

ISSN



2250-3412

THE

RNI No. DELENG/2012/48509

UGC Sr No. 1191/JOURNAL No. 63668

DISCUSSANT

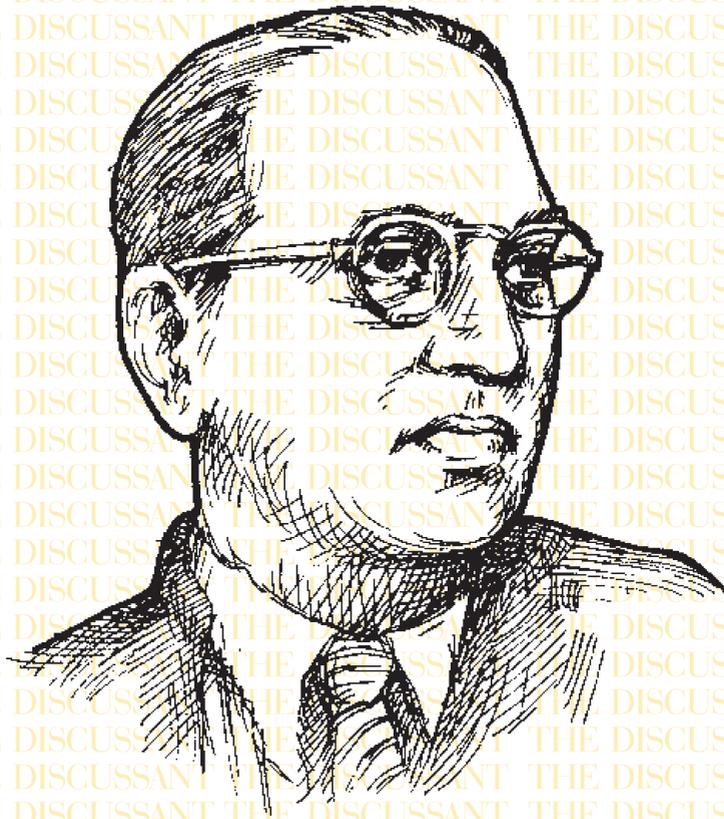
Journal of Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice

Volume - VI

Number 1

JANUARY-MARCH 2018

Rs. 500



DEDICATED TO DR BHIMRAO AMBEDKAR

14 April 1891 — 6 December 1956



THE DISCUSSANT

Editorial Advisory Committee

Professor Mahendra Prasad Singh

Former Head, Dept of Political Science, University of Delhi & Editor, IIPA Journal

Dr Chandan Mitra

Editor-in-chief, The Pioneer, New Delhi

Dr PK Khurana

Principal, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College, University of Delhi

Professor JP Sharma

Former Head, Department of Commerce, Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi
Director, IMS, Noida

Professor Sangeet Ragi

Department of Political Science, University of Delhi

Professor NK Chadha

Former Head, Department of Psychology, University of Delhi

Professor MP Sharma

Department of Hindi, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi

Professor Sudhir Gupta

Dept of Forensic Medicine & Toxicology, All India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi

Sh Alok Jha, IRS

Department of Customs and Central Excise, New Delhi

Professor Ashok K Ghosh

Chairman, State Environmental Advisory Committee, Patna

Editorial Board

Sidharth Mishra

Editor

Dr Sanjeev Kumar Tiwari

Co-Editor

Published and Printed by: Sidharth Mishra on behalf of

Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice

B-344, Nehru Vihar, Timarpur, Delhi -110054

and Printed at Om Printers, 324, Patparganj, Industrial Area, Delhi

website: www.crdj.in

email: president@crdj.in, sidharthmishra@hotmail.com, sanjeevtiwaridu@gmail.com

THE RNI No. DELENG/2012/48509
UGC Sr No. 1191/JOURNAL No. 63668

DISCUSSANT

Journal of Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice





content

EDITORIAL : POLITICAL CHURNING IN RURAL INDIA	04_05
SECRETARY'S DESK	06_06

PROMOTING QUALITY AT INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA: ROLE OF FACULTY AND STUDENTS	07_18
---	--------------

DR. SANJEEV KUMAR TIWARI, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR IN DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, MAHARAJA AGRASEN COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF DELHI
RAGHVENDRA KUMAR, TEACHES POLITICAL SCIENCE AT MAHARAJA AGRASEN COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

POLICING THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT: NATURE AND DIMENSIONS	19_28
--	--------------

ABHISHEK MISHRA, RESEARCH SCHOLAR AT THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

CLEMENCY POWERS OF THE INDIAN PRESIDENT: THE LEGACY LIVES ON	29_38
---	--------------

DR MADHURI SUKHJA, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,
MATA SUNDARI COLLEGE, DELHI UNIVERSITY

SECURITY SECTOR RESTRUCTURING IN NEPAL: A CASE FOR 'HYBRIDITY'	39_46
---	--------------

SAURABH KAUSHIK, PHD SCHOLAR, DEPT. OF PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES AND MANAGEMENT, SIKKIM CENTRAL UNIVERSITY

THE RISE OF CHINA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA	47_58
---	--------------

DR RAVI K MISHRA, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, NEHRU MEMORIAL MUSEUM & LIBRARY, NEW DELHI

SHAPING POLITICAL PERSONA, CAMPAIGNS AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION: MAPPING CHANGING ELECTIONS MOORINGS IN INDIA IN THE DIGITAL AGE	59_80
---	--------------

NAMITA NAGPAL, PURSUING PH. D. AT THE USMC, GGSIPU

GITA BAMEZAI, PH.D. HEAD, DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION RESEARCH, INDIAN INSTITUTE OF MASS COMMUNICATION JNU CAMPUS

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE IMPEDIMENTS TO ONLINE SHOPPING AND FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION	81_95
---	--------------

DR ANUJA CHOUDHARY, BIT, MESRA, RANCHI

SHORT PAPERS

NARENDRA MODI'S JAMMU-KASHMIR POLICY: SWIMMING WITH THE TIDE AND NOT AGAINST IT	96_102
--	---------------

SAURABH DUBEY, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, DEPT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, SHAHEED BHAGAT SINGH (EVENING) COLLEGE, DELHI UNIVERSITY

FUNCTIONALISM AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION: A THEORETICAL INTROSPECTION	103_108
--	----------------

BINEET KAUR, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, SGND KHALSA COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF DELHI

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AS TOOL FOR ENRICHING ENVIRONMENT	109_113
--	----------------

SHAILENDRA MOHAN SINGH, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR SHYAM LAL COLLEGE (EVENING) DELHI UNIVERSITY

BOOK REVIEW

SHEILA BIOGRAPHY: LAST WORD NOT SPOKEN	114_115
---	----------------

SIDHARTH MISHRA

ONE NATION-ONE ELECTION: NEED FOR CAUTION

One of the main driving forces behind the promulgation of the Anti-Defection Law by the Rajiv Gandhi government in the 1980s was the brute majority enjoyed by the Congress party in the Lok Sabha. It had won more than 400 seats in the 1985 General Elections thanks to the sympathy wave which followed assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The Congress strategists loyal to Rajiv Gandhi at that point of time had advised for bringing such law which would keep the folk together lest the old school veterans carry out a coup against the reformist agenda of the 'young' Prime Minister. The law has withstood the trial of time and survived to end to some extent the politics of "Aya Rams, Gaya Ram", which had come to make mockery of people's mandate.

Three decades later, another government led by a Prime Minister belonging to another party is now pushing for another major electoral reform - simultaneous holding of the elections of the Parliament and the State assemblies. The move comes as for the first time since Rajiv Gandhi's term, we have a Prime Minister whose party enjoys absolute majority in the house and is also undisputed leader of his party.

Prime Minister Narendra Modi is not only the undisputed leader of his the BJP but also its main poll campaigner. Ever since his ascendance started in BJP's pantheon as party's Prime Ministerial candidate in the run-up to the 2014 Lok Sabha polls he has remained party's undisputed poll mascot. He has been party's campaign spearhead in the states which went to polls post-2014 Lok Sabha elections - Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Maharashtra, Haryana, Jharkhand, Assam, Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and off course Gujarat. Of these states, the party faced defeat in just one - Bihar, but there it has managed to have its old ally Nitish Kumar now back in its camp.

Over the next 18 months, polls are scheduled in the major states of Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Chhattishgarh and also Tripura. There is a BJP government in the three states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattishgarh held by powerful regional leaders Shivraj Singh Chouhan, Vasundhara Raje and Raman Singh respectively. Though they would be the face of the party, they all are battling humongous anti-incumbency factor and to neutralize the same the role of the Prime Minister during the campaign would be vital.

Thus there would be no relief for Modi the poll campaigner and it's here that the issue of having 'One Nation One Election' becomes relevant. The propagators of this theory believe that with the administrative leader of the country getting repeatedly involved in poll campaign, governance suffers. This view is being aggressively articulated by Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS)-backed think tank Rambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini Academy, Mumbai.

The Academy is headed by BJP vice-president and Rajya Sabha MP Dr Vinay Sahasrabuddhe. It held a brainstorming session, which was slotted as apolitical, but had its participants from Niti Ayog's Vice chairman Rajiv Kumar, BJP chief Amit Shah, Haryana CM Manohar Lal Khattar, Election Commissioner Sunil Arora, JD(U) secretary general KC Tyagi, BJD MP Baijyant Panda and Rajya Sabha member Rajeev Chandrashekhar which clearly indicated the ideological leanings of the gathering.

Though Sahasrabuddhe has been at pains to state, "We do not want to create any agenda by promoting this reform. The election phenomenon from Municipal corporations to Vidhan Sabha to Lok Sabha elections halts the development work and the movement of security personnel during elections is also another cost factor. Niti Ayog has also discussed on this reform and this will be proven as the mother of all reforms for a delivering democracy."

However, the major question is whether such a practice in the name of cost-cutting and administrative efficiency be able to deliver a robust democracy. According to former secretary-general of Rajya Sabha and later its nominated member BN Banerji, "Indian Constitution is federal in form but unitary in spirit." Another famous constitutional expert DD Basu wrote, "Indian Constitution is neither purely federal, nor purely unitary but a combination of both."

The constitutional history of the country of the past seven decades which includes constitutional amendments and Supreme Court orders have all been directed towards strengthening the federal characteristics of the Indian state. This in practice has meant lessening of central superintendence over the state governments, greater functional autonomy to the state governments and allowing co-existence of diverse ideologies in matters of state-centre relationship.

This has so far worked well for the democracy of the country though may have somewhat hampered 'administrative efficiency', as the case is being made out by Sahasrabuddhe. For achieving 'administrative efficiency' could another major feature of the Indian state - Unity In Diversity, be put to risk. The first state government with an ideology diverse from that of the Centre was that of Communist leader EMS Namboodripad's in Kerala, which also became the first government to face dismissal by the Centre under Article 356.

The phenomenon of diverse governments at the Centre and in the states gained greater currency post 1967, when several non-Congress governments came to power in the states. In the next decade or so, these governments often faced the wrath of Centre facing dismissal under Article 356. However, the Supreme Court order in the SR Bommai case has ensured that the existence of the state government has not remained dependent of the mere 'pleasure' of the President (read Centre).

Administrative efficiency and cost-cutting could be good ideas but who would ensure that it would not cut into the progress which our polity has made from being largely unitary in nature to now greatly federal in spirit. These are issues which need to be discussed on larger forum than from the dais of a party think tank.



Sidharth Mishra

31st March 2018

secretary's desk

In this time and era when publication industry is increasingly coming to be controlled by corporate bodies and several journals have been taken over by big publishing houses, I reiterate, it's no mean achievement for a think tank like the Centre for Reforms, Development & Justice, to have managed to publish the journal regularly. We have completed five years of unbroken publication of The Discussant as an RNI registered quarterly periodical. We had received the ISSN accreditation a year earlier.

We have now been listed by the University Grants Commission as a recognized inter-disciplinary journal in the field of social sciences.

I am happy to share with you that our online edition too is crossing new frontiers and getting accessed from new territories, which gives our writers a global exposure unthinkable for any journal of our vintage.

The edition in hand may not be a special edition on a particular topic but its diversity of content makes it special indeed. This edition contains full length papers and also short articles of much intellectual interest.

As I have repeatedly mentioned in reports at the beginning of the various past editions, the members of Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice including Centre president, self and other members have taken up academic activities in the right earnest participating in seminars and deliberations of national importance.

We last year completed publication of a commemorative volume on the seven decades of India-Nepal Relationship in association with the prestigious BP Koirala Foundation. We have also completed a project sanctioned by the Uttar Pradesh government on the riverside cultures.

During the year, we propose to bring out two major volumes - oral history of Delhi and a compendium of articles on Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. We welcome young scholars to associate with us with ideas and proposal for an intellectual enterprise, where we can join hands.

With Warm Regards & A Very Happy New Year,

31 March 2018



Dr Sanjeev Kumar Tiwari

PROMOTING QUALITY AT INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA: ROLE OF FACULTY AND STUDENTS

DR. SANJEEV KUMAR TIWARI*
RAGHVENDRA KUMAR**

ABSTRACT

Higher education in India has emerged as the backbone of the country in post-independence period. However, the system has many concerns about the strategic management on access and equity of various stakeholders, primarily quality teachers and students which makes any institution great in its own terms. Therefore, access, equity, accountability and quality should form the four guiding principles while planning for higher education development in India in the 21st century. Today universities must perform multiple roles, like creating new knowledge, acquiring new capabilities and producing an intelligent human resource pool, through challenging teaching, research and extension activities, to balance both the need and the demand of the society at large. The role of universities in expanding knowledge continues while at the same time the focus on skill development in areas linked directly to the market economy should be vital for the growth of the sector. There is need for values, ethics, innovation, relevance, communication, skills and creativity among students, faculty, educational institutes and industry to foster growth and development of the society and transform the educational space. Therefore, if we foresee a 21st century India to be a knowledge-based informed society than these concerns need to be addressed at the earliest.

In this backdrop, the research paper seeks to examine how the governance and management of Indian higher education has evolved and aims to understand the strategic management of faculty and students at the institutional levels in promoting quality. The paper also examines the concerns of access, equity, accountability and transparency in selection process as a pre-requisite to quality. The issues of digital disruption, skill upgradation and innovation are some of the concerns which the paper would investigate. Finally, the paper will analyse the key findings to come up with proposed suggestion.

Key Words: higher education, quality, access, equity, knowledge, faculty, students.

* Dr. Sanjeev Kumar Tiwari is an Associate Professor in Department of Political Science, Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi

** Raghvendra Kumar teaches Political Science at Maharaja Agrasen College, University of Delhi

INTRODUCTION

Quality in higher education has become the key objective of nations globally. Any countries' development is measured in proportion to its education with the teachers being the pivots around which such a system is institutionalised. India, being home to one of the largest and diversified systems of education in the world, needs the efficacy of education in human development for a knowledge-based informed society. Education is fundamental to every constituent of the society irrespective of gender, physical, racial, economic, geographical, cultural, or linguistic differences.¹ Education is a nation's strength. A developed nation is inevitably an educated nation. In the changing context marked by expansion of higher education and globalisation of economic activities, education has become a national concern with an international dimension. To cope with this changing context, countries have been pressurized to ensure and assure quality of higher education at a nationally comparable and internationally acceptable standard.² However, the system has many concerns about the strategic management of access and equity of various stakeholders, primarily quality teachers and students which makes any institution great in its own terms. It is important to remember that 'education' includes 'literacy', but it is not confined to literacy alone. It comprehends much more: it is the acquiring of knowledge or learning, together with the equipment, which provides the skill and the inclination for making profitable use of that knowledge. Since the acquiring of knowledge and improvement of the skill for its application are parts of a dynamic process, education is a lifelong exercise. Higher education is, therefore, never complete in a continuously evolving dynamic personality. If the process becomes static, it leads to stagnation, which must be avoided.³

Higher education is becoming a major driver of economic competitiveness in an increasingly knowledge-driven global economy. The imperative for countries to improve employment skills calls for quality teaching within educational institutions.⁴ Today universities must perform multiple roles, like creating new knowledge, acquiring new capabilities and producing an intelligent human resource pool, through challenging teaching, research and extension activities to balance both the need and the demand of the society at large. The role of universities in expanding knowledge continues but at the same time the focus on skill development in areas linked directly to the market economy should be vital for the growth of the sector. The need for values, ethics, innovation, relevance, communication, skills and creativity among students, faculty, educational institutes and industry to foster growth and development of the society while transforming the educational space is widely acknowledged.⁵

We have numerous examples to prove that some of the Indian students admitted in a foreign university not only do well but excel and bring laurels to those institutions. Indian professors are well respected throughout the world for their intellect and knowledge. Indian doctors, engineers and scientist are regarded best in the world. India is the largest supplier of human resource to the world economy; then why is it that our Indian higher education institutions are not held in high esteem? India has few good quality institutions among vast range of poor quality institutions. Quality in higher education, which is pre-condition for self-reliance, was the prime objective in the post-independence era when we were trying to reconstruct our economy and society trying to break free from the clutches of dependency and captivity. This was the reason why a lot of emphasis was laid on the establishment of Indian Institute of Technology (IITs), Indian Institute of Management (IIMs), All India Institute of Medical Sciences(AIIMS), Indian Institute of Science (IISc), National Institute of Technology (NITs), Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), and other institutions of eminence which were mostly public funded. This was a step towards creating a resource pool of human capital to make India self-reliant in all walks of life. But over the period of time the higher education in India suffered mainly on two accounts: first, even the best institutions of India do not appear at the top positions in the global rankings; and second, the quality variations among higher institutions are very substantial, that is at one level we are producing quality resource pool from esteemed institutions such as IITs/IIMs/etc., while on the other hand we also have institutions which are very sub-standard. India has been the land of knowledge and moksha but what is rotting the institutions of knowledge needs to be explored and therefore, if we foresee 21st century India to be a knowledge-based informed society than these concerns need to be addressed at the earliest.

HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM IN INDIA: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

India has a rich tradition of learning and education right from the beginning of time. There are Shastras and Sutras which explain the duty of a teacher and student. Ancient education system in India was based on making of man (character) and not just for survival. The making of man was regarded as artistic and true purpose of education. It was sought as the means of self-realisation, as the means to the highest end of life viz. 'mukti' or 'emancipation'. Ancient education system in India is also to be understood as being ultimately the outcome of the Indian theory of knowledge as part of the corresponding scheme of life and values.⁶ The beginning of the first millennium saw the establishment of universities like Takshashila University, Nalanda University, Vikramshila University and Ujjain where subjects of study included Astronomy, Grammar, Logic, Philosophy, Literature, Law, Medicine, Hinduism, Buddhism, Arthashastra (Politics, Public Administration and Economics), Mathematics and Logic. Each of these universities were specialised in specific subject/s, with Takshashila focusing on medicine, the university in Ujjain on astronomy, whereas Nalanda dealt with almost all the branches of study. Evidences suggest that pupils from different parts of the world were admitted in Nalanda and Takshashila. The medieval times also saw the establishment of Madras as and setting up of libraries and literary societies.⁷

Education in modern India started with the British era and thus, came the study of English language which has been given more emphasis than the learning of other languages. The recent form of education in India was an idea proposed by Lord Macaulay in the 20th century who believed that Indians should attain modern education to come out of their traditional thoughts, interests, intelligence and morals. The western education in India witnessed the setting up of several missionary colleges in various parts of the country. The first universities that were established in 1857 in the three presidencies of (as they were known then) Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, were "set up primarily for conducting examinations and awarding degrees, and not for undertaking research or even teaching". Research was instead confined to specialised institutions, such as the Asiatic Society or the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, while teaching was left to the colleges.

Post-independence, the education sector was largely controlled by the central government but slowly became a joint effort by the central and the state governments through a constitutional amendment in 1976. By the start of 21st century, education policies and planning like free and compulsory education for children till 14 years of age and the plan to spend 6% of GDP in education came up.⁸ Thus, Indian education system which is one of the largest in the world has huge diversity. The higher education is in the concurrent list where both national and provincial governments have a role to play. Higher education is mostly in the public domain (80% publicly funded and 20% privately funded) with different types of higher education institutions in size, resources, systems of governance and ownership evolving in the decades post-independence. Today there are approximately 864 Universities which includes 47 Central, 381 State, 313 Private, 123 Deemed and Institutions of National Importance; about 40,026 colleges which includes affiliated, constituent, autonomous, public aided and private etc. and about 34.5 million students.⁹ However, any analysis into the quality of higher educational institutions in India will be problematic if we do not conceptualise what constitutes higher education and quality.

WHAT IS HIGHER EDUCATION?

Higher education comprises of all post-secondary education, training and research guidance while providing higher levels of teaching in all fields of knowledge at education institutions such as universities that are authorised as institutions of higher education by state authorities. It includes producing qualified human resource for the labour market; that is making profitable use of knowledge and skills acquired along with educating qualified researchers and cultural agents.¹⁰ Higher education institutions - most prominently universities - have three functions in total. In addition to education, these are research and contribution to society. However, the importance placed on each of these functions varies greatly depending on the type of higher education institution. For example, large universities may have departments, graduate schools and affiliated research

facilities, and there are, therefore, many that pursue education, research and contributions to society. However, there are many polytechnics, teacher training schools, specialised technical schools and other institutions that clearly have educational activities as their main function.¹¹

Even as higher education has been based on a Western “university model”, it has developed in a way that is deeply rooted in the societies of which it is a part. However, the environment surrounding higher education is changing rapidly. The recent rise of a knowledge-based society; social, economic and information globalisation; increased demand for higher education; changes in the political and social environment of developing countries are all deeply connected and are having a significant influence on higher education.¹² It is this changing environment where the need and demand for quality education has increased manifold, mostly to bridge the knowledge gap and meet with the various challenges emanating out of this changed scenario.

QUALITY AND RELATED TERMS

Quality is a normative and subjective term which is very hard to define. It has been a matter of intense debate among scholars who have come up with wide variety of interpretations of the term. Depending upon the various views four groups of stakeholders that must be considered when defining quality needs to be taken note of: providers (e.g., funding bodies and the community, taxpayers); users of products (e.g., students); users of outputs (e.g., employers); and employees of the sector (e.g., academicians and administrators).¹³ Each group has a different perspective on quality. For example, students associate quality with the institution they attend the program in which they enrol and complete it in the stipulated time. Conversely, employers are concerned with quality in terms of the final product, which can be demonstrated through a qualified employee pool.¹⁴ Therefore, in order to define quality and attempt to establish a culture of quality in higher education, all stakeholders should be involved in the discussion to ensure that different perspectives and needs are incorporated.¹⁵

Another challenge in quantifying quality is that it needs to be a multidimensional concept and therefore, reducing the concept to a one-sentence definition is problematic. In some cases, such definitions are one-dimensional, lack meaning and specificity, or are too general to be operationalised.¹⁶ A third challenge is that quality is not a static but rather a dynamic, ever-changing pursuit of excellence that must be considered in the context of the larger educational, economic, political, and social landscape.¹⁷ It can be defined in following contexts to bring out a meaningful and contextual meaning about the same. Quality can be said to be the construction of a broader framework that targets one central goal or outcome, such as fulfilling a stated mission or vision. It needs to be purposeful (conform to a stated mission/vision), exceptional (fulfilment of high standards), transformative (bring positive change in student learning in both personal and professional potential) and accountable (to stakeholders for the optimal use of resources and the delivery of accurate educational products and services with zero defects).¹⁸

An analysis into quality will be deemed incomplete if the related terms such as quality assurance, assessment, accreditation, criteria, etc. are ignored. Quality Assurance is seen as a “process of continuous quality improvement”, assessment as a “process of evaluation of performance of an institution of Higher Learning and/or its units, based on certain established criteria”, while accreditation is “certification of assessment given by the NAAC/any other rating agency which is valid for a stated period of time and the recognition accorded to an institution that meets standards or satisfies criteria laid down by a competent agency”, whereas criteria is defined as “predetermined standards for the functioning of an institution of Higher Education that form the basis of assessment and accreditation”.¹⁹ Indian PM Modi, while addressing the citizen on the All India Radio during his 19th ‘Mann ki Baat’ said that, “so far, the government’s focus was on spreading education across the country. But the time has now come to shift the focus on quality education. Now, the government should emphasise more on learning rather than schooling”. He further added that “we need to move beyond enrolments. We may use technology to improve our education system. We have managed to expand our education system by building new schools and colleges and

hiring new teachers. Now we must focus on improving the standard of education too". So when we say children have a right to education, a 'quality education', we need to stress upon what quality entails and includes?

DECIPHERING QUALITY EDUCATION

Good quality education, provided by trained and supporting teachers, is the right of all children, youth and adults, and not the privilege of the few. The World Declaration on Education for All (1990) was emphatic about the necessity of providing education for all children, youth and adults that is responsive to their needs and relevant to their lives. It shall be equitable and inclusive providing lifelong learning for all there by transforming lives through education. This paved the way for the concept of quality expressed in terms of needs based criteria. Addressing the crisis in quality learning requires redefining what quality education systems are for. The skills, knowledge, values and attitudes that learning and teaching promote must reflect and respond to the needs and expectations of individuals, countries, the global population and the world we live today.²⁰ Therefore, as per UNICEF, quality education includes stakeholders - learners and teachers, the environment, contents, processes and outcomes.²¹

- **Learners:** Any knowledge systems work with the primary stakeholder 'learner' who joins it and therefore the quality of learner's lives greatly influences the kind of learners they can be. Many elements go into making a quality learner, including health, early childhood experiences and home support. The second element is education's role in encouraging learners' creative and emotional development, in supporting objectives of peace, citizenship and security, in promoting equality and in passing global and local cultural values down to future generations. They must be ready to 'learn-unlearn-relearn' in order to transform themselves and the knowledge space around them.²²
- **Teachers:** Teachers are the most important cog in the wheel of education; they are the pivots around which quality is institutionalised. Education that supports and empowers both teachers and students through democratic processes increasingly defines quality in the 21st century. The highest quality teachers, those most capable of helping their students learn, have deep mastery of both their subject matter and pedagogy. Good teachers are skilled not only in instructional methods, but also in evaluation and assessment practices that allow them to gauge individual student learning and adapt activities according to student needs. But various factors do have an impact on the quality of teaching, viz; teachers' working conditions affect their ability to provide quality education.²³ Many aspects of institutional life and educational policy go into teachers' perceptions of their employment. As mentioned above, the condition of infrastructure, availability of resources and learning materials and class sizes all influence the teacher's experience as an educator. Teachers' remuneration also matters. In many countries, teacher's salaries have declined in recent years, and teachers are not always paid on time. In Bangladesh, Nepal and Uganda, for example, the teachers of 27 per cent, 35 per cent and 60 per cent of all students, respectively, were paid a month or more late.²⁴ Teachers and administrators use inputs to frame meaningful learning experiences for students. Their work represents a key factor in ensuring quality education processes. By using student-centred teaching approaches in well-managed environment and skilful assessment they not only facilitate learning and but also help reduce disparities and become agents of change.²⁵
- **Environments:** Learning can occur anywhere and everywhere, but the positive learning outcomes generally sought by educational systems happen in quality learning environments. Learning environments are made up of physical, psychosocial and service delivery elements that are healthy, safe, protective and gender-sensitive, and provide adequate resources and facilities.²⁶
- **Content:** Quality content refers to the intended and taught curriculum at higher educational institutions. National goals for education, and outcome statements that translate those goals into measurable objectives should provide the starting point for the development and implementation of curriculum.²⁷ So, it would not be wrong to say that content

forms the basics of quality which is reflected in relevant curricula and materials for the acquisition of basic skills, especially in the areas of literacy, numeracy and skills for life, and knowledge in such areas as gender, health, nutrition and society.²⁸

- **Processes:** Until recently, much discussion of educational quality centred on system inputs, such as infrastructure and pupil-teacher ratios, and on curricular content. In recent years, however, more attention has been paid to educational processes - how teachers and administrators use inputs to frame meaningful learning experiences for students. Their work represents a key factor in ensuring quality education processes.²⁹ Understanding of education has always been seen as a complex system embedded in a political, economic and cultural context where processes are a set of functions performed at various levels keeping in mind the objectives, context and outcomes.
- **Outcomes:** The environment, content and processes that learners encounter in school leads to diverse results, some intended and others unintended. Quality learner outcomes are intentional, expected effects of the educational system. They include what learners know and can do, as well as the attitudes and expectations they have for themselves and their societies. The outcomes of education should be assessed in the context of its agreed objectives. They are most easily expressed in terms of academic achievement (sometimes as test grades, but more usually and popularly in terms of examination performance), though ways of assessing creative and emotional development as well as changes in values, attitudes and behaviour have also been devised. Other proxies for learner achievement and for broader social or economic gains can be used; an example being labour market success. It is useful to distinguish between achievement, attainment and other outcome measures - which can include broader benefits to society.³⁰ Therefore, outcome must encompass knowledge, skills and attitudes that are linked to national goals for education and positive participation for creation of knowledge-based informed society.

It is in this context that education emerges as a central element in a new development strategy, linking the quest for economic efficiency where globalisation of economic, political and cultural relations and the increased pace of change in the technology base and the means of production is rather having a deep rooted impact on how knowledge is created and imparted. Education today has become a strategic vector for sustainable and equitable development. In fact, the idea is generally accepted today that education has become the greatest comparative advantage of countries and companies when challenged by international competitiveness. However, Indian Higher education system today is facing some grave challenges that need to be overcome in order to be competitive at global stage externally while creating a knowledge-based informed and transformative society internally.

CHALLENGES TO HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA

India's huge pool of young minds might be considered as its biggest strength. Unfortunately, India is far from having its act together when it comes to figuring out how to educate these young minds. Government data suggests that only one out of every seven children born in India goes to college. What's more, the nation suffers from both a crippling quantity, as well as quality, when it comes to higher education.³¹ The lists of challenges these institutions have to overcome are numerous but few of these need some mention:

- **Physical Expansion:** Growth in numbers, however, has not been accompanied by an improvement in the delivery of higher education and consequent outcomes. The Indian Higher education system continues to be bogged down by the challenges of inadequate access, poor quality and inequity. The Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in India has grown slowly and is estimated to be at a dismal 12 per cent, with wide disparity across regions of the country, rendering universal higher education a distant dream for the masses. In terms of equity, the Indian Higher Education system is characterised by a large rural-urban and gender divide. GER in rural India is estimated to be about 7%, while urban areas have a GER of about 23

per cent. Severe shortage of faculty and poor infrastructure have severely impacted results, with less than a handful of Indian HEIs achieving global recognition.³²

- **Equity of Access:** Education is a great leveller but when denied can act not only as an instrument of socio-political and economic exclusion but also lead to varying degrees of marginalisation. Disparities in access to education, especially in terms of economic class, gender, caste, ethnic and religious belonging is another glaring challenge that confronts India and its higher education. With the urban and the rural divide having significantly narrowed due to the onset of technology, communication and better infrastructure over the last two decades, there has been not much improvement in the reach of better higher education to several under-represented groups across the country. There is no equity in GER among different sects of the society. Therefore, the need of the hour is a provision of high quality education across all sectors to match the requirements of a growing Indian economy. The suffering of the under-represented communities has not been appreciably alleviated as unemployment, inflation, low income and lack of adequate access to quality education continue to plague them.³³
- **Issues of quality and faculty:** The quality of higher education is an equally serious problem. Quality teaching has become an issue of importance as the landscape of higher education has been facing continuous changes: increased international competition, increasing social and geographical diversity of the student body, increasing demands of value for money, introduction of information technologies, etc.³⁴ According to UNESCO (2004), the main characteristics of good teaching relate to a number of broad categories: relevance of the teaching content, in particular alignment with the curriculum; sufficient learning time which refers to the time devoted to actual teaching, as opposed to the official hours set in the curriculum; structured teaching, in which learners' engagement is stimulated, their understanding monitored, and feedback and reinforcement regularly provided; a conducive classroom environment with, in particular, a task-oriented climate, mutual respect between the students and teacher and among students themselves, orderliness, and safety; teachers with appropriate subject matter mastery, verbal intelligence, a broad teaching repertoire, and motivation to achieve; and adaptability to context matters as different countries and students may need different teaching contents (both in terms of subject matter knowledge and of medium of instruction) and different levels of structure tailored to students' profile. It is, therefore, important to critically assess the relevance of both current and planned objectives (in terms of the content, structure, and context of teaching and learning) to the national situation.³⁵

Today we are facing a huge crisis in the form of research deficit. We hardly publish 3.3% of total publications of the world. Citations per paper are 5.7 as against the world average of 10.8, in which we are better than China but below par by the global standards. On the research side, hardly 4-5% of total research in the country is done through educational institutions, as against that the figure for UK would be 25 per cent and Canada 35 per cent. We hardly spend 1% of our GDP on research and in that what is done by educational institutes is miniscule.³⁶

There is huge shortage of qualified faculty to conduct research and mentor researchers. There also exists poor linkage of education institutes with industry and research bodies. Thus, accountability on part of faculties need to fixed whereas transparency in the selection process shall be the pre-requisite in order to recruit the best. Simultaneously ample focus must be given on skill upgradation and innovation which caters the national goals.

- **Academic reforms:** There is an urgent need for a deepening of academic reforms, with a pressing need for institutions to shift their instructional emphasis from an "input-centric and credential-focused" approach to a more "learner-centric" approach. This is to be achieved through: regular revisions to curricula, the implementation of a choice-based credit system, the introduction of continuous and comprehensive student evaluations, a cumulative grade point system, and new marking and grading schemes. Learner-centric curriculum reforms include the introduction of credit requirements for non-

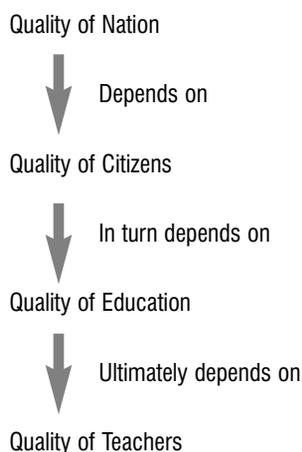
major elective courses and the creation of syllabi and programs based on learning outcomes relevant to the labour market.³⁷ Issue of financing, autonomy and the likes need to be looked into a time bound manner to make institutions accountable and competitive at global stage.

- **Digital Disruption:** In light of the digital revolution, the trends and technologies are going to define the future of higher education. Simply put, for institutions to survive in the digital world, they will need to (a) embrace new technologies and capabilities quickly and efficiently; and (b) re-invent themselves and how they operate.³⁸ The higher educational institutions need technology restructuring in order to change the entire academic experience, which needs to be more personalized, experiential, outcome-focused, technology-rich, and data-driven, to meet the global standards. In light of this digital expansion, the focus should be to move away from brick and mortar model to a more digital means of imparting education. The reach of such mediums can hugely benefit in making education accessible to the remotest part.

ROLE OF FACULTY AND STUDENTS IN PROMOTING QUALITY

One of the important challenges for teachers today is their continuation as the backbone of society, providing the knowledge and educating young people for addressing complex global challenges and substantial improvement of a new generation of learners and offering opportunities for originality in idea development and use, including research. The success of any education system depends on the quality of teachers, which, in turn, depends on the effective teaching / learning process. Teachers' role is of vital significance for the development of society and appropriate changes in the society. Thus, the quality of higher education depends upon quality of those who impart it. Teachers are the most important components of any educational system. Teachers play most crucial role in the development of the education system as a whole and also in imparting and maintaining the standards of higher education.³⁹

Swami Vivekananda said in context of quality education... "we want that education by which character is formed, strength of mind is increased, the intellect is expanded, and by which one can stand on one's feet". It sums up the notion of quality very aptly. Adding to this, Rabindranath Tagore's thought on the issue too needs a mention when he says... "the primary task of a society is to find a real teacher, one who performs his duty with perfection and dedication and is a perfect moral example for the society". Thus, teacher plays a very crucial and pivotal role in the life of nation. He is the medium who leads the nation towards perfection. He can be the medium to bring transformative changes in society. He is the one who adds value to the resources in form of human.



A teacher has huge responsibilities and performs various roles in order to promote quality. The few notable roles being: Faculty as a researcher; as a teacher; as a service provider; and as collective faculty⁴⁰ to make institutions accountable and transparent.

- **The Teaching Role:** As faculty members they should teach, spread and impart basic or applied knowledge to students and assist students with the learning process and applying the knowledge learned. In this construction of the teaching role, the teacher is the content expert, and students are regarded as learners or novices to the academic discipline or field of study.⁴¹
- **The Research Role:** Many university faculty members engage themselves in research, thereby contributing to the knowledge base of the discipline or academic field.⁴²
- **The Service Role:** Institutional service performed by faculty members includes serving on internal committees and advisory boards, mentoring and advising students, and assuming part-time administrative appointments as program or unit leaders. In some cases, faculty members also assume term appointments in fulltime roles as mid-level or senior level institutional administrators. As they are the stakeholders as well as service providers, thus, the responsibility and accountability factors are much higher.⁴³
- **The Collective Faculty:** Faculty collective bargaining units provide faculty members with a formal voice in institutional deliberations and decision-making, and many faculty members regard collective bargaining as a check against the growing degree of professional administrators' authority.⁴⁴
- **Integration of Faculty Roles and Responsibilities:** The teaching, research, and service roles of faculty members overlap conceptually and practically, therefore, providing ample scope to meet various challenges and promote quality.⁴⁵

In the higher education sector, students have always been expected to play an active role in the educational process. Primarily, this has traditionally been through actively engaging with the teaching and learning process and through their contributions to departmental and institutional quality assurance mechanisms.⁴⁶ Within the UK, students have central role in institutional and national policy developments as can be seen in the form of the national student survey (NSS). Introduced in 2005, the NSS aims to gather feedback from final-year undergraduate students on the quality of their courses 'in order to contribute to public accountability as well as help inform the choices of future applications'.⁴⁷ The results of the NSS and other information relating to the quality of higher education teaching in the UK are put into the public domain.

Student has a central role in promoting quality. Being the primary stakeholder s/he needs to have a pro-active role in promotion of quality. Student is seen as a consumer, co-producer or member of a learning community⁴⁸ in the ecosystem of knowledge. They contribute to assuring the quality, contribute to institutional governance and accountability mechanisms through student representation bodies⁴⁹ and help build perception, attitude and behaviour of any institution they are part of.

- **Student as a Consumer:** Students' choices and expectations play an important part in shaping provision of an institution. This, in turn, encourages universities to adapt and improve their services. Universities today provide standard set of objective information about courses setting out what students can expect of the nature and quality of their programme and the long-term employment prospects it offers. Today's student is connected to the world in the information age and a well-informed student is able to drive improvement by demanding better service.⁵⁰
- **Student as a Co-producer of Knowledge:** Students, lecturers and others who support the learning are viewed as being engaged in a cooperative enterprise 'focussed on the production, dissemination and application of knowledge, and on the development of learners rather than merely skilled technicians'. They help in the formation of a knowledge-based informed society.⁵¹
- **Member of the Learning Community:** Acts as a 'collective' agent in the learning group with active participation. The learning process is one of interaction and building relationships between students and teachers and between students and other students. Thus, this process results in integration and fulfilment of needs and creation of shared emotional connection.⁵²

CONCLUSION

Historically, in the past three decades, there has been an extraordinary commitment on the part of countries of South East Asia to raise the quality of education. But what is striking is the increase in number of institutions from South East Asian countries like Singapore, South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, China, etc., which have significantly improved their quality and rankings in the last decade. Henceforth, what we need to understand is that the conscious and constant efforts over a relatively short period of time can significantly and dramatically transform the way higher education is evolved. Therefore, access, equity, accountability and quality should form the four guiding principles while planning for higher education development in India in the 21st century. Today the focus should be on social commitment, where issues of access and equity shall be paramount while looking at quality in higher education. Another glaring factor that should be deeply analysed and adequately addressed is what is quality?, who decides standards for quality?, on what benchmarks shall we focus on, etc., as we have IITs/IIMs which does not figures in top rankings of the global institutions but still these institution are the shop floor of world economy. They are feeding the western economies. So, the matter is not the lack of quality but it is the lack of numbers of these quality institutions. Globally, the trend is to recruit the best if want to be the best but much of our academia is having an institutionalised form of mediocracy where the best and the brightest of the minds are no longer coming into academia. The prime thing is to be globally competitive. Therefore, what we need is to have a synergetic approach in order to achieve quality. To make education the tool for social transformation, we need conscious and constant efforts from all stakeholders to meet with the challenges.

REFERENCES

1. Shaguri, O. R. (3013). *Higher Education in India: Access, Equity, Quality* (Rep.). Retrieved March 22, 2018, from EAN World Congress 2013 website: <http://www.ean-edu.org/assets/highereducationindiashaguri.pdf>
2. Antony, S. (2002). *External quality assurance in Indian higher education: Case study of the National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC)*. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning. p.13
3. Verma, J. (n.d.). Education, Sustainable Development and the Human Rights Approach. Retrieved March 22, 2018, from <http://www.naac.gov.in/docs/Quality Higher Education and Sustainable Development.pdf>
4. OECD. (n.d.). Learning our lesson: Review of Quality Teaching in Higher Education. Retrieved March 20, 2018, from <http://www.oecd.org/education/imhe/44058352.pdf>
5. Higher Education in India - UGC. (n.d.). Retrieved March 22, 2018, from <https://www.ugc.ac.in/oldpdf/pub/he/heindia.pdf>
6. Barua, Ramakant. (2018). Education in Ancient India: Present Introspection. *Education India Journal*. Vol. 7, Issue-1, February-2018. Retrieved March 31, 2018, from http://www.educationindiajournal.org/home_art_avi.php?path=&id=267
7. Ibid
8. Ibid
9. All India Survey on Higher Education (2016-17), Ministry Of Human Resource Development, Department Of Higher Education, Government Of India New Delhi 2017
10. World Declaration on Higher Education adopted by the World Conference on Higher Education in 1998
11. https://www.jica.go.jp/jica-ri/IFIC_and_JBICI_Studies/english/publications/reports/study/topical/approaches/pdf/higher_02.pdf
12. Ibid

**PROMOTING QUALITY AT INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA:
ROLE OF FACULTY AND STUDENTS**

13. Srikanthan, G., & Dalrymple, J. (2003). Developing alternative perspectives for quality in higher education. *International Journal of Educational Management*, 17(3), 126-136.
14. Harvey, L. & Green, D. (1993). Defining quality. *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education*, 18(1), 9-34.
15. Bobby, C.L. (2014). The abcs of building quality cultures for education in a global world. Paper presented at the International Conference on Quality Assurance, Bangkok, Thailand
16. Eagle, L., & Brennan, R. (2007). Are students customers? TQM and marketing perspectives. *Quality Assurance in Education*, 15(1), 44-60. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/09684880710723025>
17. Bobby, C.L. (2014). The abcs of building quality cultures for education in a global world. Paper presented at the International Conference on Quality Assurance, Bangkok, Thailand
18. Harvey, L. & Green, D. (1993). Defining quality. *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education*, 18(1), 9-34
19. Prasad, V. S. (2006). Indian Experience on Quality Assurance at World Bank Learning Seminar Quality Assurance in Tertiary Education. CIEP, Sevres, France, June 18-20, 2006
20. World Education Forum 2015, UNESCO. 19-22 May 2015, Incheon, Republic of Korea
21. UNICEF. (2000). Defining Quality in Education. A paper presented by UNICEF at the meeting of The International Working Group on Education Florence, Italy June 2000
22. Ibid
23. Ibid.
24. Postlewaithe, N. (1998). The conditions of primary schools in least-developed countries. *International Review of Education*, 44(4): 289-317.
25. UNICEF. (2000). Defining Quality in Education. A paper presented by UNICEF at the meeting of The International Working Group on Education Florence, Italy June 2000
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. UNICEF (2000). Curriculum report card. Working Paper Series, Education Section, Programme Division. New York, NY: Author.
29. UNICEF. (2000). Defining Quality in Education. A paper presented by UNICEF at the meeting of The International Working Group on Education Florence, Italy June 2000
30. Ibid.
31. Singh, S. (6672, January 01). Challenges and Solutions in Indian Higher Education. Retrieved April 01, 2018, from <https://thediplomat.com/2013/10/challenges-and-solutions-in-indian-higher-education/>
32. Report on Higher Education in India : Issues, Challenges & Expectations developed by Faculty of Management Studies Banaras Hindu University September 8, 2012.
33. Sheikh, Y. A. (2017). Higher Education in India: Challenges and Opportunities. *Journal of Education and Practice*, Vol.8,(No.1.), 2017th ser., 39-42. Retrieved from <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1131773.pdf>.
34. The Path To Quality Teaching In Higher Education By Fabrice Henard and Soleine Leprince-Ringuet <http://www.oecd.org/education/imhe/44150246.pdf>
35. (n.d.). Retrieved April 01, 2018, from <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/strengthening-education-systems/quality-framework/technical-notes/common-characteristics-of-good-teaching/>
36. Rajya Sabha TV debate on Quality in Higher Education
37. Higher Education Reforms in India: Credits, Semesters and Access. (2017, May 10). Retrieved April 01, 2018, from <https://wenr.wes.org/2014/09/higher-education-reforms-in-india-credits-semesters-and-access>
38. The Digital Challenges Facing Higher Education. (n.d.). Retrieved April 01, 2018, from <https://higher.digital/blogs/digital-challenges-facing-higher-education/>

**PROMOTING QUALITY AT INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDIA:
ROLE OF FACULTY AND STUDENTS**

39. <http://jkimsu.com/jkimsu-vol4no1/JKIMSU.%20Vol.%204.%20No.%201.%20Jan-Mar%202015%20Page%20177->
40. Faculty Roles and Responsibilities - The Teaching Role, The Research Role, The Service Role, Integration of Faculty Roles and Responsibilities. (n.d.). Retrieved April 01, 2018, from <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1972/Faculty-Roles-Responsibilities.html>
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid
44. Ibid
45. Ibid
46. Brenda, Little. & Ruth, Williams. (n.d). Students' Roles in Maintaining Quality and in Enhancing Learning: Is There a Tension? <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/6303/dafd1e45b23b5e44580720685196d4b7d905.pdf>
47. Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE), 2009, National Student Survey. Available online at: www.hefce.ac.uk/learning/nss (accessed 16 July 2009).
48. Brenda, Little. & Ruth, Williams. (n.d). Students' Roles in Maintaining Quality and in Enhancing Learning: Is There a Tension? <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/6303/dafd1e45b23b5e44580720685196d4b7d905.pdf>
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.

