The practice of Yoga thus promises the union of individual consciousness with that of the universal Consciousness, indicating a perfect harmony between the mind and body, man and nature.

As such, the science of yoga has its origin long before the first religions or belief systems were born. One of the earliest mentions of the word yoga occurs in Rigveda. Seals and fossil remains of Indus Saraswati valley civilization with figures performing yoga also indicate the then presence of Yoga. Presence of Yoga is also traced to folk traditions, Indus valley civilization, Vedic and Upanishadic traditions. Besides the Upanishadic heritage, Yoga has been applied to a variety of practices and methods- including Buddhist and Jain traditions, Darshanas, epics of Mahabharat and Ramayana, theistic traditions of Shaivas, Vaishnavas, and Tantric traditions.

The term is employed to denote various paths through which one can obtain salvation, or realize the eternal truth. Notwithstanding the popular perception of Yoga being a postural exercise, the fact is that Yoga is essentially meditative and spiritual in its core. The Ashtanga Yoga or the eightfold path of Yoga clearly demarcates the eight levels of consciousness that Yogic practice evokes. It incorporates epistemology, metaphysics, ethical practices and self-development techniques for body, mind, and spirit and contains the steps and stages towards obtaining Samadhi or enlightenment. The three main paths are folded path of Karma Yoga, Bhakti Yoga, and Gyan Yoga. In addition

there are also the Laya Yoga and Hatha Yoga. The main protagonist of the science of Yoga is Patanjali (circa 700 BC), who authored *Yoga Sutra - the most authentic text on the subject* (Iyengar, 1985). In order to attain physical, mental and spiritual health, Patanjali recommended eight stages of Yoga discipline. They are: Yamas- (internal purification through moral training preparatory to Yoga), Niyamas- (cleanliness, contentment, mortification, study, and worship of God), Asanas- Physical postures or exercises, Pranayama- (Control of vital energy/ Breath-control), Pratyahara- (Withdrawal of the senses/ making the mind introspective), Dharana- (Concentration of the mind), Dhyana- Meditation, Samadhi- Attainment of the superconscious state (Mathai, 2011).

There is no specific mention to any particular deity in the entire Yoga Sutra of Patanjali and neither does it belong to any specific religion. No wonder yoga has received ready acceptance from many communities and culture abroad. In fact, in many parts of the affluent West, it has become a market oriented commodity and a billion-dollar industry of health and wellness. However, in most of such cases Yoga practice comprises a regimen of postures (âsanas) often together with techniques of breath control (prânâyâma). Yoga entrepreneurs have reinvented the practice in ways best suited to their 'clients'. So we have Ashtanga Yoga but we also have 'hot yoga'. What is missing however in such practices is the composite ethos and philosophy of Yoga, so deeply embedded in Indian scriptures and epics.

From Inner Peace to Social Peace:

Over the millennia, many spiritual sages, Gurus, and Saints have enriched the Hindu traditions of connecting inner peace to social peace. These streams of thought have typically stemmed from the Vedant and Advaita philosophy and varied systems of Yoga and proliferated in the medieval and modern era through pedagogies of social reform.

One of the foundational drives came from the traditions instilled by Adi Shankaracharya who illuminated Upanishads and the Gita in the light of Advaita Vedanta to realize social and planetary peace. By establishing four religious orders (known as Mathas) in four corners of the country, Adi Shankaracharya inspired many generations of religious reformers to fight against social evils.

Most outstanding of these reformers was Vivekanand (1863-1902) who in his interpretation of Advaita philosophy, found everyone as being a

representative of divinity, and thus, worthy of dignity and equal treatment. Vivekananda founded the Ramakrishna Mission in 1892 which continues to serve as an active site of peace education and spiritual learning in India and around the world today. There are several hundred educational institutions inspired and supported by the Ramakrishna Mission. Vivekananda presented Hinduism to the west as an intrinsically tolerant faith. His stirring Chicago address at the World Parliament of Religions made him a global emissary of interreligious peace. There are however many sages and seers who have enriched the course of Yoga within and outside India. In fact, the long list includes many such spiritual leaders who harnessed the spiritual and practical synergy of Yoga to spread the impulse of peace globally.

Drawing on the Integral Yoga system based on Hindu scriptures, Sri Aurobindo (1872-50) introduced a unique vision of human progress and spiritual evolution of human life into a life divine just as human species have evolved after the animal species. He believed in a spiritual realization that not only liberated man but transformed his nature, enabling a divine life on earth (Aurobindo, 2006). With the help of his spiritual collaborator, Mirra Alfassa (known as “The Mother”), he founded the Sri Aurobindo Ashram and Auroville, a globally acknowledged icon of ‘human unity and peace on earth.

Maharishi Mahesh Yogi promised to transform the negative attitudes and bring in the ethos of peace through the technique of transcendental meditation. Mahesh Yogi offered a Vedic technology through which a community of peace-creating experts would dissolve social stress and political, religious and ethnic tensions that fuel crime, terrorism, and war.

Sri Sri Ravi Shankar, (1956-), a disciple of Mahesh Yogi, and an exponent of Advaita Vedanta has done remarkable peace work through the Art of Living Foundation. By employing jñāna-yoga as a practical tool to relieve both individual stresses and societal violence, he has encouraged peaceful dialogue in various violence-torn regions including Iraq, Sri Lanka, Columbia and many other conflict zones within and outside India. His peace mission known as ‘Action for Peace’ conducts harmony and interfaith workshops in conflict zones wherein perpetrators and victims both are treated with equal compassion.

Drawing on Indian epithets, Sri Sri strives to alleviate the conflict evoked stress and trauma to rejuvenate human values such as cooperation,

responsibility, friendliness and a sense of belongingness. As a sense of inner peace prevails, feelings of hatred and revenge towards the perpetrators of violence are removed. The Art of Living Foundation and its allied organization, the International Association for Human Values (IAHV) have brought together people of different faiths and cultures, to promote inter-faith understanding and harmony. For instance, a notable Arab-wide campaign in May 2011 entitled 'I Breathe' held Youth Empowerment & Skills (YES! +) workshops in six cities to inspire youth to live stress-free lives and develop positive attitudes to cope with local and global challenges peacefully.

More recently in September 2016, Sri Sri's contribution to the Columbian peace process was recognized at the signing ceremony of the peace agreement between Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and the Colombian government in Cartagena de India. The Art of Living in Colombia is developing peace-building programs that will be adopted in the post-conflict period (The Art of Living 2016).

Yoga for Sustaining Peace

Peace Research with its increasing emphasis on indirect violence (Structural and Cultural violence) and could readily find an instructive trajectory in the ethos and practice of Yoga. The notion of 'quality peace' enunciated by Peter Wallensteen, a noted peace researcher, defines peace as the creation of post war conditions that make the inhabitants of a society secure in life and dignity' (Upadhyaya, 2018). Many other researchers have argued that a mind shift away from dualist towards holistic worldview is necessary to transform conflict and to unlock the individual peace-building potential (Lederach, 2011).

Most of today's conflict arises from greed and the unbridled quest for materialistic acquisition at the cost of destroying other humans as also the environment. The specter of climate change and the constant threat of nuclear holocaust continues to haunt the human race. Gandhi's dictum that 'the world has enough for everyone's need, but not enough for everyone's greed' "hardly diminishes the endless race for greater material gains.

Indeed Yoga has the transformative potentials to stem this myopic human inertia towards irreversible disaster. There are several Yoga trajectories ranging from Art of Living, Science of Living, or simply Patanjali yoga which could instill five principles of Satya (Truth), Ahimsa (non-violence), Asteya (non

stealing) Aparigraha (non-possessiveness) and Brahmacharya (moderation of the senses). In addition, the five Yamas stop the drain of energy, when we get lost in the four primitive urges.

Recent researches on environmental and resource-related conflicts have identified multiple linkages between peace and sustainable development. This has led to the recognition of a harmonious ecosystem as a hub of global peace. As such the ancient Indian ethos of *VasudhaivKutumbkam* well reflects in the science of Yoga. Calling Yoga as an invaluable gift of our ancient tradition”, Prime Minister Narendra Modi in his speech at the United Nations (2014): emphasized that: ”It is not about exercise but to discover the sense of oneness with yourself, the world and nature. “Yoga embodies the unity of mind and body; thought and action; restraint and fulfillment; harmony between man and nature; a holistic approach to health and wellbeing”. By changing our lifestyle and creating consciousness, it can help us deal with climate change,” he added (The Economics Times, 27 Sept. 2014).

The Yoga exponents don't claim that Yoga has the panacea to solve the conflict and attain sustainable peace. All that is suggested is that a holistic approach is required to meet today's complex problems and Yoga could be a vital supplement to any such initiative. Yogic techniques can certainly help provide a peaceful ambiance to carry out negotiations and peacebuilding. By ensuring harmony within oneself, and with nature, it could generate an attitude of friendliness and compassion, so necessary to attain peacefulness.

Since yoga was born and nurtured in India in the within Hinduism, it adopted the Hindu terms and Hindu forms of expression. However, Yoga can adopt any meaningful term and linguistic form of expression. When through the spread of Buddhism yoga went to other countries (Tibet, China, Korea, Japan), it was understood and taught through the terms and forms of expression of that particular country. Yoga became Tibetan or Chinese or Korean or Japanese and so on.

There is now an increasing consciousness that peace is not simply a negation of war but a cherished goal of humanity that strives to 'living together', peacefully. Clearly then, the philosophy and practice of Yoga could be an effective means to attain a harmonious balance between human and planetary wellbeing. A research dissertation submitted at the Brussels School of International Studies in 2015 examined the hypothesis that a mind shift away from dualist towards holistic worldview was necessary to transform conflict

and to unlock the individual peace-building potential. The evidence-based analysis confirmed the hypothesis that yoga brings about a desired mind shift by opening up the space for individual mental and emotional healing processes. The study observes that: The inner peace that yoga practitioners experience ripples into how they relate to people around them. Some would deliberately strive for bringing peace in a violent situation or environment (Srbova, 2015:54). Yet another study suggests that the practice of Yoga helps to develop qualities like positive thinking, inner peace, compassion, skill for nonviolent conflict resolution, respect for the self and others which are regarded as components of peace behavior (Mathai, 2010).

In 2016, Yoga was declared an “Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity” by the UNESCO. And with the declaration of 21 June as the International Yoga Day, the UN has endorsed its peacebuilding potentials. So, declared Ban-Ki-Moon, the former UN Secretary General, “...the principles and practice of yoga are entirely in keeping with the values of the world body. It promotes respect for one’s fellow human beings and for the planet we share.” Indeed, there is a growing realization in the global community that the philosophy and science of Yoga could be an effective supplement to defuse today’s complex conflicts.

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Cultural Underpinnings of the Rising India's Foreign Policy

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Introduction

No nation exists in a vacuum. To be able to survive in an increasingly competitive world order, a country needs a coherent foreign policy that clearly relays its interests, objectives and the ways to achieve them vis-à-vis other states. This foreign policy again isn't the result of one particular factor, but has a multitude of factors inherent in it, like the national interest, domestic and international milieu, military capabilities, geography, economy and the national culture.

Prime Minister Modi, ever since coming to power in 2014 has taken on the task of engaging India with the world with unparalleled vigor. South Asia or India's immediate neighborhood, and Central, South-East, and East Asia or the Extended Neighborhood have found the utmost importance in PM Modi's foreign policy. His novel way of diplomacy consists of the use of cultural underpinnings of Asia and to highlight the ancient and civilizational ties that these nations shared in order to gradually increase its own stature in the region.

This paper will begin by discussing the role of history in the foreign policy formulation of India and then trace the roots of contemporary foreign policy in India's culture and philosophic traditions. It will then look at India's growing use of cultural diplomacy and its success/failure per se.

The role of the past in shaping the present and future identities and interests of the nations can be best understood by the Constructivist theory of International Relations. The theory helps in understanding how the history of a state plays a role in socially constructing states' identities which in turn shape the foreign policy objectives of the state and its perceptions and

relationships with other states. The national identity also plays a major role in influencing the behavior of any state in a given situation and determines whether it'll be co-operative or aggressive in its interactions. Accordingly, it can be deduced that culture is relevant to the constructivist theory of IR as it is a set of socially shared beliefs which in turn form the basis of the national identity.

Cultural Basis of India's Foreign Policy

India's post-independence foreign policy was mainly characterized by its profession of Non-alignment and promotion of a self-sufficient model of economy. While the immediate reasons of these can be easily identified as the need to preserve the hard earned freedom and to cast off the imperial yoke by developing rapidly, these policies can be traced back to the ancient Indian political thought. While it would be a mistake to view foreign policy in a cultural vacuum, it is difficult to ignore it entirely as most of India's policies from *Panchsheel*, Non-alignment, anti-imperialism, anti-racism have a strong cultural element and are largely a continuation of the political thought formulated in Mahabharata, *Arthashastra*, *Manusmriti*, *Panchtantra*, *Bhagwadgita* and teachings of religions like Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism.

Indian political tradition carries a strong revulsion towards the adoption of any policies leading to the extremities and it is from this that a strong preference and advocacy of the middle path is seen. Some examples of this can be seen in the form of the advocacy of a middle path between abolition of private property and capitalism, Buddhism's teaching of following the 'Middle path' or 'Madhyamika' between extreme penance and indulgence. A strong influence of this was seen on Nehru when he said "India has absorbed and harmonized different religions, even the conflicts between science and religion...maybe it is our destiny to help reconcile the conflicting ideologies of today." (Jha, 1989: 45-67) The impact of this idea of middle path is very evident in the policy of non-alignment that India adopted at the onset of the Cold War. India not only chose to follow the middle path between Western liberal democracy and the Soviet Egalitarianism but also decided not to join either of the two camps. This enabled India to maintain a spirit of bonhomie with other nations and to try to diffuse the tensions between the two superpowers during conflicts like the Korean war and the Suez Crisis.

The principle of *VasudaiveKutumbakam* found in the Maha Upanisha demphasizesthe importance of welfare of all. It was in following this

denunciation of aggressive warfare and the proclivity for welfare of all that India cast off a neutral stand during the Cold war and played an active part in negotiations.

Other than this, being non-aligned provided India the leeway to analyze the merits and demerits of every situation and formulate its standing on the basis of its own reason, rather than blindly following the ideology of the leader of the bloc. This emphasis on reason can be traced back to Mahabharata which emphasizes the Dharma should be based on reason.

The Indian culture and spiritualism as enshrined in scriptures such as Vedas and Vedanta aptly encapsulated the diversity prevalent in India since the ancient times. In Chhandogya Upanishad, it is written, “*Ekam Sat, VipraBahudhaVadanti*”— the Truth is one, but the wise speak it in different ways.(Mahapatra, 2016:2) India has long been a land of diversity and has allowed different cultures and religions to flourish side by side. This can only be made possible if the people of the country have a strong tolerant ethic. Not only is India the birthplace of four major religions of the world: Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism, it was this spirit of toleration that allowed the assimilation of the Christians, Jews and Islamic rulers in the Indian society. This has also manifested itself in India’s historical attitude towards refugees, which has always been welcoming as seen in the case of offer of asylum to the Dalai Lama, the refugees from the erstwhile East Bangladesh during the 1971 war. The spirit of toleration also led India to reject the division of the world into two blocs during the Cold war as it such a division rested upon the in toleration of the ideology of the other bloc.

What is perhaps the most defining part of India’s foreign policy is its emphasis on peaceful and negotiated settlements of disputes and its belief in the futility of war. The Mahabharata, Arthashastra, and the Panchtantra all argue that war should only be used as a last resort- when all other ways of amicable settlement of disputes such as conciliation, gifts, etc. have failed.

Later proponents of non-violence were of course the Buddhists, and Jains, and Ashoka, on becoming a Buddhist renounced war as an instrument of foreign policy and emphasized on friendly and diplomatic relations with his immediate neighbors.

Mahatma Gandhi later became a champion of the cause of non-violence during the independence struggle and preference for it was seen in India’s attempts to negotiate with the Portuguese in Goa, China and Pakistan.

An important component of IFP, the Panchsheel or the five principles of peaceful coexistence is undeniably molded by the traditions of non-violence, and toleration in the Indian Political Thought.

India has the distinction of never having attempted to invade another country throughout its history, and no prominent Indian thinker advocates the use of force or coercion to disseminate Indian culture and values outside its own boundaries. Kautilya gives the idea of a 'DharmaVijayin' or the righteous conqueror that is implored to rule in accordance to the local customs and traditions after conquering their territory and not to uproot the people's original ways of life, as Western imperialism tended to do. This feeling of anti-imperialism became more pronounced by the 200 year long colonial experience and the sufferings and injustice witnessed by India. India's emphasis on Afro-Asian unity during the cold war and being a strong supporter to decolonization movements in countries like Indonesia and a staunch opponent of the apartheid regime in South Africa, all stem from its own colonial experiences.

Atal Bihari Vajpayee had once said that 'you can change neighbors, but not friends'(The Economics Times, May 9, 2003). It is a seemingly simple statement, but carries huge implications as far as foreign policy of India is concerned. India is located in a tumultuous neighborhood and shares boundaries with two particularly antagonistic countries- India and Pakistan. The need to cooperate and try to maintain friendly relations with them in order to maintain peace and stability in India itself cannot be overemphasized. The need to constantly engage with neighbor through diplomatic and ambassadorial channels was first underlined by Kautilya in his Mandal theory in Arthashastra. The Arthashastra also emphasizes that peace is to be preferred to war and efforts should first be made to reconcile with the enemy. The adoption of this scheme of thinking was witnessed in the period preceding the 1962 Indo-Sino war, in Nehru's firm belief in the diffusion of tensions with China through dialogue.

Religion has also always played a vital role in promoting exchanges since ancient times. Chinese philosopher-diplomat Hu Shih once said that India conquered China culturally for 20 centuries without ever sending a soldier across its border; the statement is often taken to highlight the rich history of cultural ties between the two civilizations. (Pethiyagoda, 2917) Similarly, emperor Ashoka, after adopting Buddhism sent his son and

daughter to Sri Lanka as emissaries to spread the message of the religion there.

India has had the fortune of being the birthplace of several thinkers and philosophers who have contributed vastly to the export of India's culture to the nations beyond. The first such personality that comes to mind is undoubtedly Mahatma Gandhi, who not only won India its independence from the British, but also organized successful struggles in South Africa and served as an inspiration for other great world leaders like Nelson Mandela and Martin Luther King Jr. Today, the whole world knows India as the birthplace of Gandhi who was a trailblazer of the use of truth and non-violence to achieve political ends. Swami Vivekananda, while recognizing the syncretic tradition of India, emphasized on the essential oneness of all religions. He left his mark on the world by his opening statement at the Chicago Parliament of Religions where he addressed the gathering as 'Brothers and Sisters of America', thus underlining his message of universal brotherhood. One of Aurobindo Ghosh's dreams for India was the 'spiritual gift of India to the world', which would lead to more and more countries turning towards India and her teachings.

Cultural Diplomacy of India

India, thus undoubtedly, harbors a huge potential as far as exploiting its vast cultural reserves are concerned. India shares deep historical ties with South Asia and South-East Asia and the processes of cultural exchanges and assimilation are not unknown to the region.

Culture, according to Joseph Nye, along with values and policies, is one of the characteristics of a nation's soft power. Soft power essentially refers to spreading a country's influence beyond its borders without resorting to the hard power of military or any other form of coercion. Soft power entails attracting other nations and having a persuasive power over them. Jeffery Haynes talks about how religious and cultural groups can influence a nation's foreign policy by lobbying with the policy makers to incorporate religious beliefs and cultural values in the foreign policy.

India is still widely recalled as the 'Golden bird', as a land of spices, gold, diamonds, merchants and traders. India is also widely recognized as the land of non-violence, diversity, tolerance, yoga, Ayurveda. While all these elements are present in the international cognition as such, it is the realization of the

importance of these and India's willingness to utilize these that remains to be seen.

As has already been mentioned, immediately after independence, Nehru chose to follow the policy of non-alignment keeping in the mind the ancient Hindu and Buddhist political and religious thoughts. Due to importance that these traditions lay on peaceful co-existence, and the futility of war, India played an active role in diffusing the tensions between the two superpowers in the various arenas of conflict, while at the same time adopting the policy of Panchsheel or the five principles of co-existence which were, mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and cooperation for mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. The Indian Council of World Affairs was set up in 1943 as a think tank to promote India's relations with other countries through research, discussion, etc. in cultural issues. However, India's drive to maintain peaceful and stable relations with everyone led to neglect of the capitalization of hard power and it suffered a humiliating defeat in the Indo-Sino war in 1962. The soft power was also under-utilized. Thus India failed to emerge as either a major hard power or a major soft power.

This changed after the collapse of the USSR towards the end of the cold war in 1991 and the economic crisis which drove India to liberalize its economy and establish relations with East Asia in an effort to look for new friends and markets. It was in this scenario that India's cultural and civilizational links with these nations came to be recognized and actively promoted.

According to Ian Hall, five new developments can be identified in what he terms "new Indian public diplomacy" since 2000. Those are: efforts to reach out to overseas Indians; building connections with foreign business interests; foreign aid and development programme; promoting events to showcase and "nation-brand" India; and, using new social media to reach out younger generations. (Mahapatra, 2016:2)

Previously neglected, the Indian diaspora came to be widely recognized as a vital aspect of spreading India's soft power across the globe. Indian Diaspora is present in a number of nations and at several vital positions and hence become very important in spreading the Indian culture. *Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas* is celebrated to cultivate the diaspora as cultural ambassadors. (Mahapatra, 2016:2) PM Modi has also made it a point to address the Indian

community during his foreign visits. The most spectacular of these can be seen in the images of PM Modi addressing full houses at the Madison Square Garden in the USA and Wembley Stadium in the UK.

While earlier Prime Ministers were not averse to the use of culture to strengthen India's relations with other nations, none of them quite realized its prospective usage and this is where PM Modi deserves due credit. His foreign policy is largely guided by the twin objectives of diluting the mutual distrust by underscoring the similarities and to use culture to sugarcoat the political decisions. He has drawn inspiration from the ancient ideals of India's role as Vishwaguru or the world leader and *VasudaivaKutumbakam*.

The major ways by which India has been expanding its cultural clout include the active promotion of Yoga, Ayurveda and highlighting and emphasizing religious links with its Asian neighbors.