POLICING THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT: NATURE AND DIMENSIONS

ABHISHEK MISHRA*

ABSTRACT

Historically, maintaining public order and peace has been one of the most important functions of the state. From the simplest societies to modern nation state, an apparatus to control the society has always existed. In the modern nation state this form of control and surveillance manifests itself in the form of the Police. Police as a term has its origin in Greek word 'Polis', which depicts the intimate relationship between the seat of power and the police. The structure of the police force and its pattern of policing were shaped by the needs and nature of the state. In the Indian context, various forms of policing have existed from the ancient times. However as the conception of law and justice was not crystallized into codes and sections, the police also had a fluid nature with no definite structure and shape. There exists a historical and correlated relationship between the state, law and police. Asunder the Mughal's rule the state was more centralized therefore the apparatus of control and surveillance became better defined. However there was overlapping of revenue, punitive and policing jurisdictions.

The Indian Police system as we experience it today is a Colonial innovation. This system has three main features. The police is maintained and organized by the state government that is there are regional variations in policing. The Indian police are horizontally and vertically stratified. These three structural features have a colonial origin and were historically conditioned by British conceptions and consciousness. This consciousness has been crystallized in the Indian Police Act of 1861 and the Indian police have been fashioned largely around this act with Bombay (now Mumbai) and Madras as exceptions. Interestingly, this act unlike other acts of the 1860's has not been structurally amended or reformed since Independence. This compels us to closely study the sections of this act and its impact on policing in Indian subcontinent so as to reflect upon the nature of the colonial state and the new 'modern' legal system. Therefore, this paper tries to critically analyze the Indian Police Act 1861. The paper is structured into eight different but interrelated sections which enable us to understand the context and content of the Act. We survey the history of policing in India

*Research Scholar at the Department of History, University of Delhi

in the pre-colonial period, the initial experimentation in the sphere of police administration and the accomplishments of the British in the area of science of policing. However it is beyond the scope of this paper to study in detail each and every provincial system of policing therefore generalizations have to be made throughout the paper despite being conscious of the regional variations.

Key Words: police, India, Kotwali, daroga, political influence.

I. FROM 'NAGARIKA' TO 'KOTWALI' : THE PREHISTORY OF MODERN POLICING

Let us first, briefly discuss the history of policing in Indian subcontinent from the ancient to early modern period. The concept of an independent professional police force is a modern construct and its birth coincides with the creation of a modern nation state in Europe and in India, the British Empire. Even as late as the second half of the eighteenth century, there was nothing approximating to a regular police force in England.¹ It was under Sir Robert Peel in 1829 that the Metropolitan Police act was passed. Likewise in the Indian subcontinent we have different forms of policing in ancient and medieval India but a well-defined system of policing cannot be seen before the 19th century. Moreover the data and sources about policing history in the ancient period are very scarce and the references tell us nothing about the policing machinery. One of the earliest references to crime and social order can be studied in Megasthenes' Indica in fourth century BCE:

The standard of law and order was high, but it depended largely on the great severity with which malefactors were treated. Mutilation was a common punishment and death penalty was awarded even for such events as evasion of taxation, injuring a sacred tree, or intrusion on a royal procession going to the hunt²

Generally, the historicity of the punishments discussed above is questionable but it does reflect upon the conception of law and order. We are not aware about the forms of policing before the fourth century BCE due to lack of sources and it is only in Kautilya's Arthashastra that we find discussions about administration and control of the society during Mauryan period. Kautilya divided policing into Internal and External. The basic features of external policing were the protection of borders of the kingdom and verification of the outsiders through certain kind of passport system entering the Mauryan political sphere. The internal policing dealt with the law and order of the Mauryan society. There were various superintendents who looked after various aspects of the administration such as *sitadhyaksa* and *akaradhyaka*. There was also a distinction between city policing and village policing. This feature is intrinsic to Indian policing history. The responsibility for the city was to be with the *Nagarika*, while *Gramadhyaksa* should manage the policing responsibility in the village³. The spies system was also an integral part of administration.

During the medieval period, a more elaborate and formal policing system was established under the Mughal rulers. The *Muhtasib* was the official that looked after the police and public works. According to the *Ain-E- Akbari*, the administrative structure consisted of *Fauzdari*, *Mir Adal*, *Kazi* and *Kotwal*⁴. "The crucial executive and military unit for controlling the zamindars and policing was the *faujdar*'s jurisdiction, supplemented by *Kilahdars* stationed in forts at strategic points. The principle on which the highways were kept safe was enforcing liability through military force, from one level down to the other, from the *faujdar* and *thanadar* to the zamindar and his dependents. In the cities, the Mughal *Kotwal* has a military contingent, but relied substantially on the setting up of a chain of interlocking securities in the *mohullas* and urban neighborhoods"⁵. The *Kazi*'s *Kachcheri* tried the offences which invoked *Sharia*. However, the *Sharia* had not mutated into a textual legalistic text and even the non-muslim population invoked it unlike during the British period. On the other hand *Kotwali Chabutra* was the centre of legal redressal in the towns. These officers were simultaneously a part of the fiscal, judicial and policing apparatus of the Mughal state. As the nature of state was based on the dissemination or distribution of power and interlocking of various spheres of administration, these agents of the control also had overlapping jurisdiction in legal, punitive and policing spheres. The conception of sovereignty was unlike the monopolistic modern state therefore there was dispersion of power originating from the emperor to the various departments within the state. Similarly there existed independent but overlapping agencies which controlled fiscal, military and legal sphere.

In the sphere of policing, we observe a pattern of change and continuity. Power changed hands, the imperial system

evolved and the names of agents changed but the basic unit of administration and policing hardly changed. The Village remained the basic building block of administration through history. Responsibility for policing rested with the headman who was usually assisted by a watchman and sometimes by a special police helper⁶. The safety and security was maintained by indigenous system of patrolling called Thikri-pahra⁷. Similarly, in South India specifically in the Madras region there was the traditional system of two kinds- the taliaris and the kavalkars. The taliaris, like the chaukidars of northern India was the village watchmen who guarded houses and crops assisted in collection of revenue, kept eyes on strangers and recovered stolen property⁸. This was a hereditary office. The kavalkars were state appointees. He was responsible not for a village but for several and for the roads, wasteland and markets connected with them⁹. Their functions were similar to the Faujdar. Overall, the system was based on community policing and the state only created a link with village but never reorganized the traditional systems of policing. It would however be an overestimation to perceive that there was no change at the grass root level. This paper doesn't intend to contribute to the European conception of "changelessness" but certainly suggests continuity with change in the pre-colonial period.

II. BREAK FROM THE PAST : THE ADVENT OF THE COMPANY

It is in this historical context, that the British East India Company gained the diwani of Bengal in 1765. Between 1760 and 1818, the company's character transformed from a profit oriented mercantilist institution to a colonial state with a vast territorial empire. During the same period, on the one hand company was losing its monopoly in trade but on the other hand also gaining monopoly as an administrative power in Indian subcontinent. The immediate concern of the British was mainly revenue collection and control over Chinese trade. As the de facto ruler of Indian subcontinent, the company needed to articulate its philosophy of administration. There existed divergent voices within the state during the late 18th and early 19th century; Liberal, Romantic and Utilitarian ideas and philosophies influenced British officials.

During the late 18th century, the British regarded themselves as "inheritors rather than innovators, as revivers of a decayed system and not the vanguard of the new"¹⁰. Therefore, the British intrusion into the property relations and revenue collection was only partial and based on Clive's idea that the "company's sovereignty should be masked"¹¹. However the Anglicization of administration was intrinsic to the colonialization process. Administrators such as Hastings and Munro resisted its implications but the second wave of anglicization under Cornwallis as manifested in the form of the Permanent Settlement of 1793 in Bengal had disastrous consequences. There was a breakdown of law and order in Bengal region and this created the material background in which the tentacles of colonial rule entered the legal and policing spheres so as to reform it.

In the sphere of Policing, the Colonial administrators had to reform the indigenous system of control in such a way that could balance the priorities and principles of the colonial state without fundamentally transforming the policing machinery. The policies and strategies can be divided into two phases from 1765 to 1841 and 1841-1947. However, this periodization is for convenience of analysis and these are not watertight compartments. The first phase is the period of experimentation and substitution. The second phase marks the genesis of the 'modern' police and its crystallization into the Act of 1861.

III. THE DAROGHA EXPERIMENT : 1765-1841

The sphere of police was not independent of the dominant philosophies and ideologies of the late 18th century. Therefore, the rhetoric of "ancient constitution" influenced the administrators and this led to absorption of the existing system but with some changes. But why were changes necessary? The Indian Police Commission report of 1902-03 explains these changes under the sub-heading "Failure of the indigenous system" and it highlights that:

The system described above ["Akbar's police system"] was no doubt well suited to the needs of a simple, homogeneous, agricultural community; but however effectual it may have once been, it could not support the strain of political disorder and the

relaxation of control from above. Extortion and oppression flourished unchecked through all gradations of the officials responsible for the maintenance of peace and order. Both village watchmen and the heads of villages, and even the higher officials connived at crime and harboured offenders in return for a share of the booty.¹²

The concept of venality, decay and political disorder is central to the argument. However, it was not the darkness of 18th century but the intrusion of European officials into this system that destabilized it. Interestingly the solution is:

“Where crimes have long been encouraged by the weakness of Government, by the sale of pardons, and by connivance wherever persons of rank were concerned, no reformation can be looked for but from the operation of time and the certainty of punishment.”¹³

The commission report reinforces the fixity of punishment and “modern” law system as inaugurated by the Indian Penal Code, 1860. However, venality did not mean the abolition of village system, but the reforms would retain the village system while improving the machinery for supervision. There were two reasons. First, the company wasn’t inclined to invest in the total restructuring of the policing apparatus. Second, we observe the romanticization of the ‘village’. In Madras presidency, Thomas Munro believed that “the ancient system of police in India answers to every purpose and requires no other aid, unless that of being restored to its former state”¹⁴. There was insistence on the Village being the most important unit of policing. This is even reflected in Section 21 of Indian Police Act 1861:

21. Village Police-Officers: Nothing in this Act shall affect any hereditary or other village police-officer, unless such officer shall be enrolled as a police-officer under this Act. When so enrolled, such officer shall be bound by the provisions of the last preceding section. No hereditary or other village police-officer shall be enrolled without his consent and the consent of those who have the right of nomination.

On the other hand, the new policing regulations of 1792 inaugurated by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa removed large zamindar from the policing system and zamindars could not maintain an armed militia for the same purpose. The Magistrate of the district replaced the zamindars. Under him there would be police officials called ‘Darogha’. The darogha was to raise and direct a force of men known as barkandazes; he was in turn responsible for supervising the village headmen. The Kotwal remained in charge of police administration in the towns¹⁵.

Under the Kotwal each ward had a darogha. But this system was a failure and crime continued to mount. The darogha’s weren’t able to exercise control over the village system and the system was undermanned. The reason for this failure as conceived by the colonials was that due to the “rational system of trial and punishment” which replaced “the cruel and partial methods of the native governments”, the conviction of criminals was difficult under the new British courts. Indefinite jail sentences were abolished and prisoners suddenly found themselves comparatively well treated¹⁶. Therefore the new legal regime based on “good conscience” and “certainty of punishment” diluted the power of the police according to the commission report. In 1814, the company formally ordered the system abolished and a return made to the traditional method of village policing¹⁷. The supervisory power was neither given to the zamindars nor the magistrate but to the Collectors. Moreover the darogha system couldn’t be dissolved totally as collector needed some link to the village level of administration. In Bengal darogha was a matter of necessity it was retained and reformed¹⁸. It is beyond the scope of this paper to study the Bengal system in detail but the main structure was based on the revenue officer, who was entrusted with policing duties along with judicial powers. This is an inherent paradox in the colonial administration and the colonial psyche. In the legal sphere, the British criticized the Mughal system of rule for its venality due to overlapping jurisdictions. Ironically, the British followed the same pattern. The Collector was presiding over the Court of Diwani and Fauzdari Adalat and also holding the policing authority along with fiscal powers. So the Collector has legal, policing and fiscal powers. Though, it would be an overgeneralization to say that there is continuity as conceptions of power and law had changed. However this demonstrates the paradoxes and idiosyncrasies of the colonial state and the constant negotiation it had to make to rule this vast country.

IV. THE GENESIS OF THE 'MODERN' POLICE

The period of experimentation as discussed in the last section was followed by the articulation of the police as it appears today. Several amendments were made to the system. There were several reasons for change. First, the new grafts over the indigenous system were inefficient and corrupt. The native intermediaries became the main source of laxity of the state machinery. The report of the Select Committee appointed in 1832 to report on the affairs of the East India Company concluded that:

The subordinates were corrupt, inefficient and oppressive while the superior officers, owing to the multiplicity of their duties, were unable to exercise an adequate supervision¹⁹

Second, there was a move away from military as an instrument of control. The British from the outset had used military power to conquer and control Indian subcontinent. The army was the main executive arm of the new territorial power²⁰. The 1840's was more the period of consolidation than conquest. To maintain and consolidate the territory the local administration needed to exhibit a civilian character. The military having performed its task of conquest and laid the foundation for a system of colonial control, could now retire to the background, though not so far as to be unavailable in emergence²¹. The military character could also provoke resistance, which it does in 1857. Third, economics also played an important role in these changes. Maintaining troops was very expensive and though the ineffectiveness of village system was clear by the 19th century, it was not abolished due to economic consideration. Moreover, the army was ineffective in controlling crime and the soldiers were a blunt instrument of local control.

As discussed in earlier, the sphere of police administration was not isolated from the ideologies and philosophies of the state. During this period the Benthamite Utilitarian conceptions of law and discipline influenced Indian administrators. The Utilitarians stood in the vanguard of the tendency towards assimilation and it would be the spearhead of the movement for reform²². The institution of police was one of the sites of these reforms. Moreover, the commodification of land and the creation of conceptions of private property needed a reformed policing system. The assassination of William Fraser, a divisional commissioner of Delhi Division of Bengal Presidency in 1833 and H. V. Conolly, the District Magistrate of Malabar in 1855 accelerated the process of adoption of new constabulary system. The Torture Committee of 1855 in Madras presidency had brought to light great abuses in the working of the police. Generally, the inadequacy of the existing structure was not suitable for trade, commerce and revenue collection.

In this context we observe the rise of a police force which was pseudo-civilian and pseudo-military in character. The Police in Indian subcontinent have three important features. Let us understand these vis-à-vis the sections of the Indian Police Act²³. First, the supervision of police by state government as under Section 3 of the Indian police Act:

3. Superintendence in the State Government: The superintendence of the police throughout a general police-district shall vest in and shall be exercised by the State Government to which such district is subordinate, and except as authorized under the provisions of this Act, no person, officer of Court shall be empowered by the State Government to supersede or control any police functionary.

The police was totally integrated into the colonial state structure. The decentralization of police power was in accordance to semi-autonomy of the province so as to adapt the force as per regional requirements. Second, it is horizontal stratification like in military into cadres' based on rank and finally it is vertically stratified into armed and unarmed branch. The latter two features were the reflection of the debates within the colonial state over the structure of the police during the mid-19th century. The debate is linked to the inherent contradiction within the state. The state wanted a civilian character of the police but also was not prepared to forgo the advantages of an armed police force. Two models were under consideration; The London Metropolitan Police structure and the Irish Constabulary. The London Metropolitan police was based on Robert Peel's concept of an unarmed police force. The constabulary was trained in arms but was normally equipped with nothing more than a truncheon. This model was very successful curbing crime in London.

On the other hand, the Indian Police Act is similar to the Irish constabulary which was a centralized paramilitary force. This force was answerable to the local government which explains the section 3 of the Act. The chief officer was the Inspector- General of Police who was answerable to the Chief Secretary of the government and in Indian context to the magistrate (Section 4):

4. Inspector-General of Police, etc.: The administration of the police through-out a general police-district shall be vested in an officer to be styled the Inspector-General of Police and in such Deputy Inspectors-General and Assistant Inspector-General, as the State Government shall deem fit. The administration of the police throughout the local jurisdiction of the Magistrate of the district... be vested in a District Superintendent and such Assistant District Superintendents as the State Government shall consider necessary.

The first attempt to introduce this model was made by General Sir Charles Napier after the annexation of Sind in 1843. But his force was predominantly military in character. The police in India are closer to the Madras model of Lord Harris under which the majority of the constables were unarmed but a special armed division was as reserve in the district. The Madras Act of 1859 is the preamble on which the Indian Police Act of 1861 is constituted. The compromise of a police partly military and partly civil combined within a single organization has remained a basic characteristic of the Indian Police to the present day²⁴. The preference of the Irish model over Peel's model can be explained by the nature of colonial rule. The primary function of the police was not the prevention of crime but the lubrication of the state machinery. It had to assist and maintain the colonial rule. The police system designed for the imperial metropolis would not meet the requirements of the colonial province²⁵. The Irish paramilitary force was appropriate for colonial priorities and principles. This function of the police force is reflected in Section 14 of the Indian Police Act:

14. Appointment of additional force in the neighbourhood of railway and other works: Whenever any railway, canal or other public work, or any manufactory or commercial concern, shall be carried on or be in operation in any part of the country and it shall appear to the Inspector-General that the employment of an additional police force in such place is rendered necessary by the... it shall be lawful for the Inspector-General, with the consent of the State Government, to depute such additional force to such place, and to employ the same so long as such necessity shall continue, and to make orders, from time to time, upon the person having the control or custody of the funds used in carrying on such work, manufactory or concern, for the payment of the extra force so rendered necessary, and such person shall, thereupon, cause payment to be made accordingly.

The Indian Police Commission even recommends the creation of River police under the Superintendent of River Police so as to make the river transportation safe. Moreover, the anxieties of the colonial state were also crystallized in the Indian Police Act. As the act was passed after the Revolt of 1857, there was stress on maintenance of public peace. These anxieties are manifested in Sections 15: Quartering of additional police in disturbed or dangerous districts under which the state government could declare any region as dangerous and disturbed therefore increase the number of police, 15A: Awarding compensation to sufferers from misconduct of inhabitants or persons interested in land and 17: Special police-officers under which Inspectors could apply to the magistrate for recruiting residents of disturbed areas for preservation of peace. The main stress is upon maintenance of public peace.

V. THE DISAGGREGATION OF AGGREGATION

On the one hand, the priorities and anxieties of the colonial state were shaping the sections of the act and on the other hand, the various colonial forms of knowledge conditioned the sphere of recruitment. The case of Madras Police demonstrates these intersections. Though, recruitment policies were different in each province, we observe the same pattern in North India as well. In Madras, recruitment policies in the 19th century came under the influence of colonial sociology of disaggregation or the concept that Indian society could be broken down into its social constituents. Caste and Tribes were perceived as the building blocks of Indian social organization. This trend coincides with the rise of new colonial forms of knowledge after the revolt of 1857 such as the Census. The Orientalist projects of Colin Mackenzie were reduced to mere footnotes in colonial documents and there is shift from study of history to sociology and anthropology of Indian subcontinent. Scientific positivism and Social Darwinism were entering the discourse of policing. The hierarchy of rank was not based on education but on European racism. The natives were not subordinate officers but inferior officers; section 7: Appointment, dismissal etc. of inferior officers. Under H. H. Risley an ethnographer and civil servant, the anthropometry of

Indian castes and tribes became an important discourse. He tried to scientifically prove that India, far from one nation, was made up of an indefinite number of mutually exclusive aggregates²⁶.

During the period between the Mutiny and the First World War there was a proliferation of literature on Indian castes and tribes. One of the Utilitarian aspects of this literature was its insistence that each caste has behavioral characteristics, common to all its member²⁷. As Bernard Cohn has pointed out, "this way of thinking about a particular caste was useful to the administrator, because it gave the illusion of knowing the people". The disaggregation was matched with aggregation. The society was broken down into castes and then bundled together into stereotypical characteristics. For example, in Madras J. H. Nelson presented a series of stereotypical images of castes; the 'lawless Maravan', the 'skulking Kallar', the 'licentious Pariah' and the 'restless kuravan'. This meant the Maravan were not suitable for police duties but objects of policing and surveillance. The classification of certain castes and tribes into criminal tribes was applied to the recruitment process. The castes suited for the policing tasks were the martial races or fighting races. This again reflects the ambivalence as to whether the police should bear a military or civilian character²⁸. Previously part of the policing machinery, Untouchables and lower caste men were totally weeded out of the policing machinery. The recommendation of the Police Commission in 1903 sums up the general understanding of the colonials.

On no account should members of the criminal classes be enlisted, for their presence degrades the whole force. Recruits should be men of classes which are usually regarded as respectable.²⁹

Therefore the discourse of policing and the everyday practices of the Police weren't independent to the colonial epistemologies

VI. THE GROUND REALITY AND THE 'POLITICAL' POLICE

The study of the sections reveals the great importance placed on creating a professional police force with no overlapping agencies and jurisdictions. Section 10: Police Officers not to engage in other employment makes the post a professional full time duty which is further reinforced by section 22: Police Officers always on duty and may be employed in any part of the district. To curb corruption there were punishments ranging from penalties to imprisonment under Section 29: Penalties for neglect of duty, etc. However, these reforms and acts did not curb the corruption. The Commission report published four decades after the Indian Police Act highlights the dishonestly and tyrannical nature of police. This was true for all provinces especially the Bengal system. In a letter from Government of Bengal to the India in 1901 it was stated that that venality of police was a dark spot for the reputation of the Government. Ironically, this was one of the reasons for their intervention into the Kotwali and Mughal System of policing but the source of this corruption was not the state but the inferior officers.

Constables possessed very much the characteristics of the classes from which they are recruited; and that corruption was no more an essential characteristic of the constable than of the revenue peon, the process-server or the forest chaprasi³⁰

So the burden of venality is shifted from the state to the native. The reporting of crime was unsatisfactory. The rhetoric of "lawless" Indian was another reason for inefficiency and laxity.

As to the attitude of the people in regard to investigation of offences and detection of offenders, there can be no doubt that it differed widely from the attitude of people of England. The people of India are not generally actively on the side of law and order, unless they are sufferers from the offences, their attitude is generally at very silent neutrality: they are not inclined actively to assist the officers of the law"

Interestingly, in the list of recommendations of the Police Commission 1902-03, which enlists eleven areas of improvement, corruption doesn't make the list. Contrary to that the commission defends the police organization while highlighting that that the police department has not kept pace with other departments of the state. Generally, due to lack of funding and the corruption also stems from the unsatisfactory and meager salaries of both the superior and inferior officers. The Indian Police service was never economically at par with Indian Civil Services in the 19th century. David Arnold however, suggests that the police power unlike what Sir Percival Griffiths would argue was not a part of rule of law. Police power was often used to circumvent or supplement the legal process because the latter was too dilatory or too scrupulous to satisfy the colonial need for prompt retribution and collective

punishment, much of the impact of police in colonial period lay in their unlicensed petty tyranny, their corruption and brutality.³¹

The political role of Police and crime control were enmeshed as serious crimes were the defiance of state authority and preludes rebellion. Police coercion was vital instrument of state policy. The nationalist movement strengthened the paramilitary character and the police became an important instrument of control in the 20th century. There was a marriage between the political role of Police and the basic function of the police: crime control. For the same reason though the Police Commission of 1902 set up by Lord Curzon had a great deal to criticize but it still endorsed the organizational structure of the 1861 Act and decides to strengthen the police in anticipation of future political needs with reforms in armed police. A greater need for an intelligence system was felt during the same period. The basic vertical division and the absorption of the Irish model of the police reflect the political functions of the Indian police. A people's police in India would have made the British Raj redundant³². It will however be an over simplistic understanding to claim that the colonial state created the police force for its political function. This analysis doesn't intend to support to the nationalist understanding but argues that the creation of the 'modern' police force and the Indian Police Act was not independent of the socio-economic, political and administrative realities of the British Raj.

VII. FINGERPRINTS TO PHOTOGRAPHS: THE SCIENCE OF POLICING

The Nationalist conception of history also overlooks the innovatory character of the colonial rule. We will now study the accomplishments and research that were done during the colonial period in the sphere of science in policing. Many changes in science of detection of crime were first introduced in India. One of the most important tasks of detection of crime is identification of persons concerned. The fingerprints system which is the science of identifying individuals by the arrangements of their sweat gland opening in the fingers is widely used in the world today in biometric systems. It was developed and used in India by the Police even before Scotland Yard adopted it. The first attempt to use this system was by Sir William Herschel in 1858. As the sub-divisional officer of Murshidabad district in Bengal, he used finger prints for identification of pensioners and convict. Herschel researched in this area for nearly twenty years and concluded 'that the fingerprints of an individual did not change significantly over time'³³. He submitted a report to the Government of India but the recommendation was not adopted as the rival system was more popular. Based on the work of Alphonse Bertillon, a French Prefect of Police, the anthropometric system of measurement of physical characteristics such as height, colour of hair etc. had been recommended by a Committee which was setup in 1893. But the Bertillon system was very cumbersome and various officers tried to simplify it. Sir Edward Henry, the Inspector-General of Police in Lower Bengal who devised a system based on digits and fingerprints.

In 1897, Henry's Fingerprints system was adopted by Government of India due to its simplicity, cheapness and certainty of results. In 1899, the Indian Evidence Act was amended to make the evidence of fingerprint experts relevant³⁴. Another area of colonial innovation was in the detection of different types of poisons as crime of human and cattle poisoning was very common in 19th century. The "Chemical Examiners' Department" in Punjab was the precursor of the Forensic department. The department published its first report in 1879 it identified the various widely used poisons and the report encompassed wide field of studies on human poisoning, cattle poisoning and abortions. Though initially it was based on guess work but as medical and forensic sciences developed in India, the department became an important limb of policing. Ballistic Sciences also emerged as field of research. In the 20th century, Ballistic sections with supporting photographic equipment were installed in most provinces. Photographs became another important form of knowledge and elaborate photographic apparatus were installed and became important source of identification in the form of the Identity card with photograph. UV radiations were used in checking the adulterity of edible items such as 'ghee'. As science and technology progressed in India, radio communication became important equipment for the police. However, police equipment hasn't kept pace with technology and lags behind due to cost considerations. Nonetheless, these additions to the policing machinery have a long term impact on the policing patterns and style in Indian subcontinent.

VIII. CONCLUSION

Hence, through this analysis we have tried to historicize the institution of police in Indian subcontinent. We have traced the history of policing from the 3rd century BC to the Mughal period. As the state system became more and more centralized and complex, the policing apparatus became better defined. The 18th century was the period of continuity with change. The Colonial intervention did not mark the end of indigenous forms of control and rule. As in other spheres of administration, late 18th century is characterized by experimentation. The darogha system and the replacement of magistrates with Collectors are some of the initial attempts of the British to reform and change the system. The issue of Venality is central to their intervention. Ironically, corruption remained one of the problems they could not eliminate even under the new structure. The study of the Indian Police Commission report enabled us to understand the justifications and reasons why British had to intervene and innovate. By critically analysis the Indian Police Act and the structure of Police based on the Irish constabulary, we were able to reflect upon the nature of the state. Policing was directly linked to the interests of the state. The Police serve as a metaphor for the colonial regime as a whole³⁵.

The institutionalization of the priorities (commercial and political) and principles (racism, social Darwinism and ethnography) of the colonial state can be seen in the police. The British constantly absorbed and innovated to develop a model of the Indian Police which could balance its political and economic interests. This study also engages with the accomplishments of the colonial rule in area of forensic sciences and fingerprinting. The institution of Police in Indian context is one of the most important innovations of the British.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

PRIMARY SOURCES AND REPORTS

- Government of India, Report of the Indian Police Commission-1902-03, Shimla Government Central Printing Office, 1903
- Indian Police Act, 1861
- Books and Articles
- Arnold, David. 'Introduction' in David Arnold, Police Power and Colonial Rule: Madras 1859-1947 . Delhi: Oxford University Press , 1986 :1-6
- _____. 'Origin and Structure' in David Arnold, Police Power and Colonial Rule: Madras 1859-1947 . Delhi: Oxford University Press , 1986 :7-35
- _____. 'The Subordinate Police' in David Arnold, Police Power and Colonial Rule: Madras 1859-1947 . Delhi: Oxford University Press , 1986 :36-68
- Bayley, D.H. 'Structure and Development' in David H. Bayley, The Police and Political Development in India . New Jersey : Princeton University Press , 1969: 35-57
- Griffiths, Percival. 'The Police in Pre-British India' in Percival Griffiths, To Guard My People : History Of Indian Police . London: Benn, 1971:7-23
- _____. Science in Service of the Police in Percival Griffiths, To Guard My People : History Of Indian Police . London: Benn, 1971:333-341
- Mishra O.P. 'The Seven Cities of Delhi and the Patterns of Policing' in O.P. Mishra, Policing Delhi: Urbanization, Crime and Law Enforcement. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011:1-24
-
- Singha, Radhika. 'From Faujdari to Faudari Adalat: the Transition in Bengal' in Radhika Singha, A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India , Delhi: Oxford University Press , 1998: 1-35
- Stokes, Eric. 'Introduction' in Eric Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1959: xi-xvi
- _____. 'The Doctrine and Its Setting' in Eric Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1959:1-80
- _____. 'Law and Government' in Eric Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1959:140-233
- Verma, Arvind and K S Subramanian. 'History of Modern Police in India' in Arvind Verma and K S Subramanian, Understanding the police in India. Nagpur: Lexis Nexis Butterworths Wadhwa, 2009: 1-13

E N D N O T E S

1. Sir Percival Griffiths, To Guard My People : History Of Indian Police , p.7
2. Ibid, 9
3. O.P. Mishra, Policing Delhi: Urbanization, Crime and Law Enforcement, p.10
4. Arvind Verma and K S. Subramanian, Understanding the police in India, p.1
5. Radhika Singha. A Despotism of Law: Crime and Justice in Early Colonial India, pp.5-6
6. D.H Bayley. The Police and Political Development in India, p.36
7. O P Mishra, Policing Delhi: Urbanization, Crime and Law Enforcement, p.17
8. David Arnold, Police Power and Colonial Rule , p.17
9. Ibid, p.19
10. Eric Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India, p.1
11. Ibid, p.1
12. Government of India, Report of the Indian Police Commission, 1902-03, p.3
13. Government of India, Report of the Indian Police Commission, 1902-03, p.3
14. David Arnold, Police Power and Colonial Rule , p.10
15. D.H Bayley. The Police and Political Development in India, p.41
16. Ibid, p.42
17. Ibid, p.42
18. D.H Bayley. The Police and Political Development in India, p.43
19. Government of India, Report of the Indian Police Commission (1902-03), p.10
20. David Arnold, Police Power and Colonial Rule, p.15
21. Ibid, p.15
22. Eric Stokes , The English Utilitarians and India, p.47
23. The Act applied to all British India except Bombay and Madras. These two provinces already had Police acts identical to the central act.
24. David Arnold, Police Power and Colonial Rule , p.28
25. Ibid, p.25
26. David Arnold, Police Power and Colonial Rule, p.39
27. Ibid, p.39
28. David Arnold, Police Power and Colonial Rule, p.40
29. Government of India, Report of the Indian Police Commission(1902-03), p.43
30. Ibid, p.19
31. David Arnold, Police Power and Colonial Rule , p.3
32. Arvind Verma and K S. Subramanian, Understanding the police in India, p.5
33. Sir Percival Griffiths, To Guard My People : History Of Indian Police, p.334
34. Ibid, p.336
35. David Arnold, Police Power and Colonial Rule , 2

CLEMENCY POWERS OF THE INDIAN PRESIDENT: THE LEGACY LIVES ON

DR MADHURI SUKHIJA*

ABSTRACT

Unlike other powers of the President of India, clemency powers are somewhat understated. Nevertheless, they lend credibility to the very idea of Indian democracy and are integral to the constitutional post of the President. These powers are representative of a tri-junction, wherein, governance, law, and politics enter into a meeting ground. This paper provides a comprehensive overview of the constitutional power of clemency and the factors that influence it. It examines the arguments and cases while handling mercy petitions and exposes the dilemmas posed by the current clemency situation. Is it an extra-baggage that can be shed off or is it an important measure that cannot be done without?

Key Words: law, politics, governance, mercy petitions, dilemmas.

INTRODUCTION

Life and liberty are the most prized possessions for any human being. This is best expressed in Art.21 of the Indian Constitution. Nevertheless, for any crime committed, law has to take its own course. The objective being reformatory and not preventive. Any threat to personal liberty by the action of the State is a serious matter and recourse finds place in either constitutional provisions, legislative enactments or the judicial verdicts. Human judgment is not infallible, however sanctified the judicial organ may be. To ensure another layer of safety in matters of life and personal liberty, protection has been provided by entrusting power to the highest constitutional authority of India i.e. the President. The power of clemency was the result of a constitutional mandate and was never intended to be used by the executive as an unbridled power of pardon. The intention behind the clemency power is not just limited to the benefit of the convict, but also extends to the effect the decision will have

*Associate Professor, Department Of Political Science, Mata Sundari College, Delhi University

on the family of the victim, the society as a whole, and the precedent it sets for the future.

Exercise of Executive clemency is at best a matter of grace and a matter of discretion too, but certainly not a matter of privilege, it has to conform to certain standards which are inherent in a democracy. This power does not absolve the individual convicted of a crime. However, it can reduce the sentence of punishment awarded, a sentence can be reconsidered and, in appropriate cases, reduced. Clemency powers open up a window to various possibilities, to find out where the legal system has fallen short, where rights of citizenship can be restored and, if possible, the convict's acts of atonement be rewarded by a state pardon.

TRAVERSING THE PATH OF HISTORY

Although clemency powers date back to the monarchical times, the need for clemency has been much debated through the ages. Montesquieu believed in the significance of clemency in the monarchical system while, Beccaria advocated total abolition of this institution and it was dropped for few years in France during the revolution of 1789. Immanuel Kant and Filangeiri were against the very existence of such a provision.¹

Nonetheless, the power to pardon and grant mercy towards prisoners and to adjudicate disputes has long been an essential component of sovereignty exercised by the sovereign, perhaps stemming from the notion of divinity of kings. Such powers of mercy were also exercised in India by the Mughal Emperors and rulers before them as well. Statutory clemency powers were provided for in the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure that were enacted in 1860 and 1861 respectively.²

The present day constitutional clemency powers of the President and Governors owe their origin to the Government of India Act, 1935, but unlike the Governor-General then, the President and Governors in independent India do not have any prerogative clemency powers.³ The constitutional scheme necessitates that the President act on the advice of the executive, and not otherwise. Present day mercy provisions in India provide a layer of remedial justice in the hands of the executive and certainly cannot be interpreted as becoming another court of appeal.

THE PROCEDURE FOLLOWED VIS-A-VIS CLEMENCY UNDER THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

After the award of death sentence passed by a Session (trial) court, the sentence must be confirmed by a High Court to make it final.⁴ Once confirmed, the accused can exercise the option of appealing to the Supreme Court. However, if the court either refuses to hear the appeal or upholds the death sentence, the prisoner also has the option of submitting a mercy petition to the President of India and Governor of the state.

Article 74(1) reads: '[t]here shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advice the President who shall, in the exercise of his functions, act in accordance with such advice.' In a constitutional bench judgment, the Supreme Court clarified that decisions in clemency petitions would follow the same process.⁵ Any mercy petition submitted to the President is first received in his Secretariat. Thereafter, it is forwarded to the Ministry of Home Affairs for its recommendations. A memorandum on the case is prepared by a junior official in the Ministry and on the basis of the same, a Joint Secretary or an Additional Secretary 'recommends' a decision to commute the death sentence or reject the mercy petition. This, then, is the final 'recommendation' made to the President by the Minister of Home Affairs on behalf of the Cabinet. But since, the Presidential assent decides the fate of the convict, the petition can hardly be rejected without application of mind. Then, again, given the procedural aspects on mercy petitions in the MHA, it is undertaken by a staff as also the Home Minister who may not have the requisite skills to analyse complicated criminal law

questions. Herein, comes the President's crucial role by providing a final check.

The President may examine and evaluate the evidence afresh or may reach a different conclusion from that recorded by the Court in regard to the guilt of, and sentence imposed on the accused. However, the President does not amend or supersede the judicial record which remains status quo.⁶ His role can be interpreted as providing remedial justice. The pocket veto is the only way for a President to express disagreement with the Home Ministry's recommendation. It's a power that some have exercised more than others.

The President may agree or disagree with the recommendations placed before him. In the event of the latter, he may send his note of disagreement to the Home Ministry, wherein, it is assumed that the Home Ministry will not differ from the views of the President. Article 74(1) provides the President with only one opportunity to return the 'recommendation' for the decision to be reviewed. If no change is made, the President has to give his assent. Thus for all practical purposes, the decision on a mercy petition is arrived at within the MHA as the subject has been allocated to the Department of Home, MHA vide the second schedule of the Government of India.⁷

ARTICLE 72 INCORPORATES THE FOLLOWING POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

- (1) The President shall have the power to grant pardons, reprieves, respites or remissions of punishment or to suspend, remit or commute the sentence of any person convicted of any offence:
 - (a) In all cases where the punishment or sentence is by a Court Martial;
 - (b) In all cases where the punishment or sentence is for an offence against any law relating to a matter to which the executive power of the Union extends;
 - (c) In all cases where the sentence is a sentence of death.
- (2) Nothing in sub-clause (a) of clause (1) shall affect the power conferred by law on any officer of the Armed Forces of the Union to suspend, remit or commute a sentence passed by a Court Martial.
- (3) Nothing in sub-clause (c) of clause (1) shall affect the power to suspend, remit or commute a sentence of death exercisable by the Governor of a State under any law for the time being in force.⁸

It is amply clear that the power to grant remissions lies with the President, although subject to the advice tendered by the Executive, which definitely has to be free from limitations. If the President gives no reasons for his order, the matter ends there and the Court cannot ask him to do so. This is strongly indicative of the non-justiciable nature of the order (Art 72) and spells out its enabling provision.

A pertinent question that arises is, is everything over, once the President rejects the mercy petition and gives his assent? Not always, there is still hope for the convict. President's pardon/rejection/delay is also subject to judicial review.

Supreme Court in *Shatrughan Chauhan Vs. Union of India*⁹, has concluded that inordinate delay in the rejection of mercy petitions of death row convicts amounted to torture and psychological stress and that it is a sufficient basis, in and of itself, to commute a sentence of death to life imprisonment. It violates the fundamental right to life under Article 21 of the Constitution. Besides, the decision-making process is subject to judicial review if the President's decision is in any way arbitrary, discriminatory and has been passed on wholly irrelevant considerations.

If one goes by the Effect of Supreme Court Judgment, the President's powers in deciding clemency petitions are limited. While exercising judicial review, the courts role is to ensure the President has acted within the constitutionally defined limits of her/his power. The Courts cannot go into the merits of a President's decision or inquire into the basis or information, the executive exercised in a particular case.

However, since there is no set time limit for providing the presidential signature, there is an element of ambiguity which

sometimes ends in unnecessary delays. How long is too long? More so, while granting a pardon the President is not answerable for his/ her decision and this gives rise to subjectivity in granting clemency, one President gives life for a crime and another, death, for the same, depending upon his beliefs and principles. After all, clemency is a privilege, not a right.

The data in Table 1 point towards a decline in the number of mercy petitions filed and disposed by the President. There is a significant downward trend in the last four decades.

TABLE 1

Source: <https://factly.in/different-presidents-different-decisions-the-tale-of-mercy-petitions-in-india/>. Also See: Bikram JesT Batra; 'Court' of Last Resort : A Study of Constitutional Clemency for Capital Crimes in India, Working Paper Series, Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi : 2009.(Reprint 2012)

Surprisingly, 94% of all the mercy petitions were disposed in the first 26 years while a mere 6% were disposed in the 41 years after that.

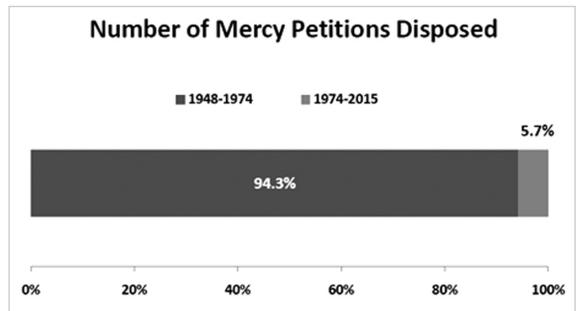


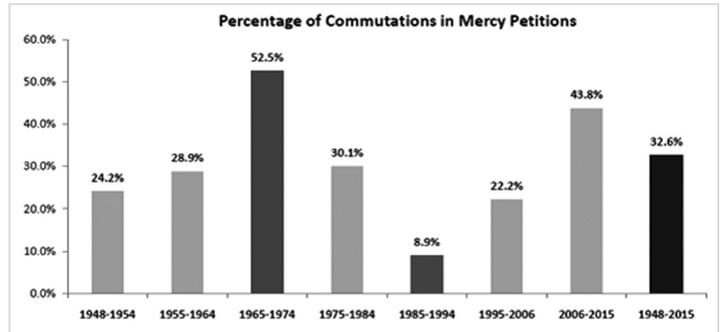
Figure 1

Percentage and Commutations of the Last six Presidents

Source: <https://factly.in/different-presidents-different-decisions-the-tale-of-mercy-petitions-in-india/>. Also See-

Bikram JesT Batra; 'Court' of Last Resort : A Study of Constitutional Clemency for Capital Crimes in India, Working Paper Series, Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi : 2009.(Reprint 2012)

Contrary to the position now, in the early decades, decision-making on mercy petitions was a fairly speedy process. The first President Dr Rajendra Prasad was very much opposed to delay in death sentence cases, or for that matter converting the clemency process into another tier of appeal. The next two successors, President S.



Radhakrishnan and President Zakir Hussain, although not trained in law, nurtured the same notion.

Significant changes came about in the eighties with the landmark Bachan Singh case formulation of the death penalty being awarded only in the 'rarest of rare' case.¹⁰

This decision had a great impact and led to significant reduction in death sentences as also a decline in mercy petitions that came up to the MHA. During President Zail Singh's Presidency, a significant backlog of petitions was decided. His successor, President Venkataraman's tenure had its share of controversy vis-à-vis the usage of clemency powers. His tenure also saw the unusual event of a President sending back a petition where the Government itself had suggested commutation of the capital sentence.¹¹

President Venkataraman rejected 44 mercy pleas, the most by any President.¹² In all, he cleared 55 mercy petitions and left nothing pending for his successor, President Shankar Dayal Sharma, who in fact, rejected all 15 petitions that appeared

before him.¹³ Unlike some of his predecessors, President Venkataraman was an assertive President, who did not hesitate to use his moral authority and prestige to bring the guilty to book and accord capital punishment, even if it meant overlooking the humanitarian angle or getting subjected to public scrutiny.

President K.R. Narayanan and A. P. J. Abdul Kalam were more cautious. They largely used their veto to keep the petitions pending. When the recommendation was one of rejecting a mercy petition, President Narayan explored the farthest limits of the case's 'rare'ness. As far as President Kalam is concerned, he had serious reservations about death penalty, and that is why his rejection of the mercy petition in Dhananjay Chatterjee's case (the rapist killer in West Bengal) in 2004 is somewhat surprising.¹⁴ Public outrage and the fact that his predecessor Shankar Dayal Sharma had earlier rejected mercy petition, may have prevented him from sending the file back for reconsideration even when he was empowered to. Questions arise vis-à-vis the clemency powers because some Presidents have gone over board, a case in point, being, President Pratibha Patil who used the power to pardon death-row inmates, very extensively.

She commuted death sentences of as many as 35 convicts to life pardons and many of those relate to brutal multiple murders and heinous crimes.¹⁵

Perhaps, one can draw a parallel between Pratibha Patil and several American Presidents. George Washington granted almost as many pardons on his last day in office, as he had during his previous seven years as President. Presidents Grant, Hayes, Wilson, Coolidge, Johnson and Bill Clinton also pardoned a high number of individuals in their final days before departing from office.¹⁶

Questions are now arising on several clemency decisions given by various US Presidents, as the pardon power is liable to be misused. House judiciary Committee which was hearing into the decision to commute the sentence of former White House aide I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby put forth that it would review all the previous pardons given by various Presidents.¹⁷

President Patil's record is in stark contrast to her successor, Pranab Mukherjee who rejected 92% of the petitions disposed by him, while she rejected only 14% of the petitions disposed by her.¹⁸ He disposed off 34 mercy pleas, with not a single one pending for his successor, the current President, President Ram Nath Kovind. President Pranab Mukherjee's tenure was somewhat unique. Within a few months of assuming office, he rejected mercy pleas in five death row cases and commuted the death penalty to life sentence in two cases.¹⁹ Before demitting office, he rejected the mercy petitions of the four accused in the Nirbhaya gang rape case, an incident which not only shook the collective conscience of India but the world at large, and set the ball rolling for a series of legislative enactments and upgrading safety measures in the public transport system in India.

Besides, anomalies in the clemency process, delays in deciding mercy petitions, political considerations, societal pressure, passing on the mantle from one constitutional head to the other and a host of other reasons, raise serious questions about the clemency process. The Supreme Court in several cases like *Ediga Anamma v. State of Andhra Pradesh* (1974)²⁰ had taken a note of arbitrariness in terms of delayed execution and reduced the death sentence to life imprisonment.

The Ministry of Home Affairs is neither required by law to publish a list of pending and processed mercy petitions nor does it have to disclose the reasons tendered by the President. A certain amount of arbitrariness in granting pardons is bound to creep in.²¹ Afzal Guru was convicted and sentenced to death on August 4, 2005, for the crime of attacking Parliament. He was hanged on February 9, 2013, after seven years and over six years after his clemency petition was made to the President of India on November 8, 2006.²²

A case which brought the clemency process very much into the limelight was Yakub Memon's case. His efforts towards atonement did not culminate in a state pardon. A case with quite a few political leanings, communal angles and public pressure was laid to rest by President Mukherjee, who overruled the granting of mercy keeping in mind the gravity of the

crime. In a way, this is a reflection of the sagacity and principles adhered to by President Mukherjee. However, the fact that the rejection of the petition by the President was kept a secret and deliberately not communicated to his family was questionable. Within a few days after the rejection of his mercy petition, Afzal Guru was hanged without informing his family and his body was buried in equal secrecy.²³

Recently, a resolution passed by Tamil Nadu State Assembly for presidential clemency in respect of three death row convicts in Rajiv Gandhi's assassination case, invited a great deal of public scrutiny. The latest letter, written by the poll-bound state's Chief Secretary K Gnanadesikan to Rajiv Mehrishi, secretary in the MHA, said that the Tamil Nadu government had received petitions from all seven convicts -Murugan, Santhan, Perarivalan, Jayakumar, Robert Payas and Nalini, requesting that they be released since they had spent 24 years in prison. The letter also referred to a writ petition filed by Nalini in the Madras High Court seeking her release.²⁴

In another instance, a violent bandh of Punjab on call of Parkash Singh Badal in response to the news that Balwant Singh Rajoana, (convicted and sentenced to death in connection with assassination of a former Chief Minister of Punjab, Beant Singh) was to be hanged, are political pressures that spank of arbitrariness in the entire process.²⁵ Ultimately, his death sentence was stayed at the eleventh hour by the Union Home Ministry until disposal of his mercy petition by the President. A factor that comes to light is that if repeated mercy petitions are filed citing the delay in disposal of such petitions, commutation of death sentence is sought as this becomes a natural corollary.

Kehar Singh's Case²⁶ was one such case, which raked up enough controversy and the President felt the need to question the extent and scope of clemency powers, as well as expressed the desire to act independently of the advice of the government.

Kehar Singh was convicted for murder and conspiracy for the assassination of Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, and was sentenced to death. When Kehar Singh's appeal was dismissed by the Supreme Court, this prompted his son to present a petition before the President of India for grant of pardon to his father under Article 72 which deals with the President's power to grant pardon, suspension, remittance and commuting of sentences in certain cases. The president rejected the petition. Kehar Singh did not lose hope and wanted a personal hearing which too was not accepted by the President on the ground of not being in conformity with the "well established practice in respect of consideration of mercy petitions."

'The President's secretary also conveyed that the President could not go into the merits of a case finally decided by the Highest Court of the land. When the rejection of the clemency petition was challenged in the court, the court had this to say, 'we are confined to the question as to the area and scope of the President's power and not with the question whether it has been truly exercised on the merits. Indeed, we think that the order of the President cannot be subjected to judicial review on its merits except within the strict limitations defined in Maru Ram etc. v. Union of India'(1981)²⁷

Thereafter the petition was once again pending before the President to be dealt with and disposed of afresh.' It is another matter that the President turned down the mercy petition at the second instance too. President Venkataraman himself admitted his lapse in his autobiography. He described the decision to hang as being politically motivated. He wrote: "Kehar Singh's case raised a few queries in my mind... should not the President have discretion to examine any extenuating circumstance and alter the death sentence without the advice of the government? How else can prejudice or partisanship be prevented?"²⁸

The end result drew sharp reactions not only amongst some sections of the public, but the judiciary too, by way of expressing regret at Kehar Singh's wrongful execution. Chief Justice RS Pathak who headed the Bench that passed the sentence obliquely urged the President to grant pardon by observing that "the Constitutional power of grant of pardon or the executive power of remission does not necessarily conflict with the judicial power of passing a judgment".²⁹ However, the case does reflect on some of the stark complexities that exist in the relationship pattern between the executive power

of remission and judicial review which sometimes come in the way of embarking upon a rational conclusion.

When information on mercy petition guidelines was sought via a question in Parliament in 2006, the MHA responded by putting forth that, in exercising clemency powers, it is not easy to lay down clearly defined guidelines, since the power under Article 72 covers a broad domain, can contemplate a myriad kinds and categories of cases with facts and situations varying from case to case.³⁰

However, the broad guidelines generally considered while examining the mercy petitions are:

- a. Personality of the accused (such as age, sex or mental deficiency).
- b. Nature of Evidence: Cases in which the Appellate court has expressed its doubt as to the reliability of the evidence and has nevertheless decided on conviction. In actual practice, however, the government/executive has commuted a large number of sentences on grounds of 'absence of direct evidence' or 'defects in the evidence'.³¹
- c. Security Considerations : When, issues of national security come up, there is every possibility of rejection of mercy petition. The petition of Mohammed Maqbool Butt, the founder and former leader of the separatist JKLF, pending for 7 years, was rejected after the abduction and killing of an Indian diplomat in Britain by the 'Kashmir Liberation Army' which sought the release of Butt in return for the diplomat.³² Curiously there is no reference whatsoever to any clemency proceedings in his case in the lists supplied by the Ministry of Home Affairs in response to the application under the RTI Act.

One might add that seeking mercy is the last resort for those on death row but ironically it is the least transparent. Unlike judicial proceedings, clemency proceedings are surrounded by a veil of secrecy since their 'judgments' are not published and the reasons for the decision, not made public. Since the President is not required to explain the reasoning behind the decision, the following two cases, where mercy petitions were filed, one decided by President Pranab Mukherjee, and the other by President Shankar Dayal Sharma, reflect upon the fact that the power to grant mercy may indeed, qualify to be sweeping.

On September 30, 2013, when Siddharth Sharma, a criminal lawyer came to meet Sunder Singh housed at the Haridwar District Jail he found him to be totally withdrawn and unaware of where he was.³³ In fact, Singh had been sentenced to death nine years earlier, for killing five members of his own family. Prison staff explained to the lawyer, that Singh had been diagnosed with schizophrenia in 2010.

On March 31, 2013, President Pranab Mukherjee had rejected his appeal for mercy on the advice of the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA). Neither the state government nor the MHA could claim ignorance of Singh's diagnosis of "undifferentiated schizophrenia" because the jail staff had mailed the medical reports to the central government. Still, the MHA recommended rejection, and the president surprisingly, complied, appearing to do so without application of mind.

In order to prevent any hurried and secret executions similar to those of Afzal Guru and Ajmal Kasab, Siddharth Sharma and Yug Chaudhry (both criminal lawyers) challenged several petitions at once. In three different late-night hearings, they persuaded the Supreme Court to stay 15 executions, including Singh's. On January 21, 2014, Singh and 14 others were taken off death row by the Supreme Court because of flaws in the rejection of their "mercy petitions."³⁴ Besides, it is clearly mentioned in Article 21 of the Indian Constitution, Para 386 and 387, UP Jail Manual, and The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights that, execution of mentally challenged is against any law and the prison manuals.³⁵

The second case relates to Harjinder Singh Jinda and Sukhdev Singh Sukha who were sentenced to death for killing General Arun Vaidya and were also implicated in the murder of Congress MP, Lalit Maken and his wife, Gitanjali in

October, 1992. Mercy petitions were filed on behalf of Jinda and Sukha by a human rights lawyer. The home minister recommended rejection. President Shankar Dayal Sharma too rejected the petitions. But nowhere in the file does it mention that Gitanjali Maken was President Shankar Dayal Sharma's daughter.

Jinda and Sukha were never tried for Maken's murder, which obviously appears quite irrelevant in this situation as the President of India appears to have decided a mercy petition where the death row prisoners are also believed to have killed his daughter. This is a sordid example where personal bias did interfere in the handling of mercy petition by President Shankar Dayal Sharma. The next day Jinda and Sukha were hanged at the Yerawada Jail in Pune.³⁶

CONCLUSION

Clemency powers as exercised by the Presidents have their fair share of restraints. Any unwarranted delay in the execution of mercy petitions, empowers the judiciary to commute the death sentence into life imprisonment. Further, if the usage of this power is arbitrary or is exercised without application of mind, it becomes subject to judicial review. The power of pardon as used by its wielders presents a mixed bag. The first few Presidents, Dr Rajendra Prasad, S. Radhakrishnan and President Zakir Hussain, perceived the clemency process as a constitutional measure for providing speedy and remedial justice. In the eighties, one sees a tendency towards maximum rejection of mercy petitions as is evident in President R Venkatraman's tenure, who in fact wanted to expand upon this discretionary power. This is in sharp contrast with K.R. Narayanan and A. P. J. Abdul Kalam, who went slow on handling mercy petitions and did not hesitate to use their veto power to delay decisions. President Pratibha Patil's tenure is unique in the sense of going on a mercy overdrive and pardoning the gravest of criminals.

President, Pranab Mukherjee used this power unsparingly, in sending a significant number of convicts to the gallows. Thus, while some Presidents used Article 72 showing signs of apathy, some used it hesitatingly, for some it was routine and some went overboard. Executive clemency exists to serve the public welfare but to have a flawless pardoning procedure seems just too utopian.

In fact the power of pardon has many controversial angles to it. Sometimes it appears to be just another extension of political vendetta and sometimes it is interpreted as stepping into the law's enlightened territory and may lead to an overlap between the functions of judiciary and executive. It is rather interesting that there have been instances, when the judiciary in itself has suggested recourse to the power of pardon through their judgments. Thus, in *Raj Nath v. State of Assam*,³⁷ while two judges took opposing views on whether to accept the claims that the accused was a juvenile and commute the sentence, the third (and therefore decisive) judge agreed to reject the petition, arguing that the accused had the remaining remedy of executive clemency.

A few suggestions are put forth. According transparency in taking decisions on the mercy petitions would streamline the process and shed the veil of secrecy. Having an objective criteria and keeping the political angle at bay while processing the petitions is another way. Expressing the rationale behind each decision through a speaking order, is yet another. Besides, reasoned decision would indicate whether all the relevant material was placed before the President or not, and how it was treated. To address the issue of credibility in the clemency process, one option could be to make public the MHA's existing guidelines on the issue. The processing and final disposal of a mercy petition has to be time bound, keeping in mind the humanitarian angle.

It is indeed ironical that whichever path the president chooses, expediency/delay or rejection of a mercy petition, he ends up in the thick of public scrutiny. The constitution being a living document, its success depends not merely on legal interpretations of its provisions but the wisdom and far sightedness of those at the helm of affairs. Thus, the power of pardon has to be used very wisely in keeping with the highest constitutional post and the responsibility that comes with it. One cannot help but mention that the Presidents have only limited maneuverability of operating within

constitutional limits.

Very often, the Presidents have to straddle between an overbearing executive and an overarching judiciary and more so, the compulsions of a parliamentary democracy require him to avoid questioning the rationale behind executive advice. Nevertheless, within the constitutional scheme, the Presidents can carve out little spaces in the handling of mercy petitions by using their constitutional and moral authority to drive home the message that political considerations are best set aside. Whatever be, the exercise of clemency powers in India are not just a routine ritual, they have evolved with the changing times, although their exercise has remained somewhat erratic, depending upon who the President is, and what he chooses to make of these powers.

ENDNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Biddle v. Perovich [71 L. Ed. 1161 at 1163]
2. Noting by NA Faruqui on 17-1-40, File no. Home (Judicial) 117/39, National Archives of India (NAI).
3. Mercy Petition in India - A Critique, Ms. Sarita, Mr. Arun Klair, Imperial Journal of Interdisciplinary Research (IJR) Vol-2, Issue-9, 2016.
4. Section 366, The Code of Criminal procedure, 1973.
5. Maru Ram v. Union of India and others, (1981) 1 SCC 107: AIR1980 SC 130.
6. Devender Pal Singh Bhullar v. State, 2013, para 45 et al
7. See the schedule at http://cabsec.nic.in/abr/abr_scnd.htm (last accessed 31 March 2009), retrieved on 20 March 2017.
8. Shatrughan Chauhan and An.r.v. Union of India (UOI) and Ors. 2014 (1) SCALE 437
9. See Bikram Jest Batra, 'Court' of Last Resort : A Study of Constitutional Clemency for Capital Crimes in India, Centre for the Study of Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi : 2009.(Reprint 2012)
10. Bachan Singh v. State of Punjab (AIR 1980 SC 898. See Amnesty International India and People's Union for Civil Liberties (TN&P)), Lethal Lottery: The Death Penalty in India , New Delhi: May 2008
11. Mercy petition of Sawai Singh, File no. 9/5/85-Judicial, MHA
12. <http://indianexpress.com/article/explained/how-the-president-decides-matters-of-life-and-death/>
13. <https://factly.in/different-presidents-different-decisions-the-tale-of-mercy-petitions-in-india/>
14. V. Venkatesan, 'Death as Penalty', Frontline, Volume 21(7), 14-27 August 2004
15. Ibid.
16. P.S. Ruckman, "Last-Minute" Pardon Scandals: Fact and Fiction 4-5 (paper prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association April 15-18, 2004, in Chicago, IL
17. <http://www.legalservicesindia.com/article/article/power-of-pardon-1572-1.html>)
18. <https://factly.in/different-presidents-different-decisions-the-tale-of-mercy-petitions-in-india/>
19. indiatoday.intoday.in/story/mercy-plea-president-pranab-mukherjee-reject-heinous-crime/1/260599.html
20. Journal of Law and Criminal Justice, Vol. 2(2), December 2014
21. Rajindar Sachar, Not a capital solution. The Hindu, New Delhi, July 08, 2012.
22. State (N.C.T. of Delhi) v. Navjot Sandhu @ Afsan Guru, AIR 2005 SC 3820.
23. Andhyarujina T. R , The agony of awaiting death. The Hindu, New Delhi, Jan 30, 2014
24. <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/tamil-nadu-govt-decides-to-remit-sentence-of-rajiv-gandhi-assassination-case->

**CLEMENCY POWERS OF THE INDIAN PRESIDENT:
THE LEGACY LIVES ON**

convicts/.

25. Editorial, Halt all hangings. The Hindu, New Delhi, 30 March, 2012.
26. <http://udayindia.in/2010/05/29/kasab-and-kehar-singh/>
27. Upendra Baxi, 'Clemency, Erudition and Death: the judicial discourse in Kehar Singh', Journal of the Indian Law Institute, Vol. 30:4, 501-506.).
Also See (v Maru Ram v. Union of India, 1981 (1) SCC 107. McCleskey v. Kemp 481 U.S. 279 (1987)
28. <http://udayindia.in/2010/05/29/kasab-and-kehar-singh/>
29. Ibid
30. Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question no. 815, answered on 29 November 2006
31. Petition of Lila Singh s/o Chittar Singh, File no. MHA
(Judicial-1) 32/64/65, NAI.
32. 'Death Penalty: Political Bias (Editorial)', Economic and Political Weekly, 14 October 1989, at 2277
33. <http://www.hindustantimes.com/static/deaths-door/the-quality-of-mercy.html>
34. Shatrughan Chauhan and Another vs Union of India and Others, January 21, 2014
35. Article 21 of the Indian Constitution, Para 386 and 387, UP Jail Manual, and The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
36. <http://www.hindustantimes.com/static/deaths-door/the-quality-of-mercy.html>
37. AIR 2001 SC 2231

SECURITY SECTOR RESTRUCTURING IN NEPAL: A CASE FOR 'HYBRIDITY'

SAURABH KAUSHIK*

ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to highlight the hybrid nature of the process of security sector restructuring that unfolded in post-Maoist war Nepal. This is done through employing a theoretical framework consisting of 'hybridity' as a central concept drawing on the works of Roger MacGinty in particular and other critical theorists in general. Central to the idea of hybrid peace is the recognition of the fact that liberal peacebuilding in its various dimensions is both inadequate and impracticable in most contexts most of the time. It turns out that as far as security sector restructuring and the process of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is concerned, Nepal charted out a unique path insofar as the extent of influence 'local' actors exercised in its implementation. The paper uses the method of empirical analysis in order to address the issue at hand drawing on a range of secondary sources. It is found that the goals of the liberal peace project in the domain of security sector reform were not adequately realized. Also, the means through which the outcomes were pursued were far from 'liberal' in nature and contained many elements of 'hybridity', viz. the confluence of liberal and local elements.

Key Words: security sector restructuring, hybridity, local actors, maoist war, nepal

INTRODUCTION

Nepali state has been characterized by ruling powerful elites controlling the politico-military and the socio-economic dimensions of the Nepali society through a patrimonial state structure through institutionalization of rent-seeking behavior and an elite-driven socialization process. Traditionally, these elites are constituted of Kathmandu-centered upper caste Hindus and have had a disproportionate influence over the political and social processes through monopolization of state and societal resources. In 1769, King Prithvi Narayan Shah launched a military campaign to unify the conglomerate of mini-states under autonomous rule

*PhD Scholar, Dept. of Peace and Conflict Studies and Management, Sikkim Central University

interspersed through the territory that constitutes modern-day Nepal. The new state of Nepal thus formed comprised of a myriad of ethnic, linguistic, religious and caste groups lacking a cohesive national identity and barely representing the ruling class's cultural and social preferences. A systematic approach aimed at defining the idea of Nepali nationalism in a narrow and parochial form based upon a Hindu caste-based feudal monarchy led to structured discrimination and hierarchization against the non-higher Hindu caste population including indigenous nationalities, Dalits, women and Adivasi groups. Between 1846 and 1950 the monarchy was reduced to a ceremonial role by a series of authoritarian prime ministers drawn from the Rana family, who treated the state as their personal estate and reinforced caste ideology and impunity by institutionalizing a social code called the Muluki Ain. A failed attempt at democratic governance in the late 1950s ended with the imposition of monarchic rule in the form of the Panchayat system, which persisted for three decades until it gave way to a constitutional monarchy after the 1990 People's Movement.

A succession of post-1990 governments failed to end these entrenched patterns of patronage and impunity or to shake the overwhelming influence of the king and the army. Political party leaders continued to take direction from the palace, co-opt local government structures, and fill public institutions with their own cadres. It is in this context of more than two centuries of structural inequities and injustices that the 1996 Maoist war erupted in Nepal led by the Communist Party of Nepal - Maoist (CPN-M) with the aim of championing the rights and aspirations of the marginalized sections of the society by abolishing the ethnic and caste-based discrimination (ICG, 2005: p.23). There are both long-term structural factors such as poverty and group inequality and short-or-mid-term proximate causes such as dysfunctional features of a fledgling democracy and its inability to bring about meaningful change for much of the population with respect to poverty and exclusion. A combination of structural and proximate causes became instrumental for the Maoists to channel the disappointment, frustration and anger experienced by the population especially the youth towards the revolutionary goal of realizing a just and equitable society.

A decade-long insurgency waged by the Maoists was probably the biggest existential threat posed to the Nepali state in its long history. It was successful in mobilizing thousands of cadres drawn mainly from rural indigenous communities, penetrating deep into the fabric of the society, occupying various police posts and military camps, declaring "free" autonomous zones under its control and even instituting parallel governance structures such as People's courts or rehabilitation committees in areas under its control. The scale and success of the Maoists military strategy brought the conflict to a stalemate forcing the warring parties to come to the negotiating table ten years after the insurgency began in 1996.

The contours of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed between the Seven Party Alliance and the CPN-M were shaped by and largely accommodated the key demands of the Maoist party (as framed earlier in the 40-point demand made by the Maoists made in 1996 before the onset of the insurgency) which pushed for a social and economic reform agenda such as redistribution of land, a secular and socialist republic and proportional representation of marginalized groups in state institutions. The process of peacebuilding by the international community was approached mainly in terms of liberal institutionalism led by the UN and a coalition of international agencies and NGOs which focused on institutional, security-sector and governance reforms. This approach despite incorporating important aspects of transitional justice, focus on human rights and issues of representation provided only a temporary and quick-fix model of grievance redressal and failed to address the root structural issues responsible for the conflict in the first place. A variety of external and internal actors involved in the peace process further complicated and stymied the process apart from suffering setbacks due to the fractious and patrimonial nature of Nepali politics.

FLUIDITY OF THE 'LIBERAL' AND THE 'LOCAL' - HYBRID FORMS OF PEACE

In the context of Nepal, liberal peacebuilding resulted in rewards with aid and other forms of support to one government after another which resulted in widespread corruption and unaccountability apart from feeding violence and conflict indirectly. The Maoists, on the other hand, were characterised as 'specialists in violence' or 'spoilers' and excluded while being subject to various forms of sanction, such as proscription and internationally backed state violence (Rasaratnam and Malagodi 2012). This analysis

of majority of international actors involved in peacebuilding efforts in Nepal overlooked and even misunderstood the strong linkage between deeply entrenched local politics and organized violence of the conflict. Therefore, it failed to institutionalize an inclusive reform process, fueled further disenchantment and contributed to continuation of the conflict.

Despite the efforts of international actors to allow a possible space for 'local' or more indigenous forms of peacebuilding through the course of the peace process, evidence from Nepal suggests that there are organizational limits to how local Foreign Aid Organizations can get. Due to the rigidity of agendas or action-plans pursued by international institutions, the rhetoric of local ownership can be characterized as merely convenient or even evasive. When the agendas of international organizations "clash with those of the 'local' that they represent, the latter are gently persuaded with reminders of what is 'proven', 'fundable' and 'operationalisable' and what is not" . (Miklian et al. 2011)

Despite its limitations, liberal peace has had a few positive impacts in conflict settlement and resolution including in the case of Nepal. Therefore, dismissing the liberal paradigm altogether would overlook some of the enduring (albeit exceptional) successes of liberal peace over the years. Most importantly, instead of viewing liberal peacebuilding as a pre-defined and fixed set of prescriptions for establishing peace, it is both useful as well as necessary to flexibly adopt those aspects of the liberal peace that have the potential for generating lasting peace dividends. Moreover, devising a creative mixed approach that incorporates both 'liberal' and 'local' forms of peacebuilding would have far more practical applicability as opposed to merely transposing liberal paradigm in a given context. This creative mixture can be found in the approach of hybridity. The concept of hybrid lays emphasis on diverse institutions and norms that deviate from the predominant, Western model of peacebuilding as strategies to achieve sustainable peace in post-conflict societies. "More specifically, hybrid peace signals a willingness to accept and work with traditional institutions and values based on religious, tribal, and kinship connections, and to explore how they can be combined with those of modernity to bring a lasting peace", as pointed by Yamashita (2014: p.1-4)

In his analysis of hybrid peace governance, Roberto Belloni defines "hybrid" as "a state of affairs in which liberal and illiberal norms, institutions, and actors coexist" (2012: p.22). Hybridity emerges as a result of the interaction of different groups, practices, and worldviews and is composite in its social thinking and practice (Richmond and Mitchell 2012). Two separate identities do not graft together to form a third according to hybridity. Rather, it is assumed that norms and practices are the result of prior hybridisation. This helps move us away from notions of discrete categories that are somehow pristine and insulated from social negotiation and interaction over the millennia. An understanding of the extent of hybridity among actors, modes of operation, and worldviews helps us transcend caricatures of the liberal peace as an entirely alien form of peacemaking that intrudes into entirely indigenous contexts. There are four factors which are constantly interacting in variable geometry that make up hybrid forms of peace and these can be sometimes conflicting and sometimes cooperating. These four factors are: (a) the compliance powers of liberal peace agents, networks, and structures; (b) the incentivising powers of liberal peace agents, networks, and structures; (c) the ability of local actors to resist, ignore, or adapt liberal peace interventions; and (d) the ability of local actors, networks, and structures to present and maintain alternative forms of peacemaking (Mac Ginty 2011).

In trying to apply the hybrid approach to security sector reform in Nepal, the paper merely posits where this has been creatively used and doesn't offer an exhaustive or extensive account of its impact on a diverse range of connected factors. Therefore, this acts as a limiting factor in the scope of this paper insofar as it doesn't offer a full-fledged application of the concept of hybridity to Nepal's context as a whole but aims to provide a nudge in that direction for more exhaustive future research undertakings. Also, it appears to be the first such study undertaken in the context of Nepal's security sector restructuring which introduces the concept of hybridity.

THE 'SECURITY SECTOR RESTRUCTURING' - A '1 + 1 = 3' FORMULA

'Rebel opposition groups' are conventionally defined as being 'engaged in 'a political struggle... to redefine political and legal basis of society through the use of violence' (Bruderlein 2000: 8). Dudouet et al., in their book Post War Security Transitions, remark

that “the recourse to violence by such groups is self-justified as a legitimate form of self-defense in face of human rights abuses or denial of democracy” and as “one form of political intervention” (2012: 3). They also argue that the label of ‘armed groups’ and ‘non-state’ pushes them into the fringes of being called ‘violent groups’ or even ‘terrorists’ by separating their political goal from the modes of attaining them (2012: 3). However, they argue, the term ‘non-state’ might not entirely do them justice, as at various stages/intervals during the course of the conflict, they occupy the roles and responsibilities of the state in their stronghold areas, providing basic services where the ‘state is absent’. Participating in ‘statebuilding and decision-making’ is part of their political agenda. Most of these characteristics described above seem to apply to the Maoists, who occupied around 80 percent of the territory at one stage during the conflict and had parallel administrative structures and peoples’ courts (Ogura 2008).

Since the end of Cold War, increasing number of conflicts are being settled through negotiations rather than military victory, but one-third of those settled through peace agreements have seen a return to violence within five years (Human Security Center 2008). The Maoist conflict too ended in a peace agreement and there has been no return to large scale violence. A significant part of the agreement was the Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration (DDR) approach, which provided for a return of ex-combatants to civilian life. External peacebuilders (external actors), according to this approach, viewed ex-combatants merely as ‘security threats’ or potential ‘spoilers’ and ignored the political nature of their demands (Specht 2010). They played a role in the peace process through the adoption of DDR approaches to peacebuilding. The DDR approach, highlighted above, was helpful only in a limited sense. However, there was a gradual evolution in peacebuilding literature, and alongside development of approaches like conflict transformation, that focused on political aspects like ‘consolidation of democracy, justice, reconciliation and development’ (Lederach 1997), works highlighting ‘demilitarisation of politics’ (Lyons 2009) through transformation of ‘rebel movements into conventional political parties’ (Deonandan et al. 2007) have gained traction.

Approaches highlighting state and security sector reform (SSR), are now being deployed in conflict management practices, that focus on structural elements such as ‘post-war power-sharing’ and ‘democratization’ (Paris 2004; Jarstad and Sisk 2008). In the context of Nepal, however, considering the limitations of conventional approaches, a Nepali model of SSR was put forward by the Maoists. To be sure, the political parties in power in Nepal stressed on a more DDR orientated approach, demanding the dissolution of combatant structures of the CPN-M, and disarming and demobilization of Maoists combatants. The Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (UCPN (M) - the name they adopted after joining electoral politics in 2008), on the other hand, categorically rejected the DDR approach, and tagged it as being a tool of mainstream parties and external forces (in reference to ‘India’), being used ‘to destroy the rebels’ capacity to reorganize peacefully’ (Dudouet et al. 2012: 212).

The Maoists considered DDR to be ‘an instrument used to manage armies of defeated movements, whereas they viewed themselves as politically victorious and militarily equivalent to the NA’ (Neupane 2012). Even the concept of SSR, that seeks to meet the security needs of war-affected countries, through the use of ‘democratic norms and sound principles of governance, transparency, and rule of law’ (OECD - DAC 2005), was only partially accepted by the Maoists. They argued that the concept of SSR ‘put forward by international agencies’ provided for a mere ‘reform of statutory security apparatus’ in post-war security environments instead of ‘aiming at a more radical and holistic restructuring’ (Dudouet et al. 2012: 212).

The UCPN (M) argued for the adoption of a mechanism of ‘security structure restructuring’ (both of statutory and rebel armies alike). According to this approach, also labelled as ‘1+1=3’, ‘NA should be democratized’, ‘PLA should be professionalized’, and ‘both merged to form a new national army with new command structure, military act and mobilization procedure’ (Dudouet et al. 2012: 212). They also argued for the reduction of size of the national army to 40,000 personnel, and the provision of military training to all citizens aged 18 to 45 for meeting national security challenges. The view of other political parties, including that of Nepalese Army (NA), was diametrically opposed, and they asked for the disarmament and demobilization of Maoist combatants. The Maoists tabled two possible options in early July 2010 towards resolving the impasse over security reform. These were: (1) forming a separate force, such as an ‘industrial security force’, consisting of only Maoist combatants; or (2) forming a border security force’ to be comprised of 50 percent PLA members and 50 percent of members from the other existing security forces. This stance was

adopted after a series of modifications in their position since negotiations began over management of the armies.

To begin with, contention emanated early on, due to varying interpretations of the ambiguous clauses of the CPA regarding integration of Maoist combatants and 'democratization' of the army. The 'core principles, procedures, modalities and timeframe for the supervision, integration, and rehabilitation of statutory and non-statutory forces', as highlighted by Khagendra Neupane in *Post-War Security Transitions* edited by Dudouet et al., were not spelled out clearly. The Clause 4.4 of the CPA only stipulated: "The Interim Council of Ministers shall work to supervise, integrate and rehabilitate the Maoist combatants" (CPA 2006). Neither the CPA nor the Interim Constitution of 2007 clearly specified 'which institution the Maoist combatants shall be integrated into'. The Agreement on Monitoring of the Management of Arms and Armies (AMMAA) of November 2006 only referred to 'a possible integration into the security forces' (2012: 213).

It was no surprise then, that the number of former Maoist combatants to be integrated into the NA, and the modalities thereof, became not only crucial but also controversial. The non-Maoist parties claimed that Maoists had promised to G.P. Koirala (who had passed away in 2010 and was the Prime Minister and chief peace negotiator on behalf of Seven Party Alliance), in a private agreement, that '2,000-3,000' fighters would be integrated; the Maoists claimed that the understanding had been for higher numbers reaching up to 10,000 (Jha 2014: 281). On 1 November 2011, under the Maoist Prime Minister Baburam Bhattarai, the parties had reached a new agreement on integration of a maximum of 6,500 fighters into a 'specially created general directorate under the command of the NA'. This directorate would comprise of a mix of NA soldiers, personnel from other security forces and Maoist personnel. This happened after a series of confidence-building measures undertaken by Bhattarai, after assuming the responsibilities of the prime minister. He had, the day after becoming the PM in August 2011, handed over keys to the containers in which the weapons (that the Maoists had used in the war and that were now gathering rust anyway) were locked away, to the Special Committee for Supervision, Integration and Rehabilitation of the Maoist combatants - formed in the aftermath of the departure of United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) in January 2011.

The 'modality' of integration was a more vexing issue, one that persisted for a long time, given that both conflict parties i.e. the NA and the PLA remained adamant on their respective stance. The AMMAA stipulated that 'only those Maoist combatants who have been properly registered at cantonment sites will be eligible for possible reintegration into the security forces fulfilling the standard norm' (AMMAA 2006). The non-Maoist parties argued that standard norms referred to the existing standard norms of age, marital status and educational qualifications. The Maoists were vehemently opposed to such reading of standard norms, as most of their combatants were either older, uneducated and in case of women fighters (who constituted 40 percent of total fighter during the war's peak) - married (which rendered them ineligible). They therefore demanded the creation of new standard norms. There were also differences over whether the combatants will have an 'individual' or a 'group' entry and the Maoists argued for a group entry as individual entry would make the process akin to army's own recruitment process and render those that didn't meet the standard norms 'ineligible'. Finally, over the issue of rank, the Maoists demanded parallel integration even to senior positions which would assure their junior cadres of fair treatment inside the new army. However, junior level NA soldiers were against such an arrangement that would hinder their own progress within the organization and render them inferior in rank to their erstwhile enemies. There were also important social dimensions to this expression of displeasure by the NA soldiers given the fact that most NA recruits hailed from upper castes within the Tagadhari and Matwali ethnic groups, i.e., Chettris, Magars and Gurungs; whereas on the other hand, the Maoist combatants mostly had lower caste backgrounds. (Jha 2014; 282-287).

Meanwhile, the call for 'Council of Ministers' to 'formulate an extensive work plan for the democratization of the Nepal Army and implement it' mentioned in the Interim Constitution fell on deaf ears (Interim Constitution 2007). Although, a new system of recruitment was put in place for the Nepal Police, which is still in operation, whereby '45 percent of positions are reserved for different marginal social groups such as women, ethnic minorities and Dalits'. The ordinance put forward by Maoist government in 2008 to 'make the army more inclusive and representative was nullified by the subsequent government' nullifying the possibility of

any real democratization or restructuring of the army (Dudouet et al. 2012: 214).

On the day the parties signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), seven divisions of the Maoist PLA were assembled in 28 self-made cantonments (seven main and 21 satellite) situated in various districts across Nepal. The peace accord mandated the UNMIN to monitor the arms and armies of both the government and the Maoists. The arms of the Maoists were locked up in containers with keys being retained by the Maoist commanders, but along with a 24 hour monitoring presence of UN personnel, and provision for an alarm attached to the containers for warning in case of any breach of the rules. The UN monitors were either serving or retired soldiers dressed up entirely in civilian clothing. Similar numbers of arms were to be stored in separate containers inside NA barracks and UN monitors were deployed to monitor them. However, given the huge discrepancy vis a vis the amount of weapons possessed by either forces, NA had considerable number of weapons in operational condition at their disposal. These operational modalities were largely followed and there were only minor breaches (Einsiedel et al. 2012). Moreover, the Maoist combatants had to be stationed inside cantonments that were built by the rebel fighters themselves. Grants were provided by the government for the construction of the camps and for the provision of monthly stipends of NRs 4,000 to each of the combatants (Jha 2014: 285). In February 2007, after completing first stage of the verification process 31,318 Maoist combatants and 3,428 weapons of the Maoist army were registered. In the second stage, UNMIN verified 19,602 as Maoist army's legitimate number disqualifying 4,008 for not fulfilling the eligibility criteria. 8,640 of those who had registered in the first round were absent in the second voluntarily leaving the cantonments. Of those who were disqualified, 2,973 were minors and 1,035 recruited after the ceasefire (Dudouet et al. 2012:219).

The Maoist combatants felt that political, ideological and moral compromises had been made by the Maoist leadership after coming to power and joining mainstream politics. Reports and perception of corruption by senior commanders in the cantonments, by withholding the combatants' stipend and provident fund for months on end, to be used in party activities, further disillusioned them and weakened their morale. They felt that the party leadership had not just betrayed them but the whole revolution. They felt 'stifled by the recent events, by how bonds that had been created over years of waging a war and living together had become fractured'. An increasing number of fighters opted for retirement as part of which they would be given a monetary allowance of NRs '5,00,000-7,00,000' depending upon the rank over two installments. Eventually, as part of a deal agreed between Prachanda and leaders of other parties, less than 1,500 out of 19,602 got into the NA at various levels with the seniormost rank being colonel. Only six of them opted for rehabilitation, which meant receiving vocational training to find self-employment, and the rest walked away with cash. Of those who had opted for monetary compensation, most ex-Maoist combatants invested a part of this compensation in acquiring work permits and airline tickets from manpower agencies in order to work abroad in the gulf countries and Malaysia as labourers. The others set up small businesses in their home villages or pursued other avenues of self-employment (Jha 2014: 281-292). In his book, Jha illuminates the reader with personal stories of ex-combatants who after having spent most of their compensation, are forced to toil on the fields to eke out subsistence off farming or tilling others' lands. These personal stories almost play out like parodies with life having come full circle for these ex-Maoist fighters. There seems to be hardly any difference in their lives before or after the war and it reminds one of the perils of politics playing out as a cruel joke in the lives of ordinary citizens who invested the most productive years of their life (and some who even sacrificed their lives) in a war that brought them nothing but hardships and turmoil. Some even go as far as to tag their own (Maoist) leaders to have become the instruments of power and the new bourgeoisie.

CONCLUSION

The dream that had characterized the ambition of the PLA to form an inclusive, democratic and just state was thus only partially fulfilled. In redefining the DDR and SSR approaches in the Nepali context by aiming for a democratic 'restructuring' of the two armies, the Maoists displayed their ingenuity and commitment to the revolutionary cause. However, when in power and faced with the realpolitik of competitive electoral democracy, they succumbed to the 'pulls and pressures' of democracy and had to learn to

**SECURITY SECTOR RESTRUCTURING IN NEPAL:
A CASE FOR 'HYBRIDITY'**

mellow their initial stance. Though one might argue that what was finally achieved was a reproduction of the conventional DDR and SSR approaches, it is important to note that, Maoists transitioned from being a guerilla force to being a political party, with many of the former combatants joining its ranks. They also accomplished the objective of integration even if in a limited sense and most of those who opted for retirement have received attractive financial packages to begin their new lives. But, most importantly, Prakash, as a former platoon commander put it, "We abolished the monarchy. And now we are giving up all that we built, all that we had, our army, our friends, our party for one thing - a Federal Democratic Republican Constitution for Nepal, written by the Constituent Assembly" (Jha 2014: 294). Today, there is a Federal Democratic Republican constitution and an elected parliament in place. Although, a few important issues with regard to demarcation of federal provinces, representation of marginalized ethnic/linguistic/caste minorities and actual implementation of the constitution according to its spirit still persist, an irreversible process of democratic change through non-violent means has taken root. And there is little possibility of another Maoist War. This study thus illustrates aspects of hybridity that pertain to its four key factors with regard to security sector reform in Nepal viz. (a) the compliance powers of liberal peace agents, networks, and structures - insofar as UNMIN and other international actors mainly the Swiss government's representative were able to effectively monitor the process of handing over of weapons and arms; (b) the incentivising powers of liberal peace agents, networks, and structures - insofar as the UN was able to provide financial and monetary support to Maoist ex-combatants in the form of stipends and retirement benefits; (c) the ability of local actors to resist, ignore, or adapt liberal peace interventions - as demonstrated by the final contours of the restructuring of the security sector that took place in Nepal; and (d) the ability of local actors, networks, and structures to present and maintain alternative forms of peacemaking - as illustrated by the pulls and pressures created by varying stances of the Maoist leadership on the one hand and the Seven Party Alliance on the other with regard to which model to be followed (SSR, DDR or an ingenuine form of SSR advocated by the Maoists).

REFERENCES

- Agreement on Monitoring of the Management of Arms and Armies, 28 November 2006. URL: http://carnegieendowment.org/newsletters/SAP/pdf/nepal_modalities_agreement_nov_28_final.pdf Accessed on 11 November 2017.
- Belloni, R. (2012) 'Hybrid Peace Governance: Its Emergence and Significance', in *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations: January-March 2012*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 21-38.
- Bruderlein, Claude (2000) *The Role of Non-State Actors in Building Human Security: The Case of Armed Groups in Intra-State Wars*, Geneva: Center for Humanitarian Dialogue.
- Deonandan, Kalowatie, Close, David, and Prevost, Gary (2007) *From Revolutionary Movements to Political Parties: Cases from Latin America to Africa*, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dudouet V., Giessmann H. J. and Planta K. (2012) *Post War Security Transitions: Participatory peacebuilding after asymmetric conflicts*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Einsiedel, S. v., Malone, D. M. and Pradhan, S. (ed.) (2012) *Nepal in Transition: From People's War to Fragile Peace*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
- Human Security Center (2008) *Human Security Brief 2007*, Burnaby: Simon Fraser University.
- International Crisis Group (2005) Appendix, *Nepal's New Alliance: The Mainstream Parties and the Maoists*, Asia Report No. 106, November 28, 2005, pp. 29-30.
- Jha, P. (2014) *Battles of the New Republic*, New Delhi: Aleph Book Company.
- Lederach, J. P. (1997) *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Lyons, T. (2009) 'Peacebuilding, democratization, and transforming the institutions of war', In Dayton, B. and Kriesberg L. (eds), *Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding: Moving from Violence to Sustainable Peace*, New York: Routledge, pp. 91-106.

**SECURITY SECTOR RESTRUCTURING IN NEPAL:
A CASE FOR 'HYBRIDITY'**

- Mac Ginty, R. (2011) *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance: Hybrid Forms of Peace*, London: Palgrave.
- Miklian, J., Lidén, K., and Kolás, A. (2011) 'The Perils of 'Going Local': Liberal Peace-building Agendas in Nepal', *Conflict, Security & Development* 11(3): 285-308.
- Neupane, K. (2012) 'The challenges of security structure restructuring in Nepal' in Dudouet V., Giessmann H. J. and Planta K. (2012) *Post War Security Transitions: Participatory peacebuilding after asymmetric conflicts*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Ogura, K. (2008) 'Seeking State Power: The Communist Part of Nepal (Maoist)' *Berghof Transition Series No. 3*, Berlin: Berghof Conflict Research.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development - Development Assistance Committee (OECD - DAC) (2005) *Security Sector Reform and Governance*, Geneva: OECD.
- Paris, R. (2004) *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Paris, R. and T.D. Sisk (2009) *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations*, London: Taylor & Francis.
- Rasaratnam, M. & Malagodi, M. (2012). *Eyes wide shut: persistent conflict and liberal peace-building in Nepal and Sri Lanka*. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 12(3), pp. 299- 327, DOI: 10.1080/14678802.2012.703536
- Richmond, O. P. and Mitchell, A. (eds) (2012) *Hybrid Forms of Peace: From everyday agency to post-liberalism*, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Specht, I. (2010) 'Socioeconomic Reintegration of ex-combatants', *Practice Note 4*, London: International Alert.
- Yamashita, H. (2014) 'Peacebuilding and "Hybrid" Peace', *The National Institute for Defense Studies News*, pp.1-4.