Yoga is an ancient Hindu practice and is practiced widely across the world. At the UN General Assembly meeting in September 2014, Modi called yoga 'an invaluable gift from our ancient tradition to the world' (PM Modi Address, UN) and then went on to get 21st June recognized as the International Yoga Day. This recognition will certainly lead to an augmentation of India's cultural capital across the world and enable the nations to see India as land of practices that can be adopted for the spiritual and health benefits. Yoga is also being used to spread the message of peace in conflict situations. The Art of Living foundation has been travelling to conflict-ridden areas to promote peace and harmony by the practice of Yoga.

Related to yoga is also the emphasis that has been given to the ancient Indian treatise on medicine, Ayurveda. The Modi government set up the Ministry of AYUSH for the promotion of Ayurveda and has been holding Ayurveda seminars with nations such as the Netherlands. It has also gradually become increasingly popular in the developed world with about 2000 Ayurvedic retreat centers having been developed around the world.

India has also laid stress on religious links in ties with nations such as Nepal, where the Ramayana Circuit was inaugurated in 2018 to promote religious tourism between the two nations. A bus service was started between Janakpuri in Nepal and Ayodhya in India as a part of this circuit; Janakpuri being the birthplace of Sita and Ayodhya of Lord Rama. This will certainly go a long way in strengthening the historical and traditional relations between

Nepal and India and highlights how the religious traditions of the two are dependent on each other. Modi, on one of his visits to Nepal, also visited religious and holy places such as Janakpur, Muktimath and Pashupatinath. In a nation that is visibly moving towards China, this gesture went a long way in increasing the popularity of Modi among the people who thronged in their hundreds and thousands to the civic reception organized for him in Janakpuri.

PM Modi had remarked that 'without Buddha, this century cannot be Asian century.' (PM Modi Address). In the post-reform period, good relations with the countries of East and South East Asia have been imperative for India and one way of strengthening ties is using the image of the Buddha. The use of Buddhism in cultural diplomacy of India has become so vital because it provided the basis for the adoption of a common culture, thoughts, ideas and practices among people in India, Japan, Korea and China and thus became an important factor in providing the culturally disparate Asia with some sort of cohesion. While there are few practicing Buddhists present in India today, India can veritably claim the legacy of Buddhism as it originated here and various important sites associated with the Buddha like Bodh Gaya, Sarnath and Nalanda are located in India. India hosted the International Buddha Purnima Diwas in 2015 to commemorate the birth, enlightenment and mahaparinirvana of Buddha.

The revival of the Nalanda University is also of special significance for the students from Buddhist majority countries as scholars from across Asia came to study here throughout history.

Buddhism is also important in Indo-Lankan ties where the Buddhist ties date back to Ashoka's time and cultural center was inaugurated at Jaffna by PM Modi.

He also laid down the foundation stone of a Swaminarayan Temple in the Abu Dhabi, which will be the first traditional Hindu temple in West Asia. In his address at the inauguration, he said that he hoped the temple would spread the message of 'Vasudaiva Kutumbakam to people across the world.' (The Hindu, Feb, 2018) and would definitely act as a harbinger of the message of harmony, peaceful co-existence and tolerance- the cornerstone of the ancient Indian Political thought- in the nation.

The government of India also proposed Operation Mausam to develop the Spice Route with Kochi at the center in a bid to counter China's maritime

silk route and to develop maritime connectivity from Africa, Arabian Peninsula and South Asia to South East Asia. The ancient spice route was so called because it was the course that the spice and gem traders traversed. In addition to increased trade connectivity, is also provided impetus to the spread of religions like Judaism, Christianity and Islam through the Indian Ocean Region.

Indian Culture to Tackle Global Issues

The world, as we know it today, is a very different place from what it was when our ancient scriptures were written. Not only is it afflicted by a multitude of problems such as climate change, sustainability of development, water conservation, and the rising incidents of state and non-state violence, there is also a lack of consensus on how to deal with these issues. Many Indian scholars, in this scenario, have begun highlighting the endurance of the various facets of Indian culture and literature to solve the many problems faced today.

Fourteen of twenty megacities of the world are facing a water scarcity or drought conditions today and as many as four billion people already live in regions that experience severe water stress for at least one month of the year. Nearly half of those people live in India and China and with their ever growing populations, these problems will only rise.(Leahy, 2018) Hence, ways of water conservation attain utmost importance. Indian culture focuses of bhakti, which entails the worship of god, and includes, among others, worship of nature. In the Manusmriti, is found an abject proscription of impure objects like urine, spit, blood or poison being cast into water bodies. Rivers are objects of worship in the Vedas and this shows the importance that rivers have always enjoyed in India. Also found across North India, in cities like Delhi are step wells known as Baolis, which were used in the olden times to provide water for drinking and agriculture. Then come Johads or small scale dams found in Rajasthan, which were used to capture water and to replenish the water table. These were in place in ancient India, but fell into gradual ruin. Both baolis and johads are effective means of water conservation and according to experts can be easily replicated in areas having similar climatic and physiological conditions as India.

We are living in an age, where the possibility of the exhaustion of the essential resources is very real and looms large over mankind. Indian culture has always focused on sustainability and the yogic principle of Aparigraha, or

attachment to material things is an example of this. Aparigraha entails keeping only what is necessarily needed by one, and living in harmony with nature. Bishnoi community of Rajasthan is also a pioneering example of protection of nature; protecting wildlife forms a part of their faith.

India's climate pledge is also in line with its history and tradition of harmonious co-existence with nature. As has already been mentioned, Indians have always regarded flora and fauna of the globe as part of their family. Hindu scriptures consider each organism in the world to be equally pertinent in the scheme of nature and mandate the preservation of sacred groves and forests. The Matsya Purana celebrates the planting of trees as a festival and condemns those who cut and destroy forests and trees.

The 2018 Global Peace Index shows that the world in 2018 is less peaceful than at any other time in the last decade. (Global Peace Index, 2018) Rise of ethnic violence, terrorism, conflicts among the nation-states, have marred the peace of the world and Indian literature again has some wisdom to share on this issue. Indian sages held the view that peace in the society is not possible without the individual's well-being and for this, popular welfare and equitable distribution of resources is imperative. The happy and satisfied individual is the basis of a peaceful society which further leads to a stable and secure national and international arena. The methods of peaceful diplomacy are propagated in both Arthshastra, and the Mahabharata and this finds echo in Article 51 of the Indian constitution according to which, the state shall endeavor to maintain international peace and security and encourage settlement of disputes by arbitration.

While India has certainly made great strides in engaging in cultural diplomacy, there is much room for improvement. India faces challenges in this cultural engagement from both internal and external quarters, and if India's cultural reserves are spectacular, so are the problems and the challenges.

Domestically speaking, India's cultural traditions of tolerance and inclusivity have come under a cloud of doubt due to the rising incidents of communal violence and lynchings. What is ever more concerning is the image of the Indian Leadership abroad. Western media houses refer to PM Modi as a 'Hindu Nationalist' and the BJP as a 'Hindutva Party', which renders all the appeals of religious and cultural assimilation made by the government nothing more than a farce in the eyes of the target audience as

this challenges the multicultural narrative that forms the basis of the ‘culture’ that India seeks to promote abroad.

India, which has traditionally been a land to offer protection to the persecuted and to give them asylum, was very lukewarm in its response to the Rohingya refugees and managed to attract worldwide condemnation by threatening to deport them back to Myanmar.

At the systemic level, the major challenge that India faces is in the form of China. China and India both have very vibrant cultures and are vying for extending their influence to entire Asia and this puts them in crosshairs with each other. China’s culture is perhaps its most valuable source of soft power and consists largely of Confucianism, Taoism, Martial Arts, and it has capitalized on these by offerings scholarships to foreign students, giving humanitarian aid and establishing Confucius institutions in different parts of the world. China has also sought to revive the age old Asian connectivity by the One Belt One Road initiative. China has also proactively used Buddhism to extend its reach to East and South East Asia. China so far has had the upper hand when it comes to using cultural diplomacy and this is because of various reasons. Firstly, India is seen as a regional hegemon in South Asia and her neighbors harbor a deep distrust of her intentions. Hence, in a way to counter the Indian hegemony, more and more nations, such as Sri Lanka, Nepal have turned to China. Secondly, China does not have the complicated history that India shares with her neighbors which makes it easier for it to move forward with them rapidly without any major impediments. Thirdly, soft power needs to be complimented by hard power and this is where India severely lags behind China. India’s rise is also hindered by its limited outreach. While in 2013, China had over 500 Confucius Institutions and language centers across the world, India had just 35.

Conclusion

Notwithstanding the hindrances stated above, India has recognized the vast potential of its culture in cementing ties with Asian nations and those across the pond as well. What makes India particularly attractive is its vibrant democratic culture, institutions of free speech, freedom of religion and a constitutional protection of individuals’ rights. These are areas where India has an upper hand over China as well.

Another important thing to keep in mind is that unlike the hard power of military, soft power works in the long run and results take some time to

materialize. How efficient has India's use of its culture been can hence only be evaluated after a few years since the focus on culture is relatively new in Indian diplomacy. That being said, India should take effective steps to ensure that the multicultural ethos of the nation is not threatened. India would also do well to address the legitimate concerns of its smaller neighbors to prevent them from turning to China.

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A Gandhian Approach to counter Hate Speech

Vedabhyas Kundu

The UN Secretary General, Antonio Guterres while launching the UN Strategy and Plan of Action on Hate Speech June 18, 2019 expressed concern at the ‘disturbing groundswell of xenophobia, racism and intolerance’. He said, “Hate speech is a menace to democratic values, social stability and peace. As a matter of principle, the United Nations must confront hate speech at every turn. Silence can signal indifference to bigotry and intolerance, even as a situation escalates and the vulnerable become victims.”

The UN Secretary General pointed out, “Hateful and destructive views are amplified exponentially through digital technology and extremists are gathering online, radicalizing new recruits. He urged everyone to treat hate speech “like any other malicious act: by condemning it unconditionally; refusing to amplify it; countering it with the truth; and encouraging the perpetrators to change their behavior”.

According to the Strategy and Plan of Action of the United Nations, hate speech constitutes the following, “Any kind of communication in speech, writing or behaviour, that attacks or uses pejorative or discriminatory language with reference to a person or a group on the basis of who they are, in other words, based on their religion, ethnicity, nationality, race, colour, descent, gender or other identity factor. This is often rooted in, and generates intolerance and hatred and, in certain contexts, can be demeaning and divisive.”

The UN Plan of Action entails a two-fold objective. This includes: a) enhancing UN efforts to address root causes and drivers of hate speech; b) enabling effective UN responses to the impact of hate speech on societies. Amongst the strategies spelt out in the document, the UN talks on the need to ‘adopt a common understanding of the root causes and drivers of hate speech in order to take relevant action to best address and/or mitigate its impact.’

For fostering peaceful, inclusive and just societies to address the root causes and drivers of hate speech, the UN Strategy and Plan of Action underscores ‘the need to raise awareness about respect for human rights, non-discrimination, tolerance and understanding of other cultures and religions, as well as gender equality, including in the digital world.’ It also stresses on the need to ‘promote intercultural, interfaith and intra religious dialogue and mutual understanding.’

While noting that hate speech was a challenge from which no country is immune, Adama Dieng, UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide at the launch of the Strategy, stressed on how the strategy considers “alternative, positive and counter-narratives” to be the “answer to hate speech”.

The concerns of the United Nations on the harms inflicted on humanity by hate speech have been echoed globally by different Governments, institutions, civil societies and peace practitioners from time to time. For instance, Ikeda (2017) talking on the dangers of hate speech says, “Xenophobia and hate speech divide the world into the binary of us and them, which are made to correspond to good and evil.”

Similarly, Gelber and McNamara (2016) discusses three defining characteristics of hate speech. They point out, “First, it is ‘directed against a specified or easily identifiable individual or ... a group of individuals based on an arbitrary and normatively irrelevant feature’. Second, ‘hate speech stigmatizes the target group by implicitly or explicitly ascribing to it qualities widely regarded as highly undesirable’. Third, the target group is viewed as an undesirable presence and a legitimate object of hostility.”

Bojarsk (2019) cites several scholars to discuss the harm hate speech causes at different levels. She notes that it has potential of disturbing social peace in that exposure to hate speech shapes attitudes and influences actual behaviours, including serious hate crimes such as genocide. She observes, “Online hate may constitute a fertile ground for even more hate, in that it provides a model, a permission, a “social proof” of “appropriate” attitudes and behaviours, desensitizes the public to verbal violence and increases prejudice, rewarding its followers with social acceptance while punishing and silencing voices of objection. Above all, hate speech poses a threat to physical safety and psychological well-being of targeted group members.”

Hate speech in fact is not merely words, it is a type of violence that has the potential to not only gravely hurt individuals but entire communities. It can lead to marginalization, harassment, discrimination and criminal violence. One of the greatest harms hate speech can do is to demonization of different groups and communities. Such groups are called by specific names which is dehumanizing. Stanton notes, "Classification and symbolization are fundamental operations in all cultures. They become steps of genocide only when combined with dehumanization. Denial of the humanity of others is the step that permits killing with impunity. The universal human abhorrence of murder of members of one's own group is overcome by treating the victims as less than human. In incitements to genocide the target groups are called disgusting animal names - Nazi propaganda called Jews "rats" or "vermin"; Rwandan Hutu hate radio referred to Tutsis as "cockroaches." The targeted group is often likened to a "disease", "microbes", "infections" or a "cancer" in the body politic."

In the backdrop of the serious harm hate speech can do to the very fabric of humanity, it would be pertinent to explore the strategies to counter it. Incessant efforts are needed from citizens across the world to support the efforts of international bodies like the United Nations, governments and civil societies to encourage alternate narratives and a new sense of solidarity amongst people at large. As we are celebrating the 150th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, the world has much to learn and imbibe from the philosophy of the Mahatma to counter the damage being done by hate speech. This paper would critically look at the Gandhian approach in the context of the strategies and plan of action elaborated by the United Nations.

The Gandhian Approach to Counter Hate Speech

On the kind of social anchoring available to resist the forces of xenophobia and hate speech that deepen the divisions within society, Ikeda (2017) argues, "I believe the answer is to be found in strong connections between people, the kind of friendship that brings into view the concrete image of another in our hearts." He quotes the British Historian, Arnold J Toynbee with whom he had a dialogue, "In my experience the solvent of traditional prejudice has been personal acquaintance. When one becomes personally acquainted with a fellow human being, of whatever religion, nationality, or race, one cannot fail to recognize that he is human like oneself."

Ikeda takes us to the realm of connections between people irrespective of religion, nationality or race and the importance of soul to soul communication. When we have soul to soul communication than it is imperative that we identify other people as a human like ourselves, this is the key to counter the menace of xenophobia and hate speech, he points out.

As noted above, the United Nations Strategy and Plan of Action stresses on the need to ‘promote intercultural, interfaith and intra religious dialogue and mutual understanding.’ For this to become a reality from a fundamental level, the Gandhian pillars of non-violence should become the foundation of our interactions and dialogues. Arun Gandhi (2017) elaborates his grandfather’s five pillars of non-violence. These includes: respect, understanding, acceptance, appreciation and compassion. These pillars of non-violence are catalysts for healthy intercultural, interfaith, intra religious dialogue. The importance of non-violence in dialogue has been aptly pointed out by Ramana Murti (1968), “The way of violence works as a monologue. But the nature of non-violence is a dialogue.”

The importance of dialogue between different faith, culture and religion has been explained by Ikeda (2016). He notes:

The power to move people at the deepest level is not found in formulaic assertions or dogma, but in words that issue from a person’s experience and carry the weight of that lived reality. Exchanges conducted in such language can mine the rich veins of our common humanity, bringing back to the surface glistening spiritual riches that will illuminate human society. ...It is indeed in the encounter between people whose paths in life have differed that our eyes are opened to vistas that would not otherwise have been visible. It is in the resonance of people encountering each other in the fullness of their humanity that the melodies of a new creative energy unfold...This is the true significance of dialogue.

Gandhi’s Satyagraha is an important tool with those involved in non-violent engagement to counter hate speech. Explaining the Gandhian framework, Weber points out, “Satyagraha is a dialogue, therefore, listening to the other, treating them as a reasonable equal is essential. This is an extremely consideration ,,to ensure that the resolution of any dispute leaves all the parties satisfied with the outcome...Satyagraha is based on the aim of seeking the truth

in any given situation and employs only non-violent means to arrive at this goal, the probability of productive resolution are greatly enhanced.”

As we delve on the strategies to counter hate speech, it would be pertinent to examine how Gandhi looks at the inevitability of hatred. Gandhi (1946) argues that those who advocate counter hatred for hatred are grossly mistaken as the result would be ‘deeper hatred and counter hatred, and vengeance let loose on both sides’. In this context, he further says, “I suggested in 1920 the use of non-violence and its inevitable twin companion truth, for canalizing hatred into the proper channel. The hater hates not for the sake of hatred but because he wants to drive away from his country the hated being or beings...We have discovered through our progress that in the application of non-violence we have been able to reach the mass mind far more quickly and far more extensively than ever before.” (Harijan, 24-2-1946)

Here Gandhi delves on the dangers of matching hatred with counter hatred and the power of non-violence. In the context of individuals or groups who are at the centre of spreading hate speech to create conditions of conflicts and intolerance, if it is matched by counter hatred, the result would be disastrous. As we work to develop strategies and plan of action, non-violent action has to be the fulcrum to counter hate speech worldwide.

Also, in the Gandhian praxis, the challenge is to ensure that individuals who are involved in hate speech are not hated. Hate speech has to be challenged and the individual who was involved in the act should be berated. Nanda (2002) points out, “The truth is that in Gandhi’s philosophy of satyagraha, the enemy was not regarded as an eternal enemy, but a potential friend. It was the duty of the satyagrahis to reason with the adversary, to try to dispel his prejudices, to disarm his suspicions, to appeal to his dormant sense of humanism and justice, and eventually to try to prick his conscience by inviting suffering at his hands.”

An important Gandhian dimension to counter hate speech is to disseminate truth and facts. If people get swayed by falsehood and negative rhetoric, it has to be challenged by truthfulness. Gandhi (1926) says, “The way to peace is the way of truth. Truthfulness is even more important than peacefulness. Indeed, lying is the mother of violence. The truth of a few will count; the untruth of millions will vanish even like chaff before whiff of wind.” Those challenging hate speech even though they may be small in number need to be perseverant with their facts and truthful information.

In this context, Parekh (1997) notes, “The satyagrahi sought a dialogue with his opponent. He did not confront the later with a dogmatic insistence on the justice of his demands. He knew he could be partial and biased, invited his opponent to join him in cooperatively searching for the ‘truth’ or the most just course of action concerning the matter of dispute.” Parekh further points out, “When the dialogue was denied or reduced to an insincere exercise in public relations, the Satyagrahi took a principled stand on what he sincerely believed to be his just demands...his opponent saw him as an enemy or a troublemaker. He refused to reciprocate, and saw him instead as a fellow human being whose temporarily eclipsed sense of humanity it was his duty to restore...The moment his opponent showed willingness to talk in a spirit of genuine goodwill, he suspended the struggle and gave reason a chance to work in a more hospitable climate.”

Another important lesson non-violent activists involved in countering hate speech can learn from Gandhi is his power of persuasive communication. When a peace builder focuses on promoting facts and information which are truthful and devoid of hate, the next challenge is how to package this message. Gandhian persuasive communication is a strategy that can be used to effectively reach out to the masses- both offline and online. For instance, Chakravarty (1995) notes, “The importance that was attached to the written word by Gandhiji and other national leaders reflected their urge to reach out their message to as wide a section of the people as possible. The means to convey that were often primitive, but no medium available at that time was left out. From traditional interpersonal means-including the travelling bards- the bauls of Bengal, for instance- to the educated student going out on literacy-cum-swadeshi missions- the composing of patriotic songs and setting up of choirs in villages, mohallas and bustees, to the immortal ‘magic lantern’- no video at the time- nothing was left out. It was a gigantic operation, sustained through the ups and downs of the freedom struggle, and later on followed by handwritten posters and graffiti.”

In this hyper technological age, non-violent activists will have to use multiple media platforms and take leaf from Gandhian persuasive communication in handling hate speech. His writings and speeches are lessons on how to counter hatred. For instance, the editors of the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* point out: The writings and speeches show remarkable self-restraint and moderation, strict conformity to truth and a desire to do full justice to the viewpoint of the opponent-characteristics which remained with him through life.”

Conclusion

While there are myriad initiatives worldwide to counter the menace of hate speech, the Gandhian strategies needs to be integrated in these initiatives in right earnest. The role of right education in addressing and building resilience against hate speech is critical and here Gandhian non-violent education can play a pivotal role. More and more individuals who have faith in the powerful tool of non-violent action need to act to counter hatred. Gandhi had pointed out, “Non-violence is not a cloistered virtue, confined only to the Rishi and the cave-dwellers. It is capable of being practiced by the millions..because it is the law of our species.”

Finally, those taking up the principles of non-violence in their fight against hate speech need to have remarkable passion and belief in its power. Gandhi had so rightly pointed out, “The truly non-violent action is not possible unless it springs from a heart belief that he whom you fear and regard as robber . . . and you are one.”

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Role of IGAD in Maintaining Peace and Security in Horn of Africa

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Introduction

As we are now seeing again in the Middle East and North Africa, violence in the 21st century differs from 20th-century patterns of interstate conflict and methods of addressing them. Stove-piped government agencies have been ill-suited to cope, even when national interests or values prompt political leaders to act. Low incomes, poverty, unemployment, income shocks such as those sparked by volatility in food prices, rapid urbanization, and inequality between groups all increase the risks of violence. External stresses, such as trafficking and illicit financial flows, can add to these risks (World Bank, 2011). Countries situated in Horn of Africa are considered as most vulnerable in the world. Drought, ethnic conflict, food insecurity, displacement, irregular and shortage of rainfall, are the frequent phenomena in the region. The Horn of Africa has been of strategic importance from geopolitical of view due to its location in the Red Sea that connects to Mediterranean Sea through Suez Canal. Red Sea is strategically important as lies between the two continents Asia and Africa, separating the Middle East the Far East as well as Europe and Asia.