THE RISE OF CHINA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA

DR RAVI K MISHRA*

ABSTRACT

The rise of China signifies far-reaching changes for India and the world. Whereas the rise had been described as 'peaceful' by China, and was long seen to be as such by the rest of the world, the aggressive conduct of Chinese foreign policy in the last decade has belied the hope that China would integrate itself in the liberal world order. The Chinese assertion regarding territory and boundaries, both land and maritime, emanates primarily from a distorted view of history which projects China as the most powerful country during much of history, a position which China seeks to 'regain' now. In fact, China was only one among several countries and regions that occupied the centre stage in world history, India being one of them. Though the growth of the Chinese economy in the last forty years has been exceptional, it is unlikely to enable China to override the concerns and interests of India or to relegate it permanently to an inferior status, as India too has done reasonably well in the last few decades and has now started catching up with China.

Key Words: china, economy world order, india, OROP

The rise of China is among the most important developments of the last few decades. Ever since China adopted market oriented economic reforms and open door policy in 1978 and joined the World Trade Organisation in 2001, it has achieved one of the fastest economic growths in the world. Its economic growth and prosperity have led to its rising political influence and military might. All these changes have been projected officially as the 'peaceful rise of China'. Until recently, much of the world, including India, showed considerable understanding and tolerance for this narrative of 'peaceful rise'. However, the last few years have brought about what may be appropriately described as a paradigm change in the Chinese self-perception as well as other power's perceptions of China - a change that has resulted largely from the increasing Chinese expansion and assertion in the form of its project of One Belt One Road (OBOR), claim over almost the entire South China Sea, increased willingness to use force and

*Deputy Director, Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi

intimidation to settle boundary and other disputes with neighbours, and its evident desire to question the liberal world order. Thus, the so-called peaceful rise becomes an illusion.¹ In the wake of recent stalemate at Doklam² and the Chinese intervention in Maldives, India has to reconsider its strategic positioning vis a vis China, especially regarding what the supposedly peaceful rise of China means for India.

Indians can sometimes be an incorrigibly optimistic people when it comes to matters of foreign policy; and we have been like this for centuries. And yet in the case of China, we have exceeded even our own very liberal hopes and expectations. Such, indeed, has been our optimism about this nation that even the treacherous humiliation of 1962 seems to have brought about only a partial change in our approach to China.

There are still some Indians, as well as foreigners, who look upon the 'peaceful rise of China' as its manifest destiny and a force for the good of humanity. Many Indians continue to have dreams of forging India-China solidarity in the name of third-world unity, developing-world unity, anti-American unity and myriad other causes for which Indians have been fighting for decades.

As events of the last few years have shown, the rise of China could well represent the biggest threat to India and the world. China's sustained military, political and economic ascension is increasingly viewed by many states as a likely threat to international security. China's subsequent increase in military spending and aggressive military modernisation is cited by many as a clear evidence of its growing potential threat to international security. This concern was again highlighted in the Quadrennial Defence Review, which cited China, of all major and emerging powers, as having the greatest potential to compete militarily with the U.S. and highlighted China's ability to field military technology 'that could over time offset traditional U.S. military advantages'.³ Further, China's nuclear ambitions and its proliferation record create more suspicions about its future goals and strategic designs. It was again highlighted in the 2010 Nuclear Posture Review Report (NPRR) which cited China's 'qualitative and quantitative modernisation' of its nuclear arsenal, as well as its relative lack of transparency, as significant factors in growing regional and international anxiety.⁴ The US National Security Strategy (NSS) unveiled in December 2017 clearly recognizes the threat that China poses to peace and world order and seeks to counter those threats effectively.

The very nature of China as an authoritarian nation-state led by a closed Communist Party makes it a potentially disruptive force for India and the world. The recent assumption of power for life by Xi Jinping is a manifest example of how China is fundamentally opposed to the liberal world order. Both India and the West had hoped all along that with prosperity and development China would become a more open society and that the Chinese polity would become more inclusive. What has happened, however, is the very opposite of that. But this is not all. China's expansionist nationalism seeking to grab territories of its neighbors and its reluctance to play by international rules make its rise a matter of deep concern. Many have argued that China wished to assert its own "Monroe Doctrine", throughout East Asia, excluding non-regional powers. Keeping in view of continued U.S. involvement in East Asia this assessment can have grave ramifications. The Chinese behavior with a host of countries in the last few years is a clear indication of the hubris and aggression that belie Chinese professions of a 'peaceful rise'. According to John Mearsheimer, If China continues its impressive economic growth over the next few decades, the United States and China are likely to engage in an intense security competition with considerable potential for war. According to him, most of China's neighbors, including India, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Russia, and Vietnam, will join with the United States to contain China's power⁵. And, this is exactly what is happening.

Over the last 70 years, China has relentlessly pursued a policy of trying to circumscribe India because of its early assessment that a strong and unfettered India would be its most serious rival for power and status in Asia and beyond. The Indo-China War of 1962, China's all weather friendship with Pakistan, building of Karakoram highway through disputed territory, inroads in India's neighborhood, opposition to the NSG waiver for India, refusal to support India's bid for a permanent membership of the Security Council, the building of CPEC through territory claimed by India, and most importantly the recurrent forays into Indian territory in Arunachal Pradesh and Ladakh - are all evidence of Chinese attempts at trying to 'contain' India⁶ in some South Asian sandbox.

India and China emerged as independent nations around the same time. However, while India's freedom struggle was largely a

peaceful endeavor under Gandhi's leadership, China's Communist Revolution of 1949 entailed massive violence and upheaval. The leaders of modern China were all part of a long and violent struggle that culminated in the Communist takeover of 1949. It brought to power in China a Communist Party that ardently believed that violence was a very effective, and therefore legitimate, instrument for achieving desired national goals. Mao's assertion in a conversation with Nehru that he did not mind the loss of even one-third of his population in a nuclear war and Nehru's horror thereupon aptly sum up the different political cultures of the two countries.

The modern Chinese State at its very birth had a narrative of retribution and 'setting historical wrongs right' through violence. And what is more, it was at this very time the biggest potential threat for India from which it had to come to differ so much in terms of its political ethos. This is something that most Indian leaders at the time failed to read.

The misplaced idealism of India's leadership was obviously no match for the ruthlessness of Mao. India was a fledgling but confident nation in 1950s. The Chinese invasion of 1962 dealt a severe blow to our self-confidence at the time. We lost the war not because of any inherent weakness in us but because of the shenanigans of the Chinese leadership and our own woeful lack of preparations. As military conflicts go, the Indo-China war was no more than a minor affair. But it humiliated India, undermined our claims of third-world leadership, and seriously dented our image worldwide. And these certainly catered to Chinese objectives for launching the war.

To this day, China refuses to settle its borders with India. Obviously, it is biding time, waiting for the opportune moment when it can force India to agree to cede Arunachal Pradesh and Aksai Chin. Nothing else explains the fact that out of 14 neighbors India is among the only three countries with which China has not settled its borders. China's stand on territorial sovereignty emanates from its imaginary ancient cultural concept of "Tian Xia"⁷ (Under the Heaven). According to this concept, all the people and areas where they lived belong to the Chinese Emperor, the Son of God, who possesses a mandate of heaven regarding areas which are not even under the control of the Emperor. China's penchant to compare its modern borders with those that might have existed under foreign-origin dynasties like the Yuan and the Manchu is significant to understanding of its border disputes and territorial claims.

In the long course of our history, China was never really a direct neighbor of India. Tibet had always existed as a massive buffer between the two countries, whose centers of civilizations were about 5,000 kms apart from each other. It is the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1951 that brought China to the borders of India.

Not only were India and China not immediate neighbors in history, their civilizations were never as similar to each other as it has been made out to be by some of our thinkers and philosophers. The unity and solidarity of the 'Eastern Civilizations' was basically a modern idea whose genesis lay in the nationalist struggles against Western imperialism. Indian thinkers such as Tagore were among the chief proponents of this idea. Unfortunately, this idea gained too much traction among Indians, creating a general atmosphere of gullibility, credulousness, and complacency about China. In our enthusiasm for anti-imperialist unity, we unfortunately ignored key differences in the political culture and strategic aims between India and China.

India and China were always different from each other for three reasons. One, they were distinct civilizations; two, their dominant cultural spaces were quite far apart from each other without any common border at a time when the internet did not exist; and, three, China was in any case a relatively closed and isolated civilization, unlike India which was always open. The export of Buddhism from India to China - which was perhaps their most significant interaction over the millennia - has not per se evolved into an enduring bond between the two civilizations.

India and China never had a common border. The McMahon Line was delineated not between India and China, as the latter believes, but between India and Tibet; the Chinese refusal to accept it is a classic case of making territorial claims on behalf of a territory unjustly occupied in the first place. There would perhaps be no other example in the modern world of such an irredentist, expansionist, and militaristic behavior.

As if this were not enough, over the last 50 years China has done everything possible to use Pakistan as a pawn against India

including the supply of nuclear weapon designs and missile technology to Pakistan in clear violation of all international norms and treaties with the sole objective of keeping India tied down. According to a US Congressional report titled 'The Proliferation Primer' China was the principal supplier of weapons of mass destruction and missile technology to the world⁹, including Pakistan.

If this is not an act of enmity, what is, one wonders? China has in short, severely undermined the security of our nation by creating an ever-present danger of the use of nuclear weapons against India. Pakistan's strategy of 'bleeding India through a thousand cuts' is based on the nuclear deterrence that it has acquired mainly because of China¹⁰ with the United States looking the other way during the 1980s.

As against this, India has not done anything comparable. A comparable response to the Chinese act of nuclear proliferation would probably be giving nuclear weapons to Vietnam or Taiwan. Yet India has never done this, banking upon shibboleths such as 'Asian solidarity'. The Chinese understand this; they know that India is different, and take full advantage of it.

It is obvious, therefore, that China is a country that has done most damage to India's security environment in the last 68 years, and continues to do so despite pious professions of peace and friendship. It is thus that the emergence of China as a world power has made it an even bigger threat to India than it had been in the past, not so much because of any increase in Chinese belligerence and hostility to India, but because of an enormous increase in its ability to pose a threat to India.

One of the key weaknesses of India as a nation and of Indians as a people has been the inability to come to grips with the principles and practices of power. Most of us have scarcely any idea of what these entail in the relations between nations. We frequently have touchingly naive, morally-guided ideas about the role and dimensions of power on the world stage.

As wars go, India-China war of 1962 was not a very big affair. But it has left scars on the Indian psyche¹¹. It has also created certain fears in some Indian quarters of China's military might and its will to fight; and also now of its economic prowess. Somehow, in the wake of recent incidents and happenings it seems that India is overcoming that psychological bloc and conquer its fears vis a vis China. All these fears are unfounded. And India must exorcise this deep-seated fear of China once for all. It is only after we have done this that India would be able to stand up to China, and command equal respect, which it unquestionably deserves.

The vast territorial expanse of China needs to be understood in the right perspective. The southern and eastern parts of China which constitute its core and where around 90 percent of its population is located is less than 40 percent of its total size of 9.5 million square km. This is not vastly more than the total area of India. In any case, the physical size of a country is rarely a barrier to its becoming a great power. The example of England, a small island of no more than 5 million people in 1500, conquering and ruling over 25 percent of the world for more than a century provides ample evidence of this axiom.

The sorry spectacle of the PLA forces entering into our territory at will and our clearly inadequate response is a potent reminder of the threat that China poses to us. Not that it should prompt us into conflict. What it must do, however, is to egg us on to build our own military, economic, and technological might quicker than ever before.

The threat that China poses to India has of course been recognized by many of our leaders. Vajpayee's 1998 letter to Clinton justifying the Pokharan 2 by citing the war of 1962 and the Chinese nuclear weapons¹² was criticized and ridiculed by many in India, but it was simply a frank articulation of India's strategic assessment vis a vis China. Indeed, India's nuclear weapons program was developed from the very beginning to create deterrence against China, and despite tremendous international pressure was kept going by successive governments in view of its great strategic importance.

India has to compete with China, whether we like it or not. We have to become equally powerful in all respects not because of any intention to cause conflict, but in order to maintain an honourable peace with China. The Chinese behavior since 2008 recession is highly instructive. Coming to the conclusion that the US was finished as a super power, China has visibly increased its aggression against Japan, India, Vietnam and other ASEAN countries, and even the US itself. In other words, it has taken off the mask of 'peaceful rise', and started showing its real face of aggression and expansionism.

As V. S. Naipaul, arguably the greatest living writer in the English language, has said in one of his finest books *A Bend in the River*, 'The world is what it is; men who are nothing, who allow themselves to become nothing, have no place in it'¹³. So India has

to understand that the international rules of power will remain what they are. It is we who have to decide whether we want to be a weakling or a great power.

The point made here is not that we should not strive to have good relations with China. Of course, not. India must strengthen its economic cooperation with China, increase trade and investment, participate in institutions like the BRICS and the SCO, intensify cultural exchange, encourage the movement of Indian students to China and vice versa, and co-operate in the UN, WTO and other multilateral organizations whenever our national interest so requires. India must do all this.

What we must never do is to commit the mistake of imagining that these things by themselves would make China take us seriously or prevent its aggression towards us. What we must never do is to commit the mistake of taking the Chinese professions of friendship too seriously. Instead, we must follow Theodore Roosevelt's dictum, 'speak softly, and carry a big stick; you will go far'. When it comes to the crunch, it is only our national strength that would enable us to keep peace with China on honourable terms. And this peace is important for these two countries as well as for the world.

X

History is central to all nationalist myths. This is especially true for China, whose perceptions of its past substantially contribute to its conduct in the present and to its belief in the inevitability of its emergence as a super power. And in this context, Western scholars over the last 300 years have by design or otherwise done a lot to create the image of a Sino-centric world for much of human history. A typical example of this is Martin Jacques' 2009 book *When China Rules the World*, which starts with the argument of the Chinese centrality in history, and predicts the revival of that centrality in the near future¹⁴.

Similarly, Henry Kissinger, the past master of realpolitik and diplomacy, also presents a rather sentimental view of the same narrative in his 2011 book *On China*, when he notes:

Other societies, the United States included, have claimed universal applicability for their values and institutions. Still, none equals China in persisting - and persuading its neighbours to acquiesce - in such an elevated conception of its world role for so long, and in the face of so many historical vicissitudes. From the emergence of China as a unified state in the third century BC until the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1912, China stood at the center of an East Asian international system of remarkable durability¹⁵.

The crucial mistake that Kissinger commits here is to imagine that East Asia, where China's was indeed the central presence, as being at the heart of the world or of the 'international system'. One need not be surprised, however, if the architect of US-China alliance, which is a principal factor behind the current rise of China, errs on the side of the 'Middle Kingdom'. Contrary to what Kissinger claims, it is the world of the Indian Ocean, with East Asia and West Asia-East Africa as its twin extremes, which was the heart of the world economy and of the international system for two millennia. And both India and China had a pre-eminent economic presence in this Indian Ocean world.

However, it was India which was geographically central to the Indian Ocean. This was clearly acknowledged in the ancient world as is reflected in the fact that more than 1200 years ago Arab traders and geographers used to call this ocean *Bahr-e-Hind*¹⁶, which is from where the present term, the Indian Ocean, is derived. The world was therefore never Sino-centric. Far from being the greatest power on earth which it is claimed to have been for 2,000 years, China was for most of its history a civilization that though large and advanced in comparison with most other parts of the world with the exception of India of course, was too isolated and self-centered to be able or willing to exert power over others. Indeed, power becomes power only in the process of engagement with others.

One of the most important reasons behind China's self-engrossment was that for most of its history it had to contend with Central Asian nomads, who kept invading China intermittently, and even ruled over it, as in the case of Yuan Empire of the Mongols built by the famed Kublai Khan. It is only by the 17th century that the central Asian threat to China was finally overcome.

The Chinese self-image of being the 'Middle Kingdom'¹⁷ was thus not an outcome of its non-existent world domination, but of being at the center of the East Asian world and being surrounded by a host of smaller countries that naturally accepted the hegemonic position of China. In fact, even within East Asia, Japan remained a largely independent civilization and power for most of its history. The 'tribute system' primarily involved the many smaller countries of East Asia, for whom it was simply a practical means of doing trade and conducting other business with China. Great civilizations and empires of the ancient and medieval world were neither a part of this 'tribute system' nor did they acknowledge China as the 'Middle Kingdom'.

The political disunity in Indian history is often contrasted with supposed Chinese unity. Nothing could be more disingenuous than this. Like other great civilizations, China too has witnessed a good deal of disunity and fragmentation in its history. In the last 2,500 years, China has been united for no more than a total of 1100 years, and even during these periods, the Chinese State generally covered only the eastern and southern parts of what is the present-day People's Republic of China, which constitute the core area of the Chinese civilization. Interestingly enough, it is only the foreign-origin dynasties, the Yuan/Mongols (1279-1368) and the Manchu/Qing (1644-1912) which conquered and ruled over China as it is today.

India has also witnessed the rise and fall of many empires and dynasties in the long and eventful course of its history. In the last 2,500 years, it has had a united empire for at least 900 years cumulatively. Just like China, most of these empires covered only the core area of the Indian Sub-continent; it is only the British and Mauryan empires that covered more than four-fifths of the Sub-continent.

The State in Chinese history has admittedly been more centralized, bureaucratic, and powerful than in India. But this is hardly a strongpoint for China. Indian society has been far more organized and stable compared to the Chinese, precluding the need for such a State in India. What is important is that the State in India was derived from the needs of our society, and was able to perform its functions effectively most of the time.

The so called disunity of India in history is largely a product of the Eurocentric writing of history in the last 200 years. For the British, it was important to emphasise how their rule was a boon for Indians who, they claimed, had generally been disunited, lacked a tradition of statecraft, and rarely had a united State. The more strident among the British writers such as the Utilitarian led by James Mill went to the extent of asserting that India had no history at all, and that it had never been an advanced civilization.

Though Indian history writing has come a long way, and Indian as well as foreign historians of the last hundred years have demolished most myths created by imperialist scholars, the myth of India's political disunity vis a vis other comparable countries remains an abiding one. This considerably distorts the way India sees itself and how it is seen by others, including China. The sooner this distortion is corrected, the better it is.

Just as in the case of India, China's historical narrative is very substantially a product of Western knowledge and imagination, though it has worked to the advantage of China. The Roman Empire and later day European countries rarely had any real knowledge of or contact with China for most of human history. The links they did have were of the most indirect and tenuous kind. In this bliss of ignorance about a distant and largely isolated civilization, fascination, romanticisation, and mythification of China was their frequent recourse. The account of the Italian merchant and traveler Marco Polo who supposedly visited the court of Kublai Khan in the late 13th century is a typical example of the old European images of China.

The 18th century can justifiably be called a formative period in world history, for it is during this period that the West came to gain ascendancy over large parts of Asia, consolidated its power in the North and South Americas, and was able to start the Industrial Revolution which over the first half of the 19th century helped establish Western hegemony over the world.

Much of the myth-making in history goes back to this period, and works to India's disadvantage and China's advantage. The European travellers, writers, intellectuals, and traders contrasted the apparent disunity and chaos of India after the decline of the Mughal Empire in the 18th century with the unity and order of the Qing Empire in China. Not that it always remained so. The Europeans oscillated wildly between declaring China a great civilization and a backward and stagnant one. Thus Leibniz, Voltaire, and Rousseau had favorable opinions about China, while Goethe and Herder held rather dismissive views about it. In the early 19th

century, the great German philosopher Hegel went to the extent of saying that 'China was like a dead star whose light was spent forever'. This was in stark contrast with Napoleon's description of China as a 'sleeping giant', which 'will move the world' when it wakes up, a description that was repeated by many other Europeans.

Even after the British success in the first Opium War (1839-42) leading to the forced opening of China and European occupation of many of its parts, European assessments of China continued to swing between the two extremes. And by this time, even China had started thinking in the same manner, as has been corroborated by David Scott in his book *China and the International System (1840-1949): Power, Presence and Perceptions in a Century of Humiliation*¹⁸. Thus Chinese perceptions about their own history and future were deeply influenced by European assessments, and continue to be so. These highly selective and distorted views of China's past call for correction.

The truth of history is very different. Both India and China were among the great civilizations of the world. India was no less than China in material advancement and cultural development. This was first established by the Belgian scholar Paul Bairoch, one of the two great economic historians of the last 70 years, who concluded that in 1750 India accounted for about 24 percent of the world GDP and China about 33 percent¹⁹. Bairoch's study was followed up by a much more comprehensive research of Angus Maddison, the other great economic historian of the last 70 years, about the world economy in the last 2,000 years.

And his findings are even more interesting. According to Maddison, around the beginning of the Common Era, India accounted for 33 percent of the world economy, and China about 25 percent²⁰. Circa AD 1000, India and China still had roughly the same shares, i.e. 33 percent and 25 percent each. By AD 1500, India's share had come down mainly because of the rise of European share, so that both India and China contributed roughly 24 percent each to the world GDP, with China marginally ahead. By AD 1600, China had overtaken India, with about 28 percent of the world GDP against India's 22. However, by 1700 India had again overtaken China now having around 24 percent of the world GDP against China's 22.

The British conquest of Bengal and gradually other parts of India created a huge gap between India and China over the next century or so, as it caused unprecedented damage to both population and economy. By 1820, the figures were around 17 percent for India and 33 for China. While making a historical comparison between the two countries, people often take only this last cut-off date, and come to an erroneous conclusion, since by this time the Indian economy had already suffered incalculable damage first under British mercantilism and later because of the rise of the Industrial Revolution in England, which itself would have scarcely been possible without the resources and markets provided by India.

Now these figures are not meant to be taken too strictly. What they do indicate, however, is that both India and China were central to the world economy in history, and that neither the one nor the other could claim primacy for itself.

What is true of economy was also true of the demography of the two countries. For most of the last 2000 years, India had a larger population than China. Again, as late as 1700, its population exceeded that of China, which overtook India by 1820 mainly because of the decline of India's population under the British rule. Population was more important in the pre-modern world than it is today, because it was reflective of the greater productivity and economic development of a country.

We should, therefore, not be surprised that India is again poised to overtake China in terms of population, since it is in tandem with a long-term historical trend. Indeed, India along with Pakistan and Bangladesh, i.e. the undivided India, has already overtaken China.

It is important to debunk the myths of history, because in a very large measure China's sense of entitlement, its manifest destiny of emerging as a super power in the 21st century flow out of Sino-centric accounts of the past. Even the 'century of humiliation' that China keeps highlighting to justify its conduct in the present is rooted in this mythology of the past. Other nations have suffered far worse fates than China in its 'century of humiliation', but scarcely any of them carry the baggage of the past as much as China does.

The truth of the history is that both China and India paid a heavy price for their inability to see the rising tide of European imperialism while there was still time. We know about the dismissive response of the Qing Emperor to the British embassy led by Lord Macartney in 1793. What is less known is that Aurangzeb, who ruled over one of the greatest empires of the world, had

betrayed a similar attitude towards English ambassadors regarding them as people of no consequence and their Queen as nothing more than a petty chieftain. The future was to prove both of them wrong.

The subsequent tide of imperialism and colonialism involved massive exploitation and oppression of large parts of the world. Among the biggest victims was indisputably India, which suffered hugely at the hands of the British, who dealt a final blow to it in the form of Partition before granting Independence in 1947. But India has never had any aggressive plan to seek revenge and to correct the historical wrongs by redrawing borders in blood.

China's claims over Taiwan, Tibet, and Sinkiang on the other hand have very little historical justification. Taiwan may have been a part of China during some periods of its history, but it became a separate nation by the will of its people and leaders, and has every right to continue its existence as such, irrespective of Chinese claims.

Just because the Manchus/Qing, who themselves were of foreign origin, had some nominal suzerainty over Tibet does not mean that China's occupation of Tibet since 1951 has any justification whatsoever. The peculiarities of the Qing Empire make any Chinese claims on the basis of its territorial limits meaningless. This is clearly brought out from the following words of William T. Rowe in his famous book *China's Last Empire: The Great Qing*:

This new Manchu-centered Qing differed fundamentally from most preceding imperial dynasties-and none so dramatically as the Ming-in that it was self-consciously conceived as a universal empire, a multinational polity within which China (the former Ming domain) was simply one component, though quite obviously the most central and economically productive one. The dissociation of the Great Qing empire from the long recurring pattern of imperial Chinese dynasties has led some scholars to insist on seeing 1636 (the year of the Qing's self-proclamation) rather than 1644 (the year of the Qing conquest of the Ming) as the empire's proper founding date²¹.

For China, however, there is no contradiction in professing faith in a 'harmonious world' of Hu Jintao's description, while claiming rights over all territories conquered by the Qing. This Chinese contradiction is aptly summed up by Peter C. Perdue in his book *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia*:

Even though nationalists rejected the Manchus as an obstacle to China's modernization, the Chinese nation-state derived its concept of its ideal boundaries from the maximal expansion of the Qing Empire in the eighteenth century. Like other nationalists, the Chinese built on the past they reject²².

Almost all the territorial claims of China supposedly deriving their justification from the past exemplify only the age-old dictum of might is right. China claims territorial rights over all lands which in some distant past may have been ruled by foreign-origin dynasties like the Yuan and the Qing which extended over huge landmasses. It is then not a surprise that China has territorial disputes with so many countries, such as India, Japan, Vietnam, and Philippines.

By this utterly flawed and dangerous logic, India can stake a right to many neighbouring countries like Sri Lanka and Burma, as these were parts of the British Empire. China's claim over Taiwan is roughly in the same category as would be a hypothetical Indian claim over Pakistan or Bangladesh. China's claim over Sinkiang would be in the same league as a putative Indian claim over Afghanistan, most of which was a part of the Mughal Empire as late as the 18th century.

Whereas history is an important part of nation-building, too much emphasis upon it or an inability to see it in the right perspective can easily lead a country to 'such an elevated conception of its world role' in the past as to make peaceful and harmonious relations with other nations difficult, if not impossible.

X

The spectacular rise of China in the last few decades is first and foremost the story of its unparalleled economic growth and development. It is the economic might of China that underpins its national strength. It is thus crucial to have a dispassionate look at China's rise as an economic power in comparison with India.

We all know how India had a higher per capita income than China in 1978. What we often don't know is that despite its license-permit raj India was at this time still ahead of China in manufacturing, innovation, higher education, science, and technology. China was ahead of India mainly in terms of social indicators, such as literacy, Infant Mortality Rate (IMR), life expectancy at birth, etc. The divergence between India and China in terms of their per capita income and GDP started only from about 1990.

India started opening our economy from 1991, but by this time China had already stolen a march over us, having more than a decade of solid growth behind it. Moreover, our economic reforms were nowhere as drastic or thorough-going as the Chinese reforms, tied down as we were to the inertia of our recent past of socialistic dirigisme. While India did manage to grow at about 6 per cent per annum in the 1990s, this was vastly exceeded by the over 10 per cent growth of China during the same period.

Thus by the turn of the millennium, China's GDP in exchange rate terms had risen to almost double of India, and its per capita income had risen to one-and-a-half times that of India. This was still not an unbridgeable gap between the two countries. But there were other developments which bolstered the strength of the Chinese economy.

These were the rise of China as a cheap manufacturing hub for the developed world, large scale infusion of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), and a multifold rise in its international trade. Closely related to one another, these trends created a virtuous cycle of economic growth and development for China, which catapulted it into the league of major economies. Trade and FDI helped the emergence and consolidation of the China lobby, especially in the United States and Europe. In 2000, the special millennium issue of the Time Magazine devoted a large section to the rise of China, and how it was fast emerging as a rival to the US.

Meanwhile, India had carried out many economic reforms under NarasimhaRao and AtalBehari Vajpayee. These reforms started paying dividends from 2003, a year in which India's growth exceeded 9 per cent. It was around this time that India came to be seen by the world as a serious rival to China in the economic arena and as a strategic counterweight to it.

The famous 2003 report of the Goldman Sachs, *Dreaming with the BRICs*, which predicted the emergence of India by 2050 as the second-largest economy after China in exchange rate terms; the well-known Foreign Policy article *Can India Overtake China?*²³ by Harvard Professor TarunKhanna, who followed it up by a book on the subject; the optimistic long-term projections of the IMF and the World Bank on the rise of India as an economic giant; the vastly increased international media coverage and the highly optimistic tenor of it; the spike in FDI and in Foreign Institutional Investment; India's emergence as a serious manufacturing power and an export hub for many multinational companies; and the rapid rise in India's international trade - all these were sure signs of India's arrival as a leading economic power of the world.

India did manage to maintain this optimistic scenario till about 2010; from 2003 to 2010, India grew at more than 9 percent annually, which was only slightly below the Chinese growth rate of 10 percent plus. Catching up with China seemed to be an entirely realistic goal to Indians and our friends everywhere. And what is also important, the emergence of India was seen as a welcome development by the world.

But the performance of the UPA 2 threw a spanner in our work. The growth rate plummeted to less than 5 per cent. Both domestic and international businesses grew increasingly wary of investing in India because of its reversion to anti-business policies under the garb of retrospective taxation and environmental clearances, the burgeoning fiscal deficit resulting from unsustainable welfare schemes like MNREGA, the double-digit inflation, and a series of scams - these undid many of our hard-earned achievements. Across the world, India's image was seriously dented.

In the meantime, China was the biggest beneficiary of the global recession setting out in 2008. While growth in the United States and Europe came nearly to a halt, China escaped without experiencing any major downturn, and continued to grow at more than 9 per cent annually. Moreover, its vast forex reserves, the highest in the world, came to be seen as an important force of stability in a world where the US and many other developed countries were heavily indebted.

So great was the impact of the recession on the developed world that it gave rise to the talk of the decline of America as the leading economy of the world and of its inevitable as well as imminent replacement by China. Many commentators around the world frankly acknowledged the vastly increased heft of the Chinese economy in the changing circumstances of the post-recession era.

Some went too far. Thus the American economist C. Fred Bergsten mooted the idea of G-2²⁴, an exclusive grouping of the US and China, which was thought to be necessary for managing the world. The idea found resonance with the Harvard historian Niall Ferguson, former US National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, and the World Bank President, Robert Zoellick. Even though the G-2 failed to take off, the mere talk of it was enough of an indication of the future shape of things. Interestingly, the talk of the 2-G was taken somewhat seriously by China, which seemed to be abandoning the sage advice of Deng Xiaoping to maintain a low profile, and never claim leadership.

The last 9 years have thus created a more favorable world scenario for China, which should be a matter of concern for India. We need to do a cold analysis of facts to see where we really stand vis a vis China in 2018 in terms of our economic strength. Is China already beyond our reach? On the face of it, the gap between the two economies would appear to be really huge in exchange rate terms. Currently, the size of Indian economy is around \$2.5 trillion while that of China is \$11.5 trillion - more than four times bigger than us.

The rub lies in the fact that in the last few years the Indian rupee has declined by more than 50 per cent, while the Chinese yuan has appreciated by nearly 25 per cent. The combined effect of the twin movements accounts for the major part of the increase in China's GDP compared to India. In fact, it has doubled the gap that would otherwise exist between the GDPs of the two countries, making it appear as if the Chinese economy has suddenly become 5 times larger than the Indian economy. Minus the effect of this exchange rate movement, the Chinese economy would still be less than three times the size of the Indian economy. Most of this revision in the values of the two currencies has taken place after 2008, when the rupee was still around 43 per dollar and the Renminbi at slightly above 7 per dollar; and is very substantially caused by persistently high inflation in India for many years.

One can clearly see this when one takes into account the GDPs of India and China in Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) terms. In 2017, India had a GDP of USD of nearly 9.5 trillion and China USD 23 trillion in PPP terms. In fact, even the PPP value of the rupee was revised down by the World Bank some years ago leading to Japan once again becoming the third-largest economy replacing India, which had gained that slot more than ten years ago. India has regained that position now, and is again the third-largest economy in the world after US and China.

It is not the argument that PPP measurement is the only one that really counts, but rather that one should see the GDP figures in exchange rate as well as PPP terms. There are certain purposes, such as international trade, for which the use of exchange rate or Atlas method GDP is more appropriate, and there are others, such as the per capita income, where PPP is more so.

The point that I do wish to make is that India is still very much in the reckoning as a world economy whose weight is only going to increase in the future. India's higher population growth rate compared to that of China has eaten up a much larger share of its GDP growth, resulting in lower per capita income growth.

At any rate, India's lower per capita income can become an asset now that wages have started rising in China, and the gap between the wages of the two countries has become large enough to encourage shifting of manufacturing to India. Again, this is a factor which we can take advantage of only if we are able to carry out fundamental reforms in our labor laws and other regulations that make manufacturing more difficult in India than in most other parts of the world.

India has the demographic advantage. With a median age of 27.9 years only, India is still a very youthful nation; China has already reached the median age of 37.4 years²⁵. So India's percentage of working age population is set to steadily increase over the next few decades, while China's is declining precipitously thanks to its one-child-policy. But we will have to create millions of more jobs every year to tap into this tremendous source of strength.

Agriculture can be another source of strength for India. Despite the fact that India is only one-third the size of China, we have more arable land, because roughly 48 per cent of our total area is agricultural land as against only 12 per cent for China. Where India lags behind China is productivity. China's per hectare agricultural productivity is almost double that of India for many major crops, which makes it the largest producer of food grains in the world leaving India second. And herein lies the great opportunity for India. With some crucial reforms in the agriculture sector, and a second green revolution, India can even surpass China in total

output, since its lower productivity gives it a much bigger growth potential.

The size of GDP in India is not going to be its principal source of weakness vis a vis China. With the Modi government being strongly committed to growth and development, Indian economy has been able to pick up pace in the last few years. In 2016, India became the fastest growing economy for a year before falling behind China the next year. Once again, The World Economic Situation and Prospects 2018 report of UN has highlighted that overcoming the slowdown from demonetisation, the growth rate of Indian economy is projected to accelerate from this year's 6.7 percent to 7.2 percent next year and 7.4 percent in 2019 making it again the world's fastest growing major economy.

It is in other areas where India's position vis a vis China is of concern for us. Infrastructure, literacy rates, poverty reduction, health indicators, urbanization, higher education, research and development are some of the areas in which India will have to do a lot of catching up without losing any time. These are the things which affect the lives of our people more closely than many others, and improvement here would go a long way towards building our national strength.

No country can become powerful or create prosperity for its people without good governance, which has always been India's Achilles' heel. There is now abundant hope that this enduring weakness of India as a nation and as a state would finally become a thing of the past.

The rise of China is a matter of great concern for India, but it is not at all my intention to argue that China is our only or even principal problem. Most of our problems are internal, and we need to handle them ourselves. The competition with China should spur us to put our own house in order as soon as possible, so that India can play the power game effectively.

This article has argued that the world was never Sino-centric in history, and that India itself was a great power and civilization. India still has the great potential to rise again, and assume its rightful place. There never was a time when China ruled the world; there need not be a time when China rules the world. What we need is a world of many great powers, including India.

India has in the past frittered away many opportunities. We are fortunate in that Shakespeare's famous saying 'opportunity knocks at the door, but once' is not true for us. So once again we have an opportunity to become a great power equal to, if not more powerful than, China. A decade of rapid progress on all fronts is all that is needed. We must grab the opportunity. Shakespeare has put it so aptly in Julius Caesar:

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat.
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures²⁶.

And, unlike the first one, this is a saying which could be very true for us, because if we don't take the tide now, the ship of our nation might remain 'bound in shallows and miseries'.

REFERENCES

1. Yue, Jianyong. (July 2008). Peaceful Rise of China: Myth or Reality?, International Politics. Volume 45, Issue 4, pp 439-456.
2. Doklam standoff refers to military standoff between the Indian armed forces and the People's Liberation Army of China over construction of a road in Doklam. On June 16, 2017 Chinese troops with construction vehicles and road-building equipment began extending an existing road southward in Doklam, a territory that belong to India's ally Bhutan. India took a firm stand over the issue and ultimately the Chinese troops had to withdraw after an almost two month long military face off. It has blasted off the Chinese fear and has been dubbed as a major psychological

victory for the Indian side.

3. U.S. Department of Defence (DOD). 2006. Quadrennial Defence Review Report. Retrieved from: <http://archive.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/QDR20060203.pdf>
4. U.S. Department of Defence (DOD). 2010. Nuclear Posture Review. Retrieved from: https://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/features/defenseReviews/NPR/2010_Nuclear_Posture_Review_Report.pdf
5. Mearsheimer, John. Why China's Rise Will Not Be Peaceful, September 17, 2004 Can be accessed at: <http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/A0034b.pdf>
6. Rajagopalan, Rajesh. (2016, June 12). As India's power grows, China's containment strategy will get frenetic, The Economic Times. Can be accessed at: http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/articleshow/52705951.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst
7. Tok, Sow Keat. (2013). Managing China's Sovereignty in Hongkong and Taiwan, Palgrave Macmillan.
8. McMahon Line, frontier between Tibet and Assam in British India, negotiated between Tibet and Great Britain at the end of the Shimla Conference (October 1913-July 1914) and named for the chief British negotiator, Sir Henry McMahon. It runs from the eastern border of Bhutan along the crest of the Himalayas until it reaches the great bend in the Brahmaputra River where that river emerges from its Tibetan course into the Assam Valley. Can be accessed at: <https://www.britannica.com/event/McMahon-Line>
9. The Proliferation Primer. (1998) Can be accessed at: <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=1248> and Commentary: China Exports Nuclear Weapons Technology to Pakistan. (February 1998) Peace Research.Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 34-37
10. How China helped Pakistan Build the Bomb. (November 15, 2015) The Telegraph. Can be accessed at: https://www.telegraphindia.com/1151115/jsp/7days/story_53188.jsp
11. Srinivasan, Rajiv. (August 23, 2004.)What If India Had Won The 1962 War Against China? Outlook. Can be accessed at: <https://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/what-if-india-had-won-the-1962-war-against-china/224864>
12. Nuclear Anxiety; Indian's Letter to Clinton on the Nuclear Testing (May 13, 1998). Can be accessed at: <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/05/13/world/nuclear-anxiety-indian-s-letter-to-clinton-on-the-nuclear-testing.html>
13. Naipaul, V.S. (1998) A Bend in the River, Vintage International
14. Jacques, Martin. (2009). When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order, Penguin: UK.
15. Kissinger, Henry (2011), On China. Allen Lane: Penguin: UK, p. 2
16. Nadvi, AllamaS.Sulaiman. (2006) The Arab Navigation, Adam Publishers & Distributors, p. 43
17. China has been known by different names in the last 4,000 years; but the most traditional name used to refer itself include Zhonggou which stands for Middle kingdom and also known as central Kingdom.
18. Scott, David. (2008). China and the International System (1840-1949): Power, Presence and Perceptions in a Century of Humiliation, State University of New York Press.
19. Bairoch, Paul. (1982) International industrialization levels from 1750 to 1980. Journal of European Economic History, 11(2):269, p.3
20. Maddison, Angus. (2001).The world economy: A millennial perspective. Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, p. 263.
21. Rowe, William T., China's Last Empire: The Great Qing, Harvard University Press, 2009
22. Perdue, Peter C. (2009). China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia, Harvard University Press, p.4
23. Huang, Yasheng, TarunKhanna. (July1, 2003), Can India Overtake China? Foreign Policy. Can be accessed at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2003/07/01/can-india-overtake-china/>
24. Bergsten, C. Fred (September/October 2009 Issue) Two's Company, Foreign Affairs. Can be accessed at: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/americas/2009-09-01/twos-company>
25. The World Fact Book, CIA. Can be accessed at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2177.html>
Julius Caesar Act 4, scene 3, 218-224.

SHAPING POLITICAL PERSONA, CAMPAIGNS AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION: MAPPING CHANGING ELECTIONS MOORINGS IN INDIA IN THE DIGITAL AGE

NAMITA NAGPAL*
GITA BAMEZAI**

ABSTRACT

The use of digital media can affect the communication process in election campaigning in a significant way by changing the tenor and content of political communication campaigns on the ground. Access to digital services, even if restricted, builds a symbiotic relationship between the offline and on-line engagement between the political persona and the public. The visual impact of on-line campaign, as part of the electioneering, has provided an aura for shaping political persona and mobilization for a real-time experience of ground-level electioneering. The Indian General Election of 2014 embodied new facets of election imbued with the power of internet, especially social media, to provide an understanding of technology as a critical factor in pushing new meanings and realities in the social settings. Social media has allowed for greater transparency in the relationship between voters and politicians, while putting political control and management under duress and pressure. The lowering of threshold by giving entry into public domain to a new culture and language has had an egalitarian affect for political discourse, but may translate into political vulnerability for the politicians. The study looks closely at the extent to which political parties used social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and weblogs as tools for political mobilization. Instruments of technology, media and language combined to facilitate the accumulation of political power in a decisive way by off-setting nexus of caste, politics of moneybags and muscle power. Considering communication as engendered in the hierarchies of the election machinery, it posits how a change in the media of communication may facilitate radical

*The writer is pursuing Ph. D. at the USMC, GGSIPU, Delhi, 110078.

** Ph.D. Head, Department of Communication Research, Indian Institute of Mass Communication JNU Campus, Aruna Asif Ali Road, New Delhi 110067

transformations in empowering the people in political decision-making. A new shift in power balance merged to mediate eventual outcomes of the democratizing process. The paper investigates contextual factors that influence communication process, such as political parties' use of web and social networking sites in conjunction with other engendered social realities. This approach has the potential to generate a theoretical framework for explaining the impact of the Internet on election campaigning in India by unshackling the limits of debates and dialogues in the public sphere. The study aims to demonstrate that while possessing enormous potential to facilitate and expedite political mobilization, the Internet is an inherently dialectical force that should not be treated solely as a liberator or oppressor.

Key Words: election, social media, public sphere, young electorate, modi, BJP, party strategy.

INTRODUCTION

“How well the public sphere becomes a concrete manifestation of society’s democratic character’ and thus in a sense the most immediately visible indicator of our admittedly imperfect democracies.” (Dahlgren 1991,p.2)

Election periods across the globe, are generally catapulting times for the polity and the economy with promises of improvements and revamping of policies, personalities, and programs. Political rhetoric is positioned in the perceptual context to exercise control and mobilize major constituencies in the electoral field by the political parties. The aspirations for power are channelized through communication to reach out to the electorate with alacrity and great abundance but with a strategic intent i.e. seat of power. From the point of view of the electorate, elections mobilize people and convince them of their voting power. A mobilized democratic political system is always vibrant and dynamic which in turn becomes responsive and responsible to the people. ‘Elections become pivotal in the instrumentation of politics in a democratic system of governance. ‘While politics is the art and craft of exercising political power, election legitimizes such power’.¹ When elections are not engineered and manipulated, democracy may thrive. However, ‘An enquiry into the process of election indicates factors other than rationality.’²

India’s economy is progressing fast, but unpredictably the social and cultural variegated mosaic offers the contesting candidates to fight and win the elections along the caste, creed, and religious lines. It makes for a social cultural climate that has nurtured the use of money and muscle power over the years in electioneering. India’s diverse culture, mesmerizing on the surface, is challenging to deal with on the political mosaic. Hence, religion, caste, money and muscle power are major constituencies, no politician can afford to disregard. Political mobilization across the world has significantly progressed over the last few decades with communication playing a key role in it. Technology brought in the mass media first and now the digital media has given political parties worldwide, ‘tools for logistics and new ways of reaching potential supporters’ (Gilmore and Howard, 2013). A corpus of knowledge in the form of research on the iterations of digital media, political actors and civic participation and election campaigns is available in advanced democracies of the western world (Anstead and Chadwick, 2006; Gilmore and Howard 2013, Roubuck and Beange 2013, David Karpf 2013, Komal G. Parikh, Madeline Storck 2014, Pamela Routledge 2014), however, from the Middle East and South Asia, research studies are coming up in no small measure as there have been important changes to the practices of political campaigning in emerging democracies as also the ethos of political culture and practices .

RATIONALE

This study attempts to analyze latest trends in political communication for the mobilization of electorate in order to advance the understanding of how electoral atmosphere has changed and responded to the advent of new media technologies in the world’s largest democracy. In 2014 elections, digital media and social networking applications became not only a crucial means by which urban India encountered and interacted with local, regional, and national political candidates but closely fitted into the campaign dynamics, setting new norms and values in the electoral environment of the country. The 2014 general elections of India is particularly interesting for the study of the role of new media technologies as it is home to one of the

world's most diverse, vibrant and active online communities. The technological boom made its population exceptionally mobile (1,017,968,757 users³), while making internet access an indispensable part of the lives of the middle and upper class, mobile telephones became ubiquitous across the social spectrum as well. With more than 243 million Internet users in 2014 (190 million in June 2013), a number that grew from 150 million users over the last two years (IAMAI⁴), India housed the largest increasing population of online users with no signs of stagnation in its pervasive growth. Additionally, Indians are frequently among the top ten national user groups of social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and YouTube. With this growing evidence about how "wired" the Indian electorate has become, it is increasingly necessary to bridge the gap in research on how this digital activity translates into the political realm.

India is a multilingual, multiethnic and multi-religious country with a plethora of factors shaping the contours of political behavior. The electioneering trend (off-line), before 2014 general elections in India, predicated itself on the powerful pillars of caste, religion, money and muscle power that helped the political leaders and mass media to posit the manifestoes and agendas in a conventional way. Over the years, mainstream media as also the public rallies and meetings, have been perfectly synchronized into the system and chronology of political rhetoric. In the 'public sphere' little of public interaction and engagement in mediated communication occurred, except as audience and listeners, every five years in the inchoate democracy. The political practices since independence, ordained the political parties to approach the rural masses through the public rallies and meetings and the rest of the country through the mainstream media, namely newspapers television, posters, banners, loudspeakers and community meetings etc. Despite its fluidity, the social media emerged and evolved into an organizational structure for political mobilization in lieu of, or as an alternative to other traditional organizational structures namely caste and religion. How it integrated into the campaign dynamics and as a media platform has brought about changes in the electoral behavior. As in United States, India has also witnessed declining levels of political participation and voter turnout in the past. Robert Putnam in his thesis (1993, 2000) in 'Bowling Alone' argues that the declining levels of civic and political participation can be directly linked to the role played by television. As citizens start spending more time watching television, they tend to alienate themselves from civic engagement.⁵ This in turn contributes to a decline in social capital (Putnam, 2000, p.283?284). As social capital declines, political disengagement starts to increase and that can explain the growing political apathy among young people, between the age group of 18 and 29 (Putnam, 2000). A closer examination of the Indian voting behavior indicates an overall decline, but not by a substantial margin. From 61.16 percent in 1952 voter turnout dropped to 59.07 percent in 2009 (Election Commission of India; Institute for Democratic Election Assistance, 2010) However, in 2014, it jumped to an all-time high 66.4%⁶ leaving behind the 64 percent turnout of 1984 elections (when the Congress party rode back in power on a 'sympathy wave').

The evolution of digital spaces in India and the emerging online communities have offered a promising hope of extension of the public sphere. The 2014 general elections in India set a new marker from the earlier elections in terms of choice of communication channels and the social media as a propeller in articulating the public opinion, especially of the young urban electorate. The interplay between the political parties and the urban sensitized electorate through the social media changed the political rhetoric and election metaphors as it reverberated with a desire for a political change. Used primarily for social networking and community hangouts in the beginning, the purposes of conversation steadily swerved towards political climate of the country. The social and political issues that the users of the social media generated became 'trending' topics of the day.

The study therefore explores changes brought in by the social media in establishing direct interface between the politicians and their publics, of developing a mosaic of political persona and campaign modes, of consolidating an electorate, hitherto unknown since little exercised its rights earlier, and appeared powerless, charmless to the political leaders. The study investigates the role of social media in bringing in the social change with vital interactions of the people in the election sphere and effectively displacing orthodox and conventional election moorings.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. Use of social media usage as part of the election campaign in the general elections by the political parties.
2. A comparative analysis of the use of social media as part of the media strategy for political mobilization by the two national parties namely Indian National Congress and the Bhartiya Janta Party.⁷
3. Use of social media use by the voters, primarily the youth and the tonality and content of the communication process in election campaigning on the ground.
4. To ascertain the role of social media in creating a powerful political persona and in establishing credibility in the public psyche.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- How was development plank used in the general elections by the parties, candidates and the public; could it marginalize conventional political issues?
- How was new media used, both by the political parties, leaders and the public? Could it succeed in offering itself as an organizing, mobilizing tool in lieu of caste or religion?
- Did Modi as a political leader succeed in making a new electoral constituency namely out of young urban adults (an indifferent electorate till this election) through new media (primarily accessed by young people)?
- Did technological determinism enhance the public sphere? What is the future beckoning: will the technological determinism help bring about changes in the metaphor and matter of political communication?

Research Methodology- A qualitative content analysis approach was followed, of blogs and posts on general elections 2014, and analysis of comments of social media users. These blogs, posts and comments are attached as appendices to the study.

Sample frame- The sample frame consists of all the blogs and posts and screen shots of comments on twitter and Facebook during during 2013-2014 pertaining to elections of 2014. Data analysis- was done with the help of key words and main categories of interactions were arrived at.

Digital spend by Contesting Parties- The importance of social media is evident from the advertizing spend on the digital media by different national parties. As per a report by Assocham (Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India), of the approximately Rs 4,000-5,000 crore total advertisement and publicity spend, the digital platforms expect to garner at least Rs 4000-5000 million (4-5 billion). Political parties typically spend around 30% of their poll expenditure, estimated at Rs 150 billion on advertising and publicity. Of this amount, 15-20% is spent on the emerging digital marketing.'In all, the BJP spent Rs.714.28 crore (\$115 million) on the 2014 general election campaign, according to the contribution report it filed with the Election Commission of India (ECI) which is about Rs.200 crore (\$32 million) more than the Congress Party's expenditure during the 2014 polls-and almost as much as the Rs.791 crore (\$127 million) that both the parties spent in the 2009 general elections.⁸

Strategizing Social media for Political Party strategy- 2014 elections showcases how use of social media in a focused and concerted manner in an election campaign may yield positive results for one party, while other parties failed to tap the potential of technological changes in the electioneering. Those who used the social media with urge and experimented with it to create new constituencies were rewarded at the hustings, while those who wanted to rely on conventional political mobilization and communication practices were found lagging behind.

Learning from Obama-Style Campaign⁹- The Washington Post wrote that Modi adopted an Obama-styled social media-savvy campaign but he was certainly not alone. The Aam Aadmi Party, led by Arvind Kejriwal, also adopted Obama's campaign style and many credited the party's fast rise to its use of Obama-style tactics.¹⁰ 'Political parties in India have borrowed some

ideas from the US Democrats. For example, people on the campaign mailing list were encouraged to send in their stories to be made into video documentaries or shared with the wider mailing list. Those who made the most calls were personally congratulated, with their name, photograph and the number of calls they made displayed on the party website.¹¹ ‘We have all been a witness to Obama’s winning strategies in 2012 using social media. Following his footsteps, Indian politicians seem to have dived headlong into social media conversations. Their constant activities are aimed towards spreading awareness and having a direct connection with users.’¹²

Setting the trend with SM- The national party, BJP was the first to reach out to voters with a Twitter account, Facebook page, YouTube channel, mobile app and live streaming over the Internet. Narendra Modi as the Chief Minister before 2014 was considered the most ‘technologically advanced’ leader in the party with over 1,900,000 followers. Modi used 3D campaign to address people in 53 places simultaneously, chatted on Google Hangout and became the first politician to use this technology. Equally impressive was the BJP’s entire digital campaign effort; a “social war room” that reportedly cost Rs 35 lakh (35,000 GBP), with 30 computers and about 50 volunteers, tracking activities across India’s 92,000 villages. Modi’s campaign attracted young professionals, many of whom took sabbaticals from their jobs to participate in this campaign, and they talked about the breathless environment, where Facebook was used to crowd source ideas for speeches, and ‘Mission 272’ (in terms of how many seats they were aiming to win).¹³ ‘In addition, the campaign mounted other support networks and communities on Facebook like “India 272+” volunteering program, used the BJP’s party’s official page to organize a massive mobilization.’¹⁴

According to reports, the BJP was mentioned on Twitter, on an average for about 30,000 times a day, with the Congress trailing behind at 15,000-20,000. Modi’s victory tweet ‘promising a better India after election results’ was retweeted 69,872 times.¹⁶ The Congress leader of opposition, Rahul Gandhi, was not on Twitter though the party had an account with about 181,000 followers.¹⁷

Influencing the Young Electorate- Getting young votes meant harnessing the power of social media. “We saw a trend, we read this trend, where the youth were embracing social media as their first tool, and we made sure our presence was there.” Social media affected 30 to 40 percent of the overall seats’ and Modi was more in tune with a population where the median age is 26(Vaishnav).¹⁹ In many constituencies, social media was amongst the top three communication tools, overtaking traditional methods such as advertisements.²⁰ The BJP used a two-pronged approach to social media: increase the party’s online presence while also helping in its offline activities. In a program called “organize online to assist offline,” the BJP used the reach of

Figure 1 ¹⁵Digital Interaction of Political Parties

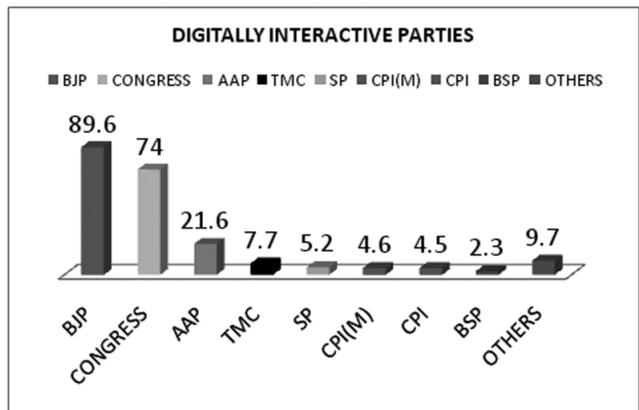
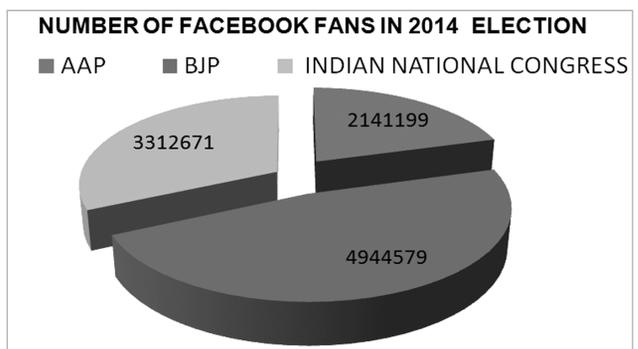


Figure:2 Number of Facebook Fans of Political parties¹⁸



social media to recruit volunteers, eventually enlisting 2.2 million. There were about 149 million first-time voters in 2014. In the 2009 elections the difference in votes between the Congress and BJP was just 40 million, (Election Commission of India) and the strategy was to induct the younger and social media user to bridge the narrow gap.

Coordinated Party Communication System- Within the party the social media network was used to bring in a coordinated communication system. The party had a database management department with data of its worker network and an online payment gateway through which about 5,000 people donated money every month. “We have well-established systems and cadres, and a balanced understanding of the utility of the [digital] medium.”²¹

Use of Guerilla Social media Tactics-Use of guerilla social media marketing adapted by the new Party led by Arvind Kejriwal’s AAP; wherein they used short, sharp strategies to inflict maximum damage to the bigger political parties. AAP’s social media team used all keywords related with Narendra Modi on Google search results and Google display advertisement partners to highlight AAP’s banners and posters every time someone searched for ‘Modi’.²² The party owes its genesis to the India against Corruption campaign of 2011 which galvanized middle-class people by asking them to give a missed call to register their support and helped in preparing a database of phone numbers to spread its messages. “The party owes its survival to digital media,” says Dilip Cherian, who advised Kejriwal on managing public perception in the past. “The Facebook Election Tracker sums up the story well for elections in India - BJP and Narendra Modi top the chart, while congress stood at last behind the newbie Aam Aadmi Party on the last day of the elections.”²³

Dr. Ranjit Nair, CEO of Germin8, a company that works on big data analysis, says, “If you see it broadly, Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) had a fantastic outreach to people, but they failed in their messaging strategy, the BJP on the other-hand did not have much of an outreach earlier on (it changed in the latter months) but their message matched with what people wanted to hear, whilst the Congress woke up to the impact of social media messaging just too late.” The impact was felt more on the first-time voters, who wanted to hear a positive message. “The BJP offered hope which people desperately wanted; Congress didn’t have any story to tell or any message to give. This impacted the decision of the first time voter a lot.”²⁵

Social media led mood of the country- Data released by Twitter from January 1 till May 12, 2014 shows the rise and fall in number of tweets of each major political party. Keeping in sync with real time happenings, the popularity of the BJP soared slowly in months leading to the elections showing a huge spike, whilst AAP and Congress were far behind. The trends observed for the time period of April 19 to May 18

show how the popularity of the BJP surged, with Modi-related interactions hitting a record of over 1.5 millions, while Kejriwal of AAP Party at 100,000 and Digvijaya Singh of the Congress at 19,500 were too late in making use of the opportunity of social media. **When you look at the performance of these individuals and their parties in the elections, it’s easy to infer a relationship between social media and actual results.**²⁷

Figure 3²⁴

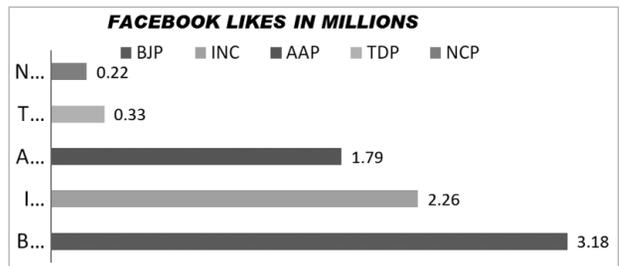
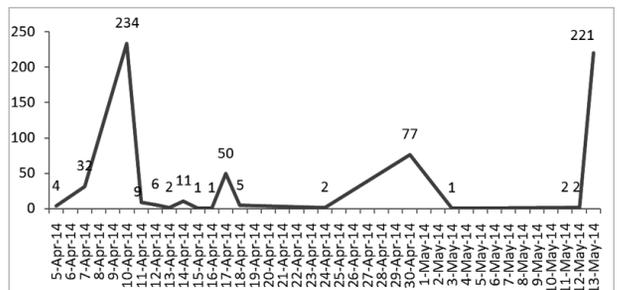


Figure 4 ²⁶Comments on Facebook during months of April and May, 2014



Social Media Stimulated Political Discourse among Youth: India's active Internet population could sway around 3-4 percent of votes in the general elections of 2014 in India. Out of 140 million Internet users in India, 86 million were active on Social Networks and it was expected to reach 91 million by the end of the year, with 19 percent growth rate.²⁸ 'The major user base of social media in urban locations are young men and college going students between the age group 18-24 and working women who are increasingly tilting towards social media usage'²⁹

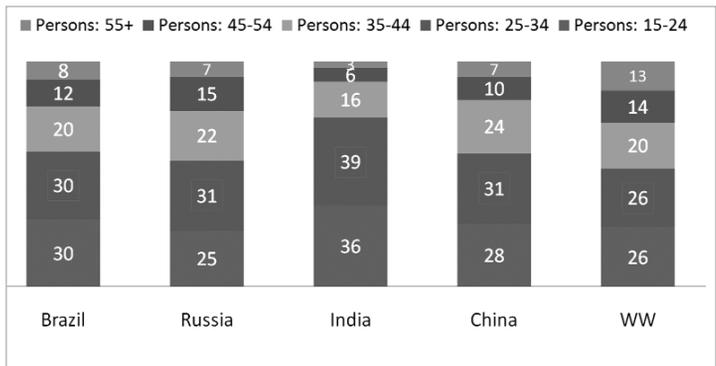
Social media had a high impact considering the sudden rise of social media into mainstream politics. Five years back these platforms were hardly a place to discuss the movements and developments of election agendas,³¹ but the situation changed substantially with phenomenal rise in sale of smart phones among the young and in their population in the country. 'The peer recommendations play a vital role in influencing youngsters and this has ensured a massive number of first time voters will participate in the 2014 elections. More than 800 million voters below the age of 25 will spend their maximum leisure time on social media!'³²

Facebook's phenomenal rise in India was mostly powered by smart phones-when it set up its first Indian office in 2010, it had under 8 million users in the country. According to TRAI estimates (June 2014), the number of Internet subscribers in the country had passed 250 million.³³

'This was India's first election with such large-scale usage of technology, open-access internet platforms to connect, build conversations, share, mobilize opinion and citizen action'³⁵ 'India's 2014 election is being called a #Twitter Election because it is the largest democratic election in the world to date and so much of it took place online. There seems to be a number of correlations between the online activities and victories of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and of Narendra Modi, India's new prime minister. In the 2009

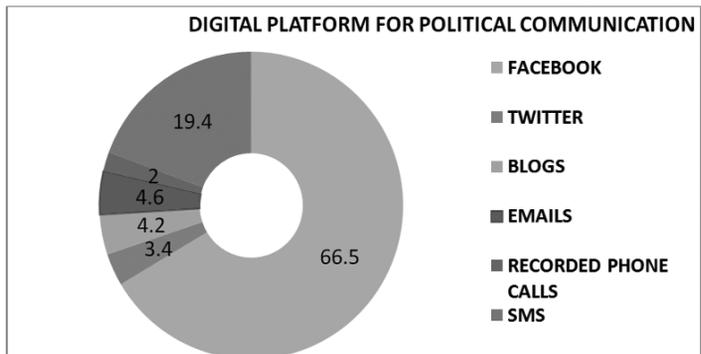
elections, there was just a single active politician with 6,000 Twitter followers. This General Election 2014, Twitter became the medium of choice for people to engage in and consume political content.³⁶ 'Modi's tweet proclaiming the victory of the Bharitya Janta Party (BJP) is testament to the fact that people were connecting with political leaders online. Till May 18, 2014, it had received 68,750 retweets and had been favoured 29,000 times.'³⁷ 'What makes social media different from traditional forms of campaigning is that it is two-way communication... allows the audience to talk back, is cheaper too... is closest to a public

Graph: 5 Percentage of Young Population to Total Population in India & BRICS Countries



Source: ComScore.com³⁰

Figure 5³⁴



rally.³⁸ It became ‘a pioneering platform for politicians to build a strong bond with their voters (and) ceased any boundaries between the two.’³⁹ Going back to 2009, neither was the audience getting much influence nor were the politicians taking much interest... They had been more interested in getting an interview done for a newspaper or a traditional media outlet.⁴⁰

Besides perusing the data analytics from blogs and posts of social media sites and traditional media like newspapers, posts to the personal Facebook accounts were also analysed.⁴² The political interaction (figure 7) showed a heavy stance in favour of the BJP in comparison to other two parties (Congress and AAP).

Youth and Changing Political Discourse- Young Netizens changed the refrain of traditional issues in elections by focusing on development- ‘This time, youth was very much part of this elections and they participated in a big way. They are vociferously demanding for a better future, jobs and amenities.’⁴³ While online election activity saw a dramatic increase from years prior, the country saw a number of other important election firsts: 150 million between the ages of 18-23 were newly eligible to vote, two out of three people in India are under the age of 35, and there was an unprecedented voter turnout at 66.4 percent (compared to 57.5 percent in the 2012 U.S. elections⁴⁴) ‘These elections will see as much as 50% young voters and most of them are active on social media sites, which helps in driving discussions. It is

where a thought is generated and discussed to present all sides. It is a platform for direct interaction and will definitely helps,⁴⁵ ‘These elections were about jobs, fighting chronic corruption and restoring leadership, amid a lost half-decade of drift and diminishing governance.’⁴⁶ ‘He (Modi) has pulled off a stunning online strategy to showcase Gujarat as India’s Guandong, a south China province with top GDP rankings and investment’.⁴⁷

Accountability and Transparency- ‘With the rise in Internet adoption rates, and a lack of strong mass media, both politicians seeking to demonstrate a commitment to transparency and users who mistrust traditional news channels might instead choose to express themselves on social media.’⁴⁹ Social media provided an interactive, open and transparent platform for politicians to directly get in touch and increase the level of communication with the voters,

Figure 6. Facebook Interactions⁴¹

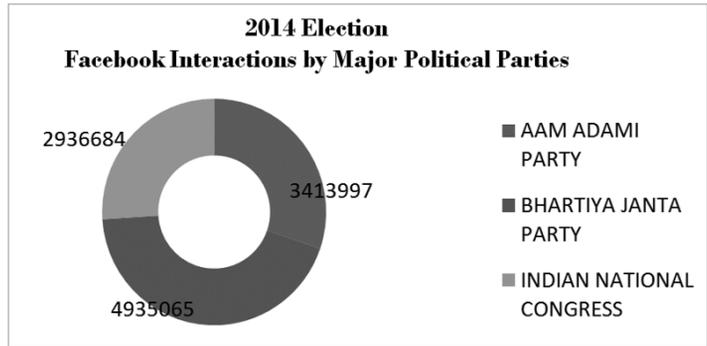


Figure: 7 Analysis of Personal Facebook Comments

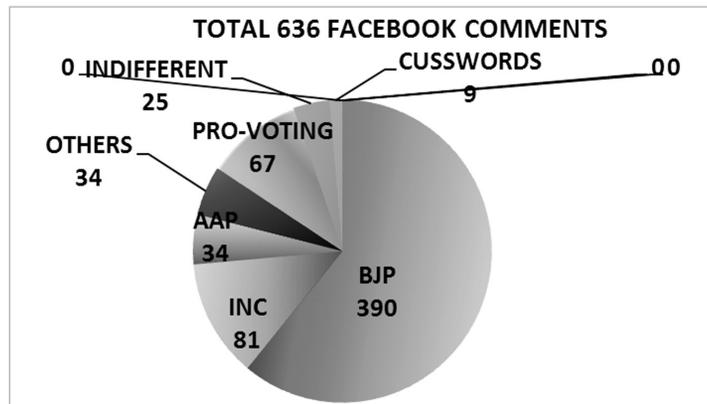


Figure: 8 Trending topics on Facebook Prior to General Election 2014



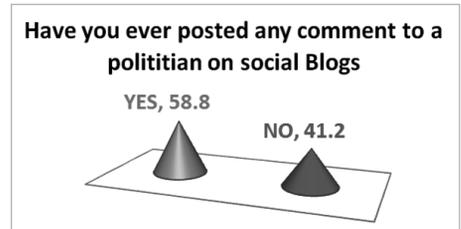
and vice versa. The feedback, reactions and comments gave a sense of accountability & value to voters, who generally felt ignored by their elected leaders.⁵⁰

Social media can be the cheapest marketing tool around. Some hope it could help India move away from the current situation, where money means success in political campaigning. While leveling the political playing field, use of the internet for communication and organization has the potential to stop undeclared wealth - known as "black money" - filtering into election funding.⁵¹ It made the politician answer the queries to her/his follower (a voter in all likelihood) and brought in the much needed 'accountability element' to the political discourse, which was never there, so to say. 'The national parties that were late adopters or did not have a social media strategy out of sync with the aspirations of the youth, first-time voters and other key voting demographics in the country.'⁵² Interrogation comes along with transparency in politics as it cuts both ways and increases the vulnerability of the politicians. Social media, says a Congress leader, is like a "double-edged sword". Some politicians do not use digital media fearing their constituents can give them harsh feedbacks on a public platform.

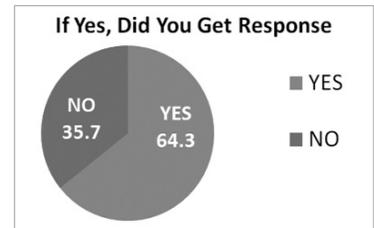
There is a small but very active Twitter base in India that is highly political and there are constant fights between the right-wingers and the rest. Major political episodes in the country become trending topics and both sides make TV news headlines quite regularly.⁵⁵ 'Social media is an incredible platform to express your thoughts, share knowledge and spread awareness. When people get the right to express themselves, it becomes easier for politicians to know their interests and inclinations. The thousands of spoofs on congress and its leaders made it clear that this time the party did not stand a chance in the elections. This did not stop people from creating troll pages and spoofs on the corrupt politicians. This was probably the best way for them to show their anger and disappointment.'

Influence of on-line Users on Political Discourse (Revisiting two step flow of communication) -. The online community is an influential community since it has command over their respective following and holds the potential to influence party preferences. They are known to be wired and aware of comments coming from various sources which has the potential to carry more weight and meaning as a corollary to off-line political discussions. In fact, social media even influences conventional media.' (Aditya Gupta, social samosa.com for IBNsevenlive.com). 'This impact is not limited to metros and tier-I cities, because a third of India's social media traffic comes from towns with populations of less than 500,000. More importantly, the impact of social/digital media is not limited to direct access. Conversations seeded within online stream find their way into mainstream media, and get read, seen and discussed in towns and villages. It's the spillover impact (Sohini Mitter & Peter Griffin Forbes India). 'This urban-rural political divide may actually be a myth. Most people have the ability to influence families.... each social media user

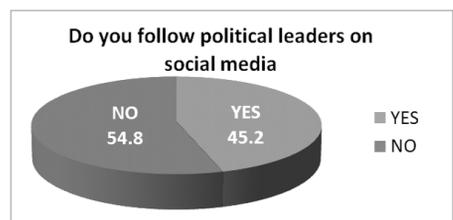
Figures: 9⁵³ Making Comments on Social Blogs



Figures: 10⁵⁴



Average Number of Leaders Followed= 2.4

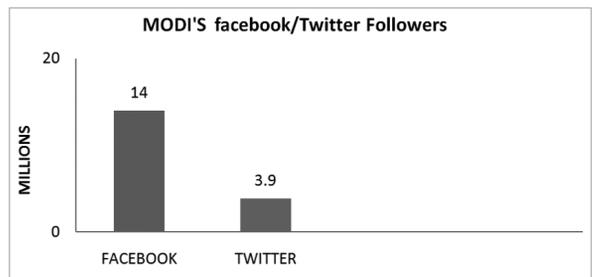


What Would You Like Political Parties Digital Strategy To Focus Upon⁵⁶



influences three more people in their household. (FT blog, Avantika Chikloti, Feb 26 2014). 'Many argue that 101 million is just a fraction of the 800 million votes. But, these 101 million, according to reports, can be influential in almost 160 seats out of the total 543 seats. And these are seats, reports suggest, where winning margin has been 5-10% (Ankusbh, April, 2014)⁵⁷. 'There is an increasing migration from rural to urban and political preferences are hardly affected by literacy or where a voter lives. 'Those who access social media are mostly opinion makers. And these are the people who help generate public opinion'⁵⁸ (Medha Dutta, TNN)

How Social Media Created 'Modi' Persona The persona consists of the leader's charisma, character, communication skills and core values. The interplay with the social media in engaging the young electorate was meticulously planned by Mr. Modi and his team during the elections. The conversations pertained to him were painstakingly seeded in the social media that promoted his image of man of good governance and administration. 'The social media team of the BJP got 48 lakh IDs of social media users (voters) and aggressively pushed the agenda via Twitter, Google hangout and Facebook'.⁵⁹ ' In the month of February, 2014 giant screens were used across tea stalls in the country for the Bhartiya Janta Party's "Chai Pe Charcha" (Discussion over tea) campaign, where satellite and mobile technologies were used to host live interactions with people. Modi was present simultaneously at 100 locations through a nationwide deployment of 10-foot high holograms, created for his public meetings. 'By the time he was sworn in as Prime Minister, Narendra Modi had more than 16 million "likes" on Facebook, the second most for any politician in the world, and he was the sixth most followed world leader on Twitter'.⁶⁰ Arguably the savviest politician when it comes to social media was the BJP's Modi with 2.6 million Twitter followers and 5.5 million Facebook 'likes'.



Use of Crowd sourcing- Aggressive strategies to bring in people's participation was undertaken by soliciting their views to be incorporated in the public speeches: a) In July 2013, Modi sought inputs for the speech at Fergusson College, Pune. b) Modi 'crowd sourced inputs' on Facebook for his Hyderabad Rally in the first week of August 2013.⁶¹ Following this, almost all major speeches had crowd sourced. 'One of the most interesting uses of social media was when the BJP crowd-sourced its manifesto, with hundreds of thousands of people's comments in Twitter and blogs were incorporated in the election manifesto.' The BJP used a two-pronged approach to social media: increase its online presence while also helping in its offline activities.⁶²

Optimisation of Social Media and Digital Spaces- 'Perhaps this early start may have given him (Modi) a better competitive edge, even if some of the other candidates and parties demonstrated a fairly strong online presence during the campaign and election period. 'For many Indians, it started with the use of Twitter by Modi, who gained millions of followers during the election campaign, according to Michael Kugelman. Mr.Modi himself reached out through his Twitter account to the youth of the country, appealing to the youth, their aspirations for jobs, security and his affinity in use of technology, (Nilotpal Chakravarti, IAMA)⁶³ 'Modi, gets the credit for actively engaging on social media platforms when most of the politicians were busy ridiculing the emerging social media tools as "waste of time" and in use of impersonal way to connect to masses.⁶⁴ From the start, Modi ran the campaign like a US presidential election and took a commanding, front-row seat in building a community and driving engagement. By December 2013, just couple of months before the general elections due in 2014, Modi already had eight million fans on Facebook. On March 6, when elections were announced Modi had already crossed 11 million fans. As the national campaign momentum picked up, Modi's fan base increased by 28.7% crossing 14 million fans by May 12 - the second most "liked" politician on Facebook after Obama.'⁶⁵

Development, Investment, and Good Governance- 'Modi's charm for the youth and urban voters was held in his pro-business projections of his economic policies. This allowed Modi to build his brand as a progressive leader who had the ability to deliver economic results - the single biggest leitmotif of this campaign that has allowed it to cut through caste bias among other things.'⁶⁶ Modi's popularity carried the BJP to victory with 282 seats out of the 543 seats in parliament, the biggest win by any party in India in 40 years.

Shifting the election pitch from the conventional communication patterns of discourse to the new and interactive communication on the digital space, spurred the political momentum during the elections in 2014. Modi realized the significance of the technology and took initiatives to build a community with direct engagements. While perceiving the advantages of technological inroads into public life, he tapped the open-access internet platforms' ability to connect, build conversations, share, mobilize opinion, and citizen action. Instead of refraining from social media, Modi directed his media team to take the lead in technological innovations in connecting aggressively offline as well as on-line.⁶⁷ The 2014 elections in India took place when people aspired for a political alternative at the centre, which could bring solutions to corruption, propel economy, and offer development as a recourse to all ills. In this interplay of various strands of technological and social interactions, rise of young urban electorate and a new discourse veering away from caste and creed dominating the dusty backyards of India, lies the story of makeover in the media landscape, unimagined and unprecedented.

SYNTHESIS AND CONTEXTUAL INTERPRETATION

General Elections 2014 catapulted political communication in many ways. It changed the way political parties addressed their constituencies, it changed the hierarchies of the constituencies, albeit in a subtle way and it showed the power of a new media on the communication horizon. Finally, that led to an increased participation in the public sphere with intensified interrogations, queries and discussions on the policies, candidacies and. It is an inquisition into how social media could help build up Narendra Modi's positive persona grounded on development issues and governance, a persona that till then was associated with negative connotations. It also brings out how social media helped build threads of vociferous voices, consisting of young urban and emergence of a constituency neglected since long that acted as opinion makers, thus blunting the edge of other powerful constituencies. The study points to the shifting of ownership of agenda setting function from the mainstream media to the social media. However, all these developments cannot be put into tight compartments as at operationalization level, they overlap with one another. Lastly, it does imply the bigger, better and an enhanced public sphere.

1. Shaping of a persona- 'The persona consists of the leader's charisma, character communication skills and core values.' Modi had all of these but exuded the baggage of Gujarat riots which the mainstream media pointed at perennially. Using the development plank by juxtaposing it with the trending issues on the social media namely, unemployment, corruption and education, may have resolved the problem. The painstakingly developed Gujarat model of development was offered as a panacea of all economic ills, the state of which he was the chief minister till then. Though the overall media strategy wherein advertizing and the mainstream media was also a part, played a significant role, social media was an integral part of the entire communication campaign that amplified these issues. The development agenda helped marginalize conventional political issues of caste creed and religion and is an example of how to prepare and successfully implement an election strategy, much like a marketing and branding campaign. Modi's image as an astute and resolute politician and the corporate sector's support of him further boosted the chances of development of economy, thus illuminating the likelihood of employment generation. The weaving and creation of brand Modi strategy while capturing the popular imagination has redefined the rules of the electoral campaigns and of Indian politics. A significant makeover has been wherein his own persona 'trumped the brand (political party) BJP'.⁶⁸ Presented as an epitome of unwavering and strong political figure, Modi's persona has catapulted to be seen as who

beckons people to lead to development and is beyond divided and acrimonious debates of caste and religion interested,. 'Every person has a brand that affects how the person is perceived and whether he or she is liked and respected. This brand can be actively managed with discipline and consistency over time, or it can be allowed to drift (David Aker, 2012). Modi's transformation just over the past year from a regional, right-wing politician to a decisive leader with a clear development agenda, the one best suited to take India forward is nothing short of extraordinary.' Modi was seeking to connect with the youth as the election had nearly 150 million first-time voters, the middle-class audience that was becoming more politically conscious. In his political speeches debated and discussed on-line, he highlighted slowing economic growth, high inflation and lack of new jobs - issues which immediately resonate with young and urban voters. His team tapped into social media platforms such as Facebook, YouTube and Twitter - Modi had about four million Twitter followers - to amplify the impact of the off-line advertising and branding campaign. The impact of this relentless campaigning has been felt across different age groups, geographies and sections of society. Modi's efforts to connect with the youth and urban voters were helped in no small measure by his pro-business persona.

2. **This allowed Modi** to build his brand as a progressive leader with ability to deliver economic results - the single biggest leitmotif of this campaign that allowed it to cut through caste bias among other things. Caste has played a significant part to mobilize people politically, for socio-political alignments, while at the same time creating deep psychological wedges and social schism. But in 2014 elections, social media usurped the old equations by offering a unifying, rallying platform. The alternative discourse projected by Modi has been about the development issues and brand advertizing seeded a strong-willed and growth oriented persona of Modi.
3. **SM Voice of Young-** A fine balance in the interactions was achieved between the social media, young users and Modi by a variety of factors: lowering of threshold entry owing to proliferation in ease in use of mobile , large number of young urban population, and Modi's mobilization strategy. However, the remarkable realization was that it gave voice to a constituency long overlooked, the urban educated youth, considered a disempowered vulnerable section by the politicians and never held an electoral lucrative charm for politicians in election campaign, who now cross-examined every political moves and decisions. Their 'voice' came to the fore in 2012 "nirbhaya rape case" when the people came to street to show their solidarity against the heinous and barbaric crime of rape. The social media helped and stimulated call for rally against the crimes, corruption and inflation. Having been spurned by the mainstream media, Modi had taken to the social media very early on and assiduously used it. As stated previously, Modi also wanted to woo the young population who were avid users of the new media. With social media and public rallies as his handle, Modirelied on them entirely for reasons of miscommunication between the mainstream media and himself, and the social media transformed the young into a potential electoral constituency. The third element in bestowing voice and recognition was the social media itself, ever slighted by the mainstream media and authorities as a 'tool of rich and spoilt'. The 2014 elections brought to the fore the serious discussions and civic engagements of the people on social media. This way, the social media could embrace an image of serious media that integrated people across caste, creed and stratum.

As for the young urbans from 'collective agency' to 'collective intelligence' to active modes of spectatorship' and participatory culture, their show of strength and demonstration could find roots when the low barriers to civic engagement were actualized and the gates were opened for the civic participation, political communication and interrogation of the politicians by the electorate. Social media is about convergence of all media plus all social media and the whole process points to transparency in the public sphere at work. Although the changes taking place in audience participation are continuously evolving, this convergence according to Jenkins (2006a) ' is not simply a process bringing various media

functions together, but also represents a cultural shift among consumers who strive to uncover new information and form connections with media content. Most importantly, media audiences are no longer passive spectators but rather empowered participants in the process.' And herein lies the key to empowerment, what, when and about whom the convergence is taking place and rolled on. Before Jenkins, academicians like A. Gamson (1992) described this change (participation and empowerment of citizens) as 'collective agency' by which he meant 'a rebellion against forces of cultural and social structures' striving to "induce collective helplessness" (p. 59). Pierre Levy (2001) believed in the term, 'collective intelligence', the ability of individuals to be free of geographical constraints and limitations allowing communities to develop and expand productively. Jenkins (2006b) argues that we live in a 'participatory culture': a culture with "low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement, strong support for creating and sharing one's creations...in which members believe their contributions matter, and feel some degree of social connection with one another" (Jenkins, et al., 2006, p. 3).⁶⁹

Two Step Flow- The revolution that was experienced on the social media was limited to the urban areas where the opportunities for discussion on the social media are immense. It was played out differently in the rural areas, as these areas lacked access to smart phones or availability of the internet. However, information through other features of the digital spaces like the SMS and what's app etc. is being shared considerably by the itinerant floating population of workers, young people migrated from elsewhere to the cosmopolitans, connected to their homes, through mobiles. The same mobile phone that keeps him/her connected to his/her home keeps him/her informed of all the latest political developments, as (s)he is exposed to a different world altogether and thus the mobile phone acts as a continuum of linkage of political communication to him/her and through him/her to all his/her household members. Therefore, the digital space of the social media was used profusely by the young urban for discussing the economy and the polity and exploring the job opportunities. His/her less literate counterparts of the population segment who may not have gone to the digital platform directly, and their exposure to this communication or media ecosystem might have been influenced by the active social media user on the Election Day as is clear from the data analysis section. Lazarsfeld theory of 'two step flow' where the opinion leaders take the lead in using the medium and influence others to follow them has worth more than half a century later, albeit applied through a different medium.

In contrast to traditional mass communication, social media is an unregulated universe allowing ordinary people to publish almost anything. There are known gatekeepers in social media. (Harri Jalonen, 2014)⁷⁰ The gate keeping theory's functionality becomes relevant here, as the social media users are not constrained, and their opinions are not sifted by the gate keepers of mass media. The series of events that followed, the mainstream media could no longer remain the engine of informational and engagement activities on its own.⁷¹ The political parties regularly updated the pages and accounts and continuously promoted images, videos, important actions/activities to stay connected with their followers, who could get minute to minute updates through their Smartphones. Through micro-blogging sites like Twitter and Tumblr, these parties' reached out to vast number of users or potential voters and pulled them into the conversation apart from updating and educating them. The mainstream media set the agenda on the basis of what was trending on the social media as far as elections, political parties and leaders were concerned. Social media gave vent to the feelings of people who found a conduit to express themselves. The plethora of satire and lampoons on the ruling party and its leaders on all social networking sites (SNS) reflected that the ruling party has little chance in coming Loksabha elections. Additionally, the ruling party, instead of taking on the opposition on the social media seldom engaged on these platforms. For the first time in the country this kind of two-way, interactive communication took place where the place of preference was accorded to the citizens/netizens, an experience unknown to politicians. In social media Modi may have found a benediction.⁷² His chosen methods of communicating with the public were direct, without engaging the mainstream media. His social media accounts on Facebook and Twitter flowed with suggestions and opinions of the public.

4. The multiplier effect of virtual and the real world's engagements- The social media was vigorously utilized to enhance heightened activities on the ground. It acted as a mirror to the offline political events as also as the notice board to announce ground events in order to generate interest and pull in the crowd. While the leaders in general used the social media to garner support and enroll volunteers, it was time for the users to vent their aggression against the politicians who did not comply with their views. The BJP and the prime minister elect candidate Narendra Modi made a multipronged media strategy of reaching out to people and made optimum utilization of social media to prop their offline media events. It was used to publicize their future offline events, to enroll volunteers and to enlist funding. The 2014 Grand elections, the biggest event with over 815 million voters, larger than the electorates of the US and the European Union combined elected 543 representatives. The NDA wanted to position itself as a pro development party and hence unveiled the Vision 2020 document, that diluted its image as the “mandirwali party”⁷³ (party that raises the issue of temple) based on the issue of abrogation of article 370, building of the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya and enforcing a Uniform Civil Code (Kumar, 2014)⁷⁴. Apart from innumerable road rallies and holographic presence, campaigns used micro targeting approach via social media, mass media and marketing through number of volunteers and fans who were willing to cooperate. Twitter came out as a key tool for campaigning in the elections. Modi had 4.3 million twitter followers in thirty-eight different languages. Holograms, voice messages, personalized mails and even experiential marketing by groups like CAG (Citizens for Accountable Governance) were used for volunteer enrolments. The elections also witnessed a revamped new age interactive website, offline and online campaigns by way of Google Hangouts, Whatsapp, Youtube and even quirky mobile applications. The 2014 elections were data driven and very similar to the US Obama elections. Modi's unique digital events like ‘Chai pe Charcha (Talk over tea) were first-time election events that put the political leader directly in touch with people at tea stalls in villages at publicized localities through a combination of satellite, DTH, internet and mobile (Quoted in Tech Edge, CNBC 2014, Shikhapathak et al, symbiosis Pune). ‘It created “key messages and talking points” that were then picked up by the mainstream media.

The political parties could micro-target and address the user at a very personal level who voiced their opinions on different issues. The India272+ Volunteering Platform played an important role in this crowd sourcing. Open forums created on India272.com acted as the vehicle for volunteers to give speech inputs to Modi. There was a structured process by which the inputs provided by the volunteers were analyzed and compiled and shared with Modi's office. Some of the salient points from volunteers then were integrated into his speeches based on his judgment. This helped the speeches to be both contextual and relevant locally, given how far and wide he travelled during this campaign. Thus, the social media buffered the offline events at the same time. However, it had a very definitive fall out and that was the vulnerability of politicians. A period of electorate's disinterest and indifference, before the social media made its way in the public domain, was followed by an unrestrained fervor on the social media, against those politicians not in public favor, where all limits of decency and civility were lost sight of. In effect, what does it all add up to? On the one hand it suggests a vigorous civic engagement on the social media, on the other, it also says something about agenda setting function of the mainstream media taken over by the social media, in setting the agenda in the public sphere.

Technological or social determinism- The excitement and euphoria about social media, manifested in discourses of democratization of media about empowerment of individuals, reinvigoration of the public sphere, and creation of a global public sphere (Castells, 2010) needs to be tempered with social determinism theory. In her book Technoculture Leila Green⁷⁵ examines in detail the workings of a social determinist perspective, and argues “social processes determine technology for social purposes”. (Green 2001). The digital media emerged as a powerful medium during the elections that engaged people in serious political discourses and offered itself as a cluster point or continuum for different public voices and a pedestal for political actors to act out their part of rhetoric. Taking pictures from both the sides, it cannot be denied

that technology sweeps in radical transformations in society in terms of behavior, attitude and empowerment, at the same time, technology has to negotiate through the existing infrastructure and actors. The social media with its unique features also facilitated the process of engagement with the electorate that helped develop the political communication in ways that the parties could take a glimpse of public mood, take immediate feedback of their announcements, programmes and could articulate their message and adjusted their offline rallies and programmes based on the inputs of online. The public discourse on the social media influenced the politicians to fine-tune their cues, and set the agenda before the main stream media and the nation.

However, 'the multidimensional character, its diverse forms, actors, and dynamics of the social media come into full play when the comments section is studied. A more complex and nuanced picture of actors and contestation of digital spaces, as well as the symbolic forms and consequences of these contestations, illuminating new meanings of the political and new dimensions of digital contestation, emanating from affiliations to different religions, class and their interactions with the nation comes to fore.' Technology at the expense of meaning, context and people is vacuous and holds no appeal. Linking it to people's practical, perceptual, and moral experiences as well as to the contexts of institutions, politics, and policies is primary. Technologies themselves 'do not make or break a public sphere', as much depends upon, the way it is being used. The capacity of effecting change lies not with the technology, but with the people who can 'use the internet for varying ends, effects, and gratification. 'It is necessary to understand that technologies frequently embed assumptions about their potential uses, which can be traced back to the political, cultural, social and economic environment that brings them to life.' It is pertinent to bring back 'Kranzberg's(1985) whose descriptions of technology as 'non-neutral' or a 'mirror of society,' acquire meaning as he positioned technology within a particular discourse. Kranzberg (1985) recognizes technology as a historically relative construct that possess neither evil nor good inherent characteristics, but at the same time is not neutral; it is actualized by and within the historical context that delivered it.

In the given scenario, technology could impact the public sphere for the way it was used by the actors involved; the politicians, the young urban electorate and the timely facilities provided by the new media. Kranzberg interrogates the philosophical doctrine of technological determinism, "namely, that technology is the prime factor in shaping our life-styles, values, institutions, and other elements of our society." Like Kranzberg, other scholars also had reservations about 'this version of technological omnipotence.' Lynn White, Jr. suggested a compelling metaphor that the technology "merely opens a door, it does not compel one to enter." It captures the view of "technological voluntarism," technological determinism's opposite. Technology merely presents an opportunity, the choice of what to do with it remains ours. Kranzberg First Law states: "Technology is neither good nor bad; nor is it neutral" by which he meant that, "technology's interaction with the social ecology is such that technical developments frequently have environmental, social, and human consequences that go far beyond the immediate purposes of the technical devices and practices themselves, and the same technology can have quite different results when introduced into different contexts or under different circumstances "Technologically 'sweet' solutions do not always triumph over political and social forces." And the sixth law: Technology is a very human active-and so is the history of technology. "Behind every machine, I see a face-indeed, many faces...Furthermore, the function of the technology is its use by human beings-and sometimes, its abuse and misuse."