There are many factors responsible for the turbulence in the region that makes the region fragile, its strategic location of course is one of the many reasons. The countries of the Horn of Africa which includes Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda are countries located in the Horn of Africa. Due to recurrence of severe drought and other natural disasters that caused in widespread famine, economic hardship, ethnic conflict and fragility of the states in the region. The Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGAD) in Eastern Africa was found in 1996 to mitigate the impact of the different vulnerabilities. The purpose of the paper is to review the causes and consequences of the conflict and the role IGAD in the

peacebuilding process of countries in the region. The Horn of Africa is a region of huge differences and great diversity as well as contrast. It is inhabited by various ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural groups. There are various types of reasons and organization that constantly effect the peace and prosperity in Africa such as ethnic conflict, rebel groups, violent conflicts and drought, land disputes etc. Rebel groups has been active in many parts of the continent then pose threat to the local communities as well as disrupt the state administration. Creation of rebel groups poses threats at multiple levels and becomes a challenge to reintegrate them back to society, as Reno states that “Individuals who make up rebel groups usually exhibit a broad range of motives for fighting. These motives are consistent in their appearances in conflict after conflict, but this analysis focuses on the more important processes that shape how fighters end up fighting and how they get socialized into privileging some motives over others (Reno, p. 34)”.

IGAD plays a very catalytic role in integrating such groups by mutual dialogues and providing solution to the rebel groups. Before we discuss the issues in relation to conflict and peacebuilding process in the region, it is essential to look into the basic characteristics of the region such as - geography, demography, governance, regional development obstacles, food security, regional cooperation and economic integration, social development, gender affairs as well as peace and security. However, the major focus of the article is peace and security in the region which has been a major hurdle on the way to the development. However, the paper is based on the overall role played by the IGAD in the region to minimise the conflict and maintain as well active peacebuilding process in the countries of the reason.

IGAD’s mission is to support and complement the efforts to the member states to achieve development, through increased cooperation, food security, environmental protection, promotion and maintenance of peace and security and economic cooperation and integration (IGAD, 2003). Crop and livestock production provide the basic source of food supply, export earnings and employment for over 80% of the population of the Horn of Africa (IGAD, 2003), thus playing an important role in both economic development as well as livelihood for the rural population.

The Geography of the Region

The geopgraphy of the IGAD region is highly vulnerable to the different exposures of the risk and the food security related issues. The area of the

IGAD region stretches over 5.2 million km² comprising the countries such as Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda. The region has about 6960 Km of coastline with the Indian Ocean, Gulf of Aden, Gulf of Toudjoura and the Red Sea. The IGAD region has a total of 6910 Km of international borders with Egypt, Libya, Chad, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Tanzania. About 70 percent of the IGAD region comes under Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), which receive less than 600 mm of rainfall annually, which is not enough for the agriculture and grassland to support the food security for the population and the animals.

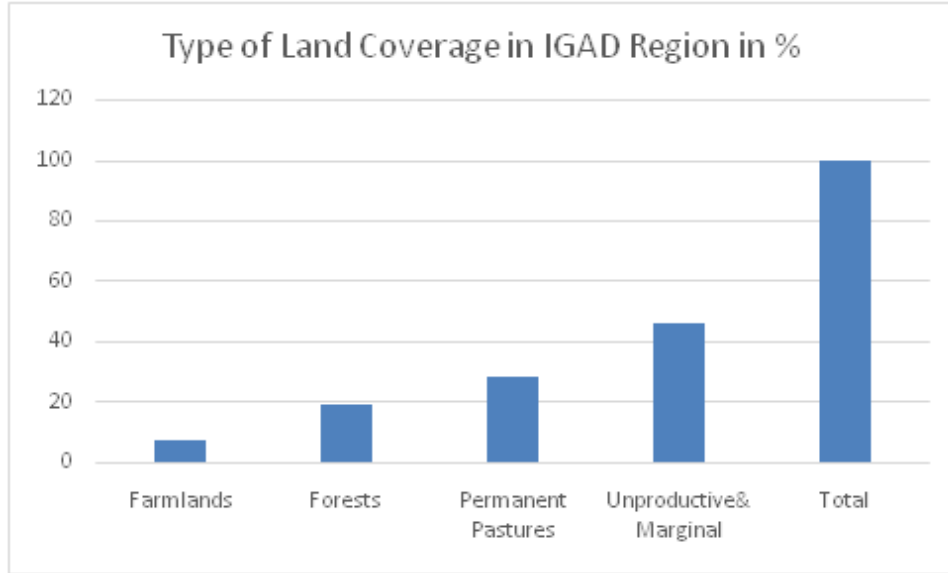


Source: Osman Babikir et al. 2015

The rest of the region has a huge variation of climates and landscapes i.e. cool highlands, swamp areas, tropical rain forests and other features of a typical equatorial region. Furthermore, the region comprises diversity of ecosystems and agro-ecological zones at different altitudes ranging from 150 meters below sea level (Dalul) to about 4600 meters above the sea level (Mount Kenya).

Having seen at the socio-economical parameters, most of the IGAD Member States belong to the world's Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and share similar economic growth rates and social ethnic groups across their borders, which could be a good opportunity for regional integration, if appropriately utilised. From the diagram below it is clear that of the total land available in the IGARD region least share of land (only 7%) is farmland whereas largest share of land is unproductive and marginal land. Land topography of the region is uneven such as lowland to highland more than 40% land of the region is unproductive and marginal land, even cannot be used as grazing land. From the following diagram the distribution of the land has been

illustrated, which produces the factual image of the land use and coverage in the region.



Source: IGRAD Regional Strategy Volume 1, The Framework

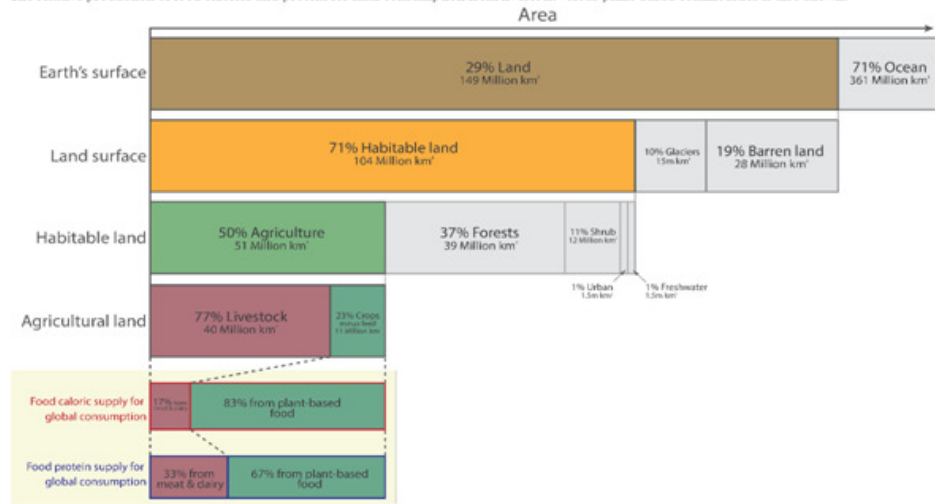
In Addition, the region contains a considerable reservoir of the mineral resources but has not been adequately exploited. The major problem in exploiting the agricultural potential of the region is dependency of agriculture on rainfall and high degree of variability in rainfall in both the terms space as well as time. Therefore, the IGAD region is prone to recurrent droughts and dry spells, making it one of the most vulnerable regions on the African continent for climatic variations, which stresses the need for policies and programmes that augment the technical and research capacities of the region.

Other than variation in rainfall land and environmental degradation are the most serious threats to the region, as both affect the agricultural production and economic growth. Environmental degradation does not only contribute to food insecurity, famine and poverty, but may equally fuel social, economic and political tensions that can cause conflicts, wider poverty and misery (Johnson, 2018). Sustainable management of natural resources is therefore essential if the IGAD Member States are to achieve sustainable development, eradication of poverty, peace and security. This is particularly true for transboundary natural resources, like surface and ground water resources.

Global surface area allocation for food production



The breakdown of Earth surface area by functional and allocated uses, down to agricultural land allocation for livestock and food crop production, measured in millions of square kilometres. Area for livestock farming includes grazing land for animals, and arable land used for animal feed production. The relative production of food calories and protein for final consumption from livestock versus plant-based commodities is also shown.



Data source: based on UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) Statistics. The data visualization is available at OurWorldinData.org. There you find research and more visualizations on this topic. Licensed under CC-BY-SA by the authors Hannah Ritchie and Max Roser.

Demography of the Region:

The IGAD region has a population of over 230 million people with high natural population growth rates. The average population density is about 30 persons per km². Variations in the population density between the IGAD countries are ranging from 14.5 persons per km² in Somalia to above 95 persons per km² in Uganda. Variation of the population depends on the differentials of the ecological zones. For example, in desert and dry areas the population is very sparsely distributed whereas in rural areas with fertile land population is highly distributed even over 650 persons living per km². In urban areas population density is quite high.

These variations are even more pronounced between the different ecological zones. For example, within the IGAD region there are deserts with scarcely anybody living in them, and conversely there are rural areas with high populations of more than 600 persons living on one km². Similarly, urban densities are quite high, for instance in Nairobi where there are 4,509 persons/km² and higher still in Addis Ababa at 5,165 persons/km². However, the demographic age structure shows that some 50 percent of the population are youth, which provides a good opportunity for continued economic growth, if the youth is provided with, appropriate education and training.

Ethnic Conflict and Governance:

Traditionally, due to tribal culture and ethnic awareness mutual consent for the governance has been an issue in the region. Ethnic clashes have been a big problem for the governance. Since civil war broke out in South Sudan in December 2013, as many as 50,000 people have been killed. More than 2.3 million people have been forced to flee their homes. Around 6 million people are currently at risk of going hungry, and 70 percent of schools have been closed due to the fighting (Williams, 2017). Again in due to resurgence of the ethnic clashes in August 2015, after tens of thousands had been killed and more than 1.6 million people had been displaced, a shaky peace agreement was reached between the two warring ethnic groups, was facilitated by the IGAD, the organization of African countries that includes South Sudan and most of its neighbours (Ibid).

Ethiopia is the fastest growing economy in the region with 9.6% in 2015 followed by Kenya with 5.6%. About 700,000 people have been displaced by the Gedeo-Guji dispute, according to the United Nations. Yet it is just one of many inter-ethnic conflicts raging in Ethiopia that have given the country an unenviable distinction: Last year more people fled their homes there than in any other nation on Earth. In total, 2.9 million people had been displaced by December 2018, more than those dislodged in Syria, Yemen, Somalia and Afghanistan combined, according to estimates published this month (Wilson, 2019).

IGAD has been active in maintaining peace through different mechanism in the region. Democratic governance has made good progress towards establishing a competitive economy. Good governance and open economy is the key to sustainable development from rural to the urban areas. Most importantly states in the region are moving forward in order to establish the democracy through public participation and other stakeholders. Policies are made and implemented for strengthening the member countries of the region (IGAD, 2016)

The IGAD member states have been progressively taking tangible steps towards improving governance systems both at the national and regional levels by strengthening structures and institutions in all development sectors and their respective inter-linkages by ensuring coherence, integrating policies,

minimizing duplication of efforts and wastage of resources, and strengthening institutional capacities.

It cannot be denied that the region has realised impressive economic performance through improvements in transparency and accountability, decentralization and empowerment, social inclusiveness and democratization. Nevertheless, some macroeconomic challenges remain which require immediate attention for continued and deepening institutional reforms and creation of an enabling environment for private-sector development as well as capacity building of the stakeholders. Though, civil society organization as well as non-state organizations are not well utilised for taking up the role to play in the development initiatives of the IGAD. Governance, peace and security and humanitarian affairs will have to increasingly play a pivotal role in responding to the various adversities and clashes posing threat in the region.

IGAD in regional development

Right since the inception IGAD has been active to frame and implement the policy and programmes for the regional development through public participation and ensuring the role of the local actors. Drought and food insecurity have been the major identified area where potential opportunities for the planned intervention were needed. IGAD has devoted considerable resources and energy towards mitigating the effects of drought, desertification and food insecurity in the region. Despite these efforts, however, drought and food insecurity continue to be major critical threats to the region. IGAD adopted an integrated, multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary approach to address the threats. This new approach would contribute more effectively to the attainment of resilient economic development in the region, particularly in areas where the economic mainstay depends on primary production. With a view to ending drought emergencies while enhancing food security and environmental protection, maintaining peace and promoting economic integration in the region, IGAD continues to advance the implementation of the following multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary agendas (IGAD,2016). Development policy implemented at ground level using local resources can bring the positive and desired change in a particular society.

Agriculture, Livestock, Fisheries and Food Security (ALFS):

Traditional farming systems is most dominant system in the region as it is practiced in an area of about 8.4 million hectares and over 70% population

depends on this system of agriculture for their livelihood and crop production. Most of the farmers are small size farm holders, and they typically live in persistence poverty. Agriculture is rain fed and minimum use of agricultural tools, fertilizers and irrigation system (almost very negligible amount of modern agriculture support system). Farmers face severe challenge round the year, so, climate change, irregular rainfall, uneven land and degradation, low productivity and persistent food security are the major hurdles on their survival. Major crops in the region are Tafe, sorghum, maize, millet, sesame and groundnut.

They face challenges of climate change, droughts, rainfall variability, land degradation, desertification, low productivity and persistent food insecurity. This system includes millions of small scale subsistence farmers, who grow sorghum, millet, maize, sesame, and groundnut. They mainly depend on family labour and use of traditional tools. However, the countries of the region are characterized by four broad-based systems of land utilization. These systems are pastoralism, agro-pastoralism, rain-fed and irrigated agriculture (Babikir,2015).

As it is well established fact that agriculture and Livestock play the dominant role in the economies of the IGAD member countries. IGAD contributes in making the agriculture policy and supporting the mutual benefit, and ensuring that the policy made is likely to benefit for long terms by best utilization of the local natural and human resources. Environment management and sustainable development has been identified by the IGAD in the core of development programs and policy. During worst droughts in the region that particularly affected Somalia in 2010 and 2011, the region adopted the IGAD Drought Disaster Resilience and Sustainability Initiative (IDDRSI) and a number of the related initiatives aimed at operationalizing drought resilience in the region's arid and semi-arid lands(IGAD, 2016).

IGAD supports the member countries in the innovative way by developing agricultural program according to the situation of land, climate and rainfall. IGAD developed Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) in response to the Maputo Summit Decision of 2003 (IGAD,2016). Other initiatives include the establishment of the Dryland Agricultural Research and Technology Programme aimed at enhancing food security in the drought hit areas of the region through cooperation, integration,

and exchanges of technologies and information on the promotion of production (IGAD,2016). It shows that how IGAD is active and devising the programmes for the development of agriculture in the region, food shortage has been a major setback and finding an alternative to secure food is quite a complicated as well as challenging task.

The agricultural sector has a significant contribution for the economic development of the region generating about 70 percent of export earnings. It also, employs more than 80 percent of the total workforce. Considering the sector's contribution to the GDPs of member states, it contributed 43 percent to Ethiopia's GDP and 40 percent to that of Somalia. For Sudan, Kenya and Uganda the sector contributed 34 percent, 26 percent and 23 percent respectively. Countries like South Sudan and Djibouti had the lowest contributions to their GDP (15 percent and 4 percent respectively). In terms of economic growth rates, Ethiopia has the highest rate with 7.1 percent, while other IGAD member states, on average had about 2.5 percent (IGAD,2016).

There is huge pressure on the natural environment such as trees and plants locally available, so, massive deforestation began in the region which later affected adversely to the population in various terms. According to the recent studies currently, only 5 percent of the original ecosystems / habitats remain intact in the region. This means that 95 percent of the original ecosystems have been either altered or vanished or converted for the land use as habitat or agriculture purposes. The main drivers of environmental and natural resources include climate change, frequent drought, high population growth, overgrazing, forest degradation, soil and land degradation, wildlife poaching and trafficking, desertification, etc. The impact of these drivers is the severe effect on the potential of different ecosystems to provide the necessary supplies such as fodder and fuel which is essential for the survival of living things in the region (IGAD,2016). Due to constant efforts of the IGAD, member States were sensitised for the environmental preservation and protection so now they recognize that a clean and healthy environment is a prerequisite for sustainable development including agriculture and livestock, energy, industry and infrastructure.

Natural resources make a very important contribution to the basic needs of rural people as well as contribute to poverty reduction. It is expected that most of the countries in the region would maintain a strong economic

performance with a growth rate of more than 6 percent during the projection periods of 2014 and 2015. Growth will be driven by a number of factors based on exploiting the natural resources such as improved performances in the agricultural, mining, tourism and industrial sectors (IGAD,2016).

Regional Economic Cooperation and Integration

IGARD right from the inception has kept in the core that without the regional cooperation resource mobilization is not possible. As ethnic awareness is high in comparison to the national awareness. Each ethnic group is very much cautious about their identity and continuity. In such situation extending cooperation between the different ethnic groups are utmost requirement to prevent ethnic conflict plus and enhance the process of peace. Not only making the societies stable but also it is important for the state stabilization and the good governance. By cooperation and integration, the economic avenues would be opened and accessed by the different ethnic groups. Adequate market also a prerequisite for the development of the economy, a competitive market can only refine and upgrade the product quality which would later integrate with the national, international and global economies. For integrating local markets with global market, regional infrastructure, transportation and communication is most important. IGAD continued to provide support to integrate communities with structural change by connecting with appropriate policy and implementation. Thus, IGAD identified following major areas through the programmes for Economic Cooperation and Integration and Social Development Division (IGAD, 2016):

- Trade, Tourism and Industry
- Infrastructure Development
- Health and Social Development

For promotion of trade, tourism and industry IGAD intervention are based on the Horn of Africa Initiative (HOAI), which includes the major focus on road connectivity of the region and developing an infrastructure for the steady and safe transportation as well as developing markets at the regional level to provide open market for the locally grown produces. To achieve the targeted development IDA planned to develop Free Trade Area where producers and traders could get benefit by interacting together and sell their products for local as well as access to national market in harmonious way. This aims to reduce travel restrictions persisting in the region and to facilitate

movement, the right of establishment of business and employment, residence, the acquisition of work permits, and pastoral mobility (IGAD,2016).

For the development of industry and commercialization of goods and services IGAD planned to promote the activities such as exploiting mineral resources by processing and development. Additionally, processing of cotton and textiles, garment and apparels and metal processing and fabrication were promoted among the member states. It is expected that successful implementation of these industrial activities would enhance regional integration and economic cooperation. Apart from this, it will add value to the living standards of citizens in the member states as it boosts intra-African trade. In line with the African Mining Vision, IGAD is involved in the activities to strengthen the recently established African Minerals Development Centre (IGAD,2016).

Social Development

Human security is in the core of social development, IGRAD with major focus on children, youth, women and other vulnerable population targeted to provide basic services such as health, education, employment, social protection, migration, culture, population control as well as sports facilities for the overall development of the society. So vitally, social development has multiple and huge positive effect on facilitates achievement of other IGAD strategic objectives in maintaining peace and security. Peace and security can be enhanced by integration people at different levels by engaging them in different constructive activities.

For the IGAD Social development is encompassed in term of availability of the education, health and wellbeing of the people as it contributes to the development of human capital and joint share for the cumulative efforts for the social development of the community. IGAD has been doing efforts from its inception for the social development through public participation and strengthening the governance institutions communication through decentralization of power and shared communication between the different stakeholders.

Gender Affairs

There has been huge disparity due to traditional social structure and patriarchal social institutions in the countries located the Horn of Africa. Gender

inequalities are visible in various dimensions, including access to education, information, employment, credit, land, policy inputs, and decision-making power.

The economic, social and political status of women is relatively lower than that of their male counterparts. These inequalities reflect various female disadvantage groups and increased marginal women, most of the work from home to the field, fetching water or caring the family traditionally assigned to the women, which had adversely affected their social life and cohesion. Almost half of the population are represented by the women but they have been involved with non-performing activities in the sense of economic output. Early marriage and pregnancy with extra loaded household activities put them off from the earning activities. Identifying these facts IGAD focused to improve the status of women through promoting gender equality and empowering women in the member states

Peace and Security

Social security and peace are the necessary condition for the social development. Most importantly peace and security for social stability is precondition for the sustainable development. The United Nations was established in 1945 to protect future generations from the war disasters. Meanwhile, maintaining international peace and security were considered as the first target. According to Article 24 of the Charter, United Nations members gave it to Security Council and agreed that the Security Council perform its duties behalf of members (Malone, 2008). Peace is merely the absence of violence but it relates to social justice through the governance. Peace has been taken in broader term that provides social justice and stability of the governance in a political system. Peace is political conditions that guarantee social justice and stability through institutions, procedures and the formal and non-formal norms (Miller, 2005).

The human security concept takes a broad view on development. The Commission on Human Security, co-chaired by Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen defined human security as to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedom, freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread)

threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. Security means the freedom from want and fear (diseases, poverty, hunger, unemployment), bringing together all the aspects of development, human rights as well as security in one concept (Ogata and Sen, 2003).

Human security in its broadest sense includes more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential. Thus, every move in this direction is also a move towards poverty reduction, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment—these are the interrelated and building blocks of human, and therefore national, security (Annan, Kofi, 2000).

Due to increased cooperation among the members IGAD regions are considered as less possibility of violent conflict in comparison to other regions of Africa. It has been actively managing the tensions between the different communities as well as border related issues. In Africa, no region is more plagued with protracted violent conflicts than the IGAD region. The presence of more than four United Nations and African Union peace support operation with more than 50,000 troops in the region (Darfur-Sudan, Abyei, Somalia, South Sudan), hundreds of Qatari military observers on the Djibouti-Eritrea Border and thousands of western military forces on the Djibouti, emphasizes the peace and security challenges afflicting the IGAD region. According to various studies, IGAD member states, including South Sudan, which was sucked into a deeper political crisis and conflict at the end of 2013, are listed among the thirty-five most fragile countries in the World. Sudan faces conflict in Darfur, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile. It cannot be denied that there are various conflicting issues in the region but due to open communication IGAD has been successfully intermediating for the peace and security. There are different sources of conflict but IGAD has been integrating between the different ethnic groups by active communication and mutual cooperation. However, terrorism has been source of grave threats to the IGAD region's peace and development (IGAD,2016).

There are also various differences between the countries in the region especially emerged due to geopolitical reasons as well as mutual distrust. Complicated by the legacy of colonialism, border disputes have become factors of distrust, and instability with wider regional implications. In some instances, these border disputes have escalated into border wars and led to military invasions. The Ethiopia-Somalia war of 1977, the recent Ethio-Eritrea conflict of 1998, the Djibouti-Eritrea conflicts of 1995 and 2008, and the Sudan-South and Sudan border related wars in 2012 are good examples. As a result, the IGAD region was plagued by protracted violent conflicts and still is besieged by internal and international, mainly border related, wars (IGAD,2016).