CONCLUSION

Strong democracy requires an even stronger public sphere where informal citizen deliberation is central to its existence. And the media's role in the democracy building process is observed with avid interest by political communication scholars. The role of technology in moving the tempo of discourse, with myriad layers of public opinion about the state policies directed at the state, was unimagined few years back, by way of active public discourse on the social media, interrogating leaders on

crucial issues. In the present context of political discourse on 2014 elections, it is important to understand its full implications, in the context of caste, religion, muscle and money power that gave organizational support to the political institutions, and emergence of digital media as offering alternative spaces for the political discourse. Political institutions and communication do not function in a void. They tend to find pedestal in society through existing organizational forms or call upon new structures that cut across these forms. The contemporary electoral dynamics in India has been marked by the crystallization of political identities along religion and castes lines. It is clustered around the caste and religious identities which may be conceived of as the existing organizational structures. The public sphere was constantly shrinking with public sharing little of its views and the exchange of views developed more among the politicians, journalists and other stakeholders. Put it differently, the public sphere was occupied by the elitist groups with the real public out of the public sphere and the decision making process. There was also an issue of access to public discussion platforms which could bring in divergent voices, which were in a disadvantageous position owing to their weaker economic, organizational and cultural capacity level. Jürgen Habermas called the hiatus in political discourse by the public as crisis in liberal democracies. Habermas's idea, where political involvement is enacted through discussions and deliberations about their common affairs, is considered main requisite for the conception of democracy. Social media filled this void by facilitating public participation, provided a critical mass of well informed and active citizens that took part on deliberative process about the policy implementation and finally the change in the government could contribute to a better qualified democracy. This kind of engagement with technology constitutes fundamental building blocks of contemporary public sphere theory and is applied to a wide range of public sphere activity. It was this vacuum that was filled by the digital media where the public engaged vigorously (horizontal communication) in political discussions and gave opportunity to the politicians in engaging the public and yet that communication cannot be termed as vertical as they needed to answer the public to maintain the thread. "It is inevitable that as soon as a form of technology is seen to be a useful means of relaying information and connecting with people, particularly people who may otherwise not engage with their message, then political elites will try to find ways of exploiting it to their advantage."⁷⁶ The convergence of new media and Habermas' conceptualization of the public sphere⁷⁷ are strongly embedded in the playing out of social media before and during elections.

This can be inferred that the public discourse on the social media may have led to a potential shift of power balance and pushed the boundaries of public sphere to embrace and accommodate the real stakeholders of power, the people. The data analysis makes it clear that the 2014 Lok Sabha elections brought about significant changes in political communication of mobilizing people, with people becoming more active in interrogating policies, decisions, strategies and projects. The digital media gradually came to occupy centre stage; changing the tone and content, symbiotic relationship began to develop offline through online and online depicted offline visuals. Digital spaces changed the equation of traditional pattern of people behaving according to those norms. Much to the delight of Habermasian ideologues, the end result was an exponential increase in the length and breadth of the 'public sphere'. The aspirations and rise of the young population active on the digital spaces wanted development, and employment and other core issues to be addressed. (blogs- Ankush, A. Das, VOA, Sohini Mitter, Gayatri Gopalkrishnan, Idreesali, Prashant Pansare, Shweta Punj, Prashant Naidu). Social aspect of the demographics of the civic participation on the social media was that the political parties had now to contend with the new constituency of the young electorate, through the electioneering. Earlier, the leader or the party could tilt the scales, winning number of votes, following the traditional line of politicking, playing the caste, religion card on the crutches of money and muscle power⁷⁸ and the peremptory position of the leader. And the ubiquitous media practices being one way facilitated the political rhetoric from the top down to the people, with little or no scope of interactivity or accountability for the political leaders, even at the margins. With its unique features of interactivity, the digital spaces, could not only fill in the lacunae of traditional modes of communication by offering many things on one canvas, but went ahead in terms of feedback feature working real time fast and swift. The 2014 general elections became an opportunity to see how discourse on election in this area underwent a radical change. The process of diffusion of technology was

aided and facilitated by the penetration of internet and availability of smart phones.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Arulchelvan, S., 2014, *New Media Communication Strategies for Election Campaigns: Experiences of Indian Political Parties*, Anna University, India
2. Barclay, Francis P. Pichandy, C.Venkat, Anusha. Sudhakaran Sreedevi (2015) *India 2014. Facebook 'Like' as a Predictor of Election Outcomes* Facebook 'Like' as a Predictor of Election Outcomes, *Asian Journal of Political Science*
3. Bhola, Abhishek *Twitter and Polls: Analyzing and Estimating Political Orientation of Twitter Users in India General Elections 2014* June 06, 2014.
4. Carthew, Alastair, Winkelmann, Simon (Eds) 2013, Nov 5, *Social Media and Elections In Asia Pacific- The Growing Power Of The Youth Vote*.
5. Chadwick, Andrew and Anstead, Nick. 2008, 'Parties, Election Campaigning, and the Internet, Toward a Comparative Institutional Approach'.
6. Castells, Manuel. 2010. *The Information Age, Economy, Society, and Culture, Volume I The Rise of the Network Society*
7. Castells, Manuel. 2010. *The Information Age, Economy, Society, and Culture, Volume II, The Power of Identity*
8. Davies, Ron. 2014 Mar 21 *Social media in election campaigning, Members' Research Service European Parliamentary Research Service* <http://www.eprs.ep.parl.union.eu> - <http://epthinktank.eu> eprs@ep.europa.eu
9. Gilmore, Jason . Howard, Philip N.2013. 'Does Social Media Make a Difference in Political Campaigns? Digital Dividends in Brazil's 2010 National Elections' 6/5/2013 Center for Communication and Civic Engagement Working Paper 2013-2 University of Washington.
10. Jalonen, Harri. April 2014, *Istanbul - Turkey Social Media - An Arena for Venting Negative Emotions*, International Conference on Communication, Media, Technology and Design.
11. Jos De Beus.2011. *Audience Democracy: An Emerging Pattern in Post Modern Political Communication in Political Communication in Postmodern Democracy Challenging the Primacy of Politics* Eds. Kees Brants and Katrin Voltmer Palgrave macmillan.
12. Kahne, Joseph and Middaugh, Ellen. November, 2012 *Digital Media Shapes Political Participation in Politics*.
13. Karpf, David. 2013. 'The Internet and American Political Campaigns'. *A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*, Volume 11, Issue No. 3 (October 2013), p.413-428. George Washington University.
14. Kumar Radhika, *Electoral campaign as a performative plebiscite: Mapping the changing nature of political communication in India*
15. Macnamara, Jim, et al, 2012. *E-Lectoral Engagement: Maintaining And Enhancing Democratic Participation Through Social Media A Report For The Australian Electoral Commission*.
16. Mutz, Diana C. 2007. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative versus Participatory Democracy*, Cambridge University Press. www.jstor.org/stable/20447060
17. Natalie K. E. Roebuck, and Beange, Pauline, 2013. 'The 2011 Canadian Federal Election: Have Canadian Political Parties Finally Made the Jump to Social Media?' Paper delivered Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA) annual conference, University of Victoria, BC. June 4-6, 2013.
18. Neyazi Taberez Ahmed, Kumar Anup ,Semetko Holli A. 2016. *Campaigns, Digital Media, and Mobilization in India*. The International Journal of Press/Politics. ijpp.sagepub.com.
19. Olson, Trygve / Nelson, Terry.2010, May 26, 'The Internet's Impact on Political Parties and Campaigns', www.kas.de/wf/en/33.19706.
20. Parikh, Komal 2012, 'Political Fandom in the Age of Social Media: Case Study of Barack Obama's 2008 Presidential

- Campaign'. Published by Media@LSE, London School of Economics and Political Science ("LSE"), Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE.
21. Pathak Daxina. A Study on Use of Social Networking sites during Lok Sabha Elections-2014 by the Bhartiya Janta Party (Altius Shodh Journal of Management & Commerce ISSN 2348 - 8891)
 22. Roebuck, Natalie K. E. M.A. and Beange, Pauline. Political Science Association (CPSA) annual conference, University of Victoria, BC. June 4-6, 2013.
 23. Rutledge, Dr. Pamela. 2013 How Obama Won the Social Media Battle in the 2012 Presidential Campaign. <http://mprcenter.org/blog/2013/01/how-obama-won-the-social-media-battle-in-the-2012-presidential-campaign/>
 24. Smith, Merritt Roe. and Marx, Leo (Eds). 1995. The "Does technology drive history? The dilemma of technological determinism" MIT press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England. https://www.researchgate.net/.../238794856_Does_Technology_Drive_History...
 25. Sheedy, Caroline S. 2011. 'Social Media for Social Change: A Case Study of Social Media Use in the 2011 Egyptian Revolution'.
 26. Storck, Madeline 2011, December. 'The Role of Social Media in Political Mobilisation: a Case Study of the January 2011 Egyptian Uprising'.
 27. Wojcieszak, Magdalena Elzbieta. 2011, Computer- Mediated False Consensus: Radical Online Groups, Social Networks and News Media Mass Communication and Society Publication.
 28. Wojcieszak, Magdalena; Rojas, Hernando (2011) 'Correlates of Party, Ideology and Issue Based Extremity in an era of Egocentric Publics', The International Journal of Press/Politics 2011 16: 488 originally published online 20 September 2011
 29. Yang, Goubin 'Contention in Chinese Cyberspace' in 'Popular Protest in China' Ed. Kevin J. O'Brien, Harvard University Press Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England 2008
 30. Yang, Guobin, Jul 15, 2014. Political contestation in Chinese digital spaces: Deepening the critical Enquiry. <http://cin.sagepub.com/content/28/2/135>
 31. Report on findings of Survey on Impact of use of Digital Media on voting behaviour among First Time Voters submitted to Business Today by Marketing and Development Research Associates , New Delhi 110017.
 32. Social Media and Loksabha Elections: A Study by IRIS Knowledge Foundation and IAMAI .

REFERENCES

1. Bimal Prasad Singh International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention, ISSN (Online): 2319 - 7722, ISSN (Print): 2319 - 7714, www.ijhssi.org Volume 2 Issue 3 ? March. 2013? PP.01-05.
2. Prof.V.M.Sirsikar as quoted by Zahida Akhtar and Younis Ah. Sheikh 'Determinants of Voting Behaviour in India: Theoretical Perspective Public Policy and Administration Research, ISSN 2224-5731 (PAPER), VOL.4 ,No.8 2014.
3. TRAI Press release, (PDF).TRAI31January2016
4. PTI Jan 29, 2014, 07.29 PM IST <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/tech/tech-news/India-to-have-243-million-internet-users-by-June-2014-IAMAI/article>
5. Sayanti Satpathy, Global Media Journal - Indian Edition/ Summer Issue / June 2011, THE IMPACT OF THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA ON THE MODERN INDIAN VOTER: A STUDY OF THE POST LIBERALIZATION ERA

6. Ibid
7. Henceforth Indian national Congress would be referred as the Congress and the Bhartiya Janta Party as the BJP
8. <http://qz.com/327771/it-cost-narendra-modi-100-million-to-win-the-indian-election-heres-how-he-spent-it/>
9. Aam Aadmi Party, another national party which rose to ranks mainly because of the social media.
10. Rebecca Chao, How Much Influence Did Social Media Have On India's Election? Wednesday, May 21 2014 <http://techpresident.com/news/wegov/25062/India-election-social-media-influence1> Ibid.
11. Avantika Chikloti, India: the first big social media election Feb, 2014, <http://blogs.ft.com/beyond-brics/author/avantikachikloti/>
12. Aditya Gupta, IBN Live Specials | Mar 28, 2014. <http://www.news18.com/news/politics/the-role-of-social-media-in-2014-lok-sabha-elections->
13. Social Media Changes Face of Indian General Elections Press Trust of India May 06, 2014 <http://www.ndtv.com/topic/Social-Media-Changes-Face-of-Indian-General-Elections>
14. How 'likes' bring votes - Narendra Modi's campaign on Facebook by Ankhi Das, Qz.com May 19, 2014
15. Role of Social Media, Data Analytics in (Loksabha) General Elections 2014 In India by Pavan Sarathi. <http://expressanalytics.com/analytics/marketing-analytics/role-of-social-media-data-analytics-in-loksabha-general-elections-2014-in-india#>
16. Social Media Changes Face of Indian General Elections Press Trust of India | Updated: May 06, 2014
17. Social Media Changes Face of Indian General Elections Press Trust of India | Updated: May 06, 2014
18. Business Today survey, conducted in 12 cities by market research firm MDRA in October 2013.
19. Ildrees Ali June 06, 2014, <http://www.voanews.com/content/social-media-emerges-as-a-key-tool-in-indias-election>
20. Social Media Played Big Role in India's Election <http://www.voanews.com/content/social-media-emerges-as-a-key-tool-in-indias-election/1931238.html> Ildrees Ali. June 06, 2014.
21. Ibid.
22. Mohul Ghosh, Social Media Influence 2014 Lok Sabha Election in India? Answer is YES <http://trak.in/tags/business/2013/10/10/social-media-election-2014-influence>
23. Kumar Manish, How Big A Role Social Media Played In This Lok Sabha Election, A Brief Look, May 19, 2014, <http://www.youthkiawaaz.com/2014/05/big-role-social-media-played-lok-sabha-election-brief-look/>
24. Business Today survey, conducted in 12 cities by market research firm MDRA in October 2013.
25. <http://gadgets.ndtv.com/social-networking/features/did-social-media-really-impact-the-indian-elections-527425> Did Social Media Really Impact the Indian Elections? Rohan Swamy , 20 May 2014
26. The data collected by the researchers and given in the appendix.
27. Ibid.
28. Sohini Mitter and Peter Griffin Social-Media-Limited-But-Liked-In-Indian-Elections Apr 14, 2014 <http://forbesindia.com/article/real-issue/social-media-limited-but-liked-in-indian-elections>
29. Mohul Ghosh, Social Media Influence 2014 Lok Sabha Election in India? Answer is YES <http://trak.in/tags/business/2013/10/10/social-media-election-2014-influence/>
30. The importance of social media is underscored by the almost 74 million Internet users in the country, a 31 percent increase from March 2012 to March 2013, according to "India Digital Future in Focus." The report was published by comScore Inc., a U.S. company that measures digital usage. The same report said 75 percent of India's online population was younger than the age of 35, significantly younger than in other BRIC countries. <http://www.voanews.com/content/social-media-emerges-as-a-key-tool-in-indias-election/1931238.html> Ildrees Ali June 06, 2014.
31. Aditya Gupta, IBN Live Specials | Mar 28, 2014. <http://www.news18.com/news/politics/the-role-of-social-media-in-2014-lok-sabha-elections-676982.html>

32. Aditya Gupta, IBN Live Specials Mar 28, 2014. <http://www.news18.com/news/politics/the-role-of-social-media-in-2014-lok-sabha-elections>
33. Mobile internet users in India to reach 371 million by June: Report Driven by higher adoption in rural India, the number of mobile internet users in the country is expected to reach 371 million by June 2016. The report titled "Mobile Internet in India 2015" was released by the Internet and Mobile Association of India (IAMAI) and IMRB International. "There were 306 million mobile internet users in India in December 2015, of the 306 million internet users, 219 million users are from urban India, which registered a year-on-year growth of 71%, while the user base in rural India has gone up by 93% from December 2014, to reach 87 million in December 2015," the report said (TOI, Feb 4, 2016.)
34. Statistics of the graph by Business Today survey, conducted in 12 cities by market research firm MDRA in October 2013.
35. How 'likes' bring votes - Narendra Modi's campaign on Facebook by Ankhi Das, Qz.com May 19, 2014
36. Rebecca Chao, How Much Influence Did Social Media Have On India's Election? Wednesday, May 21 2014 <http://techpresident.com/news/wegov/25062/India-election-social-media-influence1>
37. Kumar Manish, How Big A Role Social Media Played In This Lok Sabha Election, A Brief Look, May 19, 2014, <http://www.youthkiawaaz.com/2014/05/big-role-social-media-played-lok-sabha-election-brief-look/youthkiawaaz.co>
38. The fifth E-state <http://www.businesstoday.in/magazine/features/social-media-role-in-upcoming-elections/story/200149.html>
39. Aditya Gupta, IBNLive Specials | Mar 28, 2014. <http://www.news18.com/news/politics/the-role-of-social-media-in-2014-lok-sabha-elections-676982.html>
40. Avantika Chikloti, India: the first big social media election Feb, 2014, <http://blogs.ft.com/beyond-brics/author/avantikachikloti/>
41. Role of Social Media, Data Analytics in (Loksabha) General Elections 2014 In India by Pavan Sarathi. <http://expressanalytics.com/analytics/marketing-analytics/role-of-social-media-data-analytics-in-loksabha-general-elections-2014-in-india#>
42. The data collected is given at the end, in the appendix.
43. Kumar Manish, How Big A Role Social Media Played In This Lok Sabha Election, A Brief Look, May 19, 2014, <http://www.youthkiawaaz.com/2014/05/big-role-social-media-played-lok-sabha-election-brief-look/>
44. Rebecca Chao, Ibid.
45. Medha Dutta, TNN, 'Election 2014 is all about social media' <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/news/Election-2014-is-all-about-social-media/articleshow/33835014.cms>
46. How 'likes' bring votes - Narendra Modi's campaign on Facebook by Ankhi Das, Qz.com May 19, 2014
47. <http://internetrighits.in/programs/internet-governance/will-this-be-indias-first-social-media-election/>
48. How 'likes' bring votes - Narendra Modi's campaign on Facebook by Ankhi Das, Qz.com May 19, 2014.
49. Rebecca Chao, Ibid.
50. Ankush, April 24, 2014 www.elections.in/blog/role-social-media-2014-lok-sabha-election/
51. (Avantika Chikloti, FT Blog Feb, 2014).
52. How 'likes' bring votes - Narendra Modi's campaign on Facebook by Ankhi Das, Qz.com May 19, 2014
53. All figures on this page by Business Today survey, conducted in 12 cities by market research firm MDRA in October 2013.
54. Ibid.
55. Facebook users could swing the result in 160 loksabha constituencies- The Hindu
56. Figure by Business Today survey, conducted in 12 cities by market research firm MDRA in October 2013.
57. www.elections.in/blog/role-social-media-2014-lok-sabha-election/
58. Medha Dutta, TNN, 'Election 2014 is all about social media' <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/news/Election-2014-is-all-about-social-media/articleshow/33835014.cms>

59. [http://www.firstpost.com/politics/get-me-4-8-lakh-social-media-ids-modi-tells-Bhartiya Janta Partys-maharashtra-unit-910921.html](http://www.firstpost.com/politics/get-me-4-8-lakh-social-media-ids-modi-tells-Bhartiya-Janta-Partys-maharashtra-unit-910921.html)
60. PTI Post. Ibid.
61. <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=>
62. Social Media Changes Face of Indian General Elections Press Trust of India May 06, 2014 <http://www.ndtv.com/topic/Social-Media-Changes-Face-of-Indian-General-Elections>
63. Idrees Ali June 06, 2014, <http://www.voanews.com/content/social-media-emerges-as-a-key-tool-in-indias-election>
64. Kumar Manish, How Big A Role Social Media Played In This Lok Sabha Election, A Brief Look, May 19, 2014, <http://www.youthkiawaaz.com/2014/05/big-role-social-media-played-lok-sabha-election-brief-look/>
65. How 'likes' bring votes - Narendra Modi's campaign on Facebook by Ankhi Das, Qz.com May 19, 2014
66. Shammi Pande 'Just the Right Image' [http://www.businesstoday.in/magazine/case-study/case-study-strategy-tactics-behind-creation-of-brand-narendra-modi/story/206321.html/june 8 2014](http://www.businesstoday.in/magazine/case-study/case-study-strategy-tactics-behind-creation-of-brand-narendra-modi/story/206321.html/june-8-2014)
67. Shammi Pande ibid.
68. Shammi Pande 'Just the Right Image' [http://www.businesstoday.in/magazine/case-study/case-study-strategy-tactics-behind-creation-of-brand-narendra-modi/story/206321.html/june 8 2014](http://www.businesstoday.in/magazine/case-study/case-study-strategy-tactics-behind-creation-of-brand-narendra-modi/story/206321.html/june-8-2014)
69. Komal H. Parikh, 2012. 'Political Fandom in the Age of Social Media: Case Study of Barack Obama's 2008 Presidential Campaign' Media @LSE.
70. Social Media - An Arena for Venting Negative Emotions International Conference on Communication, Media, Technology and Design24 - 26 April 2014, Istanbul - Turkey
71. The technology that facilitated the social media to become the agent of connectivity, somewhere took away the prerogative of the mainstream media, that of distributing news the way it wanted to, of setting the agenda of the country. In "India's Modi bypasses mainstream media and takes to Twitter" After the election win, India's mainstream media has been forced to reassess what it wants from the prime minister. Is it information or is it access? The mainstream media undoubtedly has had a very complicated and close history with the political class. A Congress-led government has been ruling New Delhi for a decade, building up close relationships with senior editors and journalists. Some of these relationships were exposed through leaked conversations between members of the press and corporate lobbyists in a scandal now known as the Radia Tapes. They revealed, among other things, how journalists used their connections to politicians to pass on messages from lobbyists. In fact, the indictment of improper behavior by the media is a fairly regular occurrence in India. Just this month, the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India released their latest report, which recommends that corporate and political influence over the media can be limited by restricting their direct ownership in the sector. For this reason, the credibility and true affiliation of the media is always under the scanner.(By Mahima Kaul / 27 August, 2014 <http://www.indexonensorship.org/2014/08/india-. . . Modi-mainstream-media-press/>)
72. Modi had issues with the main stream media which in turn had historical strife with him This apparent rift between Modi and the private mainstream media has to be viewed through a variety of prisms for it to make any sense. The first is the very volatile relationship between .Modi and the MSM which harks back to his time as chief minister of Gujarat, when a brutal communal riot took place. The relationship between .Modi and the mainstream media is complex. No court has indicted .Modi for any criminal culpability in the Gujarat riots of 2002, but many in the media have held him morally responsibly for the mass killings that carried on over three days, and let their feelings colour reports on him. But right before Modi's historic sweep of the Indian general elections, this section of the press seemed to have begrudgingly warmed to the man they had long vilified. By Mahima Kaul / 27 August, 2014 <http://www.indexonensorship.org/2014/08/india-Modi-mainstream-media-press/>
73. Deshpande, R and Iyer, L. 2004. Inside the Fog of War, India Today, March 22, retrieved from: <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/game-plan-of-congress-bjp-in-elections-2004/1/196315.html> (07/06/2015)

74. Electoral campaign as a performative plebiscite: Mapping the changing nature of political communication in India Radhika Kumar, 2014.
75. Technoculture From alphabet to cybersex, publishers-Allen &Unwin.Author-Lelia Green 2001.
76. Misunderstanding the Internet By James Curran, Natalie Fenton, Des Freedmanf Media and Communications Goldsmiths College, University of London
77. Public sphere- This term is widely used to denote what Jürgen Habermas (1989, 2006) conceived as “part of the bedrock of liberal democracies (2006, p. 412) - the public spaces and forums in which citizens come together and engage in “rational-critical debate” to become informed, contribute to political discourse, and reach consensus expressed in the form of ‘public opinion’. The public sphere in contemporary societies is largely a mediated space (Dahlgren, 2009), populated by ‘political actors’ such as politicians; political parties; journalists; various representatives such as those from industry organisations, unions, environmental groups, etc; and sometimes citizens (depending on the form of democracy and the levels of participation it enables).
http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-07-30/news/40895220_1_indian-elections-criminal-offence-mps-and-mlasv
78. ‘ In India, muscle and money can help you win elections’ Nistula Hebbar, ET Bureau Jul 30, 2013, 03.50AM IST

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE IMPEDIMENTS TO ONLINE SHOPPING AND FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION

DR ANUJA CHOUDHARY*

ABSTRACT

Purpose- The purpose of this paper is to explore and explain the impediments to online shopping. The constructs are explained in detail.

Design/methodology/approach- Extensive review of literature was undertaken to arrive at these antecedents. Various models were studied. Definitions used by various researchers are explained.

Findings- Many factors were found to influence the buying behavior of the customers in online shopping. The major impediments were product performance risk, physical examination, customer service and shopping enjoyment. These variables were mostly cited as reasons for not buying from online stores.

Research limitations/implications- The study being exploratory in nature has its own limitations. Various tests would need to be applied to establish the relationship between the variables.

Practical implications- Marketers may pick the factors they feel would be possible to fulfill during the course of increasing their market share.

INTRODUCTION

Compared to traditional purchases, online purchasing is an innovative way to acquire goods and services for consumers (Chiu, Lin, & Tang, 2005). Purchase Intention and behavior are positively and significantly related. Attitude is the most important antecedent of the purchase behavior (Mishra, 2014). Digital shoppers share most of the traits around the world (Brashear, Kashyap, Musante, & Donthu, 2009). People with average age of 47.6 years had maximum probability of buying online (Amaral & Muñoz, 2009). Offline shoppers had a positive attitude towards online shopping but still

*BIT, Mesra, Ranchi

liked to shop from traditional stores(Tabatabaei, 2009). Online non-shoppers restrain from online shopping due to lack of trust on internet sellers and inability to physically examine the products(Yatigamman, 2011).

It has been estimated that there are only 39 million online buyers in India which is a very small fraction of the total population of more than a billion. India has limited access of the internet, thus, growth of e-commerce market would be a challenge for some time(AT Kearney, 2015).To increase the penetration of online apparel shopping, consumers should be provided with safe shopping environment (Lee & Johnson, 2002). There was a coexistence of digital information sources, and technology to store, retrieve and transmit it and a large potential users ready to exploit it. Only an interface was needed which was easy to use and a network which was universal(Farber & Shoham, 2002). Improvement in infrastructure such as logistics, broadband and internet-ready devices would lead to increase in consumer base(PWC, 2015).

Consumers mostly research online but purchase offline(BCG, 2012). The number of internet users in India would rise to 330 million by 2016 which stood at 125 million in 2011. Internet users reveal that their purchase is largely influenced by online product research and price comparison. Still a large portion of the potential online buyer market is present which needs to be tapped. Online purchase are driven by convenience and variety. Digitalization has presented an opportunity to companies to stay in touch with their customers and to build loyalty.To make the most of this growing market, companies must assimilate their online and offline strategies, engross consumers and build their loyalty, relocate advertising spending, actively manage the Internet channel, mind the gaps in which online activity is low, and enhance the mobile involvement(BCG, 2013).

Apparel is a significant purchase category. Apparel purchase has become a significant portion of online purchases. Selling apparels online is a huge challenge for e-marketers(Goldsmith & Goldsmith, 2002). Customers who are most likely to buy should be attracted by the marketer to cover the cost of e-commerce and make profit. Women spent more on apparel purchase than men but men were more likely to buy online in future than female(Goldsmith & Goldsmith, 2002). In spite of giving experiences equivalent to brick and mortar stores in see, feel, and touch, high product rate return exists. Many of the customers hesitate in shopping apparels online or are not satisfied with the experience.

Smaller cities form significant portion of the internet population in India and tier 2 and 3 cities form around 50% of revenue of e-tailers. Women form an important market for the online shopping in India due to the kind of products they purchase(E&Y The retailer, 2013). Women have major role to play in decision making and also are contributing to economic prosperity. They are a fast growing consumer market. Not paying attention to this section would be a lost opportunity for the marketer. Deep and in-depth research would help the marketer in capturing this huge potential market not just adding empty features like pink colored products.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A lot of work has been done on the factors which affect online shopping. Various factors have been discussed which have significant effect on the purchase intention. But still the percentage of people who buy from online retail is a very small fraction of the entire retail market. Many people have access to the internet and use online services for gaining information, and building social network but what are the reasons which keep them away from buying online. Each and every individual buy products and services from the market. If they buy from online retail they would save time and money. They would also be able to choose from a vast variety of products. A report on evolution of e-commerce found that one-third of the internet users are currently buying from online stores and they would form the backbone of the growth of e-commerce industry. But the first time online buyers form the remaining two-third of the internet users. Marketers should not ignore this vast potential market(PWC, 2014). Online retail market would increase not only by the existing customers but the new customers as well(Agrawal, Gupta, & Sandhir, 2009). So satisfaction and retention of the old customers is important as they are the existing market and have the power to influence new market through word of mouth(Bellman, Johnson, & Lohse, 2000).

Experienced users would continue to shop till they are satisfied as they have overcome their inhibitions but the people who are not coming on this platform, which is a large market potential, should be lured to increase the profit margin through penetration (Kotler, Marketing Management, 2000).

Many studies have taken place to find the reasons for the satisfaction and purchase intentions of experienced (Bhattacharjee, 2001; Bellman, Johnson, & Lohse, 2000; Aryasri & Prasad, 2009; Holloway & Beatty, 2008; Pandey & Chawla, 2014) customers but only few have considered the aspects relevant to the inexperienced customers (Bashir & Madhavaiah, 2014; Bellman, Johnson, & Lohse, 2000). Every internet user is a potential customer (Kenneth & Carol, 2009). The present research would study the reasons due to which so many people, in spite of awareness of online services and products, shy away from it (Thamizhvanan & Xavier, 2013) and have not tried the medium even once. The reasons should be found out which are holding the inexperienced customers or non-users or browsers from trying this new medium of purchase. Through the review of literature the researcher found that generally specific city with small sample size was selected in the research (Handa & Gupta, 2009; Singh & Kaur, 2013; Thamizhvanan & Xavier, 2013; Bashir & Madhavaiah, 2014; Zhang, Cheung, & Lee, 2014) which could not be representative of the population at large. Mostly students were taken as respondents (Handa & Gupta, 2009; Bashir & Madhavaiah, 2014; Gera, 2011; Zhang, Cheung, & Lee, 2014; Bahng, Kincade, & Yang, 2013; Zhang, Cheung, & Lee, 2014). To overcome these limitations a large representative sample should be chosen from all walks of life. All demographic variables should be uniformly represented (Thamizhvanan & Xavier, 2013). Generally male constituted of the larger chunk of the sample taken (Gera, 2011). So the present study would study the perception of the female shoppers.

Mostly judgmental or convenience sampling (Bashir & Madhavaiah, 2014; Thakur, 2013; Gera, 2011; Holloway & Beatty, 2008; Lee & Johnson, 2002;) were used which have many shortcomings. Use of snowball sampling in choosing respondents would be more representative. Present study would be on occasional online buyer and non-online buyer.

Women are the primary shoppers of personal clothing in married households (Dholakia & Pedersen, 1995). Dholakia (1999) noted that shopping for clothes is recreational and expressive and shopping is primarily a women's activity. Women shop for clothes more frequently than men. Women give greater importance to pleasure and utilitarian value of shopping. Men are potential internet shoppers of CDs, electronics, and software, but they may hesitate to purchase clothes from the net more than women due to the unfamiliarity and uncertainty attached to apparel shopping. Apparel purchasers were mostly female. The browsers believed that online shopping has no relative advantage over off-line shopping and was risky so they were less likely to provide information about their finances (Lee & Johnson, 2002). Female preferred shopping clothes and perfumes online than male. Apparel is considered as experience goods as their quality can be evaluated only after it is purchased and used (Girard, Korgaonkar, & Silverblatt, 2003). Older internet users were found to be shoppers but younger ones were likely to be browsers than shoppers. Men were slightly ahead of women in shopping heavily online (Forsythe & Shi, 2003). Female students were found to use the internet for information search for apparel products more than male students. But there was no significant difference between male and female students in the actual online purchase of apparel products. This shows that innovative people seek information from the internet but perceived financial and product risk keeps them from making the actual purchase (Ha & Stoel, 2004). More male internet users buy online than female (Li, Kuo, & Russell, 2006). Female students had less positive attitude towards online shopping than male students (Khare & Rakesh, 2011). Male tend to buy more than female shoppers (Jain & Jain, 2011). Women had lower purchase intention for fashion products online than male (Nirmala & Dewi, 2011). Males are found to have more intention to shop online than females and they tend to shop online more than female (Thamizhvanan & Xavier, 2013). It is also to note that the ratio of female shoppers online has been increasing, and female shoppers now outnumber male shoppers online (Kuo, Hu, & Yang, 2013). Male find convenience to be the most important influencer in the buying decisions whereas female have need for recreation as the most important influencer (Bagga & Bhatt, 2013). Female apparel purchasers would be taken as the respondents.

Color, style and fit could be easily and accurately assessed in a store than online. These attributes might seem to be unpredictable in a non-store purchase (Alba, et al., 1997). Product risk is more for apparel and clothing as compared to travel, books, other web services, music and CDs. In fashion products prior to purchase feel and touch of the fabric is considered very important. Color displayed on the screen may not be the actual color of the product. Apparel and clothing was also considered a negative convenience by the respondents. If the fit is not appropriate inconvenience is experienced by the customers. Uncertainty over color, fabrics, and fit led to product risk in case of apparels (Bhatnagar, Misra, & Rao, 2000). Fulfillment was the strongest predictor of satisfaction. Fulfillment was also the primary driver of online trust (Román, 2007).

Delivery had strongest influence on satisfaction and future purchase intentions (Collier & Bienstock, 2006). Customer service included sales assistance system, return policy, and order tracking and checking (Seock & Norton, Capturing college students on the web: analysis of clothing web site attributes, 2007). Order accuracy and timeliness of delivery were found to be most important factors influencing dissatisfaction (Holloway & Beatty, 2008). Anxiety proved to be the most important factor which included product guarantee, easy product return policy, examine the product before purchase, service reliability and interaction among others (Panda & Swar, 2013).

Enjoyment is a significant predictor of attitude. Thus hedonic and utilitarian values play an equal role in affecting the attitude towards interactive shopping (Chiders, Carr, Peck, & Carson, 2001). Barriers which stops non-shoppers from indulging in online shopping are sheer enjoyment of shopping through physical stores and such people lack trust on web shopping. Web shopping impediments or inhibitors were trust, enjoyment of traditional shopping, and web shopping complexity (Karayanni, 2003). Experiential orientation involves interaction with the products. People valuing experiential shopping are less likely to buy online (Li, Kuo, & Rusell, 2006). Shopping enjoyment was significantly different between male and female respondents where female respondents had more shopping enjoyment. Female participants had more online information searches and purchase experience than their male counterparts (Seock & Bailey, The influence of college students' shopping orientations and gender differences on online information searches and purchase behaviours, 2008). Non-shoppers do not shop online due to the inability to examine the products (Eliasson, Lafourcade, & Smajovic, 2009). Most of the Indian respondents were of the view that there was inadequate product descriptions on the net. Indian online shoppers doubt the quality of the apparels sold online as it is not possible to touch, feel and try them (Agrawal, Gupta, & Sandhir, 2009). Developing nations' customers always want to touch the product before buying. Specifically in case of the perishable items, people never go for online shopping since people think that they may be provided with defective products (Sharma, 2011). People who shop for fun like to shop from traditional retail outlets where there is more scope for enjoyment. Indian consumers give importance to touch, feel and smell aspects of traditional shopping. Experiential aspects of brick and mortar shopping which includes touch, feel, smell and trial acts as barriers towards online purchase adoption of experiential oriented customers (Jain & Jain, 2011). The study highlights the positive and significant relation between shopping enjoyment and intention to shop for fashion products online. Women had lower purchase intention for fashion products online than male (Nirmala & Dewi, 2011). While buying apparels online customers value experiential/atmospheric dimensions like fun, excitement, or pleasure and consider them as distinct benefits which influence their purchase intentions (Ha & Stoel, 2012). Recreational shoppers enjoy the most in online shopping (Hill, Beatty, & Walsh, 2013). Shopping enjoyment orientation was positively and significantly related to online information search and purchase of apparels online. Shopping enjoyment was significantly different between male and female respondents. Many respondents went to the brick and mortar store to see, touch, and try the fashion products before buying it online. And before buying a fashion product in the store many respondents used the online channel to search for information of the product, compared price, and looked for positive word of mouth from social networks online (Blázquez, 2014).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

● Online browsing and online shopping

"Browsing is defined as the examination of a retailer's merchandise for information and/or recreational purposes without an immediate intent to buy" (Bloch & Richins, 1983). "Online browsing may be defined as viewing online a retail Web merchandise for information and/or recreational purposes without an immediate intent to buy". Internet shoppers make purchase over the net where as internet browsers browsed online for product/service but not made purchases on the Internet (Forsythe & Shi, 2003) (White, 2004). E-shopping involves multi functions like browsing and searching, engaging in a transaction, and post-purchase evaluation (Ha & Stoel, 2012).

Web shoppers are those who purchased any merchandise through world wide web in last six months (Karayanni, 2003). Online shoppers purchase regularly from online sources. Hard core offline shoppers constitutes of the continuously diminishing group of entities, who do not use the resources of the internet either for information gathering or for shopping purposes. Online browsers mainly use the internet as a source of information but prefer to conduct their transactions in traditional stores (White, 2004). Internet apparel shopping includes online information search for apparel products and online purchase of apparel products. Shopping includes information searching behavior and purchasing behavior (Ha & Stoel, 2004). Online retail store is also known as e-tailor (Kenneth & Carol, 2009). E-tailing refers to the online retail business or Indian Internet shopping (Thamizhvanan & Xavier, 2013).

● Online buying behavior

Online shopping behavior (also called online buying behavior and Internet shopping/buying behavior) is the process of buying products or services through the internet. The five steps involved in this behavior is similar to steps comprising the traditional buying behavior. In online shopping process potential customers feels a need to buy something, they search for information online related to its need. Alternatives generated through information search are evaluated and the best alternative which meets the felt need is chosen. Finally transaction takes place and after sales service provided (Liang & Lai, 2002). In Online purchasing behavior consumers actually make the payment for goods over the net (Ha & Stoel, 2004).

● Attitude

Attitude is an overall affective estimation that can range from extremely positive to extremely negative (Chiders, Carr, Peck, & Carson, 2001). Attitude cannot be directly observed but is inferred from what people say or do. "An attitude is a learned predisposition to behave in a consistently favorable or unfavorable way with respect to a given object" (Schiffman & Kanuk, 2007). Attitude is the degree of favorableness or unfavorableness of a person's evaluation of a behavior. It is concerned about the consequences of performing the behavior and the evaluation of these consequences. Good attitude towards something leads to purchase intention (Mishra, 2014).

● Online purchase intention

Purchase intention is the likelihood of consumer's willingness to buy a product (Zeithaml, 1988). Customer online purchase intention is a construct which gives strength of a customer's intention to purchase online (Salisbury, Pearson, Pearson, & Miller, 2001).

● Shopping enjoyment; shopping experience; shopping orientation

Shopping enjoyment was defined by Beatty and Ferrell as the pleasure one obtains in the shopping process (Beatty & Ferrell, 1998). Nirmala et al (2011) defined shopping enjoyment as a tendency of consumers to enjoy shopping of clothes (Nirmala & Dewi, 2011). Shopping orientation may be referred to as the general disposition towards the acts of shopping (Brown, Pope, & Voges, 2001). Perceived enjoyment is the magnitude to which the bustle of using the technology is perceived to deliver reinforcement in its own right apart from any performance consequences that may be anticipated (Chiders, Carr, Peck, & Carson, 2001). Whereas perceived entertainment value stipulates the magnitude to which fun can be derived from using the

system, focusing on intrinsic motivation (Kim & Forsythe, 2007). Entertainment benefit gained by current internet retailer was found to be low. Shopping experience is much more than just product purchase (Alba, et al., 1997). Personal examination is the absence of sensory input due to lack of direct interaction with a physical product (Chiders, Carr, Peck, & Carson, 2001).

The utilitarian shoppers consider shopping as part of work whereas hedonic shoppers shop for its fun and enjoyment value. Utilitarian shoppers purchase products in an efficient and deliberate fashion. All shoppers do not have the same motive while shopping. While utilitarian are directed towards fulfilling functional, physical and economic value the hedonic shoppers shop for fun, enjoyment and emotional value. The scale developed highlights that hedonic shopping value includes expression of pure enjoyment, excitement, captivation, escapism, and spontaneity and on the other hand utilitarian shopping value includes expressions of accomplishment, and/or disappointment over the aptitude (inability) to accomplish the shopping task (Babin, Darden, & Griffin, 1994).

Personal examination is the absence of sensory input due to lack of direct interaction with a physical product. There was a positive and significant relation between attitude and enjoyment. 45% variation in attitude towards interactive shopping was explained by enjoyment, 68% by usefulness. Enjoyment is a significant predictor of attitude. Thus hedonic and utilitarian values play an equal role in affecting the attitude towards interactive shopping (Chiders, Carr, Peck, & Carson, 2001).

A study highlights the most important inhibitors of online shopping to be absence of pleasurable experiences, social interaction, and personal consultation with a company representative (Barlow, Siddiqui, & Mannion, 2004). To overcome these inhibitors and increase the satisfaction, entertainment, and information value of the internet shopping experience some firms are employing avatars who act as virtual company representatives or personal shopping assistants (Holzwarth, Janiszewski, & Newman, 2006).

Experiential orientation involves interaction with the products. People valuing experiential shopping are less likely to buy online (Li, Kuo, & Russell, 2006). Utility in communication, distribution, and accessibility of the internet are the perceived feature of online shopping by the users than non-users. Online buyers think themselves to be more knowledgeable about the web as a channel than non-buyers and knowledgeable consumers have more positive perceptions of the online channel utilities. The study revealed the predictors of online buying to be education, convenience orientation, experience orientation, channel knowledge, perceived distribution utility, and perceived accessibility. Non users were not as concerned about convenience of online shopping as the users. Users and non-users were equally influenced by recreation and price orientation. Online consumers were better educated than the non-users. More male internet users buy online than female. Income of the users were higher than the non-users. There was not much of a difference between the age of the users and non-users.

Shopping enjoyment orientation was positively and significantly related to online information search and purchase of apparels online. Shopping enjoyment was significantly different between male and female respondents where female respondents had more shopping enjoyment. Female participants had more online information searches and purchase experience than their male counterparts (Seock & Bailey, The influence of college students' shopping orientations and gender differences on online information searches and purchase behaviours, 2008).

Shopping enjoyment oriented consumers get pleasure from shopping online and spending time browsing fashion products. The study highlights the positive and significant relation between shopping enjoyment and intention to shop for fashion products online. The data was collected from the age group of 15-30 years of Indonesian internet users. Multiple regression analysis was done to ascertain the relationship (Nirmala & Dewi, 2011). Women had lower purchase intention for fashion products online than male.

Online fashion experience was made enjoyable by different technologies. The study established a positive relation between hedonic elements and fashion shopping experience. When consumers become familiar with online fashion shopping they start enjoying the process. Utilitarian value of online shopping was found to be significantly higher than the hedonic value. Same results were shown in brick and mortar shopping experience. Paired sample t-test was used to arrive at the given results. Many

respondents went to the brick and mortar store to see, touch, and try the fashion products before buying it online. And before buying a fashion product in the store many respondents used the online channel to search for information of the product, compared price, and looked for positive word of mouth from social networks online (Blázquez, 2014).

● **Product performance risk, service quality and customer service**

Uncertainty associated with the functional aspects of the product is referred to as the product performance risk (Shimp & Bearden, 1982). Reliability involves consistency of performance and dependability. It also means that the firm honors its promises. Responsiveness takes the willingness or readiness of employees to provide services timely (Parasuraman, Zeithaml, & Berry, 1985). Perceived risk is the perception of the consumer about the uncertainty and adverse consequences of buying a product or services (Dowling & Staelin, 1994). Product performance risk was defined as difficulty in judging quality online (Forsythe & Shi, 2003). Functional risk is the risk that the product will not perform as expected (Schiffman & Kanuk, 2007).

Perceived service quality is the measurement of degree and direction of difference between consumer's perception and expectation. Expectation here refers to the service which a service provider should offer. Service quality comprises of five dimensions; tangibles, reliability, responsiveness, assurance, and empathy. Reliability was defined by Parsuram et al as the aptitude to accomplish the promised service dependably and accurately. They defined responsiveness as disposition to help customers and deliver prompt service (Parsuraman, Zeithaml, & Berry, 1988). Perceived service quality helps in differentiating oneself from competitors.

Color, style and fit could be easily and accurately assessed in a store than online. These attributes might seem to be unpredictable in a non-store purchase (Alba, et al., 1997).

Online service quality was defined by researchers as the extent to which a website facilitates efficient and effective shopping, purchasing and delivery. Eleven dimensions of perceived e-service quality were access, ease of navigation, efficiency, flexibility, reliability, personalization, security/privacy, responsiveness, assurance/trust, site aesthetics, and price knowledge. Core dimensions of regular service quality were efficiency, fulfillment, reliability, and privacy whereas core dimensions of service recovery were responsiveness, compensation, and real-time access to help (Zeithaml, Parsuraman, & Malhotra, 2000).

Scale for online service quality was developed which had four dimensions: reliability/fulfillment, Website design, security/privacy, and customer service. The findings suggested that for a compelling experience of online shopping, reliability and functionality to provide time savings, easy transactions, good selection, in-depth information, and appropriate personalization is very important (Wolfenbarger & Gilly, 2003). Fulfillment and reliability was defined as the accurate display and description of a product so that what customers receive is what they thought they ordered. It also includes the delivery of the right product within the time frame promised. They said that customer service is that service which is responsive, helpful, willing service that responds to customer inquiries quickly.

The study established the importance of perceived risk in explaining the barriers to online shopping. The frequently cited reason for not buying online was product performance risk (Forsythe & Shi, 2003). Internet shoppers is defined as those internet users who have made purchases on the net and internet browsers are those internet users who have browsed online for product/service but not made purchases on the Internet. Online browsing may be defined as viewing online a retail Web site's merchandise for information and/or recreational purposes without an immediate intent to buy. Perceived risk is a result of uncertainty of the potential outcomes of a behavior and possible unpleasantness of these outcomes. Perceived risk in online shopping is the subjectively determined expectation of loss by an internet shopper in contemplating a particular online purchase. Older internet users were found to be shoppers but younger ones were likely to be browsers than shoppers. Men were slightly ahead of women in shopping heavily online. Product performance risk was defined as difficulty in judging quality online. Moderate shoppers were more concerned about the product performance risk.

Customers are willing to pay higher prices to online retailer for better quality which they can trust. The study demonstrated that customer's perception of quality and satisfaction of online purchases is determined by three factors. They are interaction with the Website, delivery of the product, and preparedness of the retailers to address the problem when they occur. Delivery had strongest influence on satisfaction and future purchase intentions(Collier & Bienstock, 2006).

The perception towards the clothing website was predicted by product information, navigation, and customer service. Customer service included sales assistance system, return policy, and order tracking and checking(Seock & Norton, Capturing college students on the web: analysis of clothing web site attributes, 2007).

Fulfillment was the strongest predictor of satisfaction. Fulfillment was also the primary driver of online trust(Román , 2007). Digital shoppers desired to receive the appropriate quality and quantity of items ordered within the time limit promised by the digital retailers, and expect to be billed accurately by them.

Fulfillment or reliability constituted of timeliness of delivery, order accuracy, delivery condition, billing accuracy, and merchandise quality.Customer service included service level and return policies.The study reported that timeliness of delivery and order accuracy were the most important factor which led to dissatisfaction. Almost half of the dissatisfactory incidents were due to these 2 factors. Order accuracy appeared to be a major problem area for soft goods(Holloway & Beatty, 2008).

Appropriate knowledge of online shopping quality helps e-tailers in maximizing performance through monitoring and improving their store operations. Consumer's perception of digital stores' performance and effectiveness with regard to their products and/or services is referred to as e-shopping quality. E-shopping involves multi functions like browsing and searching, engaging in a transaction, and post-purchase evaluation. Thus it can be said that e-shopping quality is multidimensional. Apparel online shopping was also found to have multidimensions(Ha & Stoel, 2012). For apparel/fashion online retailers atmospheric/experientail dimension is a critical-shopping quality factor which helps customers' in evaluating online stores. While buying apparels online customers value experiential/atmospheric dimensions like fun, excitement, or pleasure and consider them as distinct benefits which influence their purchase intentions.

E-commerce companies should keep their Web site fast, simple and easy to use to increase conversion rate from selecting an item for purchase and actually buying it. Customer service is very critical(Kotler, Keller, Koshiy, & Jha, 2012).

The term Perception is used in marketing arena to describe consumer's beliefs, opinions, beliefs, or judgmental thoughts of products and services. E-service quality was found to be a multidimensional construct but PeSQ and PSQ constituted of different elements in different studies. Responsiveness was found to be one dimension of online service quality(Rare?a, 2014).

HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

● Perceived Product Performance Risk and online purchase intentions of female with reference to apparels

Apparel Purchasers were mostly female. But female shoppers are averse to online buying due to Perceived Product Performance Risk(Utilitarian Value). Perceived Product Performance risk is a crucial barrier for the adoption of web shopping. Product risk is more for apparel and clothing Women give greater importance to pleasure and utilitarian value of shopping. Thus the researcher proposes:

H1: The product performance risk will have negative and significant effect on purchase intentions of female shoppers towards online shopping of apparels.

● Shopping experience and online purchase intentions of female with reference to apparels

Shopping experience, perceived enjoyment and interaction in the shop proves to be a major impediment in online shopping of apparels by female shoppers. People valuing experiential shopping are less likely to buy online. These experiences come under Hedonic Shopping Value. Experiential oriented customers find it difficult to adopt online shopping due to the low experiential aspect of this medium. Experiential and recreational oriented shoppers would prefer in-store shopping of clothes

than online. In fashion products prior to purchase feel and touch of the fabric is considered very important. Online non-shoppers restrain from online shopping due to lack of trust on internet sellers and inability to physically examine the products (Yatigamman, 2011). Non-shoppers do not shop online due to the inability to examine the products. Many respondents went to the brick and mortar store to see, touch, and try the fashion products before buying it online. Based on the extensive review of existing literature the researcher proposes that for the purchase of apparels the need to personally examine the products through touch is particularly critical. Inability to physically examine the products prior to purchase leads to low intention to shop apparels online.

H2: Lack of physical examination prior to purchase is negatively but significantly related to purchase intentions of female shoppers towards online shopping of apparels.

● **Customer service and online purchase intentions of female with reference to apparels**

Better Customer service (cash on delivery, trial, return policy, quality of product, fit) have significant positive impact on purchase intentions of female shoppers of apparels towards online shopping.

H3: Good customer service positively affects purchase intentions of female shoppers towards shopping online.

● **Demographic factors and online purchase intentions of female with reference to apparels**

H4: Demographic factors have significant effect on purchase intentions of female shoppers towards shopping online.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research would be exploratory in design in the first phase. It would be loosely structured with the objective of discovering the problem definition, hypothesis and research questions. Mostly qualitative techniques would be used. Approaches like secondary data analysis, in depth interview, and focus group would be used. Secondary data would comprise of reports, published documents in form of periodicals, books, electronic indexes available in libraries, online services, and experience survey.

In the second phase a little descriptive and more causal design will be used. These are formal in nature and try to test the hypotheses which are plausible answers to the research questions. The method of data collection would be the communication study. In interrogation study the respondents would be questioned and their responses would be collected. Experimental design is usually not used in social science research. Generally ex post facto would be used in the research in which whatever is happening or happened would be reported. In ex post facto the investigators have no control over the variables to manipulate them. By judicious selection of subjects according to strict sampling procedures and by statistical manipulation of findings other factors would be kept constant and bias could be avoided. The purpose of the study would be causal in nature. Relationship among the variables would be explained. It would be a cross sectional study in which a snapshot is taken in one point of time. Data would be collected in 2016. The topical scope of the study would be statistical in nature with large sample size. Statistical study deals with breadth rather than depth. After studying the characteristics of a sample, inferences would be made about the characteristics of the population from which the sample was drawn. Hypotheses would be tested quantitatively. Generalization would be effective as representative sample and valid design would be incorporated. The research environment would be field setting. Field setting would be used which is the actual environmental condition. The participants' perceptions of research activity would be actual routine. Transparency would be maintained with the respondents. ?

The sample design would be Snowball sampling. The snowball sampling is usually used when it is tough to recognize the members of the desired population (Chawla & Sondhi, 2011). In this design each respondent, after being interviewed, is asked to identify one or more in this field. The main problem is in finding the initial contact. The first contact helps in identifying more members and these member further help to increase the sample size. To find out if the respondents use the internet for varied purposes many people would have to be interviewed without any surety that they belong to the representative sample. As net users can identify other net users, Snowball sampling would be appropriate in this case. Mostly occasional buyers and

browsers would be taken for the study.

The research will be conducted by collecting primary and secondary data about the Online purchase practices and the factors affecting the female non-users with reference to apparels. The secondary data will be collected from the library of IMI, Delhi and Jaipuria Institute of Management Studies and various websites and many other sources. For collection of primary data structured questionnaire will be developed. It would be targeted to the female non-users of the online purchase. Appropriate scale relevant to Indian context would be used. Less number of marketing scales exist whose psychometrics has been tested in India(Pandey & Chawla, 2014).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Positive intention to use leads to actual usage(Thakur, 2013). Good attitude towards something leads to purchase intention(Mishra, 2014).It is also to note that the ratio of female shoppers online has been increasing, and female shoppers now outnumber male shoppers online(Kuo, Hu, & Yang, 2013).To the best of our knowledge, there is no significant scholarly research to study the role of different factors on female Indians' online purchase intentions with reference to apparels. There are many variables which affect their purchase intention. Knowing that it is not possible to explore them all, the study confines itself in studying the inability to physically examine the products, perceived product performance risk and customer service and their influence on online purchase intention as these have not been studied together in the Indian context. The researcher would take physical examination of products, product performance risk and customer service as the independent variables and find if they significantly affect the purchase intentions (dependent variable) of the female offline shoppers with reference to apparels. According to global trends internet penetration is a major antecedent of growth of online shopping. While in USA and China internet penetration is 87.2% and 40.1% respectively, India has only 11.4% internet penetration. But Indian growth rate of internet penetration is more than USA and China. As a percentage of total retail online retail was 5.2% and 6.5% in USA and China but in India it was only 0.2%(E&Y The retailer, 2013).For the people who feel time starved and are looking for solutions which can help to avoid going to the market are the potential market of e-commerce(Bellman, Lohse, & Johnson, 1999). Privacy, safety and product quality are the most important determinant of online purchase(Wang, Yeh, & Jiang, 2006).According to an international survey(Karayanni, 2003), half of the online shoppers were women of the average age 40.The segments which have standard product specifications and low differentiation like books, music, and electronics have larger share of the online retail(CRISIL Opinion , 2014). The growth in the e-retail would be led by the products like consumer durables, electronics, apparels, and accessories.

Most Indian women bought clothing and accessories online. Increase in income and education led to more awareness of health issues which in turn increased the search for baby care, skin care and hair care products(Times, 2013).Women generally enjoy buying apparels. The touch and feel aspect, trial, shopping with friends, window shopping, chatting while making purchases are some of the few activities done while shopping for apparels in the store. Online shopping has so many advantages like convenience, variety, reasonable price, cash on delivery and good return policy. But still only a small portion of female have started buying online in India. The barriers eclipses the advantages of online shopping.

Different researchers have found umpteen number of impediments of online shopping. Removing the barriers would lead to increase in market share of e-tailers and at the same time consumers would enjoy the benefits of the new medium. The percentage of people who buy from online retail is a very small fraction of the entire retail market. So many people have access to net and use online services for gaining information, and building social network but what may be the reasons which keeps them away from buying online. Each and every individual buys products and services from the market. If they buy from online retail they would save time and money. They would also be able to choose from a vast variety of products. The number of online shoppers in India will become 100 million by 2016 which would nearly become three times the present scenario. The number of internet users in India would rise to 330 million by 2016 which stood at 125 million in 2011. Each internet user is

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE IMPEDIMENTS TO ONLINE SHOPPING
AND FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION**

a potential customer. Thus it can be seen that potential market which still remains to be tapped is huge. The use of digital technology is made at 10 touch points of the 3 stages of the purchase cycle. In prepurchase phase people use digital technology for product research, price research, search for store locations, and search for discounts or coupons. In purchase phase it is used for online ordering and online payment. In post purchase stage the digital technology is used for Troubleshooting, customer service, accessory purchase, and posting product reviews or comments.

To the best of author's knowledge very few studies have delved in areas which studied intentions of female online apparel shoppers. I would try to find the reasons which keeps the female away from such an easy and convenient mode of shopping. Many respondents considered inconvenient to wait at home for the delivery. Non-shoppers enjoyed in store experience. Perceived advantages(fun, speed and safety) of online buying and their positive predisposition towards online buying are the determinants which affect non-buyers decision to buy online (Goldsmith & Goldsmith, 2002). Women account for over 70% of all purchases made in traditional stores so they have great potential to dominate the future of online shopping even though they shop online less than men at present. For female customers lack of feedback comes as a big disadvantage of shopping experiential products online.

Therefore the current research would study the factors which pose barriers for female buyers to intend to use the online shopping mode for apparels. This would be a novel study in Indian context. Women form an important market for the online shopping in India due to the kind of products they purchase(E&Y, 2013). Women have major role to play in decision making and also are contributing to economic prosperity. They are a fast growing consumer market. Not paying attention to half of the population would be a lost opportunity for the marketer.

REFERENCES

- Bloch, P. H., & Richins, M. L. (1983). acrwebsite. Retrieved from <http://www.acrwebsite.org/search/view-conference-proceedings.aspx?id=6147>
- Brown, M., Pope, N., & Voges, K. (2001). Buying or browsing? An exploration of shopping orientations and online purchase intention. *European Journal of Marketing*, 37(11), 1666-84. Retrieved from http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Kevin_Voges/publication/29457747_Buying_or_browsing_An_exploration_of_shopping_orientations_and_online_purchase_intention/links/5432f1520cf225bddcc99904.pdf
- Dowling, G. R., & Staelin, R. (1994). A Model of Perceived Risk and Intended Risk-Handling Activity. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21(1), 119-134. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2489744.pdf?acceptTC=true>
- Eliasson, M., Lafourcade, J. H., & Smajovic, S. (2009). E-commerce - A study of women's online purchasing behavior. JÖNKÖPING INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS SCHOOL.
- Li, H., Kuo, C., & Rusell, M. G. (2006). The Impact of Perceived Channel Utilities, Shopping Orientations, and Demographics on the Consumer's Online Buying Behavior. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 5(2). Retrieved from <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1083-6101.1999.tb00336.x/abstract>
- Rare?a, O. D. (2014). Measuring perceived service quality offline vs. online: a new PeSQ conceptual model. *Procedia Economics and Finance*, 15, 538-551.
- Román , S. (2007). The Ethics of Online Retailing: A Scale Development and Validation from the Consumers' Perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 72(2), 131-148. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/25075367.pdf?acceptTC=true>
- Salisbury, W. D., Pearson, R. A., Pearson, A. W., & Miller, D. W. (2001). Perceived security and World Wide Web purchase intention. *Industrial Management & Data Systems*, 101(4), 165-177. Retrieved from <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1108/02635570110390071>

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE IMPEDIMENTS TO ONLINE SHOPPING
AND FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION**

- Seock, Y. K., & Norton, M. (2007). Capturing college students on the web: analysis of clothing web site attributes. *Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management: An International Journal*, 11(4), 539 - 552.
- Thamizhvanan, A., & Xavier, M. J. (2013). Determinants of customers' online purchase intention: an empirical study in India. *Journal of Indian Business Research*, 5(1), 17-32.
- Agrawal, M., Gupta, G., & Sandhir, V. (2009). Emerging Profile of Online Apparel Shoppers in India and Comparison with the US Online shoppers: A Few Marketing Implications. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 8.
- Alba, J., Lynch, J., Weitz, B., Janiszewski, C., Lutz, R., Sawyer, A., & Wood, S. (1997). Interactive Home Shopping: Consumer, Retailer, and Manufacturer Incentives to Participate in Electronic Marketplace. *Journal of Marketing*, 61(3), 38-53.
- Amaral, T. P., & Muñoz, T. G. (2009). Modeling the Key Determinants of Online Shopping in Spain. Retrieved from <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1363999>
- AT Kearney . (2015). Retrieved from atkearney.com: http://www.atkearney.com/consumer-products-retail/e-commerce-index/full-report/-/asset_publisher/87xbENNHPZ3D/content/global-retail-e-commerce-keeps-on-clicking/10192?_101_INSTANCE_87xbENNHPZ3D_redirect=%2Fconsumer-products-retail%2Fe-commerce-index
- Babin, B. J., Darden, W. R., & Griffin, M. (1994). Work and/or Fun: Measuring Hedonic and Utilitarian Shopping Value. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 20(4), 644-656.
- Bagga, T., & Bhatt, M. (2013). A Study of Intrinsic and Extrinsic Factors Influencing Consumer Buying Behaviour Online. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Management Research and Innovation*, 9(1), 77-90.
- Barlow, A., Siddiqui, N. Q., & Mannion, M. (2004). Development in Information and Communication Technologies for Retail Marketing Channels. *International Journal of Retail and Distribution Management*, 32.
- BCG. (2012). Retrieved from bcg.com: <https://www.bcg.com/documents/file100409.pdf>
- Beatty, S. E., & Ferrell, M. E. (1998). Impulse Buying: Modeling Its Precursors. *Journal of Retailing*, 74(2), 169-191. Retrieved from <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=9ed968be-9d38-44b0-b81a-21208fbbcfd%40sessionmgr4002&vid=0&hid=4207>
- Bellman, S., Johnson, E. J., & Lohse, G. L. (2000). Consumer Buying Behavior on the internet: Findings from panel data. *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, 14(1), 15-29.
- Bhatnagar, A., Misra, S., & Rao, H. R. (2000). On risk, convenience, and Internet shopping behavior. *Communications of the ACM*, 43(11), 98. Retrieved from http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Sanjog_Misra/publication/220420287_On_risk_convenience_and_Internet_shopping_behavior/links/0c9605293fe02049cb000000.pdf
- Blázquez, M. (2014). Fashion Shopping in Multichannel Retail: The Role of Technology in Enhancing the Customer Experience. *International Journal of Electronic Commerce*, 18(4), 97-116. Retrieved from <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=27ebf846-978a-4bf9-897b-aa3c0071ee7e%40sessionmgr4005&vid=0&hid=4206>
- Brashear, T. G., Kashyap, V., Musante, M. D., & Donthu, N. (2009). A Profile of the Internet Shopper: Evidence from Six Countries. *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice*, 17(3), 267-281. Retrieved from [http://www.istor.org/stable/10.2307/40470413?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=\(&searchText=Li.&searchText=Kuo.&searchText=&&searchText=Rusell.&searchText=2006\)The&searchText=Impact&searchText=of&searchText=Perceived&searchText=Channel&searchText](http://www.istor.org/stable/10.2307/40470413?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=(&searchText=Li.&searchText=Kuo.&searchText=&&searchText=Rusell.&searchText=2006)The&searchText=Impact&searchText=of&searchText=Perceived&searchText=Channel&searchText)
- Chawla, D., & Sondhi, N. (2011). *Research Methodology Concepts and Cases*. Vikas Publishing House PVT LTD.
- Chiders, T. L., Carr, C. L., Peck, J., & Carson, S. (2001). Hedonic and Utilitarian motivations for online retail shopping behavior. *Journal of Retailing*, 77, 511-535.
- Chiu, Y. B., Lin, C. P., & Tang, L. L. (2005). Gender differs: assessing a model of online purchase intentions in e-tail service. *International Journal of Service Industry Management*, 16(5), 416-435.
- Collier, J. E., & Bienstock, C. C. (2006). How Do Customers Judge Quality in an E-tailer. *MIT Sloan Management Review*, 48(1), 35-40. Retrieved from <http://sloanreview.mit.edu/article/how-do-customers-judge-quality-in-an-etailer/>

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE IMPEDIMENTS TO ONLINE SHOPPING
AND FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION**

- CRISIL Opinion . (2014, February). (CRISIL, Producer) Retrieved from e-tail eats into retail: <http://www.crisil.com/pdf/research/CRISIL-Research-Article-Online-Retail-Feb14.pdf>
- Dholakia, R. R., & Pedersen, B. (1995). Married males and shopping: are they sleeping partners? *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*, 23(3), 27-33. Retrieved from <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/pdfplus/10.1108/09590559510083975>
- E&Y. (2013, April-June). Retrieved from ey.com E&Y The retailer: [http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/The_Retailer_April-June_2013/\\$FILE/EY-The-retailer-April-June-2013.pdf](http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/The_Retailer_April-June_2013/$FILE/EY-The-retailer-April-June-2013.pdf)
- E&Y The retailer. (2013, April-June). (E&Y) Retrieved from [http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/The_Retailer_April-June_2013/\\$FILE/EY-The-retailer-April-June-2013.pdf](http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/The_Retailer_April-June_2013/$FILE/EY-The-retailer-April-June-2013.pdf)
- Farber, M., & Shoham, S. (2002). Users, end-users, and end-user searchers of online information: a historical. *Online Information Review*, 26(2), 92-100.
- Forsythe, S. M., & Shi, B. (2003). Consumer patronage and risk perceptions in Internet shopping. *Journal of Business Research*, 56, 867-875. Retrieved from http://ac.els-cdn.com/S0148296301002739/1-s2.0-S0148296301002739-main.pdf?_tid=d2b5afca-0368-11e5-8f12-00000aab0f02&acdnat=1432618625_869c847292294a8eb032b12682487717
- Gera, R. (2011). Modelling e-service quality and its consequences in India: an SEM approach. *Journal of Research in Interactive Marketing*, 5(2/3), 203-225.
- Girard, T., Korgaonkar, P., & Silverblatt, R. (2003). RELATIONSHIP OF TYPE OF PRODUCT, SHOPPING ORIENTATIONS, AND DEMOGRAPHICS WITH PREFERENCE FOR SHOPPING ON THE INTERNET. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 18(1).
- Goldsmith, R. E., & Goldsmith, E. B. (2002). Buying apparel over the Internet. *Journal of Product & Brand*, 11(2), 89-102.
- Ha, S., & Stoel, L. (2012). Online apparel retailing: roles of e-shopping quality and experiential e-shopping motives. *Journal of Service Management*, 23(2), 197-215.
- Ha, Y., & Stoel, L. (2004). Internet apparel shopping behaviors: the influence of general innovativeness. *Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*, 32(8), 377-385.
- Hill, W. W., Beatty, S. E., & Walsh, G. (2013). A segmentation of adolescent online users and shoppers. *Journal of Services Marketing*, 27(5), 347-360.
- Holloway, B. B., & Beatty, S. E. (2008). Satisfiers and Dissatisfiers in the Online Environment A Critical Incident Assessment. *Journal of Service Research*, 10(4), 347-364.
- Holzwarth, M., Janiszewski, C., & Newman, M. M. (2006). The influence of Avatars on Online Consumer Shopping Behavior. *Journal of Marketing*, 70, 19-36.
- Jain, S. K., & Jain, M. (2011). Exploring Impact of Consumer and Product Characteristics on E commerce Adoption: A Study of Consumers in India. *Journal of Technology Management for Growing Economies*, 2(2), 35-64.
- Karayanni, D. A. (2003). Web-shoppers and non-shoppers: compatibility, relative advantage and demographics. *European Business Review*, 15(3), 141-152.
- Kenneth, C. L., & Carol, G. T. (2009). *E-Commerce*. Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Khare, A., & Rakesh, S. (2011). Antecedents of Online Shopping Behavior in India: An Examination. *Journal of Internet Commere*, 10(4), 227-244.
- Kim, J., & Forsythe, S. (2007). Hedonic usage of product virtualization technologies in online apparel shopping. *International Journal of Retail & Distribution Management*, 35(6), 502 - 514.
- Kotler, P. (2000). *Marketing Management*. Prentice Hall of India Private Limited.
- Kotler, P., Keller, K. L., Koshy, A., & Jha, M. (2012). *Marketing Management*. Pearson.
- Kuo, Y. F., Hu, T. L., & Yang, S. C. (2013). Effects of inertia and satisfaction in female online shoppers on repeat-purchase intention. *Managing Service Quality: An International Journal*, 23(3), 168-187.
- Lee, M. Y., & Johnson, K. K. (2002). Exploring differences between Internet apparel purchasers, browsers and non-purchasers.

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE IMPEDIMENTS TO ONLINE SHOPPING
AND FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION**

Journal of Fashion Marketing and Management: An International Journal, 6(2), 146-157.

- Liang, T. P., & Lai, H. J. (2002). Effect of Store Design on Consumer Purchases: An empirical study of on-line bookstores. *Information and Management*, 39(6), 431-444. Retrieved from [http://www.ecrc.nsysu.edu.tw/liang/paper/16-Effect%20of%20Store%20Design%20I&M%202002\).pdf](http://www.ecrc.nsysu.edu.tw/liang/paper/16-Effect%20of%20Store%20Design%20I&M%202002).pdf)
- Mishra, S. (2014, April). Adoption of M-commerce in India: Applying Theory of Planned Behaviour Model. *Journal of Internet Banking and Commerce*, 19(1), 1-18.
- Nirmala, R. P., & Dewi, I. J. (2011). The Effects of Shopping Orientations, Consumer Innovativeness, Purchase Experience, and Gender on Intention to Shop for Fashion Products Online*. *Gajah Mada International Journal of Business*, 13(1), 65-83. Retrieved from <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=b7154345-3f49-4575-beba-a57191fda5a6%40sessionmgr4002&vid=0&hid=4206>
- Panda, R., & Swar, B. N. (2013). Online Shopping: An Exploratory Study to Identify the Determinants of Shopper Buying Behaviour. *International Journal of Business Insights and Transformation*, 7(1), 1-9.
- Pandey, S., & Chawla, D. (2014). E-lifestyles of Indian online shoppers: A scale validation. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 21, 1068-1074.
- Parasuraman, A., Zeithaml, V. A., & Berry, L. L. (1985). A Conceptual Model of Service Quality and Its Implications for Future Research. *The Journal of Marketing*, 49(4), 41-50. Retrieved from <http://sistemas-humano-computacionais.wdfiles.com/local--files/capitulo%3Asistemas-de-servico/ServQual.PDF>
- Parsuraman, A., Zeithaml, V. A., & Berry, L. L. (1988). SERVQUAL: A Multiple-item Scale for Measuring Consumer Perceptions of Service Quality. *Journal of Retailing*, 64(1). Retrieved from <http://areas.kenan-flagler.unc.edu/Marketing/FacultyStaff/zeithaml/Selected%20Publications/SERVQUAL-%20A%20Multiple-Item%20Scale%20for%20Measuring%20Consumer%20Perceptions%20of%20Service%20Quality.pdf>
- pwc. (2014). Retrieved from pwc.in Evolution of e-commerce in India: Creating the bricks behind the clicks: <http://www.pwc.in/assets/pdfs/publications/2014/evolution-of-e-commerce-in-india.pdf>
- pwc. (2015). Retrieved from pwc.in: https://www.pwc.in/en_IN/in/assets/pdfs/publications/2015/ecommerce-in-india-accelerating-growth.pdf
- Schiffman, L. G., & Kanuk, L. L. (2007). *Consumer Behavior*.
- Seock, Y. K., & Bailey, L. (2008). The influence of college students' shopping orientations and gender differences on online information searches and purchase behaviours. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 32, 113-121.
- Sharma, A. (2011). Take off of online marketing: casting the next generation strategies. *Business Strategy Series*, 12(4), 202-208.
- Shimp, T. A., & Bearden, W. O. (1982). Warranty and Other Extrinsic Cue Effects on Consumers' Risk Perceptions. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 9(1), 38-46. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2488935.pdf?acceptTC=true>
- Tabatabaei, M. (2009). Online Shopping Perceptions of Offline Shoppers. *Issues in Information Systems*, 10(2), 22-26.
- Thakur, R. (2013). Customer Adoption of Mobile Payment Services by Professionals across two Cities in India: An Empirical Study Using Modified Technology Acceptance Model. *Business Perspectives and Research*, 1(2), 17.
- Times, I. B. (2013, May Thursday). India Women Shift to Online Shopping for Apparels, Baby Foods and Beauty Products Online. (I. B. Times, Producer) Retrieved from <http://au.ibtimes.com/india-women-shift-online-shopping-apparels-baby-foods-beauty-products-online-1311549>
- Wang, E. T., Yeh, H.-Y., & Jiang, J. J. (2006, May). The Relative Weights of Internet Shopping Fundamental Objectives: Effect of Lifestyle Differences. *Psychology & Marketing*, 23(5), 353-367. Retrieved from <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?sid=5557a827-7ac4-4a3d-a2bf-a9f5e395182d%40sessionmgr111&vid=0&hid=125>
- White, E. L. (2004). Online Store Perceptions: How to Turn Browsers into Buyers. *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice*, 2(3), 36-47.

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE IMPEDIMENTS TO ONLINE SHOPPING AND FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION

- Wolfinbarger, M., & Gilly, M. C. (2003). E-Tail Q : Dimensionalizing, Measuring, and Predicting E-Tail Quality. Journal of Retailing, 79, 183-98. Retrieved from http://www.websm.org/db/12/970/Web%20Survey%20Bibliography/eTailQ_dimensionalizing_measuring_and_predicting_etail_quality/
- Yatigamman. (2011). To buy or not to buy online: Analyzing the characteristics of online shoppers and online non-shoppers in Sri Lanka. International Conference on Business and Economics Research, 1.
- Zeithaml, V. A., Parsuraman, A., & Malhotra, A. (2000). A Conceptual Framework for Understanding E-Service Quality: Implications for Future Research and Managerial Practice. Retrieved from <http://www.msi.org/reports/a-conceptual-framework-for-understanding-e-service-quality-implications-for/>

WORK HISTORY

- 2005-2006: Assistant Manager, CONCOR, New Delhi.
- 2011-2013: Assistant Professor, Sri Sai Group of Institutes, Amritsar.
- Taught introductory and upper level courses in management
- Guided students in using technology to support educational research
- Fostered student's commitment to lifelong learning by connecting course materials to broader themes and current events
- Encouraged students on public speaking and presentation skills
- 2014-2015: Research Associate IMI, New Delhi
- Assisted professors in their research and teaching
- Conducted invigilation duty
- 2015-2016: Visiting faculty Jagannath International Management School, VasantKunj, New Delhi

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

- Ranked first in the course work examination in PhD in 2015
- Received above benchmark teaching performance evaluations in all categories every semester
- Presented paper at the 3rd International conference at GD Goenka University on 4th February 2016.
- The topic of the paper was "Exploring the Antecedents of Purchase Intentions of Online Browsers and Buyers for Online Shopping: A Theoretical Framework."
- Paper published in GD Goenka Business Review (ISSN : 2394-8639), Vol 1, Number 2, January to June 2016 Edition
- Attended workshops on research methods and case studies.

NARENDRA MODI'S JAMMU-KASHMIR POLICY: SWIMMING WITH THE TIDE AND NOT AGAINST IT

SAURABH DUBEY*

INTRODUCTION

As of 2019, Union of India consists of 29 states. Indian constitution recognizes all of them as part and parcel of this republic. The state of Jammu and Kashmir, often denoted by the acronym J&K is one of the states of Indian republic. It is India's northern state located mostly in the Himalayan Mountains, and shares borders with the states of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab to the south. Jammu and Kashmir consist of three regions: Jammu, the Kashmir Valley and Ladakh. Srinagar is the summer capital, and Jammu is the winter capital. Jammu and Kashmir is the only state in India with a Muslim-majority population. The Kashmir valley is famous for its beautiful mountainous landscape, and Jammu's numerous shrines attract tens of thousands of Hindu pilgrims every year while Ladakh, is renowned for its remote mountain beauty and Buddhist culture. However, the most unfortunate fact of Jammu and Kashmir has been that it always got/occupies national and international headlines not for natural richness and its strong syncretic cultural traditions but because of its political instability, separatist activities, Pakistan sponsored/supported cross-border terrorism, law and order issues and most importantly substantive loss of human lives either of civilians, army personnel or local security persons.

One can count the number of issues which constituted debatable/controversial aspect of Jammu Kashmir issue (a) Instrument of Accession (b) home grown separatist movement/self-determinism movement, (c) cross-border terrorism (d) the role of international community. It is because of its peculiar historical reasons that Jammu and Kashmir State occupies very important position vis-à-vis India's policy makers and managing Jammu and Kashmir has always been a challenging task before political establishment. It is important to mention at this point that every successive state and central governments have to make balance between addressing genuine aspirations of Jammu and Kashmiri people, maintaining law and order situation as well as protecting India from cross-border terrorism means maintaining India's

*Assistant Professor, Dept of Political Science, Shaheed Bhagat Singh (Evening) College, Delhi University

sovereignty and integrity. Every political dispensation in its own right has tried to resolve Jammu Kashmir issue but not with the same success. Before the formation of Narendra Modi led BJP government in the centre there was confusion among Jammu-Kashmir people; political analysts, media that what will be policy of this government vis-à-vis this government, whether Narendra Modi government will depart from his predecessor Atal Bihari Vajpayee's Jammu -Kashmir policy which was based on insaniyat (humanity), Kashmiriat (composite secular, eclectic Kashmiri culture) and jamhooriyat (democracy) and take aggressive stand. However, much confusion was cleared by Narendra Modi himself in his address to the nation on its 71st Independence Day at Red Fort on August 15, 2017, where he underlined a vision for resolution of the Kashmir problem with sensitivity. To quote him "We have to work for the progress of Jammu and Kashmir. Na goli se nagaali se, Kashmir ki samasya suljhegi gale lagane se. (Kashmir's problems can be solved only with embracing the people of Kashmir, not with bullets or abuses)". Basically looking at the intentionality and timing/occasion of this statement one can say that Modi's J&K policy will not be a radical departure from previous Atala Bihari Vajpayee government policy on Jammu and Kashmir. Overall since 2014, New Delhi's policy vis-à-vis Jammu and Kashmir (J&K) has broadly been a combination of tough approach towards separatist elements; reliance on mainstream politics; and keeping Kashmir out of the India-Pakistan bilateral equation.

In this regard, this article tries to understand (a) Narendra Modi led BJP government policy vis- a- vis Jammu and Kashmir (b) How far this policy has been different from J&K policy of the previous governments. (C) How far this policy has been successful in talking J&K issue (or is this policy has been successful in talking Jammu and Kashmir policy) and last but not the least is there any correction can suggested.

FORMATION OF BJP-PDP COALITION GOVERNMENT

Government formation is one of the primary aspects of democracy. The main function of the political parties is to contest election, get mandate and form the government. In a democracy one can consider government as a vehicle for the delivering of development, maintaining law and order as well protecting nation's security and sovereignty. In this context, formation of BJP-PDP government after Jammu and Kashmir state assembly election 2014 was itself a major achievement. One can say that this very formation of alliance between two parties with very different ideology was itself a radical steps /first step in order to address various genuine grievances of Jammu and Kashmir people. Looking at different support base of these two parties, this coalition government truly reflects/represents the syncretic political culture as well inclusive character of the of the Jammu-Kashmir political process. For most of the political pundits this alliance between two unlikely partners was next to impossible. However, not only with the active support of top leadership of the BJP this alliance came into existence but there are running the government since last 2-3 years in spite of having various differences. It is important to mention that some of the achievements has been really remarkable especially related to the development work. Most important this coalition has been able to send a message across country that for the sake of growth and development of the sates in particular and country in general BJP is ready to move an extra mile and any allegation related to its extremist agenda vis-a-vis minorities and Kashmir is unfounded. It is important to mention at this point that conducting free and fair election has also been a major achievement for Narendra Modi government looking at the hardline separatist All Parties Hurriyat Conference leader Syed Ali Shah Geelani appeal to people of Kashmir to boycott the 2014 Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly elections completely, arguing that "India has been holding elections in the Valley using the power of gun and so such an exercise is not legitimate." He added, "My appeal to the youth in particular is that the sacrifices rendered by the people must be safeguarded and, hence, in no way should vote during elections." However, despite several boycott calls by hurriyat leaders, elections recorded highest voter's turnout in last 25 years. Voter's turnout was more than 65% which is higher than usual voting percentage in other states of India.

One can site this as a positive policy of Narendra Modi government vis-à-vis Jammu and Kashmir which led to the successful election as well as government formation.

DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

Development of J&K is high on Narendra Modi government agenda. Prime Minister Narendra Modi is of the opinion that 'Vikas' and 'Vishwas' will be the cornerstones of the central government's development initiatives for the state hit by the unrest. In this regard Centre has released an amount of Rs 19,000 crore out of the Rs 80,000 crore development packages for Jammu and Kashmir announced by Prime Minister Narendra Modi. It is important to mention that the Rs 80,000-crore package for Jammu and Kashmir was announced by the prime minister in November, 2015. So far, Rs 17,000 crore has been released to the state government by the Centre. Around Rs 40,000 crore out of the Rs 80,000-crore package have been earmarked for improving road infrastructure, including semi-ring roads in Jammu and Srinagar, upgradation of important highways besides others. An amount of Rs 7,854 crore has been earmarked for flood relief, reconstruction and flood management. A total of Rs 2,241 crore is meant for promoting tourism by developing new projects and tourist circuits, and setting up of 50 tourist villages. In addition, Rs 11,708 crore is for power, new and renewable energy. This includes augmentation of power infrastructure and distribution systems, solar power, and small hydro projects. Rs 4,900 crore has been earmarked for improving healthcare facilities in the state, which includes creation of two AIIMS-like institutions in both major cities of the state, and support for creation of infrastructure in hospitals and primary health centres. In this regard a prominent daily national newspaper reported that "The Centre has till now disbursed a total of Rs 62,599 to Jammu and Kashmir under Prime Minister's Development Package (PMDP) for the state, Union Home Ministry officials said today. Home Minister Rajnath Singh, who is on a four-day visit to the state, reviewed the progress of the implementation of PMDP project at a meeting which was attended by Chief Minister Mehbooba Mufti, Deputy Chief Minister Nirmal Singh, state chief secretary B B Vyas and officials from his ministry here." "The Centre has already sanctioned Rs 62,599 crore which amount to 78 per cent of the total cost of the PMDP package," officials said after the meeting. "The total cost of PMDP is 80,068 crore for 63 projects. PMDP includes assistance for rehabilitation of flood affected people. Rs 1,200 crore were given for the purpose and the project is complete now," they said. The project also includes the four-laning of Chenani- Nashri section of the National Highway which has also been completed. The cost of this project, which includes the longest road tunnel in India, was Rs 781 crore."

STAND ON SEPARATISTS

As one of the prominent journalist in his column suggested that "Hurriyat separatists are Pakistan's Trojan Horse in the Valley. They perform three tasks for their handlers in the Pakistani army and ISI. One, to subvert and indoctrinate Kashmiri youth in jihad against India. Two, to serve as financial conduits for terrorists infiltrating across the Line of Control (LoC) from Pakistan. Three, to engage with Indian civil society and journalists to alter the narrative of terrorists in the Valley as homegrown freedom fighters, absolving Pakistan of complicity." He is further of the view that "For years the UPA and NDA governments have treated Hurriyat separatists with kid gloves. They were given Z+ security, covert payments to moderate their rhetoric, and even government jobs to mollify their family members. In this self-defeating exercise, every state government has been complicit. The Omar Abdullah-led National Conference presided over one of the most violent summers in 2010 as a result of its dilatory approach to the Hurriyat." However, since the crackdown on separatists by the National Investigation Agency (NIA), during Narendra Modi government several Hurriyat leaders are in jail. Similarly Strong measures by the National Investigation Agency (NIA) against the Hurriyat leadership have strangled funding for Pakistani terrorists still active in the Valley. Infiltration and militancy, supported by Pakistan, have caused turmoil" in Jammu and

Kashmir. And Narendra Modi government's stand of having no talks with Pakistan until cross-border terrorism stops in Kashmir or with those demanding azaadi.

SUCCESS IN NEUTRALISING TERRORISM

The BJP's election manifesto pledged "zero tolerance" for terrorism. And the party's leader, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, had condemned the 2004-2014 Congress Party-led government's policy of "strategic restraint" toward militant attacks by Pakistan-backed groups. Present government considers "The fundamental reason for disturbances in Kashmir is cross-border terrorism promoted by Pakistan. Active support since 1989 to separatist groups in Kashmir and terrorist elements from different parts of the world including from territory under Pakistan's control has become a central element of Pakistan's state policy," the statement added. That is why India always made request to International forums to call upon Pakistan to end cross-border infiltration, dismantle the infrastructure of support to terrorism and to stop acting as an epicentre of international terrorism. In this regard "There are signs that the government's 'tough-love' policy on terrorism paying dividends. Over 150 terrorists have been killed since the beginning of the year, nearly 60 in terror-infested south Kashmir alone. The Doval doctrine clubbed with the iron fist of the Indian Army is what we are witnessing in Kashmir today. National Security Advisor, AjitDoval's doctrine made says, "Do not overreact; it will pass off as they cannot sustain beyond a point." On the other hand, the Indian Army which has been given a free hand to deal with the Kashmir crisis." However, one cannot deny this fact that in the last three four years Since the 2014 election of the Narendra Modi government government, led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), there have been several militant assaults against Indian military targets in the state. The deadliest attack in two decades took place on September 18, and reports at the time said at least 17 Indian soldiers and all four attackers had been killed. India alleged the attack had been carried out by the Pakistan-based group Jaish-e-Mohammad (JEM). However, terrorism-related incidents in Jammu and Kashmir have reportedly been fewer in the four years of Modi government than in the preceding four years when Manmohan Singh was the country's Prime Minister. According to official figures accessed by news agency ANI, there were 1218 terrorism-related incidents in the state between 2010 and 2013 but with Bhartiya Janata Party at the centre, there have were 1094 such incidents between 2014 and 2017. The number of terrorists gunned down has, however, seen a rise with 580 being shot dead in the last four years as compared to 471 in the four years before. Similarly Civilian casualty has seen a downward spiral in the last four years. Between 2014 and 2017, 100 civilian deaths in the state - eight less than in the four years when UPA was in power. In this regard the Modi government has repeatedly claimed that it has come down hard on terrorism - especially in Jammu and Kashmir. Home Minister Rajnath Singh recently said that the government is looking at finding effective and more permanent solutions to what has become a global menace, and added that Indian forces kill five terrorists daily. "I have told my soldiers deployed at the border not to fire first at Pakistan, but give a fitting reply by firing countless bullets if they fire first. India is no more a weak nation, but a strong country," he had said recently. That is why, the violent tide of events in Jammu and Kashmir is nearing an end and Pakistan's ability to influence events in Jammu and Kashmir is at an all-time low, but it could strike in mainland India, top government sources told India Today. According to government's assessment, local support for separatist and terrorist is now at its lowest. "The local population that was feeling boxed by separatist and sudden increase in the number of terrorist is now more emboldened," senior government officials monitoring the situation in valley said. In this regard the Union Ministry of Home Affairs cites four reasons for the fall in terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir - demonetisation, NIA investigation, the killing of top terrorists and the efforts by Kashmir interlocutor Dineshwar Sharma.

PAKISTAN'S WORRIES

A global money-laundering watchdog has decided to place Pakistan back on its terrorist financing watchlist in a likely

blow to Pakistan's economy and its strained relations with the United States. The move is part of a broader U.S. strategy to pressure Pakistan to cut alleged links to Islamist militants unleashing chaos in neighbouring Afghanistan and backing attacks in India. . In this regard, the Pakistani government official said the South Asian nation would be officially placed on the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) watch list in June at its next meeting, which is why the FATF statement on Friday did not mention Pakistan. At the urging of the Trump administration, an international task force has decided to place Pakistan on a terrorism-financing watch list, a decision that has stunned and alarmed Pakistani officials and one that could deliver a major blow to the nation's economy.

Islamabad has other worries as well. It was taken aback by the fierce rhetoric from the US administration. Similarly the recent BRICS declaration, endorsed by China, naming both LeT and JeM, has further unnerved Pakistan. The India-Japan joint declaration, also naming the two Pakistan's Punjab-based terror groups, has added to Islamabad's sense of isolation. In this regard Washington has not ruled out the use of drone attacks on terror safe havens on Pakistani soil. That will escalate tensions with Islamabad. So far US airstrikes have been along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. Air attacks on Pakistani territory would be a significant escalation, targeting the source of terror in Pakistan.