IGAD has also been at the forefront in the efforts to address the various outstanding issues pertaining to peace and security challenges. Over the years IGAD has taken several steps and most importantly it emerged from being a primarily a group of states to fight drought and desertification into a prominent Regional Economic Community (REC), without which no peace and security issues could be effectively dealt in the region. IGAD has better experience in peace and security and is therefore adequately equipped to directly address conflict situations. IGAD is also contributing to the continental peace and security mechanisms and peace support operations. In terms of actual troop contributions, IGAD member states (Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Djibouti) are the leading troop contributing countries to the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), the UN and the AU Hybrid Peacekeeping Missions in Darfur - UNAMID, Abyei-UNISFA), South Sudan-UNMISS, UNMIL and the Verification and Monitoring Mission in Sudan (2003) as well as the on-going Monitoring and Verification Mission in South Sudan since 2014. IGAD organs have gradually also become more proactive in peace processes and initiatives such as South Sudan, Somalia and Sudan. As primary targets of terrorist attacks, the IGAD Member States are at the forefront of fighting with local terror groups in the region (IGAD,2016).

In order to address the root causes of prolonged issue related to conflicts, the state members of the IGAD region are increasingly embracing democratic constitutional reforms and empowerment of local communities through decentralization of power as well as devolution and federalism. For example, diversity accommodation and decentralization of power in South Sudan, Kenya, and Ethiopia and to some extent in Uganda. This has provided an opportunity for the different stakeholders to participate in decision making and

implementation of the various policies which has created a feeling of ownership and accountability in the social development process. This trend needs to be deepened to ensure local authorities have the power and the capabilities for designing and implementing of the national development plan, and eventually to create an ultimate desire among the people for further development. Despite being sometimes violent and most often uncompetitive, the IGAD region has witnessed surge of regular elections. Examples include Djibouti (2013), Uganda (2010), Kenya (2007), and Ethiopia (2005). This is a significant success and a trend that should continue to contribute in making the stable states (IGAD, 2016).

Due to enhanced support and continued contribution of the IGAD in the region institutions and state agencies are powerfully and responsively responding to the threats to peace and security. Comparatively, there is a surge in middle class and overall improvement in the life standard of the common people has motivated social development and reduced gender gaps, infrastructure-led integrative opportunities, the increasing importance of borderlands, are some of these progresses can be produced as a witness. Governance quality and reach also has increased. With the current promising economic development and overall improvement in governance supposed to bring positive change in income, and increased number of the middle class. Annually, 2% of the youth will be connected via mobile telephones and the Internet, it is expected that millions of people living in the region will be made technologically conversant and access to the internet so that could get the benefits of the increased information system and globalization (IGAD,2016).

However, every development initiative has its own pros and cons it is expected that by 2050, the population of IGAD will be from 230 million to over 400 million, thus, a substantial growth of population. But the positive of the population growth is that of the total 55% population will be below 20 years of age, so it can be utilised for the better exploitation of the available opportunities. Therefore, it is not just governments who are responsible for establishing international peace and security; rather all the actors of the international system including individuals and major international bodies have their own share in bringing about peace and security (Soltani and Moradi,2017).

Peacebuilding

‘Peacebuilding’ means societies move forward themselves through dialogue to increase harmony, mutual trust to manage conflicts without

violence. Negation of any sort of conflict or violence becomes acceptable norm by the majority of people living in a society or community. Peacebuilding is a process which involves the people and began by the people for their prosperity and sustainable development. Peacebuilding “is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Metaphorically, peace is seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition. It is a dynamic social construct” (Lederach,1997).

For peacebuilding the comprehensive activities may range from local dialogues promoting reconciliation to advocacy that shapes economic policy and business practices. The approach to handle the peacebuilding must be multidimensional and it should be managed in different phases so that all conflicting could be involved completely with mutual consent and understanding. Lederach admits that conflict transformations as a holistic and multidimensional approach to manage violent conflict in different phases. The term highlights peacebuilding as a continuous process of change from negative to positive relations, behaviour, attitudes as well as structural change and harmonious relationships of all the involving parties (Lederach,1995).

Peacebuilding as process includes all actors, leaders and communities, as well as particularly the people who are frequently ignored or marginalised. Festivals and cultural occasions is considered as most acceptable time to communicate the people. Comedy, drama, music, dance, folklore and folk dance bring people together and people organise to celebrate such occasions.

Peacebuilding process does not begin itself unless the initiative is taken by the actors and stakeholders motivated to do so, it cannot be made without them. A sustainable peace process requires a determination by the community leaders and contending parties to establish peace with whole hearted efforts. Commitment of the common public also important in the process as they are the main element of the entire process. It is people who following the leaders involve into the conflict, so the awareness and importance of peace must be sensitised through the social agencies and other institutions. Peacebuilding is a top-down process, as conflict mainly and ideologically framed and spread by the leaders, and leaders lead and guide the common public. IGAD has been

active in organizing people against the conflict through raising awareness among the people in the region.

Conclusion

IGAD was established in 1996 in Eastern Africa with a motive to establish peace and prosperity in region of Horn of Africa. It has been playing dominant and catalyst role in the region for overall development of the people. Since its inception it chose integrated approach involving all the people from the different level such as youth and women from awareness to policy implementation by coordinating with the governments and communities. The Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) is the regional organisation of seven Eastern African countries with a determined effort to achieve peace, prosperity and regional integration among its member states. To meet these ambitions has been quite a challenging task. IGAD has established itself as a forum where conflicting parties can find a place to discuss further for the peace initiative. It collects the information, studies and organize appropriate activities for the peace initiative. IGAD runs programs and intervenes in the different social problem including the conflicting situation. In Easter Africa where communities with huge diversity live together. The diversity in the region has been interconnecting and overlapping with each other. Therefore, IGAD works with the inclusive approach on the core issues of the communities such as gender issues, environmental concerns as well devising methods to fight against the drought, food shortage and development issues. IGAD has intervened at policy level by integrating with the communities as well as the member states of the region. It has been active from infra structure development to family agriculture and income level which has been crucial and a main cause of the conflict in the region. There has been a commendable change in the region, since the region has been plagued with severity of the problems so it is difficult to evaluate the work. However, in such a short span of time it has penetrated the communities deeply and results have started to come. Recently Ethiopia and Eritrea a traditional rivals sit together to find the way for the peace and prosperity.

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Application of Participatory Rural Appraisal for Field Work in Conflict Zones

Swati Sucharita Nanda

Introduction

Conflicts mark all aspects of human life in the contemporary period, be it relationship between individuals or groups or states. Conflicts, whether take place on issues of identity, resource or territory, causes loss of life and properties besides emotionally traumatizing people at both individual or aggregate level. Hence, they always grab attention of researchers as well as policy-makers. According to the Armed Conflict Database Index (2016), the world had 40 active conflicts with 1,67,000 fatalities and 12,100,000 injuries in 2015. The situation is nothing less than alarming for academicians and policy-makers across the regions. Each conflict brings with itself a variety of political, social, economic, physical and emotional issues. Internal displacement and forced migration have recently gained a lot of international attention. There are more than 68 million people around the world who have been displaced from their homes due to conflicts (Mercy Corps, 2018). This has been the case from across continents with countries like Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar and Somalia on the top in the list. In human terms, conflicts in their contemporary form have meant the displaced, longing for basic physical security, setting up a proper household or searching for a stable source of income. Recent decades have also unfolded a very disturbing trend of thousands of children applying for asylum in different countries.

Managing conflicts, therefore, requires understanding of its physical as well as human aspects. And management of these aspects, in turn, depends upon proper analysis of the situation which cannot be merely based upon secondary data collected by governmental agencies. A proper investigation of such a situation requires an in-depth field research that takes into account not merely the macro aspects of the conflict but the micro-aspects as well.

Researching conflict situations is not about counting and describing the destruction of physical and human lives in a particular event such as war or a genocide. It must involve an in-depth analysis of conflict situations, their causes and consequences. Each conflict situation is distinct on account of its location, history, politics and society (Upadhyay & Upadhyay, 2016). Therefore, researching conflict situations necessarily require first-hand information that can provide details of the specific elements. Field work method is most authentic way to get such first-hand information. However, field work in conflict situations is a highly complicated task. Given the instability, volatility and divisive scenario, field work in conflict areas present many serious challenges to researcher. In order to have in-depth understanding of the conflict situation, the researcher must begin by investigating into the root causes of conflict which is possible only when various dimensions of the pre-conflict environment is properly focused upon. While it is important to concentrate upon a neutral analysis of the event, it is equally significant for a researcher to focus upon the various consequences of the conflict.

Understanding pre-conflict environment

It is important to understand that conflicts do not begin without a reason nor do they take place in a vacuum. There is always a build-up phase which is very crucial as conflicts can be managed at this stage. These include social, political milieu that builds up hostility. The triggering factors could be many. According to Johan Galtung (1958), attitudes, behaviors and structures are the most common elements found in conflict situations. These situations are typically marked by breach of trust, misperceptions, communication breakdown, blame game and development of inwardness within communities. Working towards management of conflict in this situation requires to understand and analyze the situation so as to stakeholders and their issues as well as the factors responsible for triggering the problematic situation. The following steps are important for a peace researcher working in pre-conflict areas.

- *Identification of fault lines:* Most conflicts of the recent times could be traced to identities. Religious, linguistic and other cultural identities can be potential causes of conflicts. Researchers studying conflicts prior to the actual occurrence of the event(s) must identify the fault lines.
- *Identification of areas:* It is also important to investigate the spatial aspect of conflict. If conflicts are found at consistent intervals in some areas, then the cause must be looked into.

- *Analysis of socio-economic aspects:* The researcher must also look into the social and economic relations between communities that are in conflict with each other. These could be related to social issues such as identities and their inclusion in various social spheres or related to distribution of physical or financial resources.
- *Identification of forces:* It is important for the researcher to analyze the various internal as well as external forces that might be acting as catalyst causing conflict. At the same time, it is also important to identify the various stakeholders of the conflict as well as their stakes in the conflict. This may enable the researcher to comprehend the beneficiaries of the situation.
- *Analysis and prediction of the threshold point:* Based on the level of intensity of the claims, situational (mis)perceptions and tolerance of the parties concerned, the researcher must make attempts to analyze what constitutes the threshold point after which the dispute could culminate into a full-fledged conflict.

All these steps necessitate an in-depth understanding of the area under conflict which can be achieved by not only by being present on the field but being involved with the people so as to get the most authentic information. The best knowledge of pre-conflict processes lies with the people. as they are not only the real stakeholders but, at times, are the actual participants. They can provide the most truthful understanding of pre-conflict environment. But merely being in the field can provide an opportunity to observe the pre-conflict environment as an outsider. It is not always possible to observe the real situation in the field. Most people tend to hold their views in tense and volatile situation. They do not exhibition their real intensions. Therefore, taking note of people's own perspectives requires a long-term engagement with people.

Understanding post-conflict environment

Post-conflict situations cannot be understood unless one understands the conflict with all its dimensionality. The most visible consequence of conflict is physical destruction of movable and immovable properties. But post-Conflict environment presents a much more complex case than normal ones. While there is a need to have first-hand information of the complex reality, the following challenges could create hurdles in conducting research in post-conflict situations.

- *Gaining access:* A post-conflict situation is generally marked by a feeling of insecurity and suspicion for anyone who is seen as an outsider. This can present a serious challenge to the researcher in gaining access to reach the affected. Any kind of social or cultural distinctness possessed by the researcher(s) can be used by the conflict-affected people or groups to categorize the researcher(s) as an ‘outsider’. This requires the researcher to make extra efforts to gain access and trust of the people or community being studied.
- *Distrust and mistrust:* Conflict often result in the destruction of physical and emotional base of the affected community. This, in turn, leads to mistrust and distrust in all aspects of lives. Such emotional state of the respondents can act as a hurdle in research. The researcher(s) must pay attention to ways in which trust of the affected people or community can be won.
- *Institutions and services are not in proper shape:* Conflicts not only imply physical destruction of buildings and lives but also of governmental and non-governmental institutions that provide services to the community. This may include basic services related to health, education, finance etc. It becomes difficult for a researcher to conduct study in such a situation.
- *Social relationship is in ruins:* With the destruction of lives, administrative and service-institutions, social relationships are often in shambles in conflict situations. Fractured intra-community or inter-community relationships can also create hurdles in research.
- *Psychological aspect:* In many cases, affected population get into a denial mode in the post-conflict situations.

It would be pertinent to mention here that an in-depth understanding of the post-conflict environment can also facilitate a stage for recovery and re-integration of people within the community. In inter-group conflict situations such as seen in Sierra Leone, Congo, Rwanda, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Sudan, Haiti, Burundi, Aceh (Indonesia), Afghanistan, Niger and Somalia, such research can be facilitating. In this situation, the researcher (s) must take extra caution on working on fieldwork attitudes.

- *Testing one’s patience and personality:* Fieldwork in conflict situations can be very time-consuming as winning trust cannot be done in a given

time-frame. The researcher must also be prepared to undergo situations that might demand proving one's honesty, integrity and commitment towards gaining knowledge.

- *Humility:* The researcher must go with an open mind to listen to people and get insights from the complex reality. This may demand a certain amount of unlearning of the theoretical frameworks. In other words, there is a need to go to the field with a learner's mind and not a scholar's mind that is loaded with pre-conceived frameworks.
- *Respectful:* The researcher(s) must pay attention to be respectful towards the culture of community even if it clashes with one's own value systems. This will facilitate trust from the respondents' side.
- *Trustworthy:* It is very important for the researcher to try to break the insider/outsider bridge while conducting field study in conflict situations. This can help the researcher to take a closer look at the field and the people. This will also enable the researcher to understand the issues and events from the perspectives of the affected. In doing so, the researcher must also refrain from taking sides so that each group of affected population can repose faith in the researchers' impartiality. There must also systematic efforts to assure the affected people that their responses would not be used in ways that may lead to breaking of trust even in future.

Such fieldwork demands not only adoption of innovative methods but more than that, a re-thinking of the traditional concepts on research. Traditional fieldwork driven by questionnaire-based surveys and interview methods are primarily situated within the positivist framework. Positivist framework demands objectivity and value-neutrality of the researcher. This, in turn, requires to cut down subjectivity in the entire process of research. Post-positivist framework, on the contrary, allows subjectivity in the process of research. Based upon post-positivism, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) combines the strengths of "constructivist' paradigm and that of critical realism" (Mukherjee, 1997: 36). Its use facilitates an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of the participants. Given its connections with critical realism, PRA uses multiple methods such as triangulation to check the responses.

PRA differs from the positivist approaches creation of or addition to the existing knowledge is not its only goal. It seeks to "enable local people to share, enhance and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and

to act” (Chambers, 1994:953). It does not aim at merely extracting information but collecting information in participation with people as well as planning for development. In this sense, it breaks the conventional researcher-researched (subject) dichotomy that looks at the researcher as the bearer of knowledge, interpreter of responses of the subject, and the subject as a mere respondent. The role of the researcher in PRA becomes that of a facilitator. This notion of research is in contrast to the conventional understanding that considers the researcher as having superior knowledge compared to the subjects.

Using PRA in the field

PRA has primarily been used in development practice in different societies to identify exact problems within community and planning towards their solution (Rajaratnam, et al., 1993; Pretty, et al., 1990). It has been known to have been successful in programmes relating to natural resource management, health, food security that involved community and village planning. Through its various methods such as chain sampling, transect walks, mapping, modelling, ranking, development of matrix, calendars diagramming and change analysis, PRA has not only been effective in collecting detailed information about the groups and communities but also facilitating intra-community negotiations for planning for future. PRA opens gates for ‘a holistic vision of peace in which human community, ecology...are tied in a mutually enriching manner’ (Upadhyay, 2010: 108).

PRA’s notion of research is integrated with a mission of bringing positivity to the situation. It does not merely aim at extracting information for the sake of writing a report but goes much beyond it. Its aim is to involve the community in the entire process of collection of information in such a way that various sections not only feel connected with each other but also feel empowered. In this sense, data collection techniques used in PRA are not only research-oriented but also pro-actively community-oriented.

Possible scope of PRA techniques in conflict management

PRA is being increasingly used in community conflict situations by many practitioners especially in the areas of natural resource management and rural/community development (Chidhakwa, 2003; Moeliono & Fisher, 2003). It has been very effective in bringing out the various stakeholders, dynamics and undercurrents in conflict situations relating to natural resource management.

The best part of PRA exercises in conflict situations is their rootedness in the local cultural practices which makes it convenient for the various groups to identify themselves with the process. Given its very nature, PRA can be very effective in studying of other inter-group conflict situations as well. The field researcher(s) must be fully prepared to meet the challenges that such a difficult situation might pose.

Field Preparation: Prior to going to the field, it is important to be informed of the macro aspects of conflict situation. This could be having completed background literature survey with a view to understand the positions of various groups as well as analyzing the challenges that previous studies have faced. It is also important for the researcher to learn skills such as language that would help in breaking barriers of communication.

Gaining Access: The first challenge before the researcher in the field would be to be introduced to the community in such a way that would lead to a constructive direction in communication. Given the fact that conflict situations, especially post-conflict environments present a great challenge in opening up, a positive introduction can facilitate collection of authentic data. This is possible only through gradual trust-building through familiarization which in turn can take place only when the researcher has physical and emotional access to the respondents. It is also important to cross-check information through repeated meetings.

Door-knocking is a technique used in PRA to get entry into communities that are not very open to outsiders. This exercise has its origin in marriage ceremonies in Africa whereby the potential groom's family approaches households of potential brides by introducing themselves and trying to familiarize (Dijk, 2004:445). In conflict management research, this can be used as an entry tool to access households or respondents. It can be started by identifying the accepted community leader and winning his trust and regards by offering him/her what is considered respectful in that particular culture. It is, however, very important to inform him/her of the purpose of the research. In doing so, it is required that the researcher presents her/himself as an impartial yet empathetic peace researcher. The next step is to take permission and assistance of the leader to access the community. This may not happen at once in a single meeting. The researcher must have enough patience to wait for the leader's commitment towards this. Through the meetings and interactions with the leader, the researcher must make an effort to understand

the intra-group dynamics in the community. PRA often uses the method of chain sampling to get introduced to the larger community. Asiedu (2010:154) has documented the effectiveness of the ‘door knocking’ technique in gaining access and trust of communities in Sierra Leone.

Having officially introduced myself to the chief, I used small gifts, such as books, pens, pencils, children toys, and torches, to gain access to people in the community. At certain times, I shared drinks with adults to create an enabling environment for discussions. Such unofficial gatherings provided me with much information which was necessary for the research. It also gave me an opportunity to suggest dates on which to meet some of them, officially, for interviews. This is like “door knocking” in marriages, where the ceremony enables suitors to discuss issues, and also, sets out official dates for actual marriage ceremonies.

Such a technique can be effectively used to access populations in various situations of conflict. It can facilitate the community’s trust in the researcher that can go along way not only in the collection of information from the community but also in building an atmosphere where research is possible.

Semi-structured interviews used in PRA can also be very useful in conflict management research. In conflict situations, people’s own experiences of injuries, hurts and betrayals must be recorded. This can help in comprehending the intensity of hate and pain of members of a community towards the others. Use of structured questionnaires or interview schedules can block the spontaneity of the responses. Therefore, semi-structured interviews, which do not come with any rigid list of pre-determined questions, could give be much more effective than conventional Interview techniques. In semi-structured Interviews questions are decided on the basis of responses of the respondents. This requires the researcher not only to be deeply involved in understanding the emotions of the respondents but also be empathetic towards them. While conducting such sessions, it is important to take the widest possible cross-sections of people to capture variations in social, economic and political processes. Such a field method, however, may not follow sampling standards set by statistical validity.

Conflict management also seeks to bring normalcy in social relations that can lead to disarmament, demobilization and re-integration (DDR) of

various sections within the community. There are many post-conflict societies where DDR process is underway. With the intention of recovery and development, DDR process seeks to demilitarize the minds of the population through various community-building processes. PRA methods can also be helpful in such situations.

Resource mapping is a technique used in PRA to construct a map of available natural resources in the community. In post-conflict societies such resource mapping can bring various sections of populations to the discussion table and channelize their hopes and fears towards constructively planning for the future of the community. Resource planning focuses on developing a map of available water bodies, trees, forests, paddy based on a community-level mapping exercise. It is noteworthy that while accuracy of the map is not emphasized, what becomes significant is the perceptions of various sections with regards to resource availability, distribution, ownership and use. The researcher acts as a facilitator by making efforts to set an enabling atmosphere where different sections make their voices heard without any increase in conflicts that can help in building a consensus about how to utilize community resources.

Social mapping is another technique used by PRA practitioners to assess the situation of the community. It seeks to collect information about the social structures and institutions in the area. This can also be helpful in creating a consensus to re-build the community physically as well as socially. While the researcher comes to understand the social structures, institutions, invisible informal hierarchies within the community, social mapping can also result in making the various sections of the society remember their rootedness to the society as also the social networking that existed prior to the conflict. This can go a long way in shifting the focus of various groups from conflict to issues relating to development. All these exercises, however, demand the researcher(s) to be exceptionally good facilitator (s).

Conclusion

Use of PRA techniques in conflict management field work research studies, thus, can not only inform the researcher about the underlying dynamics of a situation but also has the potential to open up rigidities existing within the community due to conflict. In this sense, the researcher becomes not merely

a collector of information but an active agent in the management of conflict. This, however, can be criticized as envisioning a role of the researcher that goes beyond a neutral collector of data. In such a case, the researchers' empathetic involvement with the respondents during the process can result in biased views towards a section of population. Many can look at the pro-active facilitation process by the researchers as invasive and motivated.

In conclusion, it can be said that field work in conflict management research can gain a lot by carefully use of PRA techniques. These can not only bring out information about the internal dynamics existing in conflict situations but can also bring in positivity to the situation. Most importantly, as PRA exercises in many developmental projects have demonstrated, these techniques can also have an empowering effect on different marginalized sections.

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Gender Analysis of Sexual Violence: Rethinking Masculinities in Armed conflict

Priya Pandey

Introduction

War zones witness series of heinous crimes and sexual assault being one of the most rampant of all. Sexual violence and rape in the conflict zones is an old practice and it continues to be the most widespread phenomenon, it is the most outrageous activity and is the genocidal strategy of any war. These crimes are gender neutral, they inflict terror and life threatening bodily and mental harm to the victim irrespective of gender in order to cause ultimate destruction. Sexual violence encompasses wide range of offences committed by the soldiers, peacekeepers and organized militia on the entire community. Sexual violence in the war zones victimizes people irrespective of gender, and thus men are no exception to such perpetration.

Ironically armed conflicts and sexual violence against women go hand in hand but armed conflicts also bring danger of sexual violence to men and boys (Dartnall, 2011). Sexual violence encompasses wide range of offences committed by the soldiers, peacekeepers and organized militia on the entire community. Sexual violence in the war zones victimizes people irrespective of gender, and thus men are no exception to such perpetration. Experts are of the opinion that men are targeted for sexual violence in order to destroy their masculine identity at both personal and social level (Shivkumaran, 2007). The women are more prone of being victimized to the sexual atrocities but men too are also extremely vulnerable to this dreadful act.

Issues Unaddressed

Despite being an extensive practice sexual violence against men remains an understudied phenomenon from the perspective of any discipline. History states that the societies undertake transitional justice process to address the

mass atrocities by adopting various institutional reforms or providing reparations but ironically no substantial measures have been taken to address the issues of male sexual violation.

This paper widely discusses the wartime gender based violence against men and the repercussions of the same. It will also include the background of the literature covering wartime violence with the case studies of Abu Gharib and other conflict zones like Bosnia and Herzegovina. With respect to the article it encompasses both men and boys, as in the conflict situations the issues related to men are less addressed with respect to that of women.

Due to the cultural barriers the sexual abuse of the male victims remains under researched and unrecognized. The lack of institutional identification of the male rape does not only affect the victims psychologically but leaves them traumatized for all their lives. The sexual assault also visualizes manifold increase in such dreadful acts (Elise, 2018). The inadequate attention towards the male victims is manifestation of the lack of interest of the international community to respond to the needs of the victims.

Masculinity and Gender Based Violence

The present definition of Gender Based Violence (GBV) is used alternatively as in Convention of Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination of Violence Against Women (CEDAW) it only directs it to the women, while other legal bodies do not specify it to any particular gender (Entenmann, 2010). The paper hereby uses the term GBV describing the violence against the person regardless of the gender and this approach highlights the three specific forms of GBV faced by male victims in conflict zones, these are sex-selective massacre, sexual violence and forced recruitment (Carpanter, 2006). All such acts constitute civilian protection but till date none of these appear as salient issue on human security agenda.

Gender based violence is widely understood as an expression of power, dominance and control of one party over other (Woods, 2011). Thus in conflict zones the individuals use these techniques of physical and sexual violence against men and women on larger scale to demonstrate the supremacy of one group over the other. The sexual violence during the war varies in extent and takes different forms as it may be widespread in some conflicts while remain limited in the others (Entenmann, 2010).

Literature Review

To better understand the pervasiveness of sexual violence in the warzones against the male some of the literary works are reviewed hereunder. These works will categorically reflect about the prevalence of gender based violence against women and men with particular examples from the sexual violence against the prisoners in Abu Gharib prison, the victims of Harzegovina and Bosnia and Syria.

Wartime Sexual Violence

Numbers of scholars have used empirical analysis and psychological hypotheses to understand the sexual violence in the armed conflicts but most of the works done so far only covers the atrocities against the women. Some examples given in the paper reiterate the violence against the males in the war zones and develop understanding of the wartime male sexual violence. The sexual violence against men and boys has always tend to cause consternation and disconcertion to the scholars. Many scholars have been trying to study and build a robust literature by analyzing wartime gender based violence and its impact on the males. Scholars like Eric Sterner, Dustin Lewis, Himli Zawali Sandesh Sivakumara, Elizabeth Wood have done elaborated studies and it has been found that wartime sexual violence has occurred against men in systematic patterns and is perpetrated by the insurgent and state forces by men and sometimes by women. The studies reveal that such perpetrations are more likely to occur in the situation of detention and captivity while the sexual violence against women mostly occurs in homes and during the raids. The men are captivated and the perpetrators can then continuously torture the victim when they are kept as captives (Fernandez, 2008).

Elisabeth Woods in her paper “Variations in Sexual Violence During War,” elaborates on six different hypotheses for considering the most conducive conditions for the use of sexual violence in the conflict zones. According to the given study the insurgent groups commit sexual violence against the civilians with the willingness to command those civilians while the groups that have higher numbers of female combatants are less likely to engage in sexual violence.

Anette Bringedal Houge evaluates the coverage of Norwegian paper ‘Aftenposten’, Anette mentions that the use of sexual violence both against men and women was widespread during this war, yet the media covered only

the cases of sexual atrocities against women. The paper this critically analyzes the coverage with respect to gender form and illustrates that the coverage of the male victims has been insufficient.

Cheryl Benard and Robert Hayden are of the opinion that the women become easy victim of sexual violence as by this act male communicate their dominance to other males. Benard mentions that this tool is also used to break the society by causing psychological and physiological trauma to the victims and generates sense of victory in the perpetrators (Cheryl, 2007). Several “configurations of rape in war” are also presented by Bernard. Thus he affirms rape as bounty, rape as tolerated outlet of aggression and a result of command structure breakdown (Cheryl, 2007).

Hayden suggests that incidents of mass rape take place when there is partition of a territory and the state takes minimal ownership of the territory and the ethnic groups do not foresee the future in coexistence (Hayden Robert, 2000). Those Ethnic groups that have firm belief of coexisting in future refrain themselves from involving in sexual atrocities even when they continue to commit mass killings. Rape is generally committed to instill hatred in the victim and their families so that coexistence gets tough for them and they may leave the territory.

The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in a paper designates the explanatory theories of the motivations that prompt sexual violence in war zones. These theories are as follows: the psychosocial and economic background theory, the gender inequality theory, the biosocial theory and the strategic rape theory. The paper surmises that none of the theories can predict or explain variation in usage or characteristics. OCHA thus concludes that, “sexual violence in conflict is either ‘opportunistic’ or as ‘a method of warfare’ is too simplistic,”. The sexual violence is thus motivated by the complex mix of collective and individual, circumstantial and intentional reasons” (OCHA, 2008).

Dara Cohen shares 3 common explanations for sexual violence in war zones, these explanations include: Low status of women, belligerent groups and ethnic hatred. It has been found that forced soldiery is the best predictor of whether a belligerent faction will commit mass sexual violence , the soldiers thus commit gang rape as a “high risk” activity and this creates artificial bond among the soldiers where there has been no cohesion (Cohen).

Challenging Masculinity

Just like the sexual assault of females the male rape is also deep-rooted and is been practiced since ancient times. In the historical times the male rapes of the victims was considered as an absolute right of the winning soldiers, this lead them establish their supremacy and was also an expression of power control (Entenmann, 2010). In such situations rape is done by single or multiple assailants and is done on the men through forced penetrative masturbation and enforced rape of the other victim (Shivakumara, 2005). With a deliberate attempt to undermine the identity of a person and as to challenge the masculinity these acts are being performed brutally on the male detainees.

Sexual violence has been specifically used against men in the most systematic manner and there have been several intents that may have incongruent effects on individuals. The cases of sexual violence against men and boys have been largely documented since ancient times but there continues to be the dearth of analysis of this type of violence, and this stands in contrast with the plentiful of literature dealing with sexual atrocities against women. An example of this can be clearly stated from the war effected Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo that reported an increasing pattern of rape perpetrated against the men as large numbers of patients at American Bar Association's sexual violence clinic were the males (Houge, 2014).

This information explains that the sexual violence against males is often coded as torture, also rape is closely associated with females and is seen as crime against the female bodies and therefore the experts do not relate men to it (Shivakumara, 2005). Due to this the issue of male sexual violence fails to get identified and addressed at national or international arena.

Victimization: Psychological Torture for Men

The repercussions of the rape on male are no different from the female rape, due to the psychological impact of such atrocity the victim often becomes extremely vulnerable and may lead to a miserable life. Regardless the fact that there is an element of coercion in male rape the society considers it as homosexuality and thus the international community turns the blind eye to it no matter how egregious the situation is (Entenmann, 2010). Society often equates manhood with the ability to equate power especially through the use of force, thus victimization and masculinity consider incompatible in the belief

that men can also be victims. Thus, in a male rape it is seen that not the perpetrator but the victim has failed to use his masculinity and is therefore been perpetrated. Some studies also explain that many men who perpetrate rape maintain heterosexual identity by enforcing their role as penetrative partner and by feminizing their victim (Stemple, *Male Rape and Human Rights*, 2009). The cases of sexual assault of the men were so consistent and frequent on men that it not only spreads in the war but was an integral part of the war-making and the violence damages the reproductive organs

Undermining the Male Victims

For very long time there was no discussion about the cases against male sexual violence until in the year 1992 the United Nations experts recognized it. The Final Report about the same was presented on the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. The report states that the men were victimized in the warzone and were sexually assaulted by the perpetrators during that time. Despite this confirmation and formal acknowledgement the wartime sexual assault against men is not prosecuted as at The Hague Tribunal the sexual assault against the men was still described as ‘torture’ or ‘degrading treatment’ and it also witnesses the protection initiatives (Jones, 2002). The tribunal has only identified the female victims for the need of protection and finds them eligible to seek psycho-social attention (Carpenter, 2006). The sexual assaults termed hereby include deviant sexual acts, rape, total and partial castrations, injuries causes to the testes with blunt objects etc (Zawati, 2007).

The issue of male rape thus remains ignored in the human rights and other discourses on sexual violence, due to disproportionate number of female victims and because of the homophobic attitude (Shivakumara, 2005). Although according to a report presented by Reproductive Health for Refugees Consortium (RHRC), gender -based violence is an umbrella term for any harm that is perpetrated against person’s will; that has negative impact on physical or psychological health, development and identity of a person, and that is the result of gendered powered inequalities that exploit distinction between males and females (Vann, 2002).

Recommendations: The Step Ahead

There is growing global push to end conflict related sexual violence and efforts to increase international awareness of the sexual violence against men. Thus the sexual violation of the community women shatters the long term

protector role of the men. The asylum Laws and practices are also more focused on the protection and care of the vulnerable groups i.e. women and children the lower class adults are therefore left with fewer or no resources to protect themselves from sexual violence and its repercussions. The male survivor has never been recognized on priority in public health issue worldwide and in order to widen the understanding of gender based violence it is essential to include men and boys in this. Rape destroys the masculine identity of the victim both at the social and personal level, while the sexual mutilation is referred as torture the male victims of such atrocity continue to live with this psychological trauma and this is largely because rape is strongly associated as a crime against the females (Shivkumaran, 2007)

Statistics on Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones

The WHO report on sexual violence states that standard reporting and data collection is highly effected in the conflict zones as there are logistical barriers and breakdown of routine reporting (Dartnall, 2011). However the paper represents the estimate of rape cases that happened during the war conflicts:

Conflict Countries	Year	Report Source	No. of Cases	Methodology	Male Atrocities Reported
Liberia Civil War	1989	Report by Human Rights Watch		Based on Interviews of the victims	32.6% of men were reported to be raped
Bosnia War	1993	Reported by European Commission	20,000	Interview of knowledgeable persons and key informants	No cases reported
Rwanda Genocide	1994	United Nations Special Rapporteur	2,50,000-5,00,000	Based on number of recorder pregnancies	Does not capture the sexual violence against men
Democratic Republic of Congo	Mid 1990s	Nationally representative Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) (WHO, 2011) ¹		Media and advocacy coverage stated that, 'tens of thousands of women raped over a decade'	23.6% males were reported to be raped
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1994	Special Rapporteur (A/48/92-S/25341) ²	25,000	State Commission in Bosnia and Herzegovina	No account of Male victims

1. The number has been used to infer a magnitude of sexual violence in the country. Limitation of this figure is based only on the cases reported to the United Nations.
2. The report by Special Rapporteur on the conflict between Bosnia-Herzegovina studied the atrocities on the female victims. The CEDAW Committee considered the report of Bosnia and Herzegovina at its 253rd meeting, on 1 February (see CEDAW/C/SR.253)

Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Studies explain that during the war between Bosnia-Herzegovina, over 20,000 women were sexually assaulted, according to Skjelsbaek, the raping of women is accepted as a natural consequence of war (Skjelsbaek, 2001). Human Rights and activists and feminists have fought for years for the victimized women during the wartime, but nothing much substantial has been done for the men. It is therefore essential to recognize sexual abuse as a crime against humanity as there is organized use of sexual violence in the war. It is the mass media pressure exposure of the atrocities that can put pressure on the

Male Sexual Violence: Not So Hidden

Sexual violence in the armed conflict has been silenced for long time due to several obvious reasons. Some of these crimes were motivated due to myriad of factors but could not get recognition on pursuit of law till mid of 90's. Apparently historical records remain much silent about the occurrence of sexual violence during the World War II, also since such violence was perpetrated by all sides of conflict therefore it was difficult for one party to make allegations on the other. On reconsidering the issue of sexual violence a report by Special Rapporteur finds out, that during the World War II there were thousands of cases of sexual violence against Asian women and girls who were also known as "Comfort Women" (Women S. R., 1994). There were horrifying tales of the "Comfort Women" that had ironically failed to get attention and had left thousands of people live and die with the trauma. Similarly there are also many gruesome acts of violence and rape that have been used on the men during the war conflict.

Sexual Violence As War Strategy

Numerous cases of sexual violence against men in the conflict zones have been documented by the media and researchers. To mention the few violent sexual abuses on the victims included anal and oral penetrative rapes with objects or different body parts (Elise, 2018). The "Taguba Report," gives details of detainee being sodomized with a chemical light and a broomstick (Taguba, Antonio m). There have also been many examples of genital violence and mutilation.

In allegations made in one of the pleadings by Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina before the international Court of Justice the victim mentioned:

They were hitting me and others in the testicles with the hampers and metal bars, Serb tortures would beat up on the testicles saying, “you will never be able to make up Muslim Children again”³

Numerous cases have been reported of detainees being forced to bite each other testicles and their mouth filled with blood.

During the war the Serbs have forced the Muslim prisoners to perform oral sex on each other especially among the family members, father and sons.⁴

The shocking and disturbing photos of Abu Ghraib prison makes mockery of the Protectors of Human Rights as the American soldiers brutally tortured the Iraqi detainees. The victims were diagnosed with post traumatic disorder and major disruptive disorder.

Under detention prisoners were forced to be naked and were heaped into a pyramid, we were forced to stimulate sexual acts and adopt humiliating poses.⁵

These examples demonstrate not just the heinous nature but also the devastating effects of the violence along with the range of the perpetrators and circumstances under which such violence is committed. Several instances of forced sexual acts between the family members or with the dead are the common part of the atrocities faced by the male detainees (Mckelvey, 2018). The violation of the cultural norms also acts as sexual violation during the war.

During the conflict in Sierra Leone the male family members were forced to rape their female family members or were compelled to watch them dance naked causing intense psychological trauma to both the genders⁶. Such abhorrent acts generally take place under detention in the night when the guards are drunk.

3. See also Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)), Oral Proceedings of Bosnia and Herzegovina (CR 2006/06), 51, available at <http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/91/10596.pdf>

4. Application of Genocide Convention, supra note, 59, 44 D(h)

5. Testimony to BBC News by a victim of sexual violence in Abu Ghraib Prison

6. Some commentators assert that more sexual violence takes place in custodial situations than in non-custodial situations. Oosterhoff et al., supra note 42, at 69 (citing to Amnesty International, A Glimpse of Hell : Reports on Torture Worldwide (2002)).

Help and Care for the Male Victims

Organizations that operate in the conflict settings establish the fact that there is an urgent need to include the programs which are specifically directed towards the survivors of sexual violence. There must be alleged measures for the prevention of sexual violence, in disarmament/demobilization/reintegration (DDR) Programming (Carpanter, 2006). Identifying the males only as perpetrators and not as victims of the sexual assault continues to be a challenge, while assuring that the attention to women is not diminished there should be adequate efforts to bring-up the issue of male victims. Public information campaigns have the opportunity to encourage such type of reporting and it can also help the male victims to reveal their untold stories of atrocities.

The War Crime Trials

International Conventions

The fact that international community has failed to demonstrate clear desire to recognize the issues of male sexual violence therefore the problem continues to persist. Ironically not only the male rapes but the sexual assaults in the conflict zones altogether remained under addressed for very long time. The turning point came after the conflict in Yugoslavia in early 90s and the issue emerged as the serious agenda item of the international community (Cohen). From the mid nineties increasing reports by various NGOs and academicians have been trying to draw the attention of the international community to the fact that males are also the victims of sexual harassment. Till recently little statistical information is available on the sexual violence against males during the conflict due to various reasons.

World War II and Sexual Assaults

After the World War II two war-crime tribunals were established to prosecute the war victims in Tokyo and Nuremberg. As sexual violence was prohibited by the laws of armed conflict during that time, therefore there was no mention of such crimes in either of the charters⁷. Following the horrors of the World War II, four Geneva Conventions are adopted in 1949 which are relevant even in the present time (Bouvier, 2014). The Conventions were initiated to protect and safeguard the interest of the victims. These treaties thus

7. Crimes that were committed against the women were not expressly charged nor referred to in the tribunal judgments, none of the women who were raped were called to testify.

form part of the law of Armed Conflicts and contain certain provisions that apply specifically for women. Thus, the problem with the provisions of the Geneva Convention is that they characterize sexual violence as an attack against the “honor” of the women or an outrage on personal dignity. After women got briefly recognized for being the victim of atrocities the men continued to lack such jurisdictional support.

International Laws and Conventions

International Human Rights Law

The International Human Rights Law provides inadequate legal protection to the male victims of sexual violence because the international human rights define sexual violence in a way that excludes men from being the potential victims and these instruments rather presume women and children only to be the victims, whereby gender based violence becomes synonymous to the ‘sexual violence against women’⁸ (Lewis, 2009). Thus the male victims of sexual violence in armed conflict have negligible presence in human rights instruments.

Year	International Instruments	Provisions
1889 & 1907	Hague Regulations	Does not characterize Rape as violent crime, rather it is conceived as violating “family honor and rights” ⁹
1945	London Charter	Does not mention rape or sexual assault but implicitly refers to them as “ill-treatment”
1946	Tokyo Tribunal	Rape was listed in Tokyo Tribunal as “inhuman treatment” and “ill-treatment”. It is viewed as ancillary to prosecution of war crimes (Lewis, 2009).
1949 IV	Geneva Convention	Relates to protection of people during the war and prohibits , enforced prostitution and indecent assault under Article 27 (IV).
1977	Additional Protocol to 1949 Geneva Convention	Enhances protection against sexual violence in conflict settings. It includes provisions against enforced prostitution and any form of indecent assault. Article 76 specifically prohibits rape against women ¹⁰ .
1998	Rome Statute	It expands the class of expressly enumerated crimes of sexual violence in international Law and it does so in sex-neutral terms

8. For instance Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women define Gender Based violence as ‘violence that is directed against women’.
9. Article 46 of 1907 Hague Convention. This can be broadly read to encompass wartime rape against women.
10. Protocol I, *supra* note 19, art. 76 states that: *Women shall be the object of special respect and shall be protected in particular against rape, forced prostitution and any other form of indecent assault . . .*

Thus most of the normative multilateral resolutions and agreements that prohibit rape are women specific and do not consider men as victims.

Recommendation

Mainstream Humanitarian approach is required to augment the effectiveness mitigation and prevention and respond to the male sexual harassment. The victims of such violence should not only be recognized but their needs should also be made more inclusive. According to Chris Dolan 'Humanitarian intervention is not just essential for the male victims but also for the lesbians, gay, bisexual transgender intersex and any other forms of non-sexual gender based violence' (Dolan, 2014). Thus the issue of rape should be addressed without discriminating in any gender. Studies also reveal that some international conventions provide protection to the boys who are the victims of sexual violence than adult men who have been victimized. Therefore this enhanced explicit protection to the boy, women and children should also be equally operative towards the men victims.

To address the sensitive issue of male rapes specific reintegration programs will be necessary, such programs can be of help to the adult and adolescent males who have been victimized. Adequate steps are required to reintegrate them into the communities that may desire to reject them and to encourage them to establish non-violent relationships with the women (Stemple, *Male Rape And Human Rights* , 2009). Tribunals should be set up to address the issue of male sexual violence while being sensitive towards the victims of sexual violence. Young boys who are sexually abused in conflict zones or post conflicts as detainees also have specific needs. Such boys therefore require passionate counseling, the drop-in counseling centers should be setup where they can talk to the trained professionals who may respond to their grievances (A.Hilton, 2008). Helpline assistance should also be the part of prevention programs, telephone lines should be setup to give crisis support, advise, information and referrals to the boys to prevent such atrocities.

It is thus stated, that international law should be interpreted, applied and enforced in a particular way in order to reduce and prevent sexual violence against men. The international law must delegitimize prejudicial and discriminatory conceptions of gender, sex and homosexuality. Monumental energy has been put in by the Feminist scholars for understanding the sexual

violence against women but the issues of sexual violence against men have failed to get enough attention. However, more research and analysis is required to prevent such abhorrent acts in the war zones where rape is used as a tool of war, genocide and terror. Both men and women become victim of rape and it has extremely dehumanizing effects. It is thus necessary to provide ethical and effective response to such atrocity where sympathy and respect to the survivor is also very important.

Conclusion

The failure of international community to address the issues of sexual violence was traced in the early 90's. It was during this time that the human rights committed against the women during the armed conflict, including the sexual violence. It was thus considered that this violates the fundamental principles of International Human Rights Law and Humanitarian Law ¹¹. In the development of the international laws and norms all forms of sexual violence should be taken into serious consideration in order to effectively curb human rights violations. These laws must interventions in support of the victim and recognize various forms of homophobia, transphobia and militarization, homophobia. Giving recognition and support to the victims will prompt a sea change in the struggle for equality. This will not just fulfill human rights and humanitarian commitments, but will also co-opt in limiting in the pursuit of gender equality agenda. This will raise demand for a new commitment to gender exclusivity and gender equality as a strategy for ending GBV.

The focus on men does not intend to challenge the focus on women victims or to shift the focus away from women victims, who are extremely vulnerable to such atrocities. But focusing on all the victims of sexual violence in the conflict zone can provide valuable insights into understanding of masculinities. Thus, it is essential to take male victims of sexual violence seriously and there should be all the provisions to safeguard the victims and also to provide them with the moral backing so that he can have dignified living.

11. The International Human Rights Law is the set of international rules established by treaty or custom on the basis of which individuals can claim rights and expect benefits by the government. While the Humanitarian Law is set of rules established by treaty or customs that intend to solve the humanitarian problems arising directly from international or non-international conflicts.

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Structural Violence against Children of India: In context of Primary Education

Rachana Narayan

Education is a basic need and the right of every human being. It seeks to develop innate inner capacities of humans. Education, according to Swami Vivekananda, is the manifestation of divine perfection, and provides a holistic perspective of looking at life. Education opens up possibilities of learning and enriching the culture and civilizational gains of past centuries.