APPOINTMENT OF INTERLOCUTOR

To open talks with all stakeholders in Jammu and Kashmir, government has appointed former Intelligence Bureau chief Dineshwar Sharma as the interlocutor. While confirming his appointment Union Home Minister Rajnath Singh announced that "former Director IB Dineshwar Sharma was handpicked by the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) to hold a dialogue with stakeholders in strife-torn of Jammu and Kashmir. He told reporters that a sustained dialogue will be initiated with all shades of opinion in Kashmir Valley." Within hours of being appointed as the interlocutor for Kashmir, former IB chief Dineshwar Sharma said that 'priority is restoring peace.' He was speaking after Home Minister announced Centre's step to start a sustainable dialogue in Jammu and Kashmir involving stakeholders that would target bringing peace in the region. Answering queries by correspondents, Sharma said, "Hope I will be able live up to the trust government of India has showed and will be able to fulfill expectations of people." As far as getting results from his efforts was concerned, he underlined what would be on top of his agenda. He said, "Priority is restoring peace (in J&K) and finding a permanent solution." On when exactly he would get down to the business end of things in the state, Sharma said that, "Will go to Kashmir in 8-10 days, first would assess here, how things can be taken forward." On Rajnath Singh revealing that his rank will be equivalent to that of a Cabinet Secretary, Sharma reacted by saying, "Rank does not matter. Gol gave me a very big responsibility, nothing can be better than improvement of the situation in J&K."

In this context, reacting to the Centre's move to appoint an interlocutor, Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Mehbooba Mufti took to Twitter and posted this message "Welcome initiative of Union Govt, appointing interlocutor for leading a sustained dialogue with stakeholders in J&K." In an interaction thereafter, Mufti said, "He is a very good person and has huge credibility, has been involved in dialogues in North East also. It is a good start and the need of the time, I welcome this step." She added, "People are caught between so many guns right now and they want to come out of. It is a good initiative and should be a success.

CONCLUSION

Looking at the above development related with Jammu and Kashmir one can say that BJP government led by Narendra Modi is doing serious efforts in order to resolve this issue. However, its complex socio, political as well international aspect (i.e. - support for/of cross boarder terrorism by Pakistan) which persisted since 70 years has thrown a difficult task for Modi government. Nevertheless, despite all difficulty government has been able to normalize the domestic law and

order situation; has also been able to eliminate terrorist activities as well as started to addressing people's aspirations. Appointment of interlocutor in this regard is really a bold step in this direction. It also refutes the claims that Modi government is only interested to resolve the Kashmir issue through force and not through dialogue.

REFERENCES

- Larson, Gerald James. "India's Agony Over Religion", 1995, page 245
- <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/insaniyat-kashmiriyat-jamhooriyat-needed-to-resolve-kashmir-issue-geelani/story-NsBVaopWlq5pAR55AvzEqK.html>
- <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/na-goli-se-na-gaali-se-embrace-kashmir-says-pm-narendra-modi-in-independence-day-speech-4797241/>
- "J&K separatists call for poll boycott". Deccanherald.com. 2014-11-06.; Syed Ali Shah Geelani's J&K election boycott call resonates in his hometown Sopore - IBNLive". Iblive.in.com. 2014-12-03.;
- "J & K records historic polling percentage: EC". The Hindu. 20 December 2014.; "Jammu and Kashmir registers highest voter turnout in 25 years, Jharkhand breaks records". Deccanchronicle.com. 2014-12-23. Retrieved 2015-12-05.; "J&K polls: 76 per cent voter turnout recorded in the final phase - IBNLive". Iblive.in.com. 2014-12-20. Retrieved 2015-12-05.; "Jammu and Kashmir Registers Highest Voter Turnout in 25 Years, Jharkhand Breaks Records". Ndtv.com. Retrieved 2015-12-05.
- <https://www.deccanchronicle.com/nation/current-affairs/270417/modi-govt-releases-rs-19000-crore-for-development-of-jk.html>
- <https://www.deccanchronicle.com/nation/current-affairs/270417/modi-govt-releases-rs-19000-crore-for-development-of-jk.html>: http://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/centre-releases-rs-19-000-cr-for-j-k-from-pm-s-development-package-117042701011_1.html
- <https://www.deccanchronicle.com/nation/current-affairs/270417/modi-govt-releases-rs-19000-crore-for-development-of-jk.html>): http://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/centre-releases-rs-19-000-cr-for-j-k-from-pm-s-development-package-117042701011_1.html)
- <http://www.financialexpress.com/india-news/78-per-cent-of-pm-narendra-modis-development-package-to-jammu-and-kashmir-disbursed-says-officials/848358/>
- <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-4776402/Hurriyat-separatists-Pakistan-s-Trojan-Horse.html>
- <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-4776402/Hurriyat-separatists-Pakistan-s-Trojan-Horse.html>
- <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-4904522/Modi-s-tough-love-policy-starting-pay-Kashmir.html#ixzz58Ox1WGYl> theconversation.com/what-escalating-kashmir-attacks-tell-us-about-modis-changing-foreign-policy-66363.
- <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/cross-border-terrorism-responsible-for-kashmir-disturbances-india-at-unhrc-4706591/>.
- <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-4904522/Modi-s-tough-love-policy-starting-pay-Kashmir.html#ixzz58N7CcEzJ>
- <https://www.oneindia.com/india/doval-doctrine-armys-iron-fist-kashmir-clean-up-in-two-months-2455948.html>
- <http://theconversation.com/what-escalating-kashmir-attacks-tell-us-about-modis-changing-foreign-policy-66363>
- <http://zeenews.india.com/india/nda-vs-upa-more-terrorists-killed-fewer-terror-attacks-in-jk-says-report-2071327.html>
- <http://zeenews.india.com/india/nda-vs-upa-more-terrorists-killed-fewer-terror-attacks-in-jk-says-report-2071327.html>).

**NARENDRA MODI'S JAMMU-KASHMIR POLICY:
SWIMMING WITH THE TIDE AND NOT AGAINST IT**

- <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/cornered-pakistan-might-strike-mainland-india-jammu-kashmir-violence-tide-india-favour-1091587-2017-11-22>.
- <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pakistan-militants-financing/global-watchdog-to-put-pakistan-back-on-terrorist-financing-watchlist-sources-idUSKCN1G70X7>
- <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pakistan-militants-financing/global-watchdog-to-put-pakistan-back-on-terrorist-financing-watchlist-sources-idUSKCN1G70X7>.
- <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/23/world/asia/pakistan-terror-finance-list.html>
- <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-4904522/Modi-s-tough-love-policy-starting-pay-Kashmir.html#ixzz58OylXkiA>
- <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/dineshwar-sharma-rajnath-singh-kashmir-1070149-2017-10-23>
- <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/dineshwar-sharma-rajnath-singh-kashmir-1070149-2017-10-23>
- <http://www.financialexpress.com/india-news/kashmir-dialogue-dineshwar-sharma-appointed-interlocutor-by-centre-says-priority-is-restoring-peace/903429>;<http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/dineshwar-sharma-is-known-as-a-dove/article19907762.ece> ;
- <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/interlocutor-dineshwar-sharma-meets-omar-abdullah-others/article20005965.ece>: <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/dineshwar-sharma-rajnath-singh-kashmir-1070149-2017-10-23>;

FUNCTIONALISM AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION: A THEORETICAL INTROSPECTION

BINEET KAUR*

INTRODUCTION

Integration theorists, more often than not, traded in the vocabulary of the discipline of International Relations (IR). What seemed to be at stake in Western Europe was not just the Westphalian nation-state, but also the inter-state system that grew outwards from this territorial way of organizing government. These theories sought to explain how this economic integration would produce political integration and how the creation of supranational institutions could accelerate these processes. The tale of integration theory and the growth of theoretical work on EU governance provides a valuable case study for all sorts of things.

DISCUSSION ON DEFINITION

Writing in 1971 and reflecting on no less than a decade and a half of intensive theoretical work on integration in Europe, Ernst Haas argued that 'a giant step on the road toward an integrated theory of regional integration... would be taken if we could clarify the matter of what we propose to explain or predict¹. This was a succinct statement of the so-called 'dependent variable problem' in integration theory - what is it that theorists are trying to explain when they contemplate the processes of institution-building and integration that have characterized the post-war European Communities? As Haas put it:

'The task of selecting and justifying variables and explaining their hypothesized interdependence cannot be accomplished without an agreement as to possible conditions to which the process is expected to lead. In short, we need a dependent variable'².

At one level this is a matter of definition. Is integration an economic or a political phenomenon? If it is an economic

*Assistant Professor, SGND Khalsa College, University of Delhi

phenomenon, what level of interdependence need to be achieved among a group of national economies for them to be described as 'integrated'? Is the achievement of a free trade area that appropriate condition? Or is the end point of economic integration a customs union, or a common market, or full economic and monetary union? Does economic integration imply political integration? Does economic integration generate the momentum for political integration? Or, to turn the issue on its head, does political integration create the space for economic integration to flourish? Turning to political questions, does integration amount to the dissolution of national authority within a given geographical region? If this is so, does integration consist of the replacement of traditional structures of governance with new types of institution and new forms of authority? In short, what does it mean to say that Europe is integrated or is in the process of integrating? Posed this way, the issue also becomes a matter of whether we should understand integration as a process or as an outcome.

One problem was that integration theorists, while focusing on a common set of events, evidently had different conceptions of process and outcome in mind. Karl Deutsch's work (Deutsch et al., 1957) clearly understood integration as the creation of security communities (or zones of peace) among states in a region.³

Haas defined integration as 'the voluntary creation of larger political units involving the self conscious eschewal of force in relations between participating institutions' and the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states. The end result of a process of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over the pre-existing ones.⁴

Reginald Harrison, like Haas, pointed to the importance of central institutions. 'The integration process may be defined as the attainment within an area of the bonds of political community, of central institutions with binding decision-making powers and methods of control determining the allocation of values at the regional level and also of adequate consensus-formation mechanisms'⁵. The difficulties of definition were memorably summed up by Donald Puchala (1972) who compared the quest for a definition of integration to blind men being confronted with the task of defining an elephant.⁶ This recalls the argument, introduced earlier in this chapter, about different starting points leading to different destinations. Different theoretical conventions have spawned differing methodologies in pursuit of independent variables (those factors that do the explaining). Thus, the transactionalist school relied heavily on the accumulation of aggregate survey data, whereas the neo-functional method often amounted to the theoretically-focused case study. Consequently, the understanding of different theoretical approaches to integration is vital to a developed understanding of 'integration' itself.

Where definitions have been advanced in more recent literature, they have tended to be rather more broad-ranging. To take an example, William Wallace defines integration as 'the creation and maintenance of intense and diversified patterns of interaction among previously autonomous units'.⁷ It should be clear that the classical phase of what is normally understood as integration theory was concerned with political integration. This is not to say that economic change was excluded from the analysis. Nonetheless, Wallace's discussion alerts the student of the EU to the relationship between economic and political integration.

APPROACH TO POLITICAL ECONOMY

In both cases, the issue at stake is one of political economy: the relationship between political and economic processes in shaping change. Several permutations are possible here. For example, it could be argued that changes in the informal economic domain such as heightened capital mobility, increasing volumes of cross-border trade, alterations in the production process and shifting corporate strategies decisively structure and constrain the agenda of authoritative political actors. Faced with no alternative, governments seek closer cooperation through the construction of political institutions

designed to 'capture' and control these economic processes. Here regional political integration is a consequence of regional economic integration. Of course, an alternative way of thinking would invert this argument to suggest that informal changes are, at the very least, facilitated by the deliberate sanction of government authority. Here economic integration can only happen because states produce policies that enable the flourishing of informal trans-border economic activity. This debate also latches onto the question of whether the factors that initiate integration can be used to explain its maintenance. Do different periods of integration required different theoretical perspectives?

The relationship between social, economic change on the one hand, and political change on the other, has long been a major concern of political theorists. Some have argued that political forms and practices are strictly determined by the economic or technological character of societies; others have suggested that while we cannot infer the political structure of any society from its 'non-political' features, these latter do exert continuous pressure on leaders to reconsider and adapt the political system. This approach to international integration is founded on this distinction between the political and the non-political aspects of societies, and postulates an increasing tension between the particularistic nature of the former and the internationalizing implications of the latter in the modern era.

Functionalist approaches have been central to the study of international integration. Paul Taylor identifies functionalism as the intellectual ancestor of not only neo-functionalist integration theory but also of diverse recent approaches to the study of international order such as interdependence theory, world society approaches, linkage politics and regime theory⁸. Looking backwards, most students of functionalism would recognize its place within the liberal idealist tradition of International Relations stretching from Kant through Woodrow Wilson and beyond.

A 'Functionalist Approach to Peace' had given by David Mitrany (1943) during the Second World War. Hinting Mitrany's functionalism in his own words, "This new approach towards the goal of international collaboration is free from dogma and avoids the cramping limitations of a more nicely designed by hard and fast system. If the new international experiment is to be effective it must have real tasks of government entrusted to it. But at the same time it must in its make up accept the present reality of a world that is divided into many nation-states.⁹

Mitrany's functionalism, as represented by works such as 'A Working Peace System' (1943) is underscored with optimism for enlightened social engineering. His autobiographical 'memoir' (1975) identifies functionalism as the politics of international peace movement, social democracy and the anti-dogmatic political science built around English pluralism that emerged at the London School of Economics in the inter-war period. So while much of what Mitrany wrote has direct relevance for the structuring of international society¹⁰.

Ben Rosamond viewed that functionalism is 'an approach rather than a tight knit theory'. It does not begin from a rigid set of foundational propositions that are shared by all functionalists. However, functionalist approaches to world politics and therefore to European integration - have tended to coalesce around a distinct, if somewhat broad-ranging, agenda. At the core of this agenda is the prioritization of human needs or public welfare, as opposed to, say, the sanctity of the nation-state or the celebration of any particular ideological credo. Indeed, functionalists tend to express considerable nervousness about the capabilities of nation-states to fulfill human needs. This is not simply because some needs have a transnational aspect, but also because the very existence of nation-states tends to uphold certain sorts of dogma which distracts policy away from the maximization of public welfare. It follows that human beings need to be both rational about what their needs are and creative with respect to the construction of authoritative institutions that can perform the function assigned to them.¹¹

Functionalism is one of the traditional approaches of integration which is commonly associated with the rational school of thought for its characteristic of surrendering ideology to "enlightened self-interest" under the influence of economic growth, for its modest and pragmatic character of adapting to changes, for its problem solving approach and for

contemplating the primacy of economic in international relations. It can also be set within the realm of revolution for its universalist vocation envisaging the creation of a world society, for its ambition of bypassing the role of national governments and gradually eliminating the nation state and for reviving the concept of 'historical determinism' present in the work of Comte and Marx.¹²

Haas (1964) points out that, functionalists in the specific sense of the term, are interested in identifying those aspects of human needs and desires that exist and clamor for attention outside the realm of the political. They believe in the possibility of specifying technical and "non-controversial" aspects of governmental conduct, and of weaving and ever-spreading web of international institutional relationships on the basis of meeting such needs. They would concentrate on commonly experienced needs initially, expecting the circle of the non-controversial to expand at the expense of political, as practical cooperation became coterminous with the totality of interstate relations. At that point a true world community will arise.¹³

Mitrany clarifies his task of international peace, "the task that is facing us how to build up reality of a common interest in peace. Not a peace that would keep the nations quietly apart, but a peace that would bring them actively together; not the old static and strategic view of peace, but a social view of it. We must put out faith not in a protected but in a working peace; it would indeed be nothing more or less than the idea and aspiration of social security taken in its widest range."¹⁴Mitrany Points out 'how serious can be the difference we choose one way to the other. There is no better illustration of this then the frequent plea for a "surrender of sovereignty", and no issue has strayed farther a field from practical needs and possibilities. Sovereignty is a legal concept, a status; it cannot be surrendered unless the units which form the political community, whereas the normal way has been a gradual transfer of sovereignty according to social needs and political developments...functional cooperation may be a means of persuading the powers ultimately to make the wide sacrifices in national sovereignty which the preservation of peace will demand.¹⁵

According to Paul Taylor (1990), "Mitrany concluded, in contrast, that elements of change in society, in the demands and expectations of the people and in the problems posed by the need for the proper management of the economy were such as to make this prescriptive, overarching approach a futile one. Society was changing so quickly that any attempt to fix the ideal order was doomed to failure, and, indeed, the very attempt to fix an ideal system could itself make the solution of immediate, pressing problems more difficult. In functionalism, Mitrany, believed he had discovered a real alternative to grand theory, one which could cope with change, and which was oriented towards the more effective solution of immediate problems."¹⁶Mitrany's view, was to develop strong representative institutions in areas of activity which directly touched upon the lives of people. We should set up representative assemblies to look after particular sections of our life, such as health, energy of transport rather in the manner of meeting of shareholders in public companies. These new assemblies would establish control over the crucial areas of government more effectively than old-style parliaments.¹⁷

Functionalists accept the net 'high' and 'low' politics dichotomy. They also express their preference for concentrating on non-political aspects in the international workshops "where the nations shed their conflicts at the door and busy themselves only with the cooperative use of the tools of mutual interests" which may be thwarted by the increasing tendency to politicize all international issues. In the words of David Mitrany, "Sovereignty is not effectively transferred by diplomatic formula, by via a function". The accumulation of partial transfers of tasks from one sector to another leads eventually to, as Mitrany said, "a transition of the true seal of authority" and to the achievement of world society.¹⁸

Critics of functionalism argued about the so called separability thesis. Mitrany distinguished between political and non-political areas, which included welfare (Hass). The criticism is offered that such a separation of welfare from politics is entirely unrealistic, and that because of this there can be no easy way into the process of integration: there is, indeed, no possibility that the experience of integration could release a dynamic which made integration in other areas more likely, and eventually modified high politics.¹⁹

CONCLUSION

Functionalism has been criticized on the number of grounds. Firstly, functionalist assumption that the determination of needs is an objective and technocratic exercise. It is difficult not to see this as a fundamentally political. It is also difficult to see how functionalist logic work in the normal conditions of a market economy, either domestically or internationally, given the imperatives of competition and the associated propensity to create winners and losers. Much of the impetus behind Mitrany's work was revulsion for laissez-faire capitalism. Secondly, Mitranean functionalism is hopelessly naive and rests upon unreasonable assumptions about the ability of peoples and governments to move in rational directions. To some extent, functionalism is blinded by its own rationality. Thirdly, functionalism is criticized on the basis that it has poor record of predictions. This criticism has not been justified on the ground that Mitrany's work was about advocacy rather than prediction. Fourthly, it is criticized for a lack of scientific rigour. It is true that there is no foundational theoretical statement of functionalism. Nevertheless, most obvious claim about the importance of functionalism is that it laid down the foundations for neo-functionalist integration theory. Many neo-functionalists claim Mitrany as a direct intellectual ancestor. More generally, functionalist is usually thought to have provided an innovative and distinctive approach to the study of international politics and international organizations. Any knowledge of international organization would be incomplete without being familiar with the writings of the functionalists, particularly the work of David Mitrany. Functionalism is revealed as a useful antidote to the power politics approach to the study of international Society. It also leads to a concern with practical and short-term steps for improvement, and is not encumbered with a sense of the hopelessness of trying to improve man's condition.

One of the most interesting facets of Mitrany's work, was his powerful and consistent rebuttal of regional integration arrangements. This critique set functionalism aside from some of the other major contributions to the debate about establishing the conditions for peace. Mitrany's distaste for West European integration was apparent in his critique of the Briand Plan.²⁰

In other words, regionalism was a recipe for reproducing the faults of the states system writ large. The continued deployment of territorial logic (as opposed to functional logic) created the potential for interregional antagonisms. This point was made most clearly in the 1965 essay 'The Prospect of Integration : Federal or Functional' (Mitrany : 1975c : 53-78) which applied functionalist analysis to the maturing project of regional integration represented by the European Communities. Mitrany attacked what he termed the federal and regional fallacies, both of which were finding expression in the EC. The regional fallacy described the tendency to draw boundaries and to impose limits upon membership within entities such as the Communities. The federal fallacy referred to the tendency to construct such arrangements for political purposes - a 'United States of Europe' in the context of the EC :

'A political union must be nationalistic; and.....as such it must impede and it may defeat, the great historic quest for a general system of peace and development. Under the pressures of a planned and radical social transformation it is bound to shape towards a centralised system - closed, exclusive, competitive; and whatever else it may do, such a system would hardly be suited to mediate between the new ideological divisions, or temper the raw nationalism of the new states to steer them towards the new greener pastures of a mutual international community'²¹.

Having said that, Mitrany did harbour considerable respect for the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). In both he saw elements of clear functional logic. The problem with to be dominated by the formal processes associated with the European Economic Community (EEC). This was a much wider-ranging body that grew out of pre-existing functional schemes. European integration represented the application of territorial rather than functionalist logic.

REFERENCES

1. E.B. Haas (1971) 'The Study of Regional Integration : Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pretheorizing', in L.N. Lindberg and S.A. Scheingold (eds.), *European Integration : Theory and Research*, Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, p.26.
2. Ibid., p.18.
3. K.W. Deutsch et. al. (1957), *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area : International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*, Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press, p.3.
4. E.B. Haas (1968), *The Uniting of Europe : Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950-1957*, Stanford CA : Stanford University Press, p.16.
5. R.J. Harrison (1974), *Europe in Question. Theories of Regional International Integration*, London : George Allen and Unwin, p. 14.
6. D.J. Puchala (1972), "Of Blind Men, Elephants and International Integration", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 10, p.24.
7. W. Wallace (1990), "Introduction : The Dynamics of European Integration", in W. Wallace (ed.), *The Dynamics of European Integration*, London : Pinter, p.9.
8. P. Taylor (1994), "Functionalism : the Approach of David Mitrany", in A.J.R. Groom and P. Taylor (eds.), *Frameworks for International Co-operation*, London : Pinter, p.125.
9. David Mitrany (1943), "A Functional Approach to Peace", Robert A. Goldwin (1959) *Readings in World Politics*, London, Toronto : Oxford Uni. Press, pp. 545-46.
10. C. Navari (1995), *David Mitrany and International Functionalism*, Oxford : OUP, p.15.
11. Ben Rosamond (2000), *Theories of European Integration*, New York : Palgrave, p.32.
12. Donatella M. Viola (2000), *International Relations and European Integration Theory*, www.fscpo.unict.it
13. Ernst Haas (1964), *Beyond the Nation-State*, Stanford : Stanford Press, p.6.
14. Ibid., p-10.
15. David Mitrany, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-47.
16. Paul Taylor (1990), "Functionalism : The Approach of David Mitrany" A.J.R. Groom and Paul Taylor (eds.), *Frameworks for International Cooperation*, London : Pinter, p. 126.
17. Ibid., p.127.
18. Donatella M. Viola, *op. cit.*
19. Paul Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
20. C. Navari, *op. cit.*, p.21.
21. David Mitrany (1975) "The prospect of Integration : Federal or Functional", in A.J.R. Groom and P. Taylor (eds.), *Functionalism : Theory and Practice in International Relations*, London : University of London Press, p. 72.

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AS TOOL FOR ENRICHING ENVIRONMENT

SHAILENDRA MOHAN SINGH*

ABSTRACT

This paper endeavours to highlight the importance of corporate social responsibility through changing dimensions of social and environment ethics. CSR is also playing a significant role in contributing towards the development of the economy. The corporations are always under tremendous pressure to include the strategic CSR standards and sustainability mechanisms into their global operations.

Key Words: corporate social responsibility, ethics, development of economy and human society.

The merit of corporate entity has always been measured in the terms of financial performance and market share. But, the changing dimensions of social and environment ethics have shifted the focus to the public interest at large. The bitter truth is that in the time of harsh competition and survival, it is tough to define a fixed course of action through which the corporations shall act responsibly as they are required in terms of standards defined. Issues from carbon emissions to sustainable development are looming large in front of these entities and further we will try to analyse the same in different parlance.

INTRODUCTION

Corporate Social Responsibility casts positive duty upon the business entities to contribute to the development of the economy and strive for the quality of life of the community at large. CSR works at two levels. At one level it focuses on the ethical behaviour that the company demonstrates towards its customers and employees and at the other side, it depicts its responsibility towards economy, society and environment. The concept of obligation arising out of it ranges way beyond the ordinary level of obligations which arise out of the statutes. The corporations are always under tremendous pressure to inculcate the strategic CSR standards

*Assistant Professor Shyam Lal College (Evening) Delhi University

and sustainability mechanisms into their global operations. The process of strategic planning in order to take preventive action and pre-emptive regulations for the preservation of biodiversity is the main crux of CSR.

MAZE OF PERFORMANCE, ACCOUNTABILITY AND LEGITIMACY

“No success or achievement in material terms is worthwhile unless it serves the needs or interests of the country and its people.”

— **J.R.D. Tata**

If we look at the above statement, then the first idea which crosses our mind is the path of progress which the corporations are supposed to adhere in order to satisfy the social as well as individual interests. It has never been easy for a corporation to appropriate the personal interests of the company with that of the society and further it is really difficult to do the same where the big guns are blazing to accumulate more and more money. But one thing that needs to be understood is that if the entities are thinking about following the same route of progress which was taken two decades back then this is a serious issue. At a time, where we are fighting hard to survive for few more decades, it is quite necessary that we change our course before it is too late.

It is imperative to note that the corporations who are engaged in the developing countries have to pass through the maze of performance, accountability and legitimacy all at one go. They are supposed to focus on these three divergent needs upon which they are supposed to pounce on. A corporation will strive to perform at the preferred level of existence so as to continue functioning in the competitive market. This seems to be the main objective but on the other hand, it also has to be accountable for the after effects of its operations across the globe. A corporate cannot function without the accountability quotient being assumed on its part. When the performance and accountability would pass, it will pave way for the legitimacy of the operations which are being conducted to achieve the individual and social needs. CSR deals with the strategic planning mechanisms which help the corporate entity to stay afloat within the active volcanoes of basic necessities. Further, when these three are coordinated then it is necessary to evaluate them with the principles of environment ethics which proves to be the dream job for those which end up fighting all the time only for survival.

INTEGRATION OF DEVELOPMENTAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPERATIVES

The term Sustainable Development was first used at the time of Cocoyoc Declaration on Environment and Development in early 1970s. The term denotes that the road to development will not be complete without keeping in mind the environmental sustainability. It marks the way in which development should proceed. Now, starting from Stockholm Conference (1972), Brundtland Commission (1987), Earth Summit (UNCED), Rio Declaration, Kyoto Conference, this term has been discussed at length at every nook and corner in different perspectives. The talks of inter-generational equity, use and conservation of natural resources, environment protection, and polluter pays principle mostly deal with the problems only when they arise at full force. These conferences and deliberations aimed at categorising the issues at the initial and ultimate levels. But, very less has been done if we look at the practical implementation of these principles.

TRIPLE BOTTOM LINE

In 1994, John Elkington coined the term “Triple Bottom Line” which is popularly known by three aspects: Social (people), Economic (profit) and environment (planet), serves to assist corporation in addressing sustainable development holistically. Through Corporate Social Responsibility, corporations contribute to and avoid becoming a barrier to sustainable social, environmental and economic development.

Triple Bottom Line is a philosophy of business management and accounting that suggests the traditional accounting and performance of a company should be expanded to include its ecological and social impact in addition to its financial performance. The concept of Triple Bottom Line demands the company's responsibility whereby companies decide voluntarily to contribute to a

better society and a cleaner environment. The Societal Responsibility of Companies is represented by the contributions undertaken by companies to society through way of business activities and its social investments. This is connected to the concept of sustainable development to the company's level. Corporate Social Responsibility is an outcome of a variety of social, environmental and economic pressures.

In the wider sense, the CSR can not only refer to the compliance of human rights standards, labour and social security arrangements, but also to the fight against the climate change and sustainable management of natural resources. In recent years CSR has become a fundamental business practice and has gained much attention from the management of large international companies. A strong CSR program is an essential element in achieving good business practices and effective leadership. Companies have explored that their impact on the economic, social and environmental sector directly affects their relationships with investors, employees and customers.

In India there are an existent but small number of companies which practice CSR. This engagement of the Indian economy concentrates mainly on a few old family owned companies, and corporate giants such as the Tata and Birla group companies which have led the way in making corporate social responsibility an intrinsic part of their business plans. These companies have been deeply involved with social development initiatives in the communities surrounding their facilities. Jamshedpur, one of the prominent city in Jharkhand in India, is also known as Tata Nagar and stands out at a beacon for other companies to follow. CSR in India is in a very nascent stage. In the informal sector of the Indian economy, which contributes to almost the half of the GNP and where approximately 93% of the Indian workforce is employed, the application of CSR is rare.

Human lives and livelihood lost in the many industrial accidents have served as a repeated reminder that companies need to codify their social and environmental impact strategies along with their financial benefits and goals and also need to focus on sustainable business strategies. Corporate Social Responsibility requires a company to ensure that its financial, human and capital resources are conserved and developed in the best interests of every human being concerned.

The conviction on CSR should be based on the vision and integrity of the organisation and desire to assume leadership role in positively influencing the development of the society. To ensure the supply of responsible and ethical goods, it is especially important to implement a nationwide system of CSR standards. Although the prime motto of a company is to generate and increase profits, but companies can at the same time contribute to social and environmental objectives by integrating corporate social responsibility as a strategic investment into their business strategy and its application into such areas.

CROSS SECTOR PARTNERSHIP

The term 'Partnership' in CSR or Corporate Philanthropy is used to any relationship between a company and a non-profit organisation or government agency. Cross- Sector Partnership Model is embraced by the private and their reference is made to Corporate Social Responsibility and the Triple Bottom Line whereby the altruistic approach for companies is delved into environmental and social performance. The partnership model is being promoted in recent years as a valuable win potential. Collaborative relation like Cross Sector Partnership between the spheres of society are believed to increase the feasibility of tackling the pressing social, economic and environmental challenges and make important contribution to social development as well as benefits the various partners in such collaboration.

Social Cross-Sector Partnership as " social problem solving mechanism among organisation primary includes social issues by combining organisational resources in order to offer solutions that benefits partners as well as society at large." Partnering across sector means that different sectors of society are open to communicate and collaborate to each other, fostering and creating more inclusive participatory models for solving problems. It is a management tool to deliver business, social and environmental development outcomes by optimizing the effectiveness of different partners' resources core competencies.

At the World Economic Forum in 1999, United Nation Secretary General Kofi Annan presented the 'Global Impact' challenging

business leaders across the world to embrace and enact a set of universal principles in the areas of environment, human rights and labour standards. This Compact encouraged the business to engage in the cross-sector partnership with the public sectors and civil society in order to promote sustainable development. These partnership ensures rapid and systematic solution that no single player could bring about on its own because each sector brings different capabilities and it is the joining together of those capabilities that gives cross-sector partnership their extraordinary power to solve challenges efficiently.

CORPORATE GOVERNANCE

Corporate governance is generally understood to mean the relationship between shareholders, directors and management and the systems which guide and control those relationships (e.g., bylaws, policies, rule of law). But the concept of corporate governance has been increasingly interpreted to include a much broader range of (non-financial) economic, ethical, social and environmental issues encompassing a greatly expanded group of stakeholders such as suppliers, customers, local communities, and the public at large. Environmental, social and corporate governance which is commonly known as ESG, explains the three main areas of concern that have emerged as the central factors in measuring the sustainability and ethical impact of an investment in a company. Environmental, social, and even ethical issues are now commonly considered to be core governance issues with tremendous potential impact on financial liabilities and corporate reputation. Corporate managers are expected to identify and manage these risks just as they would any other, and it is now conventional wisdom that corporate policies, procedures, and strategies must reflect this reality.

REGULATORY MEASURES: AN INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

The Water Act provides for the offences being committed by the companies under the doctrine of vicarious liability provided under section 47 and 48 which are bases on the maxim qui facit per alienum, facit per se. Section 47 states that when an offence has been committed by a company, every person who at the time of the offence was in charge and was responsible to the company for the conduct of the business of the company shall be liable of the offence will be proceeded and punished accordingly. If the consent or connivance of the Director, Manager, Partner, Secretary, other officer of the firm can be attributed to their part then their liability for the same can be adduced to them. The Supreme Court in U.P. Pollution Board v. Modi Distillery, declared that section 47 which deals with the offences by the companies, makes it abundantly clear that the above mentioned posts can be prosecuted for they are in charge of and responsible to the company. Section 40 of the Air Act, 1981 also zeros the liability of corporates for the offences contributing to the air pollution. Similar provisions are also there under various other environmental protection laws which deal with the after-effects of the violation of the environmental ethics. But so far they have not been able to deal with the issues in the era of competitive environment where the entities are pitted against each other for the survival, growth, profitmaximisation and consumer satisfaction.

The Supreme Court in CharanLalSahuv. Union of India, held that a transnational company should be made liable and subservient to the laws of our country and the liability should not be restricted to the affiliate company only but the parent corporation should also be made liable for any damage caused to human beings or ecology.

The National Green Tribunal Act of 2010 is an act created to provide for the establishment of a National Green Tribunal for the effective and expeditious disposal of cases relating to environmental protection and conservation of forests and other natural resources including enforcement of any legal right relating to environment and giving relief and compensation for damages to persons and property and for matters connected therewith. This new development focuses on to dispose the matters in dispute as expeditiously as possible and to use scientific knowledge of the corporate bodies to anticipate the damages on their behalf.

CONCLUSION

It can be easily construed that at a place where each second corporate body is fighting amidst the gaping conflicts of profit

maximisation, growth, survival and competition, CSR takes a back seat in the reality quotient. In India, if a green cover for the corporate offices is required then for them it becomes an opportunity to use that part of the land for other business activities and environment concerns take a backseat. It is also important to note that only planting trees and adopting schools is not the inherent soul of the CSR. The two fold role through responsibility and accountability goes way beyond these flashy measures. The advent of NGOs should also be ascertained in order to find out the new perspective of environmental CSR and its operation in the world of tough competition. If the government assumes its responsibility to inculcate the provisions that will be mandatory to be included in the memorandum of association of the companies before incorporation then the path will be much clearer and there will be improved chances of paving a new era of environmental CSR.

REFERENCES

1. E.B. Haas (1971) "The Study of Regional Integration : Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pretheorizing", in L.N. Lindberg and S.A. Scheingold (eds.), *European Integration : Theory and Research*, Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, p.26.
2. Ibid., p.18.
3. K.W. Deutsch et. al. (1957), *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area : International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*, Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press, p.3.
4. E.B. Haas (1968), *The Uniting of Europe : Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950-1957*, Stanford CA : Stanford University Press, p.16.
5. R.J. Harrison (1974), *Europe in Question. Theories of Regional International Integration*, London : George Allen and Unwin, p. 14.
6. D.J. Puchala (1972), "Of Blind Men, Elephants and International Integration", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 10, p.24.
7. W. Wallace (1990), "Introduction : The Dynamics of European Integration", in W. Wallace (ed.), *The Dynamics of European Integration*, London : Pinter, p.9.
8. P. Taylor (1994), "Functionalism : the Approach of David Mitrany", in A.J.R. Groom and P. Taylor (eds.), *Frameworks for International Co-operation*, London : Pinter, p.125.
9. David Mitrany (1943), "A Functional Approach to Peace", Robert A. Goldwin (1959) *Readings in World Politics*, London, Toronto : Oxford Uni. Press, pp. 545-46.
10. C. Navari (1995), *David Mitrany and International Functionalism*, Oxford : OUP, p.15.
11. Ben Rosamond (2000), *Theories of European Integration*, New York : Palgrave, p.32.
12. Donatella M. Viola (2000), *International Relations and European Integration Theory*, www.fscpo.unict.it
13. Ernst Haas (1964), *Beyond the Nation-State*, Stanford : Stanford Press, p.6.
14. Ibid., p-10.
15. David Mitrany, *op. cit.*, pp. 456-47.
16. Paul Taylor (1990), "Functionalism : The Approach of David Mitrany" A.J.R. Groom and Paul Taylor (eds.), *Frameworks for International Cooperation*, London : Pinter, p. 126.
17. Ibid., p.127.
18. Donatella M. Viola, *op. cit.*
19. Paul Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
20. C. Navari, *op. cit.*, p.21.
21. David Mitrany (1975) "The prospect of Integration : Federal or Functional", in A.J.R. Groom and P. Taylor (eds.), *Functionalism : Theory and Practice in International Relations*, London : University of London Press, p. 72.

SHEILA BIOGRAPHY: LAST WORD NOT SPOKEN

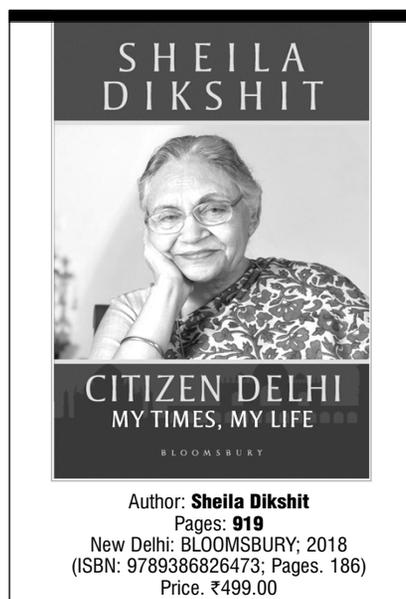
Those who have followed Sheila Dikshit's career trajectory closely would vouch her ability at histrionics and use of right words at the right point of time. When she faced dissidence soon after taking over as Chief Minister of Delhi, she makes a mention about it in her soon to be launched autobiography Citizen Delhi: My Times, My Life, she had 'feigned' illness and gone into a shell refusing to engage with her detractors.

The first interview she chose to give on the rebellion, albeit after the dust had settled down a wee bit, was to this writer, where she had said that her differences with her colleagues were due to the "clash of cultures". These words went a long way to define her politics in Delhi - which largely focused at creating and addressing a new constituency which would take on the dominant Bania and Punjabi communities of Delhi.

Much before a Nitish Kumar or for that matter Narendra Modi, it was Sheila Dikshit who mastered the art of development politics. Her success at it, winning three elections in a row, was more admirable as her powers as the Chief Minister of the Government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi (GNTCD) was much less compared to her counterparts of the full-fledged states.

Her success as Chief Minister of Delhi was largely due to the understanding of the limited powers her position had, something which her successor Arvind Kejriwal refuses to comprehend. She mentions in her book about her face-off with her immediate predecessor Sushma Swaraj during the 1998 poll campaign.

"I remember being part of a face-off with Sushma Swaraj before an audience in a programme shot close to the National Stadium



*The writer is senior journalist and political commentator.

near India Gate. I think that debate was an important turning point in the campaign, for Sushma dramatically announced that she would keep awake at nights to ensure that Delhi remained safe, that she would go from police station to police station at night to see if the police was vigilant. I replied, 'Sushmaji, I should perhaps tell you that the police do not fall within your jurisdiction. Then why do you want to waste your time and lose your precious sleep in vain?' That response got the audience on its feet."

Several years later I remember seeing then Delhi Police Commissioner BS Bassi waiting in the ante-room of Dikshit's residence to pay a courtesy call after taking over the hot seat. The same Mr Bassi, few months later, refused to acknowledge Arvind Kejriwal as his boss. Even during Dikshit's time bureaucracy reported to the Lieutenant Governor but still Sheila managed to command their loyalty, who in turn delivered to the city umpteenth numbers of flyovers, metro service, CNG autos, taxis and buses and privatization of power distribution concluding with the successful holding of the Commonwealth Games.

How did she manage to it is something which would make a good case study in the schools of governance and management. One of her abilities was sense of timing and in choosing the venue of Jaipur Literary Festival for release of her biography over a big launch in one of the social watering holes of the national capital she has shown that she has lost none of it.

Nor has she lost her capabilities as a sharp politician. While the book provides ample ammunition to target her successor Arvind Kejriwal and her vanquished rivals in Delhi Congress, the excerpts released so far doesn't throw much light on her face-offs with Congress 'high command' that is Sonia Gandhi's secretariat.

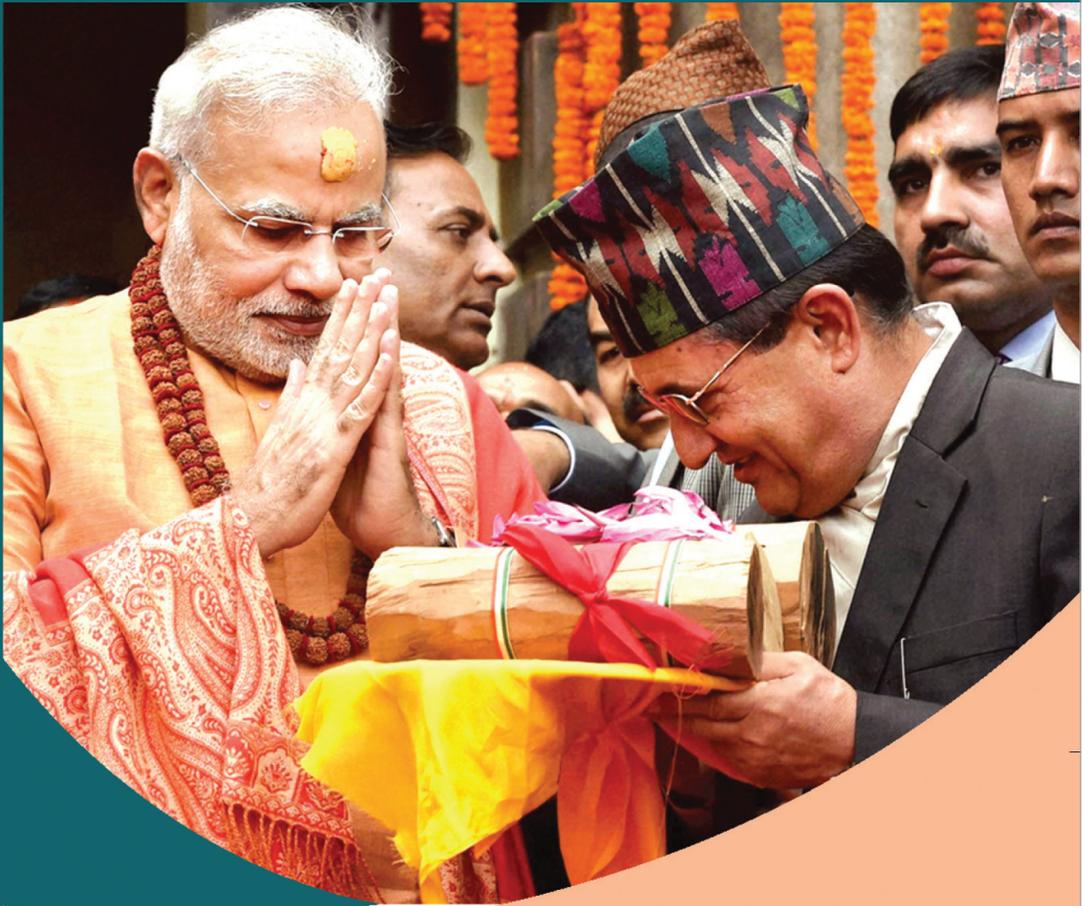
Though she managed to retain Sonia Gandhi's faith in her right till the end of her tenure in Delhi, and also that of her children Rahul and Priyanka, but same cannot be said about her terms of engagement with Congress president's secretariat. They successfully scuttled her entry into the Congress Working Committee (CWC) despite being better qualified than many of the other members. They also never allowed her to have a Delhi Congress president of her choice.

Knowing full well that her son Sandip Dikshit, a two term Lok Sabha member, still has a chance to play a fruitful innings in politics, Sheila has chosen to largely remain quiet on these matters. One can wait for the last word to be heard from Dikshit.

MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

1. Manuscripts and all editorial correspondence should be addressed to: The Editors, The Discussant. email: president@crdj.in
2. Contributors must provide affiliations and complete postal and e-mail addresses with their articles.
3. All articles should be typed in Times New Roman, Font Size 14 for the running text. complete manuscript should be e-mailed to the Editor. No hard copy is required.
4. All articles must be accompanied by keywords and an abstract of 150-200 words. Notes should be numbered serially and presented at the end of the article.
5. Use single quotes throughout. Double quotes only used within single quotes. Spelling of quotations should not be changed.
6. Use '20th century"1990s'. Spell out numbers from one to nine, 10 and above to remain in figures. However, for exact measurements, use only figures (5km, 6percent, not%). Use thousands and millions, not lakhs and crores.
7. Tables and figures to be indicated by number serially,. Source for figures and tables should be mentioned, and permission should be obtained whenever necessary.
8. References should include all books, articles, essays, theses and documents cited in the text. These reference should be formatted in APA style.

B.P Koirala Foundation



INDIA-NEPAL
SEVEN DECADES
OF TRUST & PARTNERSHIP

EDITORS

Sidharth Mishra, Rajeev Kumar

Centre For Reforms, Development & Justice

For Copies: president@crdj.in; sriavcreations@hotmail.com

SUPPORTED BY



ICSSR

INDIAN COUNCIL OF SOCIAL
SCIENCE RESEARCH