However, education is still not available to many of us. According to UNDP around 100 million children of school-going age have failed to attend school in the entire World. (UNDP, 2015) Deprivation primary education to children is an alarming issue. The entire development of any nation depends on how they provide the facilities for the entire development of their children. A healthy and educated child can be a responsible and dependable citizen of his country.

In recent years, there has been increasing policy and research concern with the nature of educational provision for poor and marginalized groups. It is no longer expected that publicly provided education systems would be able to ensure that all children receive even the minimum level of primary education, acknowledged as the right of every child. The right to education is a fundamental human right. Every individual, irrespective of caste, gender, nationality, ethnic or social origin, religion or political preference, age or disability, is entitled to free elementary education. (UNO, 2015)

The status of children in India and the World are alarming and put a question mark on the rules and acts specially enacted for the child welfare and

* Data used in this article collected for the Post Doctoral Fellowship on “Children and Structural Violence in Context of Primary Education in India: With Special Reference of four Major Cities of Uttar Pradesh” funded by Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi.

it also poses serious challenges among the social scientists. By the end of 2017, after 70 years of independence and after Right to education act 2009, India has failed to achieve education (at least primary education) for all children.

50% of the estimated 130 million children in the developing world who do not go to school are in South Asia. In this, India does not fare any better than her smaller and less developed neighbour's. India's record in providing elementary education is lower than the average of the poorest countries in the world. Of the children who do reach a school in India, only 58% complete the primary level, others drop out. (Mahajan, 2008:1)

A child's access to education is often determined by circumstances such as gender, location, conflict, disability and the family's socio-economic status - factors that exist before the child is born. These barriers exclude 61 million primary school-age children from school and deny them a fair chance to reach their full potential. Worst, exclusion from school not only thwarts children's potential but also fuels intergenerational cycles of poverty and disadvantage. It robs societies of a source of dynamic growth and development, and a chance to build social cohesion and reduce tensions that can spark violence. Every girl and boy, regardless of who they are or where they live, is entitled to nothing less than complete access to quality education. But many of the world's poorest and most marginalized children are denied this basic human right. (UNICEF, 2018)

According to the Census of India 2011, 78 lakh Indian children are forced to earn a livelihood even as they attend schools while 8.4 crore children don't go to school at all. The other equally shocking dimension is that only 20 percent of the school age children covered under the Right to Education Act. (Varma, 2016)

The number of out-of-school children [OOSC] put out by various official sources in India show wide variations. The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) survey (IMRB-SRI, 2014) estimate of this figure as 6 million, while for the same year, the National Sample Survey (NSS) figure is 20 million. (Bhatty, 2017)

Around the world

- 61 million children of primary school age (typically aged 6-11) are not in school

- 60 million adolescents of lower secondary school age (typically aged 12-15) are not in school
- More than one-half of all out-of-school children are in Sub-Saharan Africa
- 53 percent of children out of school are girls
- 1 in 4 of out-of-school children live in crises-affected countries
- Of the primary-school-aged children not in school, 20 percent dropped out before finishing primary school, 41 percent will probably never attend and a further 39 percent are expected to enter school as over-age students. (UNICEF, 2018)

There are long ways for providing optimal conditions for the world's children. More than a quarter of the world's population, i.e. about 1.5 billion people, are considered poor and most of the poor live in developing countries. These countries contain more than two-thirds of the world's population but possess only 16 percent of global income. (UNDP, 1997) The gap between the rich and the poor countries is staggering: the richest one-fifth of the world's population has 82.7 percent of the global income while the poorest one-fifth has only 1.4 percent. (UNDP, 1992)

Children and Structural Violence

Throughout the world, children suffer from structural violence. About twelve million children under five years old die each year in developing countries, mostly because of preventable causes. The deaths of over six million children, or 55 percent, are caused by malnutrition, not because there is a shortage of food in the world but because food is unequally distributed. Other preventable causes of malnutrition include poor health services, unsafe water, inadequate sanitation, harmful child-rearing practices, and a lack of maternal support. More than 2.2 million children under the age of five die each year from infectious diseases, including childhood diarrhea. These diseases are primarily caused by unsafe drinking water and inadequate sanitation and are thus preventable. (UNICEF, 1998)

Besides the twelve million children who die from preventable diseases each year, even more, disturbing is the fact that each year 160 million children survive the dire conditions of crushing poverty, but end up chronically malnourished and suffer from severe developmental disabilities both physically and mentally. Given the poor health status of so many children, it is not surprising

that over 100 million children of school age fail to attend school, and most of them are girls. While it has long been recognized that the education of men is important, it is becoming increasingly clear that when women are deprived of education, everyone pays an enormous price. (Christie, 2001)

The brutalities of structural violence on children are often seen as some major problems of societies i.e. Child labour, Child Beggar, Child trafficking, Child education, Child health and nutrition, Child marriage, Juvenile justice, Child sex abuse, Torture and abuse of children, etc.

Children in all societies have the least voice, power, and control over their own lives, and as such, are extremely vulnerable to abuses in power relationships. The cruelties of structural violence on children are often subtle, unspoken, unrecognized, and even normalized, regarded by many people as natural or “just the way things are.”

Structural violence refers to systematic ways in which social systems harm people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs. Structural violence is subtle, often invisible, and often has no one specific person who can be held responsible. It is the unequal distribution of power and wealth within and between societies, and it has insidious effects on the health, development, education, and general welfare of millions of people. (Christie, 2001:10)

Child’s Right on International Level

In the 19th century, children acquired special attention to control the exploitation of children by means of child labour, to provide primary education and to prevent extreme cases of negligence. In the 20th century, the children got some rights. In 1924, the League of Nations adopted the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which established children’s rights as means for material, moral and spiritual development; special help when they are hungry, sick, disabled or orphaned. (Moorehead, 1989:10-11)

In 1948, the UN General Assembly approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which referred to in article 25 that children born in or out of wedlock are “entitled to special care and assistance.” In 1959 the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which recognized rights such as freedom from discrimination and the right to a name and a nationality. It also specifically enshrined children’s rights to education, health, care, and special protection. (Christie, 2001:10)

1979 was declared as the International Year of the Child. (Verma, 1981:171) In 1989, the UN General Assembly unanimously approved the Convention on the Rights of the Child. This convention gives several rights to the child at the international level for the first time. Before 1989, all conventions were the only duties for the states. (UNO, 1991:1-4) In 1990 the World Summit for Children was held. The leaders signed the World Declaration on the Survival, Protection and Development of Children as well as a Plan of Action for implementing the Declaration, goals to be achieved by the year 2000. (UNICEF, 1990) In 1999, the Convention concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour was adopted. In 2000, the UN Millennium Development Goals incorporate specific targets related to children, including reducing the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography. In 2002, the UN General Assembly held a Special Session on Children, meeting for the first time to specifically discuss children's issues. (UNO, 2002)

Despite the near universal ratification of the UNCRC and the addition of two Optional Protocols, child protection is weak in much of the world. While governments appear to agree with the principle that children should not be abused, trafficked, exploited or exposed to hazardous labour, their commitment to creating and sustaining a protective environment for children is less clear. The rights of billion children are violated because they are severely underserved of at least one of the basic amenities or services that would allow them to survive, develop and thrive. (Kaushik, 2014:1-16)

In the developing world, more than one in three children do not have adequate shelter, one in five children do not have access to safe water, and one in seven has no access to any essential health services. Over 16 percent of children under five lack adequate nutrition and 13 percent of all children have never been to school. There are 2.2 billion children in the world of which one billion live in poverty. About 121million children are out of education worldwide. 10.6 million children die before they reach the age of five. 1.4 million die each year from lack of safe drinking water and adequate sanitation. 2.2 million children die each year because they are not immunized and 1.5 million children are orphaned due to HIV/ AIDS. (UNICEF, 2013)

India and Child Rights

Education occupies an important place in the Indian Constitution and there has been emphasis on free and compulsory education for the children in

the country for a long time. There is a strong and historical perspective. Hunter commission in 1882-83 almost 136 years ago, recommended universal education for India. It proposed to make education compulsory for children in India. (RTE Act, 2009)

Despite all the efforts, India has more depriving children than any other nation, even though, after independence, the constitution of India expressed some commitment to provide a safe, secure and healthy environment to children through various rules and regulations in the constitution. Article 15 (3) enables the state to make special provisions for children. Article 24 explicitly prohibits child labour and the hazardous employment of children.(Iyer, 1998:1-2)

Article 39(f) further directs the state in its policy towards the well-being of the children. Article 39 (c) guarantees that children of tender age should not be subject to abuse and should be given opportunities to develop in a healthy manner. Article 45 makes provision for free and compulsory education for children. Article 47 states that the state has to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living and to improve public health. .(Christie, 2007:10)

The Government of India passed the Children Act 1960 to introduce uniformity and to establish separate child welfare boards to handle cases relating to neglected children. In 1974 the government adopted a National Policy for Children. The Indian legislature has enacted several legislations to improve and protect the lives of children. The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act 2000 and its amendment in 2006 (Sharma, 2016) and Right to Education Act 2009 are significant in this regard. With the 86th Constitutional amendment on 12th December 2002, Article 21 was amended and inserted a new Article 21A in the Indian Constitution. By this amendment Right to Education became a fundamental right. (The Constitution (Eighty Six Amendment) Act, 2002)

The article 21 A includes various rules and regulations to fulfill the goal of all children in the age group of 6-14 are in the school. According to this article, “The Local Authority shall identify the neighborhood school(s) where children can be admitted and make such information public for each habitation within its jurisdiction.”

According to Right to Education Act, 2009, Local authorities will maintain the records of children for clause (d) of section 9

- The Local Authority shall maintain a record of all children, in its jurisdiction, through a household survey, from their birth till they attain 14 years.
- The record referred to in sub-Rule (1), shall be updated each year.
- The record, referred to in sub-Rule (1), shall be maintained transparently, in the public domain, and used for clause (e) of section 9
- The record, referred to in sub-Rule (1) shall, in respect of every child, include
 - (a) name, sex, date of birth, (Birth Certificate Number), place of birth;
 - (b) parents'/ guardians' names, address, occupation;
 - (c) pre-primary school/Anganwadi centre that the child attends (up to age 6);
 - (d) the elementary school where the child is admitted;
 - (e) present address of the child;
 - (f) class in which the child is studying (for children between age 6-14), and if education is discontinued in the territorial jurisdiction of the Local Authority, the cause of such discontinuance;
 - (g) whether the child belongs to the weaker section within the meaning of clause (e) of section 2 of the Act;
 - (h) whether the child belongs to any disadvantaged group within the meaning of clause (d) of section 2 of the Act; (i) details of children requiring special facilities/residential facilities on account of migration and sparse population; age-appropriate admission; disability.
- The Local authority shall ensure that the names of all children enrolled in the schools under its jurisdiction are publicly displayed in each school. (Lowmann's, 2017)

Despite Constitutional guarantees of rights, children face discrimination based on caste, religion, ethnicity and religion. Even the basic need for birth registration that will assure them nationality and identity remains unaddressed, affecting children's rights to basic services.

India has the largest child population in the world i.e. almost 19 percent of the world's child population. However, it is estimated that the working children in India are 44 million. Ninety-two million children exist below the poverty line and are malnourished. Over 2.1 million children die annually

before reaching their fifth birthday and one child dies every three seconds. (Kaushik, 2014:1-16)

Children are involved in many crimes, however the crimes reported most are: rape, kidnapping, abduction, buying, selling, abetment of suicide, exposure, abandonment, infanticide and child marriage. Children also become victims of neglect, abuse and child bondage or slavery. Many children also come into conflict with the law while many others spend their childhood begging either due to poverty or under any other kind of threat. (Pachauri, 1999:6)

With reference to all the accords and acts, it is understood that the Indian government is committed towards child rights and education but the ground reality is different. The government has hardly shown any political will to address the issue. Instead, it argues that formal schools are inappropriate for certain social groups, that poor parents are unwilling to send their children to school and that the existing schools are inadequate. Ironically, most of the Indian children below fourteen years of age deprived of elementary education and they are forced to do some work for their and their family's livelihood.

Hypothesis

This is ironical in India that between the ages of 6 to 14 when children are supposed to be in school, most children are deprived of even primary education. Why is it so? This is a very alarming and prime question.

In the first vision, the reason behind it is Poverty. Poverty is the main reason behind all other reasons. All reasons are interlinked with poverty. In most of the families, children who are deprived of education, are living below the poverty line.

“Poverty, availability, and accessibility are big three reasons why children are out of school,” says Soha Moitra of Child Rights and You (CRY). “When a family is not financially secure, prioritizing a child's education takes a backseat. (Sampath, 2016)

Unfortunately, students have to give up their education due to economic reasons. Failing to pay the school fee can be one such reason. Several demanding situations can surface where adolescent children of the family are asked or looked upon as a helping hand to the family. Here, these children are often emotionally led to abandoning their academic life and focus their attention

on the family crisis. Most of the girls abandon their studies to attend domestic chores whereas the boys leave their schools to Supplement Household Income.

Illiteracy, itself a reason behind this problem. Due to poverty, in most of the families parents are illiterate, and they do not know the value of education. Instead of education, they prefer to send their children for work or begging, so that the families earn some money for their livelihood. In many families, people think that educating their children is not necessary. They have to do the same job that their parents have been doing. Therefore these children leave the schools during the primary schooling itself. Neither parents nor children consider education as a need.

Population growth is one of the reasons behind the problem. Generally, these families have a big family structure. Due to the big family size, the eldest children have to sacrifice their education.

The unemployment of parents can be the other reason. In some families father or mothers are unemployed and they do not work therefore their children take responsibility to earn for the family. Sometimes the death of parents compels them to work or beg. Generally, children who work at any dhabhas or as Assistant of any automobile workshop can be an orphan child.

Many children live on the wrong side of the tracks in places where education is not valued, where drugs, gangs, and violence abound. And where schools are low-performing, they often lack community and health support.

Reasons for Children out of School

The number of out-of-school children [OOSC] put out by various official sources in India show wide variations. The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) survey (IMRB-SRI, 2014) estimate this figure as 6 million, while for the same year, the National Sample Survey (NSS) figure is 20 million. (Bhatty, 2017)

According to a study, there are ten probable reasons for children not going to school. Following are the ten reasons:-

- Because they are girls
- Because they live in war zones
- Because they have disabilities

- Because their countries are poor
- Because of child marriage
- Because of natural disasters
- Because of too few teachers
- Because they're child labourers
- Because of poor sanitation
- Because there is no school (Watt, 2014)

As per a report, in India, children remain out of school due to lack of basic facilities such as separate toilets for boys and girls, classroom, furniture, electricity, library, playground and qualified teachers. Sufficient number of upper primary schools within a reasonable distance is also a main reasons among the girl child. (India Today, 2018)

Table 1.1 shows the probable reasons behind the children remain out of school. These reasons are found from the interviews of 200 children from the four major cities of Uttar Pradesh. The study examined the deprivation of children from primary education due to structural violence. The researcher selected those children who are not getting even primary education due to poverty or under any other threat. She selected those children who are engaged in begging and working in shops and dhabas or traditional business.

Table 1.1
Causes for Children remain Out of School

Causes	Child Beggars	Child Workers	Total
Helping parents to earn family business		27	27 (13.5%)
Poverty	41	49	90 (45%)
Parents Will	9	12	21 (10.5%)
Begging with parents	10		10 (5%)
To fulfill basic needs		5	5 (2.5%)
Big Family Size	15	25	40 (20%)
Gender Discrimination		7	7 (3.5%)
Total	75	125	200

Source: "Children and Structural Violence in Context of Primary Education in India: With Special reference to Four Major City of Uttar Pradesh", Final Report, Post Doctoral Fellowship, Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi

Those interviewed children live in extreme poverty. About 45% of children remain out of school due to poverty. They are living below the poverty line. Poverty affects education and as well as our children. Children living in poverty tend to be exposed to more stress, more intense & longer-lasting stress that negatively impact attention, focus, cognition, IQ and social skills.

The effects of poverty on children are wide-reaching and can lead to lifelong struggles, especially when children of tender age don't get an education.

Poverty and education are inextricably linked, because people living in poverty may stop going to school, which leaves them ill.

What happens when a country of the size of India has over 3 million children living on the streets? Or has over 150 million children working as bonded labourers? Or one out of every six girl child does not live to see her 15th birthday? What happens when despite having a national policy for compulsory primary education, less than 50% of children have access to education?

All these questions are interlinked to poverty. Due to poverty, children and their family are forced to live in slums and to work or beg. The condition of girl children is very pitiful. Their physical, mental development is spoiled due to poverty. No one child has been getting primary education from these poor children who are spending their lives in slums.

The statement "Children are the future of the nation" stops making any sense. It is a tragedy that even after 70 years of independence, half of India's children are illiterate, despite identifying primary education as a key thrust area and possessing one of the largest networks of schools in the world.

According to table 1.1, 20% of children remain out of school due to their big family size. The relationship between family size and child education has attracted a lot of attention in social sciences. According to a hypothesis, an additional child decreases the amount of time and financial means that parents can devote per child. (Blake, 1989) The larger the family, the greater the dilution of parental resources, and the more limited are the educational chances of each child. Hence, parents face trade-off between quantity and educational chances of children when making decisions regarding the size of their family. (Black, 2005:669-700)

The mechanism of dilution of parental resources – if it is indeed at work – plays a key role in the reproduction of social inequalities. Given that children from large families may have lower chances of receiving an adequate education, and at the same time due to intergenerational transmission of fertility preferences they are likely to form large families themselves, their offspring may again be disadvantaged. (Murphy, 2002:235-248)

Due to the big family size, the elder children lost their chance to get primary education too. They have to support their parents to earn money for the family. If they are girls, then they have to look after their younger brothers and sisters and perform some household activities in the absence of their mothers. Sometimes they also work to support their family. During the survey, the researcher also observed that due to the death of a mother or father or both, children are forced to do some work or beg instead of studying.

The government has launched many policies to control the population growth in India in the cities as well as in rural areas. Population Policies are formulated to address the unmet needs for contraception, health care infrastructure, and health personnel, and to provide integrated service delivery for basic reproductive and child health care. The main objective is to achieve a stable population at a level consistent with the requirements of sustainable economic growth, social development, and environmental protection.

India is the first country in the world to begin a population control program in 1952. It emphasized the use of natural devices for family planning. In the year 1976, under the fifth five-year plan, the National Population Policy was announced. In 1993, the government had established an expert group under the chairmanship of M.S. Swaminathan for formulating national population policy. Though this group had prepared the draft of the new population policy in 1994, it was reviewed in 1999 by the Family Welfare Department and was passed by the Parliament in 2000. The Central Government formulated the 'new national population policy' in February 2000. A high-level National Population Commission of 100 members has been set up under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister on 11 May 2000 to supervise and analyse the implementation of this new population policy. (Anwar, 2017)

Many Aanganwadi workers are deployed to campaign for the National Population Policy in cities and rural areas. Many doctors are also involved in

this campaign. Anganwadi workers visit door to door to teach the women about the family planning method. Despite all policies, the population of India is increasing day by day. This is the very crucial question, Why is it so?"

13.5% of these children are out of school and are working with their parents in their family business. In the saree and carpet industry, there is a high rate of Child workers in unorganised nature. It is common for children as young as 5 or 6 to begin working in the industry because it is believed to be more efficient to teach them from a very young age rather than teaching the trade an older child of 12. There is a myth in the carpet industry that a 4 or 5-year-old child can learn the skill very easily because of his/her little, soft and thin fingers. They become habitual to this work and their fingers work automatically without much effort. So they prefer their child to sit in front of loom instead of going school.

There are two kinds of weavers. The first is the loom owners. And second are contractual weavers, who come and work without any sort of responsibility for things, and they receive a fixed wages every day, irrespective of the working conditions.

Deprivation from education is at a high rate among the second kind of weavers. Due to poverty, they force their children to do the same work as they are doing. Children from the first kind of weaver also work and drop out from their school in the name of learning their family business skills. Parents think that they have to engage themselves in the family business so education is not necessary for them.

10.5% of children work due to their parent's wishes. Due to extreme poverty, they have to work for their families. Normally the eldest child of the family goes to work.

10% of children beg with their mothers or fathers. Because their father or mothers are already begging, they accompany them from an early age. So begging is developed in them naturally. And when they come to the age of 4 or 5 they start begging.

5% of children work to fulfill their basic needs. Normally, they work in dhabhas or shops. Sometimes, they do not have their parents, either they are dead or deserted them.

Sometimes girl children have to sacrifice their education for their younger brothers or sisters. Being a girl, they are supposed to do some household works like cooking or working as a maid in another house or look after their siblings etc.

Apart from the above reasons, some other causes are working behind it. That is the absence of a political will, Lack of awareness of parents and society, irresponsible role of school administration and Negligence of Governmental agencies.

Strong political will is needed to implement the policies forcefully. This is not only the political issue but also a social issue. We have to take some steps to change the mindset of society towards children especially deprived children. On the other hand, we have to do structural reform to overcome structural violence. A sustained commitment of politicians and administrators to invest the necessary resource to achieve specific objectives and rules and a willingness to make and implement all policies may help to alleviate the problem. In Uttar Pradesh, no political leaders show their interest in child education. In all four cities, child beggars and child workers are seen on streets but no one bothers why they are on roads and not in school.

Unawareness towards the education policy is also the main reason for the children remain out of school. During the survey, the researcher did not find any parent who knows the rules of RTE, 2009. Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 is an ambitious and forward-looking move that guarantees every child the right to have a worthy education. Our society can also do much for child education. Society can make those people aware of the RTE 2009. But no political leader nor society takes much effort to the rights of children. According to Nobel Peace Prize winner Shri Kailash Satyarathi, as children have no voting rights, no political leader or political parties take the issues seriously.

School administration is also not interested in enrolling the needy children in the school. They just fulfill their target for admitting a certain number of students in one session. Because of this callous attitude of school administration, real deprived children remain out of school

According to a provision of RTE, 2009, Private schools should give 25% of seats to the economically weaker section. But pupil from the real weaker

section cannot get admission in the private schools due to unawareness of parents and due to extreme corruption in governmental agencies and some cases school administration too. Some time, some schools prepare bogus application forms of students from weaker section. School administration and Education Department jointly do this work. They don't bother about the candidates belonging to the weaker section or not. Sometimes students, who can easily afford the school expenses get admission to private schools under RTE, 2009. They got all the false certificate for admission.

Children are the future of a country or instead we can say that a country's future is dependent upon the upbringing of her children. If the children are not nurtured properly, the country's future will be ruined. This was rightly realized by our late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. So, he advised the people to observe his birthday on the 14th of November as the children's Day.

On the Children's day, the neglecting people will get an opportunity to think of the future of their children. The whole society should think of its duty and responsibility towards the children. They should think of what has been done for the children in the year past and what should be done for them in the year coming. Because children are the future citizens of the country and the future of the country depends upon the present children. People will know that every individual in our society has a sacred duty towards the children.

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A Report on New Nepal: Challenges and Opportunities

Binod P Bista

For any country, developed or developing and regardless of its geographical location or economic status, the present order of the day desired by developed countries is full focus on democracy for a variety of reasons. While the President George Bush of United States viewed democratic governance of other countries around the world essential for ending tyranny and providing security to its homeland, Indian Prime Minister Modi at his recent visit to Nepal stated that relations between two countries would be strengthened through democracy. Although PM Modi is not specific as to why relations between India and Nepal would be bolstered through democracy, the best guess is that India, itself a democratic republic, would be more comfortable to conduct its business with other democracies in the region, especially its neighbors. These discussions assume greater importance as Nepal has been transformed from a “constitutional monarchy with parliamentary democracy” to “federal democratic republic”.

Emergence of New Nepal

The title ‘New Nepal’ thus signifies a colossal change in governance rather than the country being free or independent from foreign dominion. Though Nepal remained free and independent since its establishment as a nation¹ some two hundred fifty years back, its experiments with different forms of governance such as direct rule by Shah Kings, system under Rana Oligarchy, Party-less Panchayat system, democratic system under constitutional monarchy, produced poor results in fostering economic development. The new constitution of Nepal

1. Prithvi Narayan Shah conquered the valley in 1769 and moved his capital to Kathmandu shortly thereafter, providing the foundation for the modern state of Nepal.

promulgated on 20 September (constitution of Nepal, 2015) proclaims Nepal as a Federal Democratic Republic. It is all the more important for the Nepalese people as well as their representatives to understand and execute the new constitution for the wellbeing of the people-at-large. Dev Raj Dahal asserts that a balance between four core elements, “acquisition of power, maintenance of democratic ideals, promotion of social wellbeing of the people and constructive change in society making violent conflict redundant” are the necessary initial steps required to instate democracy in Nepal.

Although Nepal took the path of parliamentary democracy with constitutional monarchy, similar to that of United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, some twenty-seven years back, this parliamentary exercise failed miserably. Nepal’s 1990 constitution failed not because it was a bad one but many provisions were non-implemented, says a report of International IDEA. Sanjeev Humagain and JungminSeo attribute the failure to “exclusive parliamentary politics”—a continuous dominance of few political leaders in both political parties and governments, despite regular parliamentary and local elections. There are others who see political party leaders’ partisan and personal interests that led to public apathy. In spite of creating a democratic constitution (1990)² under the guidance of Nepal’s seasoned leaders from all

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2. Whereas, We are convinced that the source of sovereign authority of the independent and sovereign Nepal is inherent in the people, and, therefore, We have, from time to time, made known our desire to conduct the government of the country in consonance with the popular will; And Whereas, in keeping with the desire of the Nepalese people expressed through the recent people’s movement to bring about constitutional changes, we are further inspired by the objective of securing to the Nepalese people social, political and economic justice long into the future; And Whereas, it is expedient to promulgate and enforce this Constitution, made with the widest possible participation of the Nepalese people, to guarantee basic human rights to every citizen of Nepal; and also to consolidate Adult Franchise, the Parliamentary System of Government, Constitutional Monarchy and the System of Multi-Party Democracy by promoting amongst the people of Nepal the spirit of fraternity and the bond of unity on the basis of liberty and equality; and also to establish an independent and competent system of justice with a view to transforming the concept of the Rule of Law into a living reality: Now, Therefore, keeping in view the desire of the people that the State authority and sovereign powers shall, after the commencement of this Constitution, be exercised in accordance with the 4 provisions of this Constitution, I, King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Deva, by virtue of the State authority as exercised by Us, do hereby promulgate and enforce this Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal on the recommendation and advice, and with the consent of the Council of Ministers (9 November 1990).

parties including the Nepali Congress and CPN-UML, the failure of that constitution is attributed to a lack of “ownership, responsibility and accountability” by Nepal’s political parties and their governments. It is believed that the emergence of insurgency barely six years following Nepal’s democratic constitution of 1990 occurred as a result of continuation of non-inclusive nature of Nepali society and discriminatory treatment of some districts, particularly in remote areas, pushing them further into a viscous cycle of underdevelopment—poverty—conflict.

Yurendra Basnett questions the often quoted simplistic explanation of inequality— true but that condition existed for a long time, as the cause of Maoist movement despite Nepal being a fully democratic country at the time (1996). His research gives credence to CPN-Maoist party ideological construction of oppressor and oppressed, that provided support and sympathy to the movement for creating a collective force and govern. Thomas A. Marks states that CPN-Maoists waged a war to seize state power and institute a new order ‘new democracy’ as posited by Mao Tse Tung. For achieving this goal, the Maoists united with other legal parties to oust monarchy and establish republic.

As a result of joint agitation launched by Nepali Congress and CPN-UML joined by CPN—Maoists (then insurgents) not only King Gyanendra was thrown out of power³ but the nearly 240-year old institution of monarchy was also abolished from the history of Nepal. At this juncture, the insurgents who had waged a fight against the established political parties (NC and CPN-UML, among others) were provided second largest number of seats in the parliament restored by King Gyanendra’s decree just before he was thrown out. Though CPN-UML, a full-fledged communist party, had agreed earlier to be a party to parliamentary democracy system of governance and even governed Nepal in 1995, CPN-Maoists Center’s experiment with parliamentary democracy was short lived. Last ten years after the end of monarchy and creation of constituent assembly, Nepal remained in a state of prolonged transition until the second CA came out with a constitution in

3. The interim Parliament stripped Gyanendra of all his powers in June 2007, announced nationalization of royal properties, removed the monarch’s face from its currency and ended his mandatory presence at major national and religious functions.

2015⁴ which also agreed to convert the remaining period of CA into legislative parliament.

Nepal's exercise with democracy—under constitutional monarchy and federal republic (during transition under interim constitution), has remained short and apparently less effective. For the first time after the new constitution of 2015, the alliance of CPN-UML and CPN-Maoists Center has secured nearly two-third seats in the federal parliament and six out of seven Pradesh (states) are headed by the coalition. It is generally expected that the present government will govern for the next five years providing political stability so necessary for economic growth and development. Then, what could be the possible challenges facing Nepal today?

Challenges

The first and foremost challenge Nepal faces today is to cope with political, administrative, social and economic restructuring as the country moves from unitary to federal system besides formulating appropriate legal and policy environment (IDEA report). It is also to find a suitable governance model to make federalism work with coveted goals of inclusion and social justice given that Nepal is a multiethnic, multilingual, multi religious country. Iaine Payne and Binayak Basnyat observe that Nepal's federalism is in jeopardy with rising controversy on the issue of sharing of resources between three tiers of government. There are also reports indicating federalism and inclusiveness as antithesis, Kushal Pokhrel being one of them, reiterates this phenomenon and stresses the system's success in a country with a near homogenous population such as Switzerland.

Nepal's fifth largest party represented in federal parliament, Federal Socialist Form, Nepal, provided its support to the alliance recently by inducting few ministers in the current government. Now, apprehensions are ripe in Nepal, especially in Nepali Congress, whether the newly acquired two-third majority of the government might lead to detriment of the nation by making major amendments in Nepal's constitution. The alliance leaders, however, reject the

4. We, the Sovereign People of Nepal, do hereby pass and promulgate this Constitution, through the Constituent Assembly, in order to fulfil the aspirations for sustainable peace, good governance, development and prosperity through the federal, democratic, republican, system of governance.

notion of a possible curtailment of democratic principles and norms impinging on critical bases of fundamental human rights and rule of law, and creation of a different economic policy as baseless and an act of belittling and even questioning the trust placed by Nepalese voters. There are other serious challenges on the issues of operability of federal system which Nepal has adopted for the first time in its history.

One of such challenges is termed as ‘Federal Challenge’ by Sanjeev Sharma where it is outlined that taxation and distribution of resources as critical. Besides, constitutional expert Warris Husain holds the view that constitution implementation involves intergenerational efforts. Further challenges are said to be distribution of ‘economic and social rights among seven provinces’ together with maintaining national unity for settling disputes and difficulties. Redistribution of civil servants to new provincial and local administrations as well as change in bureaucratic culture required to engage in transparent and ‘interactive relationship between state and society’ could pose a daunting challenge, state Puskar Bajracharya and Clive Grace. It does require understanding, wisdom and action on the part of representatives while the people themselves need to be made aware of this reality who in turn need to have a good amount of patience and perseverance. Nepal’s constitution needs to be implemented sincerely for which new laws are to be enacted, new set of institutions will have to be put in place. In addition, adequate resources are required with good will and creativity as back up. Implementation of new constitution is challenging, to say the least, Ram Sharan Mahat a former minister and NC leader opines—a report carried by Navhind Times.

The other challenge, no lesser than the previous ones, is literally to build every Pradesh from ground up since all of Nepal’s Pradesh including Pradesh ३ (Kathmandu-capital lies in this state) lacks essential infrastructure, trained manpower, and resources. Except in some cities, the condition and quality of educational institutions, healthcare facilities and other utilities are either non-existent or barely available. Safety and security needs of the people are grossly inadequate in almost all states. For hard working Nepalese of all backgrounds, regardless of ethnicities or caste, their only desire is to lead a dignified life based on opportunity for income generation—jobs availability in the market or self-employment; standard schooling for their offspring, healthcare facilities for the family and last but not the least feeling of personal safety and security.

In Nepal, especially after the devastating earthquake of 2015 that damaged scores of public buildings and numerous private homes in fourteen districts, it has further pushed down the capacity of several Pradesh-esto stand up and rebuild.

While discussing Nepal's earthquake impact on various sectors, National Planning Commission report enumerates them as "health, education, economy, cultural heritages, food and nutrition, tourism and other productive sectors". Situation today, three years since the earthquake, has not changed much owing to frequent change of national government disrupting continuity of restoration activities. A report posted on 12 May 2017 from a national workshop conducted in Nepal by researchers, Hemant Ojha, Elleen Baldry and Krishna K Shrestha, from University of New South Wales(Australia) outlined four underlying problems for the painfully slow recovery of damaged infrastructures as follows: i) Partisan squabbling; ii) Absence of local government; iii) Ineffective International Aid, and iv) Regional tensions. One of the four issues is now buried after the successful local elections conducted in line with the new constituton. This situation and other recurring natural disasters (flooding, landslides) causing newer problems virtually all over Nepal have further weakened the already fragile state of Nepalese society's capacity to withstand sudden natural disasters in order to move ahead on a path of development. For most poor developing countries the aftermath of disasters takes away the bulk of infrastructure directly affecting the development work and creating fissures in social cohesion and harmony. Mohsen Rezaeian concludes and recommends for further epidemiological research on association between natural disasters and violence.

One of the important challenges that new Nepal faces today is its inability to carve out a clear identity of the nation for its neighbors, friendly states and the international community for them to understand the character of the nation for conducting bilateral, regional and global affairs. Nepal is governed by an alliance of leftist parties, United Marxist Leninist and Maoist Center, and now joined by Federalist Social Forum, which is yet to come up with clear foreign, economic and cultural policies. In a way, there is confusion in foreign investors who wish to lend their handsto Nepal. Even among Nepal's closest neighbors, India and China, businesses there appear to be hesitant in spite of their governments nudging them to invest in Nepal. Since Nepal not only falls short on resources, particularly financial, it is equally deficient in technology expected

by all developing countries, more so by emerging economies. Nepal is yet to create an enabling environment for businesses especially manufacturing for long term development and generation of employment. Also, the small and medium businesses in Nepal are either swallowed up by bigger businesses in collusion with regulatory authorities as well as financial institutions or face obstacles at every step. This condition alone has prevented entry of new entrepreneurs in the industrial sector causing unhealthy business environment and subsequently causing soaring unemployment in the past two decades. Despite succeeding governments assurances for providing good environment to FDI in Nepal, the World Bank's *Doing Business 2017* report ranks Nepal on 107th where it is stated that 'an average business requires seven procedures to register taking 17 days on average to complete' (source-US govt. office of investment affairs investment climate).

While India's predominant concern seems to be infiltration of terrorists, fake currencies, drugs from Indo-Nepal porous borders—stated as unwanted activities by S Bandopadhyay of SSB, also quoted by Buddhi Narayan Shrestha from India Ambassador's to Nepal interview around in 2010; Chinese major concern has to do with security in the Tibetan Autonomous Region which, too, borders Nepal. Nepal has been reiterating to its powerful neighbors that it will never allow its soil against any of its neighbors, and it has kept its promise within its means yet the concerns that have harbored in the minds of Nepal's neighbors have to do more with security perceptions. While India seems to be highly concerned of Pakistan's militants crossing over Nepal to India, Chinese are troubled by the followers of Dalai Lama, Tibetans as well as foreigners, who have been campaigning for "free Tibet" also purportedly crossing over Nepal. Nepal is required to tread its path cautiously and carefully and take all necessary measures to assure its neighbors that no untoward activities take place on its soil.

On a larger plane, so long as both India and China are wary of each other, the current security perception situation will not go away and Nepal must understand this reality despite full assurances and support promised by both its neighbors. In this sense Nepal needs to design its security policy within its means for achieving twin objectives: maintain national security and stability, and support security related measures of its neighbors since Nepal cannot remain within a security umbrella of either. Pramod Jaiswal believes that keeping a balance between India and China would not be easy for a Nepali government

as “interests of India and China overlap in Nepal”. Nepal must make every possible effort to bring long term stability, that can come only through stable governments pursuing good governance and backed by economic growth and development, which alone can address the neighbors’ concern of security. Huang Youyi says that “Nepal’s strategic location prevents it from being a burden for India or China”. India’s former PM IK Gujral, while as Union Minister of External Affairs in 1996-1997, propounded five principles in India’s relations with its close neighbors including Nepal. Also known as ‘Gujral Doctrine’ it emphasized on importance of India’s unilateral accommodation for friendly and warm relations with India’s neighbors.

Frequent changes of governments prevented continuity of economic policies discouraging FDI coming to Nepal, the main source of investment available today. The international community needs to support by every means to countries like Nepal which have struggled hard to stay put despite lot of problems emerging from poverty, lack of employment, lack of access to technology as well as shortage of well trained manpower. In reality, the youth of Nepal has been seeking its fortunes outside of the country creating a stark void of productive manpower so necessary to build a country. Although the new government has taken the first required step to dismantle ‘syndicate of public transportation’, there are scores of other such syndicates in every conceivable sector such as education, health, farm produces, and so on. It is expected that the new government would take care of all the other vices that check and retard smooth functioning of productive activities. In fact, FDI would be inconceivable if the present condition of industrial labor, backed up by major political parties resulting in frequent strikes and Bandhs, were to continue without the practice of collective bargaining for fair treatment of labors as mandated by international agencies like ILO. Also, there needs to be clear and transparent administrative rules and relations for operating business in Nepal by foreign investors—mostly quoted benchmark being “ease of entry and exit”.

Nepal may need to learn from Republic of Korea, that transformed the nation with hard work (contributing many more hours at work voluntarily than generally prescribed by ILO or other such agencies) and focusing on Official Development Assistance (ODA). FDI for Nepal is the biggest challenge as it cannot compete with either of its neighbors in any product or service category. The best solution for Nepal could be to assume the role of an

intermediary producer of goods and services for established businesses in India and China for now with a clear objective of graduating in basic industries as it gains expertise as well as resources.

Opportunities

It is not to say that Nepal is devoid of opportunities. It has to identify areas where its expertise and comparative advantage works best. Nepal's natural resources including the Himalayan range—with Mount Everest at its pinnacle, huge lakes, perennial rivers, biodiversity and astounding scenery indicate its natural focus.

Recently, there is a lot of discussions on the possibility of constructing railroads on both sides of the Nepali border for better connectivity within the country and for realising Nepal's dream of becoming a transit country to the burgeoning trade of India and China. By this action Nepal's geographical handicap of being a land locked country—clearly taking her out of competition in export trade in the region as well as internationally, would be ameliorated to a greater extent. However, the export trade would have to be worked out closely with its neighbors without whose help and support there are hardly any chances to develop. In this regard Nepal's conduct of international relations assumes enormous importance. Owing to its very geo-political compulsion Nepal is destined to remain a truly non-aligned nation not only in the sense of global power equation but also managing its affairs with its contiguous neighbors. The biggest challenge as well as tremendous opportunity to Nepal today lies in the conduct of its bilateral relations with India and China. Both India and China have assigned paramount importance to their security issue and considering Nepal as a soft belly between them, they are overconscious on any little thing that takes place in Nepal.

As opposed to regular discussions that go around in the Nepali society for attaining Nepal's prosperity through activities such as hydropower generation, tourism development and the like, it has to shed off the narrow focus by widening the scope and size of these industry sectors. For example when the policy makers talk about tourism they merely center their attention on hospitality industry—hotels and restaurants, travels tours and trekking agencies, increasing air carrying capacity and improvement in infrastructure. What they leave out are things that the tourists consume and spend more money on. Nepal needs to focus on utilizing its products that it can produce in

the areas of agriculture, horticulture, floriculture, fruits and vegetables, setting up high quality poultry and meat industries and other cereals of high quality. The tourism entrepreneurs and policy makers are always after increasing number of days in Kathmandu or Pokhara or Lumbini. While it may help the hoteliers located in those areas but the gross intake from tourists would only marginally rise by such a move if it were to materialize.

Tourists coming to Nepal can be treated with Nepal's uniqueness in several spheres such as its rich culture, splendid history, and a meeting point of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Jainism, Sikhism and now extending to Christianity at a rapid pace. Nepal's arts and architecture, specially in temples and Stupas, are world famous. Multi-tiered windows, peacock windows carved out of wood, bronze and brass sculptures, tibetan styled carpets and other artifacts provide a distinct comparative advantage to Nepali products. Nepal needs to seek opportunities to expand its market at a rapid pace by enlarging its production base since most of the weavers, also being farmers, have neither given away their occupational trade nor engaged in industrial activities as yet. Most importantly, the ever smiling rural folks of Nepal whether engaged in trekking, mountaineering, climbing snow covered tall mountains or engaged in animal husbandry in high altitudes need to be encouraged to keep up with their occupation and skills by ample reward to raise their standard of living.

These apart, people of New Nepal somehow seem to have taken the notion that the group (ethnic or otherwise) they belong to can do everything—political, economic, social, cultural and even international relations, effectively. Nothing could be farther from truth. One has to simply listen to arguments taking place in most developed countries today on immigration and economic development⁵. Jennifer Hunt and Marjolaine Gauthier Loisel find considerable

5. We measure the extent to which skilled immigrants increase innovation in the United States by exploring individual patenting behavior as well as state-level determinants of patenting. The 2003 National Survey of College Graduates shows that immigrants patent at double the native rate, and that this is entirely accounted for by their disproportionately holding degrees in science and engineering. These data imply that a one percentage point rise in the share of immigrant college graduates in the population increases patents per capita by 6%. This could be an overestimate of immigration's benefit if immigrant inventors crowd out native inventors, or an underestimate if immigrants have positive spill-overs on inventors. Using a 1950-2000 state panel, we show that natives are not crowded out by immigrants, and that immigrants do have positive spill-overs, resulting in an increase in patents per capita of about 15% in response to a one percentage point increase in immigrant college graduates (Jennifer Hunt, Marjolaine Gauthier-Loiselle, 2010).

merit in immigration related innovation. Even the so-called ultra nationalist leaders—inward looking and rejecting multilateralism, cannot do without infusion of expertise and innovative ideas which is possible through young, able and enterprising citizens as well as immigrants of different nationalities outside of the dominant group. Fortunately for Nepal, apart from its traditional base of expertise acquired from generations under caste based social stratification such as priests and scholars (Brahmins), defense and security (Kshatriyas), trading and business (Vaiyas), and services/laborers (Sudras), new generation of young, energetic people from all backgrounds has acquired technical skills in various fields such as construction, ICT, engineering and so on. Madhusudan Subedi discourse on caste system provides a full view of its origin, makeup, merits as well as demerits. The newly acquired skills and expertise came as a result of Nepali citizens serving in the British and Indian armies as well as being engaged in construction/service jobs in the Middle East and East Asia. Given the will and accommodation, each Pradesh of Nepal can develop on its own merit with people from all backgrounds and ethnicities. However, if the ethnic groups were to look inwardly and tryout the improbable task of assuming everything by themselves and exclude other ethnicities, it could then place the future of their own people in jeopardy.

While there are challenges as well as opportunities facing the New Nepal, the most important question is ‘how does Nepal confront the challenges and make use of opportunities?’ There are several countries’ successful models available to choose from. Several countries from Asia, Africa, South America as well as Eastern Europe have risen to prosperity in the past 73 years following Second World War. In choosing the models, the countries devastated in war—Germany and Japan, are excluded as they were also massively supported by victorious powers following the war. For Nepal it would be appropriate to follow one of the development models adopted by one of its own, an Asian country. East Asian miracle is generally associated with four tigers, Hongkong, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan, together with Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand falling under newly industrialising economies. Nevertheless, considerable complex and controversial questions are raised on the nature of relationship between ‘government, private sector and the market’ where government interventions were systemic and through multiple channels. However, most of these countries were governed in authoritarian style by rulers,

whether elected or not. In Nepal's own neighborhood there are two models to choose from: That of Federal Republic India, and people's democratic republic of China. Both these countries have progressed beyond expectations of many.

Development and Democracy

Nepal's new constitution, 2015, clearly defines that the 'Federal Democratic Nepal' is established for attaining "sustainable peace, good governance, development and prosperity through the federal, democratic, republican, system of governance" leaving hardly any space for ambiguity. Nonetheless, any document, even the constitution, is as good as the people who put it into practice, as seen from the earlier constitution of Nepal (1990) which was claimed by all political parties and their leaders as the best in the world but failed miserably. Nepal has two distinct choices to follow apparently: India's type of democracy in a republican set up or Chinese system of democracy with Chinese characteristics—both achieving tremendous growth and racing towards prosperity as envisaged by most developing countries of this world including Nepal. However, blindly following either system may not help achieve "Prosperous Nepal, Happy Nepal" the thrust of PM Oli slogan after becoming Prime Minister of Nepal with nearly a two-third majority.

Recent research seems to have called into question the belief that democracy improves the quality of life for its citizen. Two hypotheses were tested by John Gerring, Strom C. Thacker and Rodrigo Alfaro as: country's level of democracy in a given year affects its level of human development, and stock of democracy over the past century affects its level of human development. The findings hardly supported the first proposition but gave substantial support to second thus the researchers concluding that "relationship between democracy and development is as time dependent, historical phenomenon". The International Panel on Democracy and Development (IPDD, const.1998) states that democracy and development reinforce each other, and they do encourage peace. It is thought that peace can be achieved rapidly through democratization and thus IPDD believes that it is the responsibility of the International Community, particularly the UN, to ensure it. Mesquita and Downs, commenting on the disconnect between development and democracy in the developing countries as opposed to the expectations of the affluent liberal democracies, have following remarks: i) promoting economic growth might

not be an effective tool to promote democracy, ii) loans and grants extended by World Bank and such other international financial institutions for infrastructure, health care or literacy do not necessarily lead to democracy rather extend the reigns of illiberal governments, and iii) citing the recent events in the Middle East, they draw conclusion that ‘repressive policies of last 50 years have served well to these countries thus need to pay attention on control over media as well as difficulty in staging antigovernment demonstration, being critical elements for transition to real democracy’. Though there seems a large amount of literature that insists that economic development impact countries to become more democratic but there are quite a number of influential dissenters that ‘point out exceptions and propose alternate theories’. There may be other factors that affect certain countries ‘both to advance economically as well as forge democratic institutions’ but without a direct effect. Examples that are there for everyone to see point to the cases of Spain under Franco, Indonesia under President Suharto. High income growth appears to entrench the dictator but high national income seems to undermine dictatorship.

Leaving aside these general deliberations but focusing on Nepal’s neighborhood, India which has been practicing democracy for the past seventy years, Swati Saxena has presented an excellent analysis on Indian democracy⁶. Successful democracy being a holistic idea it needs to embrace both procedural and substantive aspects. Both aspects are said to be complementary and dependent and they reinforce as well as interfere with each other. In the Indian context, inclusive nature of grand coalitions of different linguistic, regional groups, proportional representation to minorities and reserved seats for SC, ST and OBC besides the autonomy of constitutional institutions including judiciary, election commission and the office of the President are credited for the well-functioning of procedural democracy. Substantive democracy in India has seen a dismal outcome as evident from India’s ranking in Global Hunger

6. Indian Constitution was written with the benevolent and ambitious task of removing both social and political inequalities; in fact removing social inequalities precisely by giving political equalities (one man one vote principle). It did to some extent achieve this. It shifted the basis of right from inherited status to numerical preponderance. Greater participation by the marginal groups has guaranteed that the institutional space is now opened for them and parties comprising Dalit leaders have come to power. Local governance through the Panchayati Raj institutions has ensured a space for the marginal through reservations in posts.

Index, ill state of public health, collapsing infrastructure, all-time low employment, and persisting discrimination of Dalits. Problem is attributed to India's political style that plays down the importance of institutions and structures.

Pulapre Balakrishnan sees a distinct crisis of Indian democracy since he believes very scanty effort has been employed in India's public policy. To quote him "India has failed to nurture individual and collective capabilities. There has been far too little effort in public policy to create spaces where citizens interact freely and peacefully." Discourse on Indian democracy needs to be 'redirected towards human development providing security to all vulnerable groups'. Balakrishnan believes that a strong economy comes handy in expansion of freedoms, and that restriction of private enterprise hardly helps to empower the marginalized in society. India presents an interesting example for scholars interested in comparative democracy as India has become a "remarkable exception to theories asserting that low levels of economic development and high levels of social diversity pose formidable obstacles to maintenance of democratic government". Sumit Ganguly, Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (ed.) have observed that 'political participation has widened, electoral interchange has intensified and civil society is instrumental in pressing for institutional reforms and government accountability'. Notable improvements are being achieved in economic sphere promising upgradation of living standards of its citizens and strengthen its institutions.

Nepal's quest for democracy and development

Policy of isolationism for safeguarding national independence earlier followed by keeping the regime intact later, Nepal naturally became underdeveloped and poor. In its nearly 250 years of existence as an independent and sovereign nation, it was opened to the outside world only after the dismantling of Rana oligarchy in 1950. Seventy years should have been enough to chart a clear course for its development but for several setbacks faced by it owing to the constitutional monarchs exercising full executive power and limiting the growth of political development. Even after Nepal was declared a federal democratic republic some ten years back, political parties carrying diverse ideologies impacting political and economic pathways have generated a lot of confusion and prevented the people, especially their representatives from freely exercising their rights and values that they wished for. Now seems

to be the right time to come out of petty arguments, shed off group and community based interests and embrace larger interest for the nation that is Nepal. Nepal's 2015 constitution is not different from either India or other functional democracies of developed nations as it, too, seeks to attain peace and prosperity through good governance under the federal republican setup. However, the major question that looms before all Nepalese is 'what model of governance (or priority) would be appropriate for securing freedom and also enhancing economic development?'

There seem to be no clear examples that guarantee economic development from democratic governance or democratic freedoms from economic development. Some researchers and scholars maintain that exercise of liberal democracy in poor developing countries without achieving a certain level of economic development would be a hard nut to crack. Even the record of moderately developed country like India, which has so far sustained "procedural democracy" appears to be suffering from a variety of problems in its exercise of "substantive democracy", a combination of both signifying the ideal democracy, promoted by developed countries directly and through their financial arms such as the Bretton Woods institutions. For Nepal, both procedural and substantive democracy pose a serious challenge at this moment since Nepal is embarking on a giant mission of installing 'federal democratic republic' for the first time for accomplishing inclusiveness, equality and economic well-being of all the peoples of Nepal— being multi linguistic, multi ethnic and multi religious societies spread all over the country. After all these sacrifices made by the illustrious peoples, sometime for independence and freedom, other time for political freedom and people's sovereignty, Nepal can neither follow others blindly nor choose something that is unworkable. Nepal must prioritize its options as it can hardly attain democracy as well as development at the same time. Although the United Nations and other international agencies stress on taking both together for sustenance of each other, it hardly works for developing countries. For countries that have just come out of conflict with the inherent baggage of damaged infrastructures, mistrust, weakened security, distorted rules and regulations in most sectors, the first order of the day could be overcoming the chaos and uncertainty before delving into massive investment drive. As such there are scant lessons that indicate that economic development improves democratic governance or enhanced democratic freedoms help support income, social equality, or strengthened rule of law.

There is no option but to join hands by Nepalese representatives, both in the government as well as the opposition, to chart out clear unambiguous policies for running the country with a view to realizing the dreams of 30 million Nepalese who have been hoodwinked time and again by their representatives that they trusted. As far as the people are concerned they simply wish to see a peaceful and prosperous Nepal within a reasonable time so that their posterity need not struggle for bare survival as they have for nearly two centuries. Whether the government in power today adopts Indian style of democracy and development, or democracy with Chinese characteristics, the bottom line is its outcome that is desirable as well as sustainable. Authoritarianism has not survived for long but democracy has. Acknowledging the fact there are several definitions of democratic governance, commonality among most seems to be transparent and accountable system of self-governance—free from discrimination, tolerance to all voices as well as dissents, atmosphere for all to get involved in the political process, and most importantly the system of reward and punishment at all levels including bureaucracy. Dev Raj Dahal sees the need of intermediary institutions in Nepal that provide political parties increasing engagement in democracy as well as social solidarity for ‘reducing cost of politics and liberating parties from dominant interest groups’. Can Nepalese leaders achieve it?

Nepal’s closest neighbors, India and China, have extended their hands to help support Nepal in its effort to execute the new constitution as well as move forward to economic growth and development. There could not have been the most opportune time than today for Nepal to prove that democracy and development can move together or should it?

Protest Movement as Strategy for Empowering Women

Ajay KumarYadav

Women are often subjected to discrimination and oppression embedded in the patriarchal socio-cultural structure and faulty macro policies. The neo-liberal policies have further deepened inequalities between men and women. Carrying dual responsibility at work and home, an increasing number of women are working without guarantees of minimum wages, healthy and safe working conditions. Caste-based discrimination also impacts women adversely. The multiple forms of gender-based violence (GBV) are being resisted in varied ways.

One of the most popular ways through which women sought to reform and transform their situation has been through the protest movements. Beginning with antiquity there is a long list of women's protest movements that expressed women's quest for dignity and equality through societal reforms and transformations. Following a range of trajectories of protest, both violent and non-violent, these protest movements have made a deep imprint on the existing values and norms of the society . However, the study of the history of these movements worldwide reflects that though they have spread at a quite slow rate but have successfully interrogated the cultural and structural imperfections of every segment of the deprived and disempowered women. The same is true with the Women's movements in India which were initially born with the freedom struggle, have reshaped themselves considerably as energetic and modern, influencing over social movements both nationally and internationally over the years. This paper is an attempt to identify the convergent patterns of women's protest movement in India and if these movements embodied some unique features which defined their success and failure.

Introduction

"Woman was the first human being that tasted bondage. Woman was a slave before slavery existed". These words of the German philosopher and social scientist Friedrich Engels in his classical writing "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" clearly states that the concept of equality often comes with injustice and discrimination. Only the powerful get equality among the unequal. This inequality has developed over many decades because of many factors prevalent in society (Singh, 1991). Thus empowerment is an important and vital issue which helps the deprived sections to gain the power, position, wealth and above all to become a partner in major decision-making processes. The same is true with women's empowerment. Due to the suppressive behavior received from the family, structure, culture, and society, empowerment is a prerequisite for women. The social models and cultural values adopted in the Indian value system do not allow them to enjoy equal status with men. Thus they need to empower themselves so that they can make their own decisions and make their own way. In this connection, the protest movement is a popular tool to engender interest among a larger number of people on issues like political, social, cultural, and environmental issues and could thus empower women. It could also be considered as a strategy for the desired change in the existing values and norms of society through nonviolent or violent methods (Singh, 1991). Though there are agreements and disagreements between scholars, academics and policymakers all over the world over the success of protest movement toward the positive structural changes in the society, especially in the context of women empowerment. However, in India, it is quite successful and is being used extensively to represent a disagreement for an existing policy, situation or injustice which is unfavorable for a particular group.

The Indian women's movement, though transcended with freedom struggle with limited gender framework unlike other women's movements in the west (Karat, 2005), but later with improved policies and education speed up and became the major tool for the empowerment of women on various intricate issues of survival and existence. This paper is thus an attempt to analyze and describe various important women movements that brought about positive changes in the society. The influence and causes behind the success are also been analyzed. This analysis has been further used to make a generalization to design a proper strategy for propagating protests deeply in society.

Historical perspective of women empowerment

The nineteenth-century may be considered as an age of women. This could be proved by the Constitution of Independent India (Parasher, 1992), as it guaranteed equal rights for men and women, no discrimination by the state, equal opportunity, equal pay for equal work, provision for just and humane conditions of work (Taffiqu and Mishra, 2016). It also allows special provisions to be made by the state in favour of women and children. Various administrative bodies have also been set up for empowering women. This consciousness for women empowerment has not reached in one day but has a gradual history. “In Europe, feminist consciousness began spreading during and after the French Revolution, and by the end of the century, feminist ideas were being expressed by radicals in England, France, and Germany”(Kumar,1993). By the mid-nineteenth century, Russian reformers and anarchists also started questioning about the issues related to women. In India the social reformers began to protest against *purdah* pratha, *sati* pratha, and child marriage. Besides mobilizing the people against the wrong practices, the need was also felt to interconnect analysis of women’s oppression into their political involvements. Initially, women’s movements were concentrated on many issues like land rights, the gender-biased nature of development, laws pertaining to dowry, rape, divorce, etc. In all this, women, either individually or in groups, came up with a very strong role with the advent of women’s consciousness about the issues including increasing domestic and social violence.

Case Studies:

Following case studies of some prominent protest movements are instructive to discern the patterns of success not only in terms of policy reforms but also in terms of bringing the changes in the social and cultural structures of the society.

Mathura Rape Case

On 26th March 1972, In Maharashtra, Mathura a young woman was allegedly raped by two policemen, who were found guilty by the high court of India as it distinguished between passive submission and consent. The rape was a result of submission due to fear and not the consent, but as she was used to having sex with her boyfriend, the rape was only considered as ‘sexual intercourse’ and the accused policemen got freed because of the supreme court considered it as a false case and alleged Mathura that she might have

instigated the policemen to have sex with her (Das, 1996). Receiving extensively media coverage, the protest groups stood up against this judgment of the Supreme Court in which it was stated that because Mathura was habituated to sexual intercourse, her consent was voluntary; under such circumstances only sexual intercourse could be proved and not rape (Kaufman, 1980). This movement further brought amendments in the Indian rape law via The Criminal Law Amendment Act 1983 by the ruling government. Various women groups emerged which fought extensively for Mathura's right.

As a result of serial protests the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1983 made a statutory provision which states that if the victim says that she has not consented to the sexual intercourse, the Court shall presume that she has not consented. New laws were also enacted which made custodial rape punishable. Custodial rape was also defined. The act also added provisions for in-camera trials, the prohibition on the victim identity disclosure, and tougher sentences (Murti, 2013, Agnihotri and Mazumdar, 1995).

Various underneath causes persist behind the success of this protest. Firstly, it was the first national-level issue that brought women groups together that to on a topic of rape which was not too much talked and was a suppressive subject. The very next cause was the recognition of self-dignity. The women started realizing the fact that they are no more subjected to any type of violence which may be considered justified by the family, society or by law or judiciary, thus they started to raise their voice collaboratively and in an organized manner which was lacking before. This case came up with a reformative attitude in women who declared-themselves no more 'Abala' or weaker one but 'Sabala' the empowered one, by raising their voice even against the supreme power that is the judiciary. Also, this case brought the changes in the social institutions which started to think more in a women-friendly way despite having a patriarchal society. Thus it was the renaissance of the ideology both 'of the women' and 'towards the women' in the society.

Anti Dowry Movement

The movement against dowry merged in the mid-seventies. It was more popular in cities than in rural areas and was a nationwide movement that involved active participation of women across classes in the country. The groups were not only demanding an end to dowry but also against crimes committed for dowry, especially murder and abetment to suicide. Protests were carried out in many major parts of India like Gujarat, Maharashtra Bengal (Mathur,

2007). However, the movement saw the largest action in Delhi as it had the highest number of dowry murders in the country. It gained momentum on June 1, 1979, various women organizations organized an extensive protest march against the death of Tarvinder Kaur, who was burned by her in-laws. Another major agitation occurred with the murder of Kanchan Chopra. In this case, a complaint of dowry harassment had been lodged by the brother of the victim before her death, however, police refused to register it, because they considered it as a 'family matter'. The issue also gained momentum and was brought to the national stage and became a public concern.

As a result of these protests, Criminal Law (Second Amendment) Act was improved and cruelty, specifying both physical and mental harassment was made a non-bailable offense. Lastly, there was also an amendment through which post-mortem of women who died within 7 years of marriage was made compulsory (Nagpal, 2017)

This movement was a breakthrough in the wave of women's liberation. Though the Dowry Prohibition Act 1961 was already persisting, the dowry was being practiced in the society. Thus this movement brought through new consciousness towards this ill practice which had grown exponentially over the years. The very important breakthrough in this movement was the popularisation of the topic as a social evil by the protesting groups. Consequently, society started considering dowry no more as a ritual or cultural practice but as an offense. The government and social groups came up through promotion to spread the message of anti-dowry campaigns as a tool to eradicate it morally from society. Thus dialogue, awareness, and justice made this campaign a success.

Sati Prohibition Movement

From 1973 to 1980, there had been seven reported cases of women committing Sati. Each of these women was glorified and the site of her immolation made into the centre of a religious cult (Cad, 1981). In 1987 a rather spectacular case of the violent death of a young woman came to public attention. Married for eight months Roop Kanwar became a widow when her husband died in an accident, then she was forced to sacrifice her on her husband's pyre turning her into Sati, however, this act was represented as 'heroism and valour' and an 'authentic' tradition of Rajasthan (The New York Times, 1987). The incident led *Sati (Prevention) Act 1987*. The act seeks to

prevent Sati practice or voluntary or forced burying alive of widows and to prohibit veneration of this action.

This case could be considered as consciousness towards the religious practices which were anti-women in nature. The society and judiciary started realising the fact that the practices need to be reframed with changing time and attitude in society. Moreover, the role of activist groups and civil society became prominent in identifying the wrong creeds from society. Thus they attracted the audiences demanding the reformation of a better society where the security for life of a woman could be ensured by the legislature at least.

The Triple Talaq movement

A crusade to end the practice of one-sided instant “triple talaq” began in India several decades ago. But it picked upstream recently when a 35 years old mother of two children approached the Supreme Court seeking justice. Shayara Bano, a young sociology graduate was married for 15 years. In 2016, her husband divorced her through talaq-e-bidat (triple talaq). This is an Islamic practice that permits men to arbitrarily and unilaterally effect instant and irrevocable divorce by pronouncing the word ‘talaq’ (Arabic word for ‘divorce’) three times at once in oral, written or, more recently, electronic form. Bano argued before the Supreme Court of India that three practices – triple talaq, polygamy, and nikah halala (the practice requiring women to marry and divorce another man so that her previous husband can re-marry her after triple talaq) were unconstitutional. Specifically, she claimed that they violated several fundamental rights under the Constitution of India like, the prohibition of discrimination on the ground of gender, right to life and freedom of religion etc. (BBC News, 2017). The result was a breakthrough. Based on her petition and six others, the Supreme Court declared the practice unconstitutional while simultaneously asking the government to ban the practice by enacting a law and made it a punishable act.

Though being a long journey for Indian Muslim women challenging governments to uphold their rights to life and liberty under the Constitution. The Judgement of Supreme Court became revolutionary in the struggle of their rights and freedom. Even though Sayara Bano was facing such a drastic situation in her life she elected to struggle against the male-dominated society very bravely. This was the first time Muslim women had challenged her divorce on the ground that her fundamental rights had been violated as been told by her lawyer Balaji Srinivasan. The fundamental rights are equal for all and are

irrespective of any class, caste or religion. Thus her case was very strong to bring changes in the orthodox Muslim laws which were still treating women as merely a doll without needs and emotions.

Anti Domestic Violence movement

In the 1980s, the demand for dowry became the underlying basis for inflicting physical and domestic violence. The campaign for a new law on domestic violence traversed over a decade and was led by the Lawyer's Collective that negotiated with the government for the enactment of a new bill prioritizing the protection of women above the punishment of the culprit. After series of agitations finally after eight years of struggle, in 2005, the law got approval by the Parliament and became an act of protection of women from domestic violence. Though it had many drawbacks still the groups involved in drafting the law believed this would provide more rapid and flexible relief for the victim (Pandey, 2014; Hornbeck et al, 2007).

This act was a landmark in the Indian women's movement against gender injustice brought about by domestic violence. It extends the scope of domestic violence including violence in a woman's natal home and in relation in the 'nature of marriage'. This law was thus suitable to handle very delicate cases. The success of this movement did not reach in one day but was a collective action of decades to make it a law. The role of lawyers here was very significant and admirable. This case could be considered as a role model for the others were collective action and repeated trials removed one ailment from the society gradually but steadily through a concrete law.

Nirbhaya Rape Case movement

In December 2012, protests broke out across India after a brutal gang rape exploded in Delhi. The incident took place when a 23-year-old was beaten, gang-raped, and tortured in a private bus. The incident generated widespread national and international coverage and generated public protests against the state and central governments for failing to provide adequate security to women. Various women groups came out protesting against this crime and demanded very strict actions and a solid law with which this kind of act could be stopped forever. This case had a tremendous impact on public perception.

The court found the offenders guilty and sentenced them 'hang till death' except one who was a few months younger than 18 years of age. He was tried in a Juvenile Court. A revamped Juvenile Justice Act 2015 was passed in the

Parliament. The new bill has allowed minors in the age group of 16-18 to be tried as adults if they commit terrible crimes. Thus Juvenile Act became strong. The Criminal Law Ordinance of 2013 was also amended. In the view of widespread protests, governments at the centre and various states announced several steps to ensure the safety of women. The government of Karnataka announced the launch of a round of clock, dedicated helpline (1091) to be operated by the state police to register sexual abuse complaints from women (The Hindu, 2013). Also the government of many other states made lots of amendments in their laws towards women's safety.

This incident and the consecutive movement brought a series of changes in the existing structure and safety issues toward women. It attracted the attention of every class and caste towards women's security. Though sufficient changes have been made in the constitution through amendments but people started realising the fact that it is the duty of everyone to make feel a woman more safe and fearless in the society. Many organisations changed their policies of transportation and timings and did other changes in their existing structure and policies so the women workers could easily come, work and reach home safely. Thus it brought social changes in the structure and mind-sets of people.

Generalising the points of success in a nutshell

If we try to generalize the factors of success of these movements, the very important factor which emerged out was the collective action. The people started realising that they need to organize their strategy of protest and also it should penetrate deep into society for greater awareness. The second very significant factor was the role of civil societies and women organisations in spreading and gaining confidence among people towards various movements. The women leaders played a crucial role to motivate other women either individually or in groups as they could understand other women's problems better. They communicated well the issues which generated an impact on society. Thus women became more open up on various less talked issues. This made them not only more aware but also more responsible for themselves and society. The cultural and structural ailments were reconsidered by the state and the society for its reconstruction which was very much needed. The movements were more concentrated on their reformation. Thus these successful movements were multifaceted in nature which covered dimensions like awareness, motivation and assistance for different sections of the society. Government, civil societies, activist groups and the women themselves played

an important role in making these movements successful. As a result, the protests became 'the voices of voiceless' or in other words, the voices of the suppressive society which turned out to become their identity. Thus the law-making institutions reframed their laws for the betterment of the deprived sections of the society.

Conclusion

The feminist struggle for equal rights has paved the way to empower through legislation on many issues including dowry, marriage, violence, and discrimination. Several other changes have been made in law for the welfare, security, and benefit of women as well as with the aim to eliminate gender-based discrimination. As we have seen the Supreme Court, has taken several initiatives and in some cases issued directives to the ruling government as well, but it is the practical implementation of these laws that is required to ensure equality of women. There is a need to recognize the importance of women's associations at the local and regional levels and developing and strengthening of local institutions is also necessary. Women's movement also needs to be centralized more in rural areas particularly it should focus more on the women dwelling on agriculture. Also the united movements need a stronger intervention of every section of the society to make it more holistic in nature; especially the role of civil societies here predominates over all. Though the movements have captured attention through strategic approaches of awareness and promotions, there is still need of changing the mind-set of people so that the cultural and structural violence could be removed to give real freedom to women and to make them really empowered one.

